

The Public

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

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Vol. XIV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1911.

No. 708

Published by Louis F. Post
Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar

Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at
Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL

Democratic Politics in Illinois.

Impudence could hardly go farther than the attempt of William Randolph Hearst to identify the Hearst-Harrison partnership of this year with the movement that Governor Altgeld led. Consider how grossly impudent it is. Describing the recent Hearst-Harrison gathering at Springfield as "an exact parallel" of the "rally led by Altgeld in 1895," the Hearst Examiner of October 16th says that "the Sullivanites stayed out of the Democratic State organization until they came back about seven years ago by an 'exhibition of strong arm politics' that William J. Bryan characterized as the methods of train robbers." Are Democratic memories so short in Illinois that Hearst's relations to that train-robber performance are forgotten? Didn't Hearst himself make it possible for Roger Sullivan to seize the Democratic party of Illinois on that occasion? If Sullivan was a train-robber, Hearst was his pal.

The consideration? Sullivan's agreement to give Hearst the Illinois delegation to the national convention. Sullivan kept his agreement, and Illinois consequently made a ridiculous nomination of Hearst for Presidential candidate. It was then that Hearst broke with Bryan and began a newspaper campaign against Bryan which culminated in 1908 in Hearst's giving back-door support to Taft. Did Hearst break with Bryan because

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Bryan did not bring up the Nebraska delegation in the wake of the Illinois delegation for Hearst? Or was it because Bryan denounced Hearst's political partner of that year as a train robber?

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And what does all this Hearst-Harrison palaver mean now? It means now what the Hearst-Sullivan alliance meant in 1904. Hearst is to get the Illinois delegation—this time with Harrison's aid as the other time with Sullivan's. Everything democratic is to be sacrificed to that one object by Hearst and his factotum Lawrence, as heretofore in Illinois everything democratic has been sacrificed by that precious pair.

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And the pity of it is that some of our best democratic Democrats down the State are innocently turning themselves and their influence over to Hearst. Among them are good men who, on the principle of never allowing yourself to be fooled twice by the same man and in the same way, ought to know better. They have had sad enough experience with Hearst politically already. But their hostility to Sullivan is such that they fall an easy prey to Hearst with his new outfit of velveted claws. Knowing, as Sullivan did in 1904, that Hearst cannot be nominated for President, they, like Sullivan, are willing he should have the Illinois delegation in return for his aid in putting down what they consider more important. It is more important, but the price they pay is risky. The Illinois delegation has been Hearst's standing price in this State for anything and everything in all his political relations here. For granting it, Sullivan got into Hearst's good books; for denying it, Dunne was pitched out of them.

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We need not say that we sympathize heartily with down-State Democrats like Judge Thompson and Congressman Graham in their desire to end the Sullivan regime. Sullivan has been an Old Man of the Sea on the back of the Democratic party in Illinois ever since he combined politics with illuminating-gas investments, and never has his game been more subtle or intolerable than now. But our democratic friends won't end the Sullivan regime by giving Hearst a power of attorney to do it for them. They can end it by recognizing Dunne's well-deserved popularity, closing their ears to Lawrence's insinuations against him, and making perfectly plain what the fact is, that Sullivan's present support of Dunne, so far from being friendly, is as sinister as ever.

Should they give Hearst and Lawrence the power to crush Sullivan, this power would not unlikely be used for Sullivan instead of against him, should Sullivan decide in 1912, as he did in 1904, that Hearst, through Lawrence, is the man for him to make terms with.

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William Randolph Hearst for President.

Only the thinnest veil is any longer thrown by the Hearst papers over Mr. Hearst's Presidential purposes at the election next year. He does not announce his candidacy himself, but his papers quote other aspirants for the Democratic nomination in such a way as to leave to any habitual reader of the Hearst papers no doubt at all of their proprietor's designs, innocent though the men quoted doubtless are of intentionally promoting them.

