

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Political Progress in California.

In one of the great States of the American Union a veritable revolution has occurred. Yet newspaper readers without reading glasses of high magnifying power would hardly know it but for private correspondents. You can tell from the Hearst papers that something important happened, and that Hearst did it; but if you want detail and color, you must turn to the murder reports. In other papers there were strong symptoms at first of highly sensational dispatches; but as soon as it appeared that woman suffrage had not been defeated but had won, those symptoms rapidly receded. Had California voted down woman suffrage, the Recall, and the Initiative and Referendum, it may be inferred from past experience that headlines would have screamed. But in a victory for all three there is "no news." It is common to attribute this kind of newspaper reticence to Big Business control. That is probably a mistake in this instance. At any rate the control is probably not direct. A more likely explanation is the incompetency of news gatherers and news editors. Trained more or less consciously to regard certain business interests as the classes to be served by news reports, they have formed the habit of magnifying and coloring what they think those interests would like exploited and of minimizing what such interests do not like, until incompetency for distinguishing the wants of business interests from news service has atrophied.

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However, news reports or none, good ones or poor ones, hereafter women in California are to have full suffrage, legislatures will pass laws subject to popular veto, they may be overridden by popular initiative when they refuse to pass laws the people want, and judges will go into partnership with corporations at the peril of their office. This is revolution. But it is a republican, democratic, beneficent and characteristically American type of revolution.

* *

The Judicial Recall.

California's adoption of the Recall, judges included, is an interesting commentary upon President Taft's recent veto of the judicial Recall in the Arizona Constitution. The Recall receives the largest vote and scores the largest majority of all the questions on which the people of the Golden State voted. If moral principle, or any large political or judicial principle, had been involved in Mr. Taft's Arizona veto, this rebuke from the people of California, whether right or not, could and should be regarded as an instance in which a President had courageously done what he believed to be the right thing regardless of public opinion. But Mr. Taft voiced nothing more at the very best than the prejudice of a profession which has never as a whole been distinguished for sympathy with popular government. Every political argument tells against him on this question. Every argument growing out of the necessities of the time and circumstances tells against him. Every argument for the right of a new State to come into the Union with its own fundamental law, if republican in form, tells against him. The only arguments in his favor are those that appeal most strongly to the plutocracy that elected him, that has promised to elect him again if he is "good," and that looks upon judges as its most useful class of upper-grade clerks. The people of California have spoken on this subject as doubtless the people of other States will speak when their time comes, and they have put Mr. Taft to the bad, where, from any but a plutocratic point of view he rightly belongs.

* *

Democracy in Massachusetts.

When hostile Boston newspapers announced George Fred Williams's return to active participation in politics, they possibly did not realize the pleasure they gave to genuine democrats of both parties, alike in Massachusetts and in many other States. But they gave it nevertheless. Were it not that Governor Foss is a pretty advanced Demo-

crat of the democratic kind, one might infer Williams's active participation merely from the Foss platform and without the help of Boston papers. It has the ring of Bryanism in it—of the Bryanism that rallied the Democratic party from its disaster of 1894 under Cleveland's leadership, to begin a warfare against plutocracy in 1896 which has got nearer its object with every campaign and every defeat. Plutocracy is now making a last stand—it looks like its last one—around Taft in the Republican party, and around Harmon in the Democratic party against the prospect of La Follette's defeating Taft for the Republican nomination.

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That Massachusetts platform has in it such solid democratic planks as these:

Before our institutions lies a jungle of privilege, obstructing the highways of freedom. To clear away this jungle is the work of Democracy. A century of experience has proven that it is Privilege which, with its bosses, lobbies and corruption, has weakened our institutions. Legislatures, yielding to the demands of organized greed, have failed in their service to the people. As with their Constitution, so with their laws, the people now demand an account at the ballot box. Hence our party now again pledges itself to secure a Constitutional amendment for Direct Legislation, known as the Initiative and Referendum, giving to the people, on proper petition, power at the polls to veto objectionable legislation and to propose and enact measures which legislatures refuse.

We believe that the time has come for a full investigation of taxation by a board which cannot be influenced by those who pervert the present laws, and that cities and towns should be required for its information to tabulate separately the valuations of land, of improvements, of chattels, of intangible personalty, to the end that the people may intelligently review the existing system and consider its amendment or displacement.

We believe that the question of equal suffrage should be submitted to the vote of the people. We believe that cities are entitled to frame and amend their own charters, and that their administration should be free from State interference. We believe, however, that the State and cities and towns should co-operate in forming comprehensive, scientific plans for development and beautifications of our municipalities.

The spirit of the platform is summed up in this closing appeal to democrats of both parties to enlist for the struggle against Privilege:

We do not underestimate the power of this system when at bay; its treasury is unlimited, it distrusts the people and popular government; it purchases the highest talent, masters of eloquence defend it; ambition seeks its rewards, social, political and financial; its punishments are terrible, it controls industrial armies and the wealth of the Republic; its leaders possess fortunes unmatched in the his-

tory of the world; it reaches into press, pulpits and universities; it towers above the laws and governments; it has neither conscience nor patriotism; money is its god, greed its religion, force its argument, monopoly its weapon and humanity its victim.

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Leadership in Massachusetts on such a platform puts Governor Foss in the rapidly growing front rank of Progressive leaders in national politics.

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Indecent Mail Matter.

Upon the exclusion of the Chicago vice report from the United States mails, much excellent editorial comment has been made. In the larger daily papers, the best editorials on the matter are probably those of the New York World and the Chicago Tribune. So extended and pointed has the comment been, and so absurd was the exclusion of this useful public document, that the Post Office Department has felt obliged to recede from its first position. But under the precedents its first position was right; and regardless of precedent, its later one is monstrously bureaucratic.

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At first, the Postmaster General refused mail facilities to that report. He was right by the precedents. Less objectionable publications—by postoffice tests,—and as useful ones in principle, had been rejected before. Publishers with as good motives as the Chicago Vice Commission had been deprived of mailing facilities for their publications, and been themselves sent to the penitentiary for mailing them. An instance approaching in absurdity the exclusion of the vice report was the exclusion of a decent periodical for quoting, in good faith and for decent controversial use, from an agricultural report of the United States government! But now comes the Postmaster General with "permission," bureaucratic permission, to mail a certain number of copies of that report, and no more! In other words, taking the matter as it stands, certain persons are "permitted" by the postal bureau to mail a certain number of copies of a book of a kind the mailing of which is denied to all other persons and to these persons also in excess of the specified number of copies of this particular book. In still different words, the mailability of indecent matter—for that is what the bureau adjudges the Chicago vice report to be, and correctly according to its precedents, is made to depend not upon *law*, applicable to all persons and all publications, but upon the *personal* favor of a Department chief!

Would we then exclude that vice report from the mails, or punish the public spirited men who mailed it? By no means. It is a useful and worthy document, and Dean Sumner and his associates are entitled to credit for insisting upon its mailability. The wider its circulation, the more certainly and quickly would the vice that hides in dark places be stamped out. Secrecy helps only those who profit from the vice it veils. What we would do, however, and what The Public has often urged these many years, is to put an end to the postal censorship of unexposed mail matter. It is the business of the Postoffice Department to carry properly wrapped communications, not to pry into their character. This censorship ought to have been abolished long ago. It never should have had a beginning. Unless it is abolished, the transmission of facts and opinions through the mails will depend upon the prejudices, the whims, the political affiliations, the corruption and the favoritism of postal officials. For criminal uses of the mails the regular criminal law is the only recourse at all consistent with a free press. Exclusion by arbitrary orders of a Department, spells censorship in its most dangerous form.*

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Death of Judge Harlan.

At no time in the history of the United States could Judge Harlan have been less safely spared from the Supreme Bench than now. His death leaves to a President who worships judges as deific, who is a class-conscious aristocrat to the last degree, who looks upon plutocracy as a coming aristocracy under the favor of the gods, and who seeks for renomination the support of interests needing a Supreme Court of their own and which never do anything for nothing—it leaves to such a President the power to fill out a plutocratic majority of Supreme Court judges. Already he has appointed four who fit snugly to his own standards, and has raised to the Chief Justiceship a man after the civic heart of Cardinal Gibbons. Judge Harlan's death gives him the chance to appoint his fifth, and five is a majority. But this is all in the day's work. Democracy might have been realized long ago but for the survival in newer forms of the same hostile spirit that has obstructed its development, step by step, year by year, century by century, from the various periods of slavery in property forms to the present period of resistance to it in indirect and more subtle forms. Whatever may result from this untimely death, the memory of Harlan will sur-

*See The Public, volume xii, page 700; volume xiii, page 1105; current volume, pages 74, 99, 1032.

rive while democracy does. He fought for democracy as courageously as any old time battlefield hero. That his were bloodless fights takes away nothing from the courage required to make them. It was the same old enemy he encountered, the same subtle and merciless enemy; and they met in the last entrenchment of Privilege. What executives once were as defenders of Privilege and what legislatures became, such now are the courts that extend their function of applying law into the domain of making it. When the history of this last struggle is written, the name of John M. Harlan, another of those democrats for whom this country is indebted to Kentucky, cannot be inconspicuous.

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Dangers from Economic Malpractice.

Most thoughtful and valuable in all the editorial comment on the Austin (Pa.) disaster is that which the excellent editorial service of the American Economic League (Cincinnati) furnished its subscribers. Quoting its text from reports that the people of Austin feared a break in the dam but made no protest because the company owning it "was the life of the town," this Economic League editorial reflects: "That is, workers in the mill were afraid to complain for fear that they would lose their jobs. The possibility of death by drowning was not as bad as the greater danger of death by starvation. Land owners in Austin were silent for fear the Bayless Pulp and Paper Company would take some action that would depreciate land values. So the danger was allowed to continue until the disaster came. It is useless to denounce the Bayless Company. The individuals composing that concern were no more negligent than nine-tenths of those denouncing them would have been in their place. It is useless to denounce the State officials charged with the duty of inspection. The most conscientious inspector is unable to protect people from economic conditions they insist on upholding. As long as an economic system is maintained under which workers must depend on the favor of a few privileged ones for a chance to earn their living, so long will it be vain to devise ways and means to protect them from dangers from which they might, under different conditions, protect themselves."