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The nearest Mr. Hearst himself has come to making a formal announcement is in his "return-of-the-prodigal speech" at New York last week. That speech might be condensed and fairly paraphrased into something like this: "Gentlemen of the Democratic party—Here I am again, back in the Democratic fold just in the nick of time to demand your Presidential nomination for myself. I shall fight every other aspirant for it who doesn't give me the right hand of fellowship; and I shall make monkeys of those aspirants who do." Champ Clark is freely quoted by the Hearst papers among the latter, and among the latter he is pretty certain consequently to find himself when Mr. Hearst's monkey-making process begins. His humiliated companions at that time will probably include Mayor Harrison and Oscar Underwood, both of whom are in Mr. Hearst's Presidential gamebag now. No, hold a bit about Mr. Underwood. He is the only Presidential possibility quoted in the Hearst papers as expressly naming Hearst for the Democratic nomination, and this may imply that Mr. Underwood is to be graciously allowed the place of running mate. "I understand," says Mr. Underwood in Hearst's Chicago Examiner of October 22, congratulating the Democratic party on Hearst's return to it, that "the Hearst following will use its influence to have the New York delegation at the convention place Mr. Hearst's name in nomination for the Democratic nomination for President, and I feel sure the California delegation will attend the convention pledged for Hearst." We of Chicago know, of course, that Harrison is pledged to give Hearst the Illinois delegation if he can; and from the way Lawrence, Hearst's manager, is playing

cat-and-mouse with down-State Democrats it looks as if he might "turn the trick." So the Hearst boom is fairly launched. The Democratic possibilities for President who do not stand upon the Hearst pitfall, are Folk, Harmon and Wilson.

* *

New Judges for Chicago.

At the approaching election in Cook County, Illinois—November 7,—ten new judges are to be chosen. Over the nominations much reckless criticism has been indulged in by newspapers with their own axes to grind, and the voting public are confused in making a choice. To some extent the Bar Association may be a guide; but in this connection the important fact should not be ignored that the Bar Association is not the bar. It is a social club of some lawyers, the members of which are not unnaturally governed by those considerations of good fellowship that weigh in all other social clubs. On our own part we make no pretensions of freedom from any of the ordinary influences that govern in such matters, but it is our purpose as nearly as possible to recommend with reference to four qualifications. The first is the democratic spirit of the candidate, without which other qualifications are of little value. The second is good character; not respectability with a "superior" class, but good *character*. The third is legal education, not necessarily legal training, but legal education—for legal training, while it may make a very efficient lawyer may by the same token make a very bad judge. The fourth is judicial as distinguished from legislative sensibilities. By those tests there are five candidates for the bench at the coming election in Chicago whom we feel fully warranted in naming as worthy the confidence of our readers. One of them we judge in part by his public record, both on and off the bench; the others, and that one also, by the estimate in which they are held by men who know them best for the qualities we have named. They are Daniel L. Cruice, Clarence A. Goodwin and John P. McGoorty (Democrats), Seymour Stedman (Socialist) and McKenzie Cleland (Republican). None of these men, as we fully believe, will disappoint any voter in respect of democracy, personal character, legal equipment, or appreciation on the bench of the true judicial function.

* *

Charity's Appeal to Justice.

The new spirit that has entered into the operations of organized charity finds expression at the

Illinois Charities Conference in session at Urbana. *Prevention* of poverty instead of relief as an end, with *social justice* as the means to accomplish the end, appears from the newspaper reports to vitalize the proceedings of that gathering. These and other signs give hope for the national conference next year; and in distributing credit for it, The Survey and its editorial corps must be remembered for their thoughtful, industrious and patient work.

* *

A Good Fight in Pennsylvania.

Good wishes and Godspeed go out to the Keystone Party of Pennsylvania in the fight it is making against Oliver-Penroseism in Pennsylvania. It is the Progressive fight localized in a State where predatory wealth got its first grip and will make its last stand. A vote for the Keystone Party in Pennsylvania at this election is a vote against capitalizing republicanism and democracy for the benefit of plutocracy.

* *

Woman Suffrage and Direct Legislation.

It is regrettable that Dr. Anna H. Shaw, if the Cincinnati papers report her rightly, has thrown the weight of her influence as president of the National Woman's Suffrage Association against the Initiative and Referendum movement in Ohio. One of the weaknesses of leaders crystallized in a particular cause long hopeless but approaching its own, is to try to force the cause into practical politics out of season. Sometimes they are right, but not always; and if ever any one of them was mistaken it was Dr. Shaw if she urged woman suffragists in Ohio to insist upon woman suffrage in preference to the Initiative and Referendum in the Constitutional convention contest now pending there. Probably no more effective method could be hit upon for making woman suffrage in Ohio difficult and for years impossible.

* *

There are two reasons, from our point of view, why such a policy would be a mistake. For one thing, it would be a mistake from the viewpoint of democracy. Woman suffrage is democratic or it is nothing. It cannot be defended on any other basis. The moment you reject democracy, you discredit every worthy appeal for woman suffrage, for man suffrage and for any other suffrage. But concede democracy, and the only argument against woman suffrage is the reduction

to absurdity that women are not human. If then the democratic basis for woman suffrage be granted, and we rationally recognize existing political conditions, the situation in Ohio plainly demands that the democratic electoral mechanism known as the Initiative and Referendum have right of way at the present election—not to delay other demands of democracy but to facilitate their advance. It has right of way over other phases of democracy because it is the almost indispensable implement of democracy, and because it is at the present Ohio election pre-eminently “the question before the house”—the question on which the people of Ohio are most generally and distinctly dividing. To insist upon thrusting into such a contest a subsidiary question—no matter how democratic and important it may be in itself, if it be subsidiary in respect of immediate political alignments—is to fight against democracy and not with it. For another thing, the policy attributed to Dr. Shaw in Ohio would be a mistake from the viewpoint of woman suffrage. Who can doubt that an authoritative identification of the woman suffrage movement with opposition to democracy must tell against its own progress? Woman suffrage must come through voting by men. Any other possibility is too remote for consideration. If it comes through voting by men, the stronger they are impressed with a desire for it, and the sooner they get control of the means for adopting it, the better for the cause of woman suffrage. But, at one fling, Dr. Shaw throws her influence against both necessities, if she is reported rightly. She makes it in the first place more difficult to convert to woman suffrage men of democratic tendencies and more difficult to hold such men who as yet only incline toward it, for she identifies in their minds the woman suffrage movement with the undemocratic hostility of Big Business to the Initiative and Referendum. In the second place she helps to prevent men voters from getting the power to add woman suffrage to the Constitution. If a majority of the voters of Ohio now favor woman suffrage, which is of course as it may be, they would undoubtedly get a chance to say so from an Initiative and Referendum convention for remodeling the Constitution. But if they are identified with opposition to the Initiative and Referendum, it will be exceedingly difficult to get that concession except from delegates who are for the Initiative and Referendum on principle. In any other kind of Constitutional convention that can be elected in Ohio this year, the woman suffrage cause would be as helpless as a chippy bird in a cyclone.

The Street Car Question in Cleveland.*

An editorial in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin of October 11th, is significant of deceptive press bureau work from Cleveland in the interest of Big Business—for its effect, that is, outside of Cleveland. Says the Bulletin:

The Cleveland street railway, which has been operating with a monthly deficit for some time under the three-cent fare experiment which originated with the late Tom Johnson, will probably reach its limit within a few months and return to five-cent fares.