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Singletax in Canada.

James Ritchie, the chief executive of Summerland, British Columbia, adds testimony in support of the growing tendency toward the Singletax in Canada. Writing to Joseph Fels in reply to a

question regarding the Singletax, Mr. Ritchie said: "There is absolutely no hesitancy on my part in replying that it is the only mode of taxation that can be successfully maintained in this country. We would never dream of enforcing any other kind here, and you can use this expression of opinion as having come from one who owns thousands of acres of land in a district where land values have increased three and four hundred per cent during recent years."

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Farmers and the Singletax.

A whole text book could be no more enlightening on the relation of farming interests to the Henry George movement than this statement from the Labor Press of Portland regarding the Oregon county in which a petition for the Singletax has been signed and is now being fought in the Oregon courts: "In Clackamas county there are 266,000 acres of vacant land held in tracts of from 160 acres up, absolutely unimproved, and now paying taxes of about \$70,000. The farmer is told that land value taxation exclusive of improvements and personal property would double his taxes on his land. If so, it would double it on these 266,000 acres, thereby adding \$70,000 to the public funds from that source alone. This is more than the farmers and townspeople together pay on improvements, livestock and implements."

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Death of Dr. Anna M. Lund.

Whoever knew Dr. Lund respected her, and all who knew her well honored and loved her. In her profession as a dentist, she was devoted to its uses and conscientious regarding all its responsibilities. She brought the same type of character into every other relationship. In the noble sense of a misused epithet, she was a "new woman." Without turning away from any domestic duties—indeed her responsibilities of that kind were generously enlarged,—she did not delimit home to those four walls within which a family eats and sleeps. Though voteless, she was consciously a citizen, with civic affections and intelligence—and not alone of her city or State or nation, but of the world. Her political philosophy was in all respects democratic, her ethics had spiritual vitality, she abhorred empty piety, and she worked her passage on the voyage through life. Dr. Lund was born in Norway in 1866. She practiced dentistry successfully in Chicago for nearly fifteen years. She reared a family of children, and lived long enough to taste the joys of grandmotherhood. Meanwhile she contributed from her hard earned

income, and used her mind as well, to promote social causes that loomed up before her larger than self. Her death came suddenly. A surgical operation, three weeks in a hospital, another operation, a touch of pneumonia, and she was gone. She died on the 13th; the burial was on the 15th. Well known in dental and radical circles of Chicago, Dr. Lund had sympathetic friends, especially among democratic radicals, in many other American cities from ocean to ocean.

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A SIGNIFICANT PARALLEL.

Many public men oppose the recall of judges, and offer some plausible but fallacious reasons for their opposition, such as that the recall will cause the judge to "pander" to the "mob." This assumes the weakness of the judge, for one thing, and next that the people are generally wrong in their conclusions. As to the weakness of the judge, no one is better qualified, perhaps, to pass on that question than the professional politicians who oppose the recall as applied to judges; for they have hitherto supervised the nominations and appointments of judges, and best know the weaknesses of their own creatures. But that public opinion is generally, or ever, wrong is not to be admitted, provided that it be fully and correctly informed.

President Vail, of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., has risen from the ranks to his present high position, and he sums it up as follows (Ann. Rep. for 1910):

In all times, in all lands, public opinion has had control at the last word—public opinion is but the concert of individual opinion, and is as much subject to change or to education.

It is based on information and belief. If it is wrong, it is wrong because of wrong information and consequent erroneous belief.

It is not only the right but the obligation of all individuals or aggregations of individuals, who come before the public, to see that the public have full and correct information.

For President Vail, then, the "mob" does not exist; but there does exist for him a safe, sane, just, courageous, conscientious people capable of arriving and ready to arrive at correct conclusions once it is fully and correctly informed.

The laws are not made for honest folk—they are made for rogues; hence, no honest judge, even if reasonably incompetent, has anything to fear from the recall; for, as Mr. Vail tells us, all that has to be done to protect judges is for the public to be fully and correctly informed as to their acts. History bears him out fully. The long-suffering of the people is one of the marvels of history.

Let us examine into the judge's place and functions in the organization of society, and see just what they are.

As the evils of private war forced themselves upon the consciousness of mankind, men, to prevent acts of oppression and worse under the guise of vengeance or revenge, cast about for a means for settling disputes other than private war; that is, public opinion began to assert itself, and in course of time the jury and the judge were evolved.

The laws or customs themselves being merely public opinion, the office of the judge was merely to apply them to the facts in the case and decide accordingly. The first modern writing down of customary laws was at Barcelona, Spain, in 1068 A. D., yet two hundred years previously Nuño Rasuera and Leon Calvo were appointed judges to sit at Leon in the infant kingdom of the Asturias because of the distance litigants would otherwise have to go to get to the King at Oviedo. So it is clear that judges enforced customary laws, which were merely public opinion in action.

Yet this was prior to the time when a writer said (about 950) that "the Spaniards live like savage beasts, entering one another's habitation without asking permission, and washing neither their bodies nor their clothing, which they do not remove till they drop off in tatters."* But the Spaniard had then been living in perpetual warfare for upward of 200 years against the Moors and among themselves, and while his manners may have been poor, he had laws with judges to enforce them.

To-day, the warfare of society is against the predatory classes, whether these come from the slums or from bankers' offices; the weapons of society are not sword and spear, the weapons of the old private wars, but laws and penalties; and the wielders of these modern weapons are the sworn servants of the state, of society as a whole. These same weapon-wielders are, in the case of judges, the arbitrators of the law as between private parties, with juries to ascertain the facts.

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In time of war, nations do not hesitate to relieve (recall) an unsuccessful military or naval commander, and McDowell, McClellan, Pope, Hooker, Meade, of our own great war, are instances. Grant in the army and Farragut in the navy both fought under (and never thought about) a law denouncing the penalty of death upon them if they should fail in certain things. "The punishment of death or such other punishment as a court-martial may adjudge may be inflicted upon any commanding

*Burke: History of Spain, 1. 170. note.

officer who, being in the presence of an enemy, fails to use his utmost endeavors to join in battle." Responsibility is thus put squarely up to the commanding officer; nor do subordinates escape their responsibility, for they are required to give the utmost that is in them under like penalties. If society demands the very life-blood of the military and naval officer if he fail in his duty as a servant of society in time of war, why may it not with equal justice demand a judge's place on the bench when he fails to use his utmost endeavors in the perpetual war against the predatory classes?

The recall of judges is merely a means for making them realize and live up to their responsibilities as commanders in the warfare against the predatory classes of society; and when that fact is as fully realized and lived up to as our army and navy officers live up to the Articles of War, the judicial recall will rarely be alluded to by the public, but will hang there ready for use.

Moreover, the navy Articles of War, quoted from above, open with this: "Every commander of a fleet, squadron, or vessel acting singly is required to show in himself a good example of honor, virtue and patriotism." When our judges show in themselves good examples of faithful service to the public weal, the public will see to it that they stay on the bench irrespective of party. Just such a case happened in a strong Republican county in New York, where, during Tilden's campaign for the Governorship, the Democrats unexpectedly elected their candidate for judge, and so good a judge did he make that he was never seriously opposed thereafter, and was re-elected time and again until he died, though the county went back to the Republicans on all other offices. This case confirms President Vail, for he practically says that "mob rule" will be unknown where public opinion is based upon full and correct information, because public opinion is always right in such cases.

No one hears any complaint from army or navy officers because the law provides the penalty of death for certain kinds of failure; they are not petitioning Congress to repeal such laws because they reflect on the "honor, virtue or patriotism" of the officers. If any officer neglects his duty, and there are such from time to time—civilian (political) appointments in the army giving a disproportionate number of such cases,—a court-martial sits and judges him. So with the recall as applied to the judiciary: If any judge gets to be negligent of his duties, or leans too much to one side where valuable rights or privileges are concerned, the recall will set him straight or remove him as the people

may decide; but if he attends to his duties, does substantial justice as a judge, and enforces laws instead of trying to make them, no attempt to recall him will be successful.

What, then, is the reason for opposition to the recall of judges? In many cases, it is due to inherent fear of change, or to ignorance; but in other cases it is a fair inference that the "fears" expressed are but covers for ulterior, unavowed and unavowable motives. It takes but little reflection upon present-day conditions in nation, State, county and municipality to perceive what the unavowed reasons may be.

R. W. BARKLEY.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE MASSACHUSETTS CAMPAIGN.

Boston, Mass.

Unless the mass of voters in Massachusetts are easily deceived and frightened by the reckless assertions of Republican campaign orators the Democrats should win hands down. I do not recall ever having been more impressed with the impudent mendacity and threatening insolence of stump orators and a superserviceable press than I have been thus far in the conduct of the Republican campaign throughout Massachusetts. It is a loathsome exhibition. Time was, before the concentration of industry in few hands, when this or that beneficiary of the protective tariff intimated to his two or three hundred employes that a vote for the Democratic candidate would be construed as a vote for shortening production, and that naturally those who voted thus would be the first to go when the time for reducing the force arrived. Sometimes, as we know, the matter was put more bluntly in a note tucked away in the pay envelope some day before election, and there were a dozen other methods of bringing it home to the workman that his employer demanded his vote for the party of Protection. No such crude methods are now necessary, though doubtless they are resorted to in particular instances. The supposed direct relation of a State election to the immediate future of the workingman's fortunes is set forth with sufficient point and pith by campaign orators who address meetings in communities where nine families out of ten are directly dependent for bread upon the prosperity of factories turning out cotton goods, shoes or what not, and prophesy the wreck of business as a certain and early result of re-electing Gov. Foss. Reckless untruth distinguishes the tone of the Republican speakers in the current campaign, and there is an implied threat directed immediately at the workingman in every breath of the men who are now seeking to make the tariff the sole issue in the State election. Of course there are honest men who believe that the election of Mr. Foss means the eventual closing of the mills and the impoverishment of wage earners. As a systematic campaign cry, however, the tariff issue is absolutely insincere, and nothing better proves its insincerity

than the adhesion to the Republicans of such men as Mr. Whitney. His personal insincerity in this matter is admirably illustrated by his stooping to use the long exploded argument that we should have a tariff so adjusted as to assure to the home manufacturer protection equal to the difference in wages at home and abroad, and in his endorsement of that transparent scheme for delay by the "scientific" employment of a tariff board.

Plainly enough the Republican campaign of Massachusetts is based upon evasion of the real State issues presented by the Democrats, and the emphasizing of the tariff question with a view to bewildering and terrorizing men whose very life depends upon the nod of the mill owners. The appeal is made with shameless frankness to the fears of the working man on one side, and to his cupidity on the other. A Democratic speaker's declaration that Massachusetts should be ashamed to demand the right to tax the whole country for her own benefit brought forth a characteristic communication to a local newspaper from a man who quoted the speaker in question and added by way of comment that a manufacturer looking every week for money with which to fill his pay envelopes, and workmen anxiously thinking of family needs, would be little influenced by any such feeling of shame. The insolent demand is made for the right to tax every consumer, the whole country over, and almost in the same breath is uttered the threat and warning to wage earners. No doubt all this will influence the timid, but wage earners in Massachusetts are not all fools and cowards as the Republican orators seem to think, and the transparent fallacy of their arguments together with the outrageous insolence of their implied threats ought to wake the indignant self-respect of thousands even in the protected industries.

Meanwhile the radical programme of the Democrats is not alarming all who belong to the comfortable classes. There are men even in the circles powerfully influenced by mere social considerations who will vote for Foss rather than for Frothingham. "I've known Louis Frothingham all my life," said a man at a club the other night, "and he's a darned good fellow, but I see no reason why he any more than a hundred other men should be Governor of Massachusetts." Of nine men recently dining together, all but one members of what the newspapers like to call "exclusive" clubs, four were going to vote for Foss, and three of the four were club members. Oddly enough, only one other man of the party definitely indicated his intention to vote for Frothingham. It is among such men, mainly of the academic classes, that are found those who have long been in revolt against the Protective system, and no small number of such will accept the Democratic programme, Initiative and Referendum, as well as the rest, with perfect equanimity. Old New England Federalism is shaken in its very center, and the appeal for Frothingham in the name of social esprit de corps will be often made in vain. I hear of bets of two to one in favor of Foss, and only a stampede of intimidated workers can elect Frothingham.

EDWARD N. VALLANDIGHAM.



He makes a solitude, and calls it—peace.—Byron.

DEMOCRACY IN CALIFORNIA.

Portland, Oregon, Oct. 13.

Republican California is democratic; and if the people of a State are democratic it makes no difference what partly labels they wear. It's the man behind the label that counts at the ballot box, and it's no violation of the pure food law if the vote is not strictly according to the label.

I visited California in September, just twenty months after leaving the State. In February, 1910, the Southern Pacific political machine appeared to be supreme in California; in September, 1911, nothing could be seen of that machine except wreckage and a few newspapers—the latter acting as official mourners. In one election California had moved up to the front rank of progressive States; the seed of the woman had put its heel firmly upon the head of the political serpent.

It wasn't a sudden revolution; of course not, for revolutions must grow, and for more than a quarter of a century the Southern Pacific political machine had nursed that revolution very carefully, but always with the idea that it was strangling the infant. It seems that oppression and repression are necessary for the health and early growth of the democratic spirit.



September 4, at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, some 250 "Advocates of Popular Government" met in conference to open the campaign for the Initiative and Referendum and the Recall amendments to the State Constitution, submitted by the legislature last winter. In the evening about the same number sat at a banquet in the Palace Hotel, with Senator Moses E. Clapp of Minnesota as the guest of honor, and with Governor Hiram W. Johnson as the toastmaster.

It was almost like a dream, too good to be true. I remembered the meeting in Milton T. U'Ren's law office in 1908, when the Direct Legislation League of California was reorganized with about a dozen men present. Then my memory journeyed back twenty-three years ago to the time when I myself was bitten by the Direct Legislation "fad," as the reactionaries call it, and some of my friends thought I was booked for the Kankakee hospital for the insane. At that time such a gathering as met in the Palace Hotel last month could not have been collected in the whole territory of the United States. Two years ago such a collection of men could not have been got together in the State of California. The spirit of God has not ceased to brood upon the face of the waters.

At that Palace Hotel conference and banquet were Republicans and Democrats, Socialists and Labor party men; yet there was no talk of party. The dominant note, practically the only note and text, was "democracy." Not as a tool, not as a thing, not as a weapon of offense or defense, nor as a political patent medicine, but as a life; and as the only life that gives physical, mental and spiritual freedom, the only life that opens wide the doors of opportunity and keeps them open. That is what made the conference so interesting and inspiring.

Very appropriately, the morning conference was presided over by Dr. John Randolph Haynes of Los Angeles, a California veteran in the fight for the

Initiative and Referendum. Twelve years he has been carrying the banner, and an unlocked purse. The other California veteran—James H. Barry, editor of *The Star*—was there; he's always present when there's work to be done for democracy. It is characteristic of the veteran workers for democracy that they are always ready to give the places of honor to recruits; they are working for results, not for glory.

No other State, I venture to say, has a longer and better list of democratic workers than California; and if any other State has a Governor who is a more eloquent, more earnest or more efficient worker for democracy than Hiram Johnson, I haven't heard of it. And how many States can match Andrew Furuseth, Francis J. Heney, Walter MacArthur, William Kent, John E. Raker, J. Stitt Wilson, James G. Maguire, Fremont Older, E. W. Scripps, Charles K. McClatchey, Joseph Leggett and Wells Drury—in addition to those already mentioned? This is not a complete list. Besides, there is a host of strong men who are rapidly qualifying for full membership in democracy. "Only in broken gleams and partial light has the sun of democracy yet beamed upon them," but who can doubt that they will see the vision? Each beam of light that falls upon the optic nerves of the imagination gives more definite form to the vision.

At the conference and at the banquet I saw men who but two years ago looked upon the Initiative and Referendum and Recall as "too radical" if not shrewd schemes of the devil himself; and those men were speaking for Direct Legislation or applauding those who spoke. Certainly, the sun of democracy has been shining pretty busily in California.

And in the recent Direct Legislation campaign in that State, no one did better work to push away the clouds that obscure the sun than Senator Clapp, a big, plain man, earnest, eloquent and convincing. What he did to the Arizona veto message of President Taft was complete and artistic; he reduced it to the lowest terms of absurdity and torquism.

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California is beginning to feel the economic pressure of Vancouver, B. C. The business barometer in San Francisco is getting wobbly—like that in Seattle—and certain "pesky agitators" are pointing to taxation of industry as the cause of the barometric disturbance. Business men have set the stakes of hope forward to 1915, and the Panama Canal is the new god to which they are praying for better times. Meanwhile, land speculators are busy capitalizing the possible effects of the Panama Canal, as they are doing in Seattle and Portland; and when the Canal is opened industry can "lick the spoon" and think how good the dinner would be if it had some. However, last year a political earthquake upset the Southern Pacific political machine in California, and the signs indicate that before 1915 an economic earthquake will give land speculation a shake. The whole Pacific Coast is now an economic earthquake district.

"Gentlemen," said a Portland opponent of the Singletax to some other business men a few days ago, "whether you like it or not, you may as well prepare for the Singletax. You may say it's in-

sanity, but it's coming and when it comes it will stay." And that idea is moving from Vancouver down the Coast to Mexico; and when it gets to the Mexican line it won't stop there, any more than it stopped at the imaginary line that separates British Columbia from the State of Washington. Democracy cares no more for boundary lines than do fish and birds.

In California, democracy is like the runner who's "on the mark," waiting for the signal to "Go!" The Initiative, the Referendum, the Recall, and equal suffrage regardless of sex! Truly is California making good her name of "the Golden State." It's a joy to live in these days, isn't it? Yes, and it's a joy even to note the obstructions in the road and to calculate the effort necessary to go over them; for it is the effort that makes the victory more worth while if the result is worth having.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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MARGARET HALEY IN THE CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN.

(From a Private Letter dated August 25.)

I stayed awake all night a few nights ago writing a letter to you—in my mind—and if I had time to give you one one-hundredth of that letter now you would have reading matter for a month.

How can I begin?

I am "on the fly" going from town to town talking to the California men and women to arouse them from their lethargy and bestir themselves to get the woman suffrage amendment into their Constitution on October 10.

I spoke at East Auburn night before last from the open air dancing platform of Freeman Hotel, and last night from another open air dancing platform at Roseville, an hour's ride south of East Auburn. This afternoon I am to speak to a group of Auburn women to help them in their work of organizing. Tonight I speak at Newcastle, six miles away, and tomorrow morning I am off with a suffrage train to the State Fair at Sacramento. I have kept up this pace with little intermission since the National Educational Association closed. In fact I made three suffrage speeches during the N. E. A. week. My tour began the next week. It's a great fight. The liquor interests are collecting barrels of money and we found whole counties as dead as door nails until we came and woke them up. Nevada and Placer counties, also Monterey and Santa Clara counties, were such. Think of counties larger than the whole State of New Jersey!