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To appreciate the animus of that statement, the actual facts must be considered. Under the provisions of the Cleveland ordinance, an “interest fund” of \$500,000 was created. To this fund there is added from time to time the gross receipts from all sources, less operating and maintenance expenses; and out of it the company pays the interest on its bonds, and 6 per cent on its approved floating indebtedness and capital stock. The ordinance allowed the company in the beginning to exact three-cent fares and one cent for transfers, a rate which stands about midway in the schedule of variable rates prescribed. It provided also that if at any time the amount in the “interest fund” exceeds \$500,000 by \$200,000, the rate of fare enumerated in the schedule next lower to that then in use shall go into operation, and that, on the other hand, if at any time the amount in the “interest fund” falls short of \$500,000 by as much as \$200,000, the rate of fare shall be the next higher in the schedule to that then in use. Thus the rate of fare is automatically determined from time to time according to a certain increase or decrease of net profits. Bearing those provisions of the ordinance in mind, let the interested reader turn now to the history of the company under that ordinance. It took over the property on the 1st day of March, 1910, beginning operation with the required fare of 3 cents without transfer and 4 cents with transfer. Fifteen months later—on the 1st day of June, 1911—the “interest fund,” less accrued charges against it, amounted to \$780,208. As this exceeded \$500,000 by more than \$200,000, the next lower rate of fare came automatically into use. It was three cents with “rebate” of the transfer charge. That is, although one cent for transfer was still charged, it was returned to the passenger upon presentation to the conductor of the car transferred to. For the next three months, from June 1 to August 31, 1911, the operation at 3-cent fares with “rebated” transfers showed a decline in the “interest fund.” It

*See current volume, pages 228, 444, 674, 697, 747.

had shrunk on the 31st day of August to \$506,877. This rate of decrease, if maintained, would automatically cause an increase of fares some time in November, for the "interest fund" would then be reduced to less than \$500,000 by as much as \$200,000. But the increased fare would not be 5 cents. It would be the rate specified in the ordinance schedule as next above the present rate. As the present rate is 3 cents *with* "rebate" of the transfer charge, the higher rate would be 3 cents *without* rebate of transfer charge. It would be, that is, the same as the rate for the first fifteen months of operation under this ordinance, namely 3 cents without transfer and 4 cents with transfer. This rate, as shown above, was so profitable during the period it was in use as to raise the "interest fund" above \$500,000 by more than \$200,000, a fact which makes it altogether improbable that any rate higher than 3 cents, plus 1 cent for transfer, will be necessary. At all events, no higher rate than that is anywhere in sight yet.

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It should be explained, too, that economical management of the company is very gravely questioned in Cleveland. The company tried hard, prior to June 1, 1911, to prevent an accumulation in the "interest fund" of \$200,000 in excess of \$500,000; and it is believed to have reduced that fund to \$500,000 again by purposely extravagant management. More will be known about the company's management in this respect when Newton D. Baker becomes Mayor of Cleveland, which will probably be on the 1st of next January.

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Accounting for "Oregonian" Editorials.

Newspaper readers inclined to yield to the pertinacious attacks by The Oregonian upon the Singletax movement in Oregon may learn some things pertinent and worth knowing if they read this paragraph from the Portland Labor Press: "The 'heir apparent' of The Oregonian has standing in his name 40,000 acres of the railroad timber lands, and worth not less than two million dollars. No wonder the organ of plutocracy is worried over the prospects of being made to use or let others use that idle land."

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Education.

The man of an earlier time who was proud of his inability to write his name was probably a stronger man, other things being equal, than the man of our day who is proud of his ability to do it. In this thought there is a moral for educators. To

have a modern education strengthens one by giving him larger equipment; but if one exalts his education, its advantages as a mental equipment are thereby probably more than offset by consequent deterioration in mental power. To make a more general application, peoples of the past who had no book learning and were proud of it were probably, man for man, more capable intellectually (even with their limited but for their own time and place sufficient mental equipment) than peoples of the present who boast of their education. For education is a mental tool, not a mental quality; and the prouder we are of our possession of the tool the more deficient are we likely to be in the quality for using it. So our boasted era of education may be expected to remain inferior in true intellectual power until we take education off its pedestal as a fetish and practice using it more as an implement. This is doubtless the essential truth in the movement for vocational education. It is education *for use* instead of polish. But that truth is not limited, as sordid minds try to limit it, to the specialties of production and trade. It applies to all education.