Last night the Mayor of Roseville presided, and after we finished he came to me and said: "I was not for suffrage, but I am now after hearing you people and I shall vote for that amendment."

A minister, who sat on the platform with us, said to the audience before we adjourned: "I was quietly for that amendment till tonight; from now on I am openly, actively for it, and I shall not stop till October 10." A doctor who also sat on the platform rose and spoke most enthusiastically for us and for the Amendment, and a number of men came up and told us they were for it.

At East Auburn the County Superintendent of

Schools presided and made a speech for it. But one of the shrewdest, wisest friends the suffrage Amendment has is Father Vereker, a unique character, who seems to be most highly loved and trusted. I called on him yesterday with a non-Catholic lady, who left me to talk to him, and he gave me more wise advice in five minutes than I had had since striking the town.

It is awfully interesting to me to see this wonderful State and to find that the people are like their own grand, rugged scenery. It is perfectly charming. You would be in your glory with these people. They are unconventional, frank, free, approachable, simple, direct and honest. It is a delight to tell them the story of our Chicago Teachers' tax fight. They listen to it breathless for an hour and more. Last Tuesday night I talked an hour and a half at Oakland, and the crowd stood four deep at the door and three deep outside of it and not one went away. I think I told the story unusually well, and when I got to the place where the voting firemen and policemen got without asking, the money turned into the treasury by the Teachers' efforts, and the teachers got none of it—well, I tell you that whole fight was worth while for the suffrage argument it makes in this campaign.

Mrs. Dean, a college woman, follows me and tells the men of California how 800 native-born Chinese in San Francisco will vote on October 10 as to the moral and intellectual fitness of the white women of California; and how she with four other California women, also college women, waited on the president of the organization of these native Chinese, and was informed by him that he "had given the matter careful consideration and had come to the conclusion that women did not have sufficient intelligence to exercise the right of the franchise intelligently," and he added he intended to vote against the Amendment October 10. You should see the hair stand on end and the indignation rise among those California men.

I spoke to the San Francisco teachers at a meeting called by the Board of Education, at which the Superintendent of Schools introduced Mr. Tomlins who talked an hour, and then the Board member who presided introduced me. The meeting was packed and the teachers were interested in the Chicago Teachers' tax story—my subject. Mr. Tomlins had previously told me that the Superintendent had told him that politics and religion were never allowed in their meetings, and that he would be obliged to leave the platform if I talked woman suffrage, as that was politics. You would have shouted if you could have seen him when I turned round and addressed him, every time I got in a stroke for woman suffrage—which I did every time I could, and the teachers roared. He did not leave the platform.

I wish you could see Mrs. Dean, my "advance agent," going out hustling, and writing newspaper notices herself for the willing but helpless newspaper men. She was a San Francisco newspaper woman herself before marriage, and she can make a speech that keeps the men interested and wins them every time, and is the blessedest and best, breezy, lively "advance agent" that ever struck "these pikes."

I spoke to the Labor Council in San José, and the

president told me when I finished that he had not been for suffrage before, but he would vote for that Amendment now because he began to feel, after hearing what the Chicago Teachers and others had done, that perhaps he was wrong in thinking the women would be against labor unions and what they stood for.

How I wish I had time to tell you all our experiences. Funny?

MARGARET A. HALEY.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

HOW TO PULL THE SUPREME COURT'S TEETH.*

New York.

Congressman Victor Berger has made a mistake in supposing that the Constitution of the United States, or the decision of the Supreme Court in the McArde case, would justify Congress in enacting a statute to forbid the exercise of jurisdiction by any of the Federal courts upon the validity of that statute.

All that Congress can do in that direction is to forbid the Supreme Court of the United States from exercising appellate jurisdiction to review any decision of a lower Federal court upon the question of the validity of any statute—except where such a statute affects ambassadors or other public ministers or consuls, and except where such a statute is involved in a case in which a State is a party.

But jurisdiction to enforce any Federal statute must be somehow conferred upon some Federal court or other; and neither the Constitution nor the McArde case expresses or implies any denial of the power of whatever court has jurisdiction to enforce a Federal statute to decide whether that statute is valid or invalid.

It is true that the Federal Constitutional Convention of 1787 decided to refrain from inserting in the Constitution an express provision that Federal courts should have jurisdiction to decide whether the statutes they were asked to enforce were valid as being authorized by the Constitution, or were void as not being thus authorized. But the second paragraph of Article VI of the Constitution provides that the Constitution, and those laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land, and that all judges shall be bound thereby. This constitutional provision makes it the absolute duty of all judges always to conform their decisions to the Constitution of the United States, without any exception whatever; and to make their decisions conform to the laws of the United States, only where and when such laws are made in pursuance of the Constitution. When a law is made which the Constitution does not authorize, it is not made in pursuance of the Constitution; and when a judge has to choose whether he will conform his decisions to such a law or to the Constitution, he is bound to choose the Constitution; and in deciding whether a particular statute is or is not in conformity to the Constitution, he must base his decision upon the two documents themselves, and

*See last week's Public, page 1050.

must not base that decision upon any presumption, based upon the mere fact of the enactment of the statute, that it is in conformity to the Constitution.

For these reasons, it is plain and is undeniable, that every court upon which Congress confers jurisdiction to enforce any statute, thereby receives jurisdiction and therefore valid, or is unconstitutional and is therefore void.

According to the McCardle case, Congress can deprive the Supreme Court of power to decide any such question, with the few exceptions I have mentioned. But Congress must confer that power upon some Federal court or courts on the one hand; or, on the other hand, must fail to provide any means for enforcing the statute at all.

ALBERT H. WALKER.*

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New York.

I fear that the plan suggested by your correspondent and embodied in Mr. Berger's bill, will not prove effective. I believe that if Congress should enact any statute expressly providing that the Supreme Court shall not have the power to pass upon its validity, the Court, as now constituted, would declare unconstitutional such an attempt to limit its power. The Supreme Court about forty years ago did admit the authority of Congress to thus circumscribe its powers. But consistency is not a jewel much sought after by the aged gentlemen who constitute the majority of our highest court. Only about thirty years intervened between two decisions of that august body, one declaring that it was Constitutional for Congress to enact an income tax law, and the other declaring the exact contrary.

To my mind, the only way of taking this usurped power away from the Supreme Court is to elect a President who will carry into execution a statute that has been declared unconstitutional. I think it is generally admitted that, rightly or wrongly, the vast majority of American voters believe that Congress should have the power of imposing an income tax. It looks now as though the attempt to get over the Supreme Court decision of 1896 by amending the Constitution may be unsuccessful, because of the failure to get the necessary three-fourths vote of the States. If Congress should, then, enact an income tax law, and if the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional the President should nevertheless levy and collect the tax, what could the Supreme Court do about it? The only way it has of enforcing its mandates is through the arm of the Executive. The President is the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy and appoints all collectors of revenue. He even appoints those quasi officers of the Federal courts, the United States marshals.

I believe that he would be one of the most popular Presidents we ever had who would say to the Supreme Court somewhat as follows: "You have arrogated to yourselves a power which no court in any other country ever possessed, and I declare that in doing so you have acted unconstitutionally. The duly elected representatives of the people have enacted this law; and if the people believe that the

law is not in accordance with the Constitution that is for them to say, and they will do so by recalling their recent representatives and electing men who will repeal the unconstitutional law."

F. C. LEUBUSCHER.

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Muscatine, Iowa.

The Supreme Court of the United States usurped the power of Congress when they legislated the word "unreasonable" or "undue" into the Sherman anti-trust law. Those justices who concurred in that judicial legislation violated their oath of office. For its members swore to support the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the United States invests Congress (not the Supreme Court), with power to legislate.

Has the Supreme Court changed the Sherman anti-trust law? Yes, the Supreme Court has so amended that law as virtually to destroy its criminal clause. This bit of judicial legislation is in violation of the Constitution. But our Supreme Court has made it law, and law it will remain as long as Congress acquiesces in it. Congress has the power, and if this Congress does not use the power the People delegated to them, another Congress will be sent to Washington, which will maintain the Constitution against usurpations by our Federal judiciary.

JOHN M. O'BRIEN.

POPULAR VS. DELEGATED GOVERNMENT IN MAINE.

Skowhegan, Me., Oct. 3.

An unusual opportunity to contrast the workings of delegated with popular government, is afforded by the detailed returns from our late election. Question No. 4 on the ballot was the Initiated direct primary bill. This measure, indorsed in writing by more than 12,000 electors scattered throughout more than half the towns of the State, was introduced in the legislature and referred to the committee on judiciary. After the hearing, two of the Senators (Gowell and Stearns) and one of the Representatives (Davies) voted for a favorable report; the other eight (Senator Staples and Representatives Williamson, Trafton, Goodwin, Hersey, Pike, Chase and Bogue) reported, "Ought not to pass." The constituencies, however, had the last word, and they spoke as follows:

	Yes.	No.
York County (Senator Gowell).....	5,626	2,574
Oxford County (Senator Stearn).....	3,172	1,422
Yarmouth (Representative Davies).....	327	49
Knox County (Senator Staples).....	2,518	751
Augusta (Representative Williamson)....	1,533	266
Ft. Fairfield (Representative Trafton)....	158	70
Biddeford (Representative Goodwin).....	1,376	272
Houlton (Representative Hersey).....	400	116
Eastport (Representative Pike).....	369	71
York (Representative Chase).....	264	269
East Machias (Representative Bogue)...	202	165
	15,945	5,949

For the campaign preceding the election of the above named men, both the Republican and the Democratic parties had direct primary planks in their State platforms.

*Mr. Walker is the author of Walker's "History of the Sherman Law."—Editors of The Public.

Every county and practically every city and town has voted for the Initiated primary bill. The majority in favor was more than 44,000, and the Yes vote on that question was the highest on the ballot.

CHRISTOPHER M. GALLUP.

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THE GLORIOUS OCTOBER.

(From a Private Letter.)

Northern California.

It's absolutely perfect weather; I wish I could mail you a slice. It smells good and tastes good, and is fine to look at, and vitality runs out of it, and you laugh out, and quaff of the cup of life, and feel as if you saw the high gods passing on their errands and smiling as they go!

C. H. S.

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, October 17, 1911.

Revolution in China.

The Chinese anti-dynastic revolt at Canton in south China last May, and the uprising in south-west China around and in the city of Cheng-Tu last month, were noted as being apparently signs of impending revolution. Each disturbance was at least temporarily suppressed, but a great evolutionary movement for all China has evidently been in long and intelligent preparation. [See current volume, pages 61, 272, 295, 318, 342, 418, 443, 979, 1004.]

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On the 11th came news of the capture by revolutionists of the large city of Wu-Chang, and by the next day the adjoining cities of Hankow and Han-Yang were also in their hands. These three lie together in a group, in mid China, at the juncture of the Han with the Yangtse. Wu-Chang and Hankow together have a population of 1,500,000. Hankow is described in the Chicago Inter Ocean's dispatches as "the great trading center for all central China, but Wu-Chang takes precedence over in its political importance. As the capital of the province and the seat of government of the viceroy, it has a great population of officials, including all the high provincial mandarins. Wu-Chang and Hankow, as great trade centers and ports for ocean steamers, have both felt to a considerable extent the influence of Western civilization. Both towns possess electric lighting systems, cotton mills, silk factories, and schools. Wu-Chang is the seat of a normal school for women. Within the last five or six years both cities have thrown their idols into the streets or into the river,

clearing many of their temples of priests and all emblems of worship to make room for public schools." Hankow suffered from incendiary fires after its capture by the insurgents, and several hundred "Manchus" were killed. A revolutionary committee appeared and gave strict orders, under a death penalty, that citizens of other countries should not be harmed, and so far no foreigners have been molested. From the three cities the insurrection has spread like wildfire until now revolution is recognized as existing in every province of China. Thousands of Imperial soldiers have joined the insurgents at Wu-Chang, who are under the command of Li Yuan Hung, called Lieutenant Commander of the Imperial New Army. Imperial troops are being rushed from Peking toward the three cities, but further desertions are feared. By the 17th the advance guard of an army of 40,000 men had arrived before Hankow.

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The purpose of this general uprising in the vast and ancient Empire of the East, with its more than four hundred million souls, is everywhere recognized as being twofold: first, the overthrow of the alien Manchu or Tartar dynasty which has governed China since 1644; and second, the establishment of a Republic for China. It is understood that the plans which have been so long quietly brewing, are all carefully worked out to these ends, and that even the first president of the new Republic has been selected in the person of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who is now in the United States. In the meantime, the dispatches state, General Li Yuan Hung has been proclaimed provisional President. The insurgents themselves are said to disclaim a revolutionary purpose. They call themselves the "Constitutional Party," contending that the Constitution granted by the late Emperor has been violated under the existing regime. The following manifesto, prepared in the United States by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, was made public in New York on the 14th:

To all friendly nations, greeting:

We, the citizens of all China, now waging war against the Manchu government for the purpose of shaking off the yoke of the Tartar conqueror by overthrowing the present corrupt state of autocracy and establishing a republic in its place, and at the same time intending to enter upon a more close relation with all friendly nations for the sake of maintaining the peace of the world and of promoting the happiness of mankind, in order to make our action clearly understood, hereby declare:

1. All treaties concluded between the Manchu government and any nation before this date will be continually effective up to the time of their termination.
2. Any foreign loan or indemnity incurred by the Manchu government before this date will be acknowledged without any alteration of terms and will be paid by the maritime customs as before.
3. All concessions granted by the Manchu govern-

ment to any foreign nation before this date will be respected.

4. All persons and property of any foreign nations in the territory occupied by the citizens' army will be fully protected.

5. All treaties, concessions, loans and indemnities concluded between the Manchu government and any foreign nations after this date will be repudiated.

6. All persons of any nationalities who take the part of the Manchu government or act against the citizen army of China will be treated as enemies.

7. All kinds of war materials supplied by any foreign nations to the Manchu government will be confiscated when captured.

In San Francisco on the 16th a proclamation to similar effect, signed by General Li Yuan Hung, was given out. The Young China associations in the United States, and the Chinese Free Mason organization in the United States, which is said to be affiliated with the revolutionary party, are reported as preparing to petition the American government to instruct all American officials in China to see that missionaries and other Americans there maintain absolute neutrality. Without such neutrality it is feared that it will be difficult to prevent what is now civil war from becoming also an anti-foreign war.

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Woman Suffrage in California.

At first the election news from California indicated loss on the 10th of the equal suffrage amendment. The dispatches stated that a two-thirds vote was necessary, and that the heavy adverse majority in San Francisco meant defeat. It appeared, however, that the only basis for the "two-thirds" theory was the fact that this proportion in the legislature is necessary for submission of an amendment. The popular vote needed is only a majority. As the returns come in from communities outside of San Francisco that majority began to appear, and although the result is close it is positively favorable. All returns are not yet in, but the few voting districts still to be heard from cannot affect the result already reported nor very much alter the figures. On the 12th the returns from 2,877 districts out of a total of 3,121 were as follows:

For the equal suffrage amendment.....	119,836
Against the amendment.....	117,779

Majority for woman suffrage..... 2,051

Consequently women now have the full voting right in California. They had it already in Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, Colorado and Washington. [See current volume, page 1,055.]

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Direct Legislation and the Recall in California.

At the California referendum elections on the 10th the Initiative and Referendum and the Recall

amendments to the State Constitution were carried by an overwhelming majority. Both the majority and the vote for the Recall (including judges) were largest of all. Following are the returns as unofficially reported on the 12th:

For the Initiative and Referendum.....	138,181
Against the Initiative and Referendum.....	44,850

Majority for the Initiative and Referendum 94,331

For the Recall (including judges).....	148,572
Against Recall (including judges).....	46,290

Majority for the Recall.....102,282

[See current volume, page 1,055.]

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Trial of the McNamaras.

Separate trials were demanded by the McNamara brothers, indicted at Los Angeles as labor leaders responsible criminally for the explosion of the building of the Los Angeles Times (a bitter anti-union paper) about a year ago. As this demand was matter of right under the California statutes, the prosecuting attorney thereupon announced his selection of James B. McNamara, the younger brother, for the first trial. Judge Bordwell had overruled the motion to have the case sent to another judge, he being charged with bias, and on the 11th the trial began with proceedings for impaneling a jury. [See current volume, page 1,056.]

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A divorce suit bearing on the case was brought in Chicago on the 14th. The wife of the informer witness, Ortie E. McManigal, charges her husband with cruelty and infidelity as the basis for divorce, and alleges among other things that he entered into an agreement with W. J. Burns of the W. J. Burns Detective agency whereby he was to receive immunity and a large share of the reward upon conviction of the McNamara brothers. She alleges also that W. J. Burns and his operatives promised Mrs. McManigal that if she would go to California they would secure a home for her and release her husband immediately, also agreeing to pay all expenses of transportation. Another of her allegations is that she refused to testify before the grand jury at Los Angeles, and because of this the District Attorney forced her into a small side room, telling her she would be kept there until the proper papers were made out to send her to jail; that she was then confronted by a detective, her husband, and another man, and when she refused to answer questions was threatened with physical violence and was told if she did not verify the statements of her husband she would be sent to State prison. Mrs. McManigal is represented in her divorce suit by Clarence S. Darrow and John F. Tyrrell, Mr. Darrow being chief counsel for the McNamara brothers.

The Railroad Shopmen's Strike.

An injunction issued on the 11th by a Federal judge, J. Otis Humphrey, in connection with the railroad shopmen's strike, is reported to be of sweeping character. There were reports of the imprisonment by Judge Foster of the Federal court at New Orleans, of Frank Grotzsch for contempt of court in having, as alleged, uncoupled a car from a locomotive. Of course there was no jury trial of the accused man on the question of guilt or innocence, nor any other trial except such as the Federal judge chose to give him. Also without jury trial William J. Mason was similarly sentenced to prison by the Federal court at New Orleans on the 13th for inciting a riot, and Philip Nugent for assault. Members of the International Association of Car Workers employed by the Illinois Central were reported on the 13th to have joined in the strike notwithstanding that their Association is not affiliated with the System federation and in spite of protests from their general officers. [See current volume, p. 1,053.]

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Lakes-to-Gulf Deep Waterway Convention.

At the sixth Deep Waterway Convention, which met at Chicago on the 12th and adjourned on the 14th, William K. Kavanaugh was re-elected as president; and after sessions in which an open outbreak of the factions was avoided, Leo Rassieuer as chairman of the resolutions committee reported a platform which was adopted unanimously. It repeats the Association's demand for a 14-foot minimum depth for the proposed waterway channel. The seventh convention is to be held at Little Rock, Arkansas, next year. [See current volume, pages 1,019, 1,045.]

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Progressive Republicans for La Follette.