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SIGNING A BLANK CHECK.

"And a Great Country with its Wealth and Splendor Stood Before It, and the Life of its Deluded People Made the Hills and Valleys ring with Their Demented Laughter."

Press dispatches from New York inform us from time to time that the reorganization of the Tobacco Trust is being proceeded with and that the ambassadors of the Trust are in almost daily conference with the equally potent representatives of the Government, looking to a carrying into effect of the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States which not only dissolved the Trust but ordered it to "re-create out of the elements now composing it a new condition which shall be honestly in harmony with the law."

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The order of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the American Tobacco Company, commonly referred to as the Tobacco Trust, was the most unheard of order that ever emanated from any court of justice in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race. The court exhausted its jurisdiction when it rendered a judgment dissolving the Trust, as prayed for in the bill of complaint; but to exceed that jurisdiction and to order it to re-organize in harmony with the law, is quite in keeping with the friendly attitude of the court to the Princes of Privilege.

Such an order finds no parallel in the annals of our jurisprudence.

The Tobacco Trust stood before the bar of the Supreme Court convicted of a flagrant violation of the laws of the United States. Under the Act the court had a right to order, in its judgment, that the Trust be dissolved as being a combination in restraint of trade. It was beyond the power of the court to order it to reorganize, much less to order it to reorganize under the tutelage of the Government.

Isn't the Supreme Court of the United States manifesting an almost paternal regard for the Tobacco Trust?

Having amended the Sherman Anti-Trust Act after Congress had repeatedly refused to do so, the Court orders the Tobacco Trust to reorganize, not on the lines of the Sherman act as passed by Congress but in harmony with the Sherman act as amended by the Court in the Standard Oil case. Evidently fearing that the Sherman Anti-Trust Act might not be sufficient protection, even as they had emasculated it, the Supreme Court ordered the trial court to supervise the reorganization.

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After an interview with Attorney General Wickersham it is reported that his statements implied that the reorganization of the company's properties had been considered and decided upon up to that point at which it was possible for the representatives of the Government and the representatives of the Trust to formulate a reorganization plan in advance of public hearings by the court.

We are further told that the proposed plan had been discussed in conferences between the attorneys for the Trust, the Attorney General of the United States and the Judges of the United States Circuit Court, and that after several such conferences a plan of reorganization had been agreed upon that, so far as its main points were concerned, was considered generally satisfactory and was the result of a compromise.

To the lay reader, unskilled in the art of legal ledgerdemain, this information would convey the impression that a real effort was being made to remedy an existing evil, and that there was an indication of a sincere desire on the part of the Tobacco Trust to bring itself within the law. An effort so earnest and heartfelt that it had invoked the aid of the very Government itself to supervise the operation and to put the seal of its approval on the plan finally adopted; and, as fur-

ther evidence of its contrition, to have it made a matter of court record by a judgment of the court.

Herein lies the gravest danger that has menaced the people of the country in their struggle with Privilege.

It seems almost idyllic to contemplate the arrogant Tobacco Trust as actually putting itself under the tutelage of the government that it may be instructed in the true way of life. But the illusion fades when we stop to consider that if the Tobacco Trust reorganizes its business after a plan approved by the Government, no matter what the result may be, the Government will, by every principle of law, be estopped in the future from saying that this new organization is in violation of the Act of Congress. No matter to what extent the Trust may restrain trade in the future, it will be secure. The judgment of the United States Circuit Court approving the plan will be conclusive on all parties in court, and the Government being one of the parties to the suit will be forever bound by the judgment.

That Privilege is well aware of the impregnable position it will be in when it reorganizes combinations under the tutelage of the Government in court, is indicated by the following statement of its attitude toward the proceeding:—

"The outcome of the reorganization conferences is considered scarcely less important than the result of the anti-trust cases in the Supreme Court. *because it will furnish a precedent for the treatment of other great combinations of capital.*"

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While the average citizen, handicapped as he is by the annoying distractions of his own economic insecurity, has practically no time to devote to matters of public interest, the Princes of Privilege are keenly alive to the advantage that may be gained by a reorganization of their business interests under the precedent furnished by the treatment of the Tobacco Trust, and will quickly avail themselves of the opportunity.