Under the auspices of the National Progressive Campaign Committee, of which Walter L. Houser is secretary, a conference of Progressive Republicans began at the LaSalle Hotel, Chicago, on the 15th. It was called to order by George L. Record of New Jersey, who made a thrilling and unreservedly radical speech over which the enthusiasm of the other conferees had not subsided after adjournment. Senator Clapp was another of the speakers who aroused special enthusiasm by the frankness of his utterances. Other speakers were Senator Crawford of South Dakota, Walter Clyde Jones of Illinois, James Manahan of Minnesota, James R. Garfield and H. M. Rickey of Ohio. The conference was for the purpose of considering the advisability of naming a progressive candidate for the Republican nomination for President in order to meet the campaigning of President Taft for that place. It was a strongly representative body. Among those present in addition to the speakers named were

Fremont Older of California, C. E. Merriam of Illinois, Amos Pinchot of New York, Richard Crane III of Connecticut, Frederic C. Howe of New York, State Senator Sanborn and Representative Lenroot of Wisconsin. Thirty States were represented. Following are the resolutions adopted, without dissent:

The Progressive movement is a struggle to wrest the control of government in the nation and States from the representatives of Special Privilege and restore it to the control of the people. The issue is the same in all the States of the Union, although the problem may be presented in different ways. In the national field the control of government by Special Privilege is evidenced by the influence and the power of the reactionary leaders of both parties in checking or preventing the enactment of the Progressive policies pledged by the Republican party. The Progressive movement aims to nominate and elect as candidates of the Republican party men who will with sincerity and singleness of purpose represent its rank and file and carry out their will. The present condition of uncertainty in business is intolerable and destructive of industrial prosperity. It is worse than idle to leave the question of whether great business enterprises are legal merely to judicial determination. Industrial corporations should by affirmative legislative enactment be given definite rules of conduct, by which business conducted in accordance therewith shall be made safe and stable, while at the same time the interests of the public shall be fully safeguarded. We seek constructive legislation, not destructive litigation. We favor the ascertainment of the choice of Republican voters as to candidates for President by a Direct Primary vote held in each State, pursuant to statute; and, where no such statute exists, we urge that the Republican State committees provide that the people be given the right to express their choice for President. Constructive leadership being the urgent need of the time, it is necessary that Republicans support a candidate for President whose record gives the fullest assurance of the enactment and enforcement of sound progressive policies. La Follette of Wisconsin years ago found conditions in his State not unlike those of the nation to day. Under his leadership all opposition was overcome and there has been enacted in Wisconsin a system of laws that stand as models for legislation in all States in the Union. Laws have been passed in that State adequately regulating all public service corporations, equalizing the burdens of taxation, providing for direct nominations by the people, protecting legitimate business and capital honestly invested, promoting the welfare of labor—in short, real representative government has been restored. The record of Senator La Follette in State and nation makes him a logical candidate for President of the United States. His experience, his character, his courage, his record of constructive legislation and administrative ability meet the requirements for leadership such as present conditions demand. This Conference indorses him as a candidate for the Republican nomination for President and urges that in all States organizations be formed to promote his nomination.

[See current volume, page 804.]

Italy Intends to Annex Tripoli.

The Italian government issued an official note to the Powers on the 10th, announcing that in view of the expense involved in the occupation of Tripoli by Italian troops, Italy cannot now be satisfied with a protectorate over Tripoli; she must have annexation. By the 12th there were 22,000 Italian troops in Tripoli. Cholera has broken out in the Italian army of occupation, and by the 14th there had been 20 or 30 cases, with a 75 per cent mortality. The Turkish troops are surrendering and disbanding for lack of food supplies. It is reported that the Arabs have accepted the Italian occupation with satisfaction, having no special attachment for their Turkish conquerors. [See current volume, pages 957, 1052.]

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The Turkish parliament opened on the 14th. The Sultan, in the speech from the throne, contended that Italy in beginning hostilities and not allowing Turkey sufficient time to arbitrate—as she was quite willing to do—the economic questions at issue, violated the international law. Against this lawlessness Turkey had appealed to the Powers. He adjured all political parties in the Ottoman Empire to act in harmony at this critical moment. Ahmed Driza was elected President of the Chamber by a majority of 86. It is certain, according to the dispatches, that the Committee of Union and Progress controls the majority of the members of the cabinet, and the Young Turks' position is regarded as strengthened. [See vol. xii, p. 1120; vol. xiii, pp. 14, 1189.]

NEWS NOTES

—The Illinois Federation of Labor met in regular convention at Springfield on the 17th.

—The National Farmers' Congress was in session at Columbus, Ohio, last week. [See current volume, page 517.]

—Mayor Harrison's policy for a commission to prepare plans for a passenger subway system in Chicago was approved by the City Council on the 16th.

—John M. Harlan, appointed to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States by President Hayes, died on the 14th at Washington, at the age of 78.

—A Hallowe'en ball will be given by the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago on the evening of Saturday, October 28, in Illinois Hall, corner of Madison street and Ogden avenue. (Tickets of admission, fifty cents.)

—The United States Circuit Court at Toledo made a decision on the 12th dissolving the electric lamp trust existing by agreement between the General Electric Company and the National Electric Lamp Company. Attorney-General Wickersham is

reported as regarding the decision as breaking the backbone of the electric trust.

—Announcement was made by the British ministry on the 11th of the formation of an industrial council, composed of employers and workmen, for the purpose of settling and preventing labor strikes. [See current volume, pages 875, 1,031.]

—President Taft's speaking tour carried him out of the State of Washington and into Oregon on the 11th. He spoke at Portland that night, at Salem on the 12th and at Sacramento and San Francisco on the 13th. [See current volume, page 1,056.]

—The United States Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Paul, in a decision handed down on the 14th, upheld the contention of the Government in Indian land-fraud cases in Oklahoma, that the aborigines or their heirs have no right to dispose of valuable zinc lands.

—John R. Walsh, the Chicago banker convicted of violation of national banking laws and under sentence at the Federal prison at Leavenworth, was paroled on the 14th, soon after a third of the period for which he was sentenced had expired. Mr. Walsh is 73 years old. [See current volume, page 517.]

—The Single Tax Information Bureau (134 Clarkson street, Brooklyn) reports the supply of literature during the last six months to 684 applicants, the total number of documents sent out being 25,575. The work is supported by voluntary contributions, and services are rendered without compensation. [See current volume, page 351.]

—The electoral college of Mexico met on the 15th. The election of Francisco I. Madero was a foregone conclusion as he had met with no opposition at the popular election on the 1st. The balloting of the electoral college for vice-president, as indicated by the returns reported on the same day, resulted in the election of José Pino Suarez, with Francisco de la Barra, second, and Dr. Vasquez Gomez, third. [See current volume, page 1029.]

—Plans for the disintegration of the American Tobacco Company and its affiliated companies, commonly grouped as the "tobacco trust," were filed in the United States Circuit Court at New York City on the 16th. The petition of the trust asks that "this court extend until March 1, 1912, the time within which your petitioners shall carry out said plan;" for "leave to apply to the court for such modification of the plan or other relief as may be necessary," and that "all persons be enjoined from in any way interfering with the carrying out of said plan."

—The First National Conference on Civic and Social-Center Development will be held October 25th to 28th, at Madison, Wisconsin. It is called through the co-operation of the Social Center Association of America (1451 Broadway, New York) and the University Extension Division (University of Wisconsin, Madison). Governor Wilson of New Jersey is to speak on the 25th, Herbert S. Bigelow, Mary E. McDowell, Dean Sumner and Charles Ferguson on the 26th, Herbert Quick, John R. Commons, Charles McCarthy, Levy S. Richard and Senator M. E. Clapp on the 27th, and Dr. Josiah Strong will preside on the 26th and 28th. The banquet

speakers on the 28th include William Allen White and S. S. McClure.

—The first conference of the American Indian Association opened at Columbus, Ohio, on the 12th. Friends of the Indians and Indian educators were present, as well as prominent members of the tribes. Among the latter were Charles E. Dagenett, of the Peorias, educated at Carlisle; Dr. Charles A. Eastman, of the Sioux, educated at Dartmouth College, and author of many well-known books; Dr. Carlos Montezuma, an Apache, now a Chicago physician; and Miss Minnie M. Cornelius, of the Oneidas, a writer and lecturer. Legal and political problems were under discussion by the conference. [See current volume, page 1056.]

PRESS OPINIONS

California.

The (Portland) Oregon Daily Journal (ind.), Oct. 11.—California's action is a greeting to the people of Oregon. That State has adopted the Oregon system, and more. That which "assemblyism" tried to overthrow in Oregon last year has been approved by a vote of three or four to one by our neighbors to the south. To thinking men, it is ample notice that the people have lost confidence in proxies, and are bent on a change in which they can direct, review or override the acts of agents, or, if necessary, dismiss the agents themselves. It is effort to bring representative government back to the status intended by the Fathers. It is not an episode, it is not an accident. It is tremendous design.

The Grand Junction (Colo.) Daily News (ind.), Oct. 14.—The Initiative and Referendum and the Recall swept California gloriously. It was a splendid and a remarkable victory for the people and particularly for the Republican party in the Golden State. The people of California have had a most trying and unfortunate experience with their courts. Colorado has had a touch of what California has had for years as a steady judicial diet. There has been scarcely a judge of importance in the whole State that was not owned by the Southern Pacific and the allied interests. The people grew tired of having their rights, as expressed through their legislatures and councils, nullified by the corporation owned judges and because of this experience had had occasion to delve rather deeply into the whole matter of judicial sacredness and responsibility. And in the end the people determined that the judges, who can nullify a people's wish or a legislature's enactment, should be as much responsible to the people as the constable and the sheriff. In California there will be no irresponsible branches in the State government.

Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), Oct. 14.—In a measure the victory of the equal suffrage advocates is due to the splendid efforts of Gov. Johnson for popular government. While his contention was for the Initiative, the Referendum

and the Recall his logic in the very nature of things led to an acceptance of the general idea that the People's Power necessarily involves the women; and from the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall, which are guarantees of the People's Power, it is but a step to universal suffrage.

+ +

Censorship of the Mails.

New York World (ind.), Oct. 9.—The Postoffice Department is becoming extraordinarily active in the censorship of publications. It does not stop with what needlessly outrages the common sense of decency. It extends to the publication of disagreeable matters related to the administration of public justice. . . . No more powerful engine of oppression can exist than a postal service which is used by a government bureaucracy to spy upon the opinions and actions of men for their correction according to bureaucratic standards. No more effective cloak could be devised for the exercise of personal and party malice. Few newspapers are strong enough financially to stand up even under a threatened Government prosecution. To most of them the terrorism of a postal censorship could easily be made crushing. And to men seeking the possession or the perpetuation of power the temptation to use such terrorism might become, with habit, irresistible. The business of the postal service is to carry the mails. It is not to reform the world through an espionage of the mails. Letter-opening to ferret out unorthodox political opinion was a feature of the early English postal service which this country did not inherit. No more is our postal service entitled to assume a general newspaper censorship.

Chicago Daily Tribune (Rep.), Oct. 15.—There is too little respect in this country for the principles of freedom of utterance. It is a sinister weakness of our people, which, unless it is cured, will work their own ruin. All other freedoms, all national happiness, depend upon this freedom. We cannot guard it too jealously. We Americans are confident that our liberties are greater than those of any people who tolerate an aristocracy or are subjects of effete monarchy. Yet the Englishman is sturdier in his support of the guarantees than the American, and his speech is freer. It was one of the wisest Englishmen of our day, Sir Leslie Stephen, who said: "Toleration implies that a man is to be allowed to profess and maintain any principles that he pleases; not that he should be allowed in all cases to act upon his principles, especially to act upon them to the injury of others. No limitation whatever need be put upon this principle in the case supposed. I, for one, am fully prepared to listen to any arguments for the propriety of theft or murder, or if it be possible of immorality in the abstract. No doctrine, however well established, should be protected from discussion. The reasons have been already assigned. If, as a matter of fact, any appreciable number of persons is so inclined to advocate murder on principle, I should wish them to state their opinions openly and fearlessly, because I should think that the shortest way of exploding the

principle and of ascertaining the true causes of such a perversion of moral sentiment. Such a state of things implies the existence of evils which cannot be really cured till their cause is known, and the shortest way to discover the cause is to give a hearing to the alleged reasons." If we are, as seems inevitable, to have an expansion of the powers of government and the state, we will do well to guard more jealously the rightful boundaries of individual freedom.

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The Italo-Turkish War.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), Oct. 5.—Italy's attack upon Turkey is a wanton one, made even as Turkey pleaded her helplessness. There is no valid reason for it. The treaties as to Tripoli are writ plain and all the difficulties, mostly invented by Italy after the manner of the wolf that ate the lamb for dirtying the stream below where the wolf drank, were clearly justiciable. The Turks are not Christians, but justice is due them none the less. But Italy is probably only a catspaw. When the facts prior to the attack are known, it will be found in all likelihood that other Powers connived at the movement, notwithstanding the professed indignation of the chancelleries. The Italian government's action is infamous. Its people are the most overtaxed in Europe and now the expense of a war is piled upon their backs. For what? For the benefit of a pack of concessionaires in Tripoli. If Italy's claims were just, there was the Hague tribunal; but no, that would not do; this was the time to make a grab in Africa. Is Germany behind it, having been prevented from taking Morocco? Is it a move to embarrass England's power in Africa? We shall see.

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Friends' Intelligencer (Philadelphia), October 7.—Italy goes to war with Turkey with a view to getting possession of Tripoli and Cyrene, because, say the Italian diplomats, "These regions should be admitted to the benefits of the progress realized by other parts of the Mediterranean." This sounds very fine. And yet the International Peace Congress which was to have met in Rome this month had to be postponed till spring on account of the prevalence of cholera in Italy. A true devotion to progress and human welfare would in these days keep cholera out of Rome, as the fever has been cleared out of the once pestilent Panama. There are a few of the people of Italy who see through their government and its designs and who are opposing the war and calling attention to the need for taking vigorous measures for introducing the "benefits of progress" among the squalor and poverty and disease-breeding conditions of Italy itself, especially Sicily and Southern Italy. These who protest are as yet so few and have so little strength on their side that they are cried down as unpatriotic and riotous, and they are shot and hustled by the soldiers. But the movement represented by these protestors, against the war is growing in Italy, and the time will come when the people will be strong enough not to permit themselves to be rushed away into war under false pretenses, and to the neglect of important duties at home.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE WORLD'S WITENAGEMOTE.

For The Public.

German jungles' open spaces once were legislative halls,
Where free peoples met in conclave and knew not law's technic thralls.

Plain of Salisbury's eighty thousand cast their viva voce high,

Fearing not some vain court's veto, knowing not its nay or aye.

Then the thrall of law fell o'er us, did we as some ruler said—

Walked we o'er the rocks of ages by the hand of custom led—

Ruled by far-off congress, cortes, by some reichstag, parliament,

Robbed of sovereign will and power, swayed by dead hand's precedent.

Now a ripple sweeps earth's people as a wavelet sweeps the sea:

Asks a workman of his brother, "What has life for you or me?"—

Asks a Cornwall miner's helper of his Lehigh brother nigh—

Nigh by spaceless, thought-filled lightning and by Union's comrade tie.

So the word goes out in wavelets, flows in wave on wave o'er earth,

"Come to conclave! Come to conclave! Let us find a man's true worth!"

"Come to conclave! Come to conclave!" herald voice of Demos cries;

We will find, if found it can be, where the springs of power rise."

So they're coming, men are coming, through the day and through the night,

Coming upward, coming homeward, to the world's grand plebiscite.

I am going, you are going, thrilled by sweetest cosmic note,

To one world-wide mighty conclave—to the World's Witenagemote.

RALPH W. CROSMAN.

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BUSINESS MEN AND LAND VALUE TAXATION.

Speech by Joseph Fels to a Special Meeting of Business Men at Birmingham, England,
October 4, 1911.

I am going to speak on the taxation of land values. Some of you may regard this as a question for politicians, or for socialists and other

reformers who interest themselves in the justice or injustice of social institutions. I am not a politician. I sometimes describe myself as a Conservative-Liberal-Socialist; but if I were a party politician I should do all I could to run my party on the taxation of land values as the very best policy to keep it in power. If I were a moral teacher or a social reformer I should advocate the taxation of land values as the soundest moral principle on which to found a society.

But seeing that I am neither a moral teacher nor a social reformer, but most of my time only a plain business man, and for the rest an ordinary mortal, I am going to talk to you as a business man. Some of you are manufacturers and merchants. So am I. Some of you have investments in railways, mines and other industrial concerns, and all of you, no matter what you are labeled, depend for your professional or business returns on prosperous industry. Now take the manufacturer or merchant. As a ratepayer he is called upon to contribute to the rates in proportion to the value of his building. The larger his factory or building or warehouses, the more convenient they are made for the workers and himself, the higher is his assessment and the higher the amount he pays in rates. Commodious and well-finished factories, with up-to-date machinery, are good and desirable things. We want more of them. Their construction gives employment to builders. They enable employer and employed to turn out the best material in the shortest time. I say it is bad business to make us pay a fine under the name of collecting rates in proportion to the money we spend on our factories and warehouses. It keeps us from spending money in this way and hampers business all round.

Now I want some of you hard-headed men of Birmingham to tell me why we should suffer this treatment when we erect and improve our buildings? I am putting this question to you as a business man. I am going to Yorkshire and Scotland where I know other keen business men are to be found, and I am going to put the same question to them. I have never got a satisfactory answer to this question. I am here to charge it against your present system, that it is bad business from beginning to end. I am an American, and Americans do foolish things, but I doubt if they have initiated anything as foolish as this, which they copied from Englishmen. We merchants don't deserve to be tarred and feathered when we improve our buildings. We don't deserve any treatment of that nature.

I know you have to raise revenue for local and national government; but I am not going to admit that you need to injure your business in order to run the country. I say whatever rights the state has, it has no right to make it difficult for men to carry on their business in decent premises. I wonder how many of you here could tell me of

instances where the rates were increased in consequence of improvements made?

I will give you one or two illustrations of how this system penalizes the enterprising man.

I will take the first from America. In the city of Portland, Oregon, a new warehouse was completed about a year ago. The building cost £100,000, the elevators, machinery and furnishings, cost £40,000 more, and one thousand people are employed in it. During the current year, the firm which owns this warehouse will pay about £3,200 in taxes under the General Property Tax system; under the taxation of Land Values it is estimated that they would pay about £2,560. This would give a reduction of £640 in the amount paid, and would do something to encourage an enterprising firm.

I will give an English illustration. A few weeks ago, the valuation of a rural parish was made. In that parish there is a section of one of our leading railway systems and a brick work. The rates payable by the railway company would be reduced from £1,121, the present payment, to £1,030 on a Land Values basis, and the amount payable by the brick work would be reduced from £300, the present amount, to £234. Further illustrations could be cited from every city and parish in the country, but I will not trouble you with more. In short, business enterprise would be encouraged in every way by the abandonment of the system which penalizes a man in exact proportion to his enterprise.

Now for the solution of the problem. You will ask where this relief is to be obtained, and you will perhaps tell me that taxation is a small item—that what business men chiefly need is a greater demand for their goods. The taxation of Land Values will give the necessary relief and create the demand for more produce. If you take the value of land, whether it is used or unused, as the basis of your taxation, you will get a largely increased revenue from land which has been held up against men who are willing to develop it. This increased revenue could be applied to the remission of the burden which falls at present on improvements. More important than this would be the other effect of taxing this undeveloped land. We manufacturers and merchants want customers. This is the way to get them. An idle man looking at idle land is no use to us nor anyone else. But the policy which would bring idle men and idle land together as busy partners in the production of wealth, would provide us with a market which we always need. The Taxation of Land Values is already helping us as business men in New Zealand, Australia and Canada. It is breaking up large undeveloped estates, and giving the settlers a chance of producing wealth; and these men make good customers for merchants in every part of the world. The same is true of Great Britain. Even the threat of an all-round tax on

haps. But other cities have slums. Commissions have investigated, reported, had laws passed, houses demolished, even a few alleys wiped out—and rents have risen 15 and 20 per cent! A cat is roaming at large in the alleys of Washington. Mr. Weller quotes that "a dwelling house policy is essentially a land policy"; speaks of the opinions of Benjamin C. Marsh about congestion of population and closes one paragraph thus:

The settled and proper respect which all Americans have for private property and for the protection of every citizen in the enjoyment of the products of his labor, does not entail any veneration for the protection of private land values which the holder has done nothing to create. Without subscribing to the "Single Tax" theory or any other general philosophy, it must be obvious to every one that land values in a city are mainly created by society itself. It is inevitable that society will grow more and more to demand for all the people an increasing share of these values which the people have produced.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

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GUARDING THE CHILD'S HEALTH

The Health Index of Children. By Ernest Bryant Hoag. Published by Whitaker & Ray-Wiggin Co., San Francisco, 1910. Price, 80 cents.

The object of this little handbook—written by the medical director of schools in Berkeley, California—is to instruct parents and teachers how to co-operate intelligently with school health officers in keeping the children well. Part I contains eight chapters of simple description of the child's possible defects and diseases, with their early symptoms. The pages about defective teeth are most startling. Dr. Hoag finds conditions appalling and results disastrous. Part II adds a few chapters on methods for physical examinations, administrative measures, and the like. Parents and teachers would do well to read and keep the book for reference despite the lack of index.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Fourth Physician. By Montgomery Pickett. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1911.

—Pay-Day. By C. Hanford Henderson. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1911. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Problems in Railway Regulation. By Henry S. Haines. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1911. Price, \$1.75 net.

—My Attainment of the Pole. By Frederick A. Cook. Published by the Polar Publishing Co., Cambridge Bldg., New York. 1911.

—History and Organization of Criminal Statistics in the United States. By Louis Newton Robinson.

Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston and New York. 1911. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Essential Elements of Business Character. By Herbert G. Stockwell. Published by Fleming H. Revell Co., Chicago. 1911. Price, 60 cents net.

PAMPHLETS

Danish Land Values Pamphlet.

"Jordskyld Reformen i Udlandet" (Land-Values-Due Reform in Foreign Countries), by P. Larsen, is published by the Committee for Land Values Taxation in Copenhagen, 1911. The author is a well-known Danish Singletaxer, who in highly intelligent and comprehensive manner describes the progress in the practical introduction of Land Values Taxation in the United States, Canada, England, Germany, Kiautschow in China, New Zealand, South Australia, Victoria, Queensland and New South Wales. The word "Jordskyld"—"Land due"—has a significance worth special notice. It was introduced some years ago into Danish single tax literature by Mr. Sophus Berthelsen, editor of "Ret," known to Singletaxers the world over. The word is an attempt to overcome the rather general idea that the Single Tax is just a mere taxation measure, by substituting "due" for "tax," thereby implying that the appropriation of the rental values of land by society is not at all a tax burden, confiscating property produced by labor, but rather a value due society because produced by its presence and activities, and that in taking it society thus simply takes its own.

C. M. K.

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Pamphlets Received.

Among the pamphlets recently received are the following:

Taxation of Land Values in American Cities. The Next Step in Exterminating Poverty. By Benjamin C. Marsh. Published by the Author, 320 Broadway, New York City, 1911.

Socialistic Tenets. A Criticism. By John Smith, 1911. Department of Landscape Architecture, 1911-1912. Official Register of Harvard University. Published by Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Administration of the Office of Recorder of Cook County, Illinois. Report prepared for the Judges of the Circuit Court by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency. September, 1911.

PERIODICALS

From Swedes in America.

The August number of Budkavlen, of Stockholm, Sweden, contains excerpts from two letters to the editor from Swedes who had emigrated to the United States. To both of them the editor had sent the question: "What can be done by legislation to stop emigration?" Both answers are in the main pretty much alike. Says the one: "The chief economic reforms which are necessary are the abolishment of the tariff, and a new foundation for the fiscal system which would leave the individual's wealth in

his own hands, and would take for the use of the state only that which by natural economic law belongs to the state." Says the other: "What can be done I do not know. I have been away too long to know how matters stand. What needs to be done is that the people find a chief who can and will take up their case and lead in the work of restoring to them their ancient right to land and its social value, as it was in the times of Karl XI., of Gustaf Vasa and of Birger Jarl, but in a manner which would harmonize with the requirements of our time. Exclusive private ownership in land is sacrilegious, and has no historical standing in Sweden. Neither will it stand any probing from the viewpoint of moral right. Ignorance and superstition is its only foundation, and the robbers' right will be its only defense when the case comes up before the people's jury." This number of Budkavlen also contains an interesting account by Mr. Hansson, editor of Budkavlen, of a visit he made when in the United States last year, in a settlement of Swedes in California. He found them prosperous and happy, their only complaint being the inequalities in taxation, which favored the speculator at the expense of the industrious farmer, who got higher taxes the more labor he put into his land. "This," exclaimed one of them, "is unreasonable and unjust. His land is as good as ours; he has the same chance as we to improve it. Why, then, should we not be taxed alike?"

S. T.

* * *

"You don't remember, I reckon," said the sour-

facéd man, putting his arms on the show case, "that I bought a clock of you twenty-five years ago?"

"I certainly do not," answered the elderly jeweler, "but I'll take your word for it if you say you did."

"Well, I did. It was twenty-five years ago last Monday."

"Remember what you paid for it?"

"Yes. I paid £2."

"Ever had to get it repaired?"

"No."

"It's a pretty good clock, then, isn't it?"

"Oh, yes, the clock's all right. But I've found out something about it that you didn't tell me."

"So?"

"Yes. When I bought it I asked you how often I'd have to wind it. You said once a week."

"Well?"

"Well, I've just found out that it'll go eight days without winding."

"Certainly; most clocks are eight-day clocks. That's to allow for your forgetting to wind it sometimes."

"I never forgot to wind it, sir. Regularly every Monday morning for twenty-five years I've wound that clock. That makes fifty-two times a year. If I had known it would go eight days I would have wound it on the eighth day, and I would have had to wind it only forty-six times a year. It takes me about two minutes to wind it up. I've wasted twelve minutes every year on the thing. See? In twenty-five years I've put in 300 minutes, or five hours, the half of a man's working day, standing on a chair

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Cincinnati, October 16.

DANIEL KIEFER



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65 acres of land one mile from the town of Austin, Ark., 25 miles north of Little Rock on the St. Louis and Iron Mountain R. R. Most of the tract has been in cultivation, adapted to fruit and truck growing. Markets, St. Louis and Little Rock. Price \$200 per acre. Address: Robt. Heriot, 1511 West 2nd St., Little Rock, Ark. References exchanged. My reference: National Bank and Southern Trust Co., Little Rock, Ark.

winding up that blamed old clock when it didn't need winding!"

"Well," said the stupefied jeweler, "what do you want me to do about it?"

"Nothing, sir; I only wanted you to know it. That's all. When you sell an eight-day clock to a man you ought to tell him it's an eight-day clock. Good day, sir."

Straightening himself up and pulling his hat brim down in front, he turned on his heel and stalked out of the shop with the air of a man with a grievance who had freed his mind.—London Tit-Bits.

* * *

"Good morning," said the young woman as she stepped to the window at the Stowe postoffice. "Is there a letter for me today?"

"I'll look," answered the clerk.

The young woman blushed a little and she added: "It's a business letter."

The man inside the window took up a handful of letters and looked them over hastily. Then he informed the lady that there was nothing for her; and with great disappointment depicted on her lovely features she went away from there. In five minutes she was back again—this time blushing more furiously than before.

"I—I deceived you," she stammered. "It—it wasn't a business letter I was expecting. Will you please see if there is something for me among the love-letters?"—Boston Traveler.

Direct Legislation Literature

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By Martin Rittinghausen. Translated from the French, with biographical introduction, by Alexander Harvey. "The classic of democracy by the Father of the Referendum."

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By William Preston Hill, M. D., Ph. D. Value of Direct Legislation. Practical examples of its use.

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Direct Legislation

By John Z. White. Reprinted from The Public of January 8, 1908. The theory of self-government as worked out in Direct Legislation.

White paper pamphlet. 5 cents

A Primer of Direct-Legislation

Prepared by the late Professor Frank Parsons, and by Eltweed Pomeroy, W. S. U'Ren, and others. The Referendum, the Initiative, the Recall, Proportional Representation, the Direct Primary, etc.

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SINGLETEX GROUPS

The Two Photographs of which the middle sections appeared in the issue of The Public of September 1, namely, the

First Singletax Conference and the Second Singletax Conference

are available to a limited number in halftone reproduction on good paper, mailed together in one cylinder, postpaid, for

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A FREE PICTURE

The picture published on page 880 of The Public of August 25, tells a vital story.

It is a reprint from the Danish "Ret," whose artist picture of Henry George's Famous illustration of *The Tethered Bull* as a fit emblem of the struggling, working masses, suffering want in sight of plenty.

I have now a supply of these pictures, printed on rich, cream colored stiff paper (about 18 inches by 18 inches, including descriptive print), and will send a copy post free to the Secretary of any Labor Organization who will have it hung where it can tell its story.

DANIEL KIEFER

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11 PHOTOGRAVURES of house in Philadelphia in which Henry George was born.

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