It was reported a few weeks ago that the ambassadors of the Harvester Trust had met in consultation with Attorney General Wickersham and it has been suggested that they indicated a sincere desire to receive like absolution at the hands of the Government. There will be a grand scramble of all the Trusts to reorganize during the eighteen months that must elapse before the Republican party can be ousted from its control of the affairs of the government.

All trusts reorganized in the manner indicated will be immune from prosecution at the hands of

the Government; and any incoming administration, no matter how earnest it may be in its efforts to serve the people, will find itself bound hand and foot when it comes to attacking the trusts in the future. They will all invoke the *doctrine of estoppel*, and the Supreme Court of the United States, ever ready to serve special interests, will declare the law to be that as to such combinations of capital as have been reorganized under the supervision and with the advice and consent of the Government, *the Government is forever estopped to declare them unlawful.*

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Bearing in mind that the plan has been practically agreed upon by secret conferences of the Trust attorneys, the Attorney General of the United States and the Judges of the United States Circuit Court, and that the essence of the plan as thus "agreed" upon is that "the company may be resolved into three units, no one of which is to have a monopoly control of any one branch of the business, and no one of which is to be controlled by any other," we next hear that a suit has been filed in the United States Circuit Court at New York City seeking to enjoin the Tobacco Trust from interfering with one of its subsidiary concerns, and that this subsidiary company alleges in its bill of complaint, under oath, that "the details of the reorganization of the American Tobacco Company show that the *American Tobacco Company is to be divided into three corporations, each to have almost unlimited capital and resources; that the control of these companies will remain with the majority of voting stockholders of the American Tobacco Company; that the American Tobacco Company is to remain in existence to pay off its bonds at maturity and that the American Tobacco Company will control \$170,000,000 of the assets.*

A corporation ordered *dissolved* by the Supreme Court is to be allowed to remain in existence and control assets of the value of \$170,000,000. Dissolving a corporation in legal contemplation means to wind up its business, divide its assets and surrender its corporate franchises and charter. But here is a "dissolved" corporation to remain in existence and to control millions and millions of dollars in assets.

As if such a "dissolution" was not a mere subterfuge on the part of the representatives of the trust and the representatives of the Government to deceive the people and mask its true purpose, counsel for the complainant company in the suit referred to has publicly stated that "*the dissolution has no effectual safeguards to prevent the*

companies created out of the new elements, now united, from being really though secretly controlled by the same interests as at present."

Although it is thus claimed by an eminent lawyer familiar with existing conditions in the proposed reorganization of the Tobacco Trust, that the proposed dissolution has no effectual safeguards to prevent the companies to be created out of the new elements from being secretly controlled by the same interests that now control them, yet the plan has met the approval of the Attorney General of the United States, and the Judges of the Circuit Court whose judgment in the case will forever fix the status of the company.

It is reported that the plan to divide the business of the American Tobacco Company into three new companies was not to be considered the private idea of the Trust alone but was the common ground from which the company and the government attorneys might work. A plan for the division of the American Tobacco Company into three companies with no effectual safeguards to prevent the companies from being secretly controlled by the same interests that now control them was the common ground on which the Trust attorneys and the attorneys for the government met "to re-create out of the elements now composing the American Tobacco Company, a new condition which shall be honestly in harmony with the law."

The logic of the situation forces us to the conclusion that their idea of a ~~new~~ condition that shall be honestly in harmony with the law is a condition in which there are no effectual safeguards to prevent the three new companies from being *secretly* controlled by the same interests that now dominate them.

Notwithstanding the fact that it may be shown in the future that this same American Tobacco Company, while ostensibly divided into three apparently independent companies, is in truth and fact, for all practical and business purposes, secretly controlled by the same central power that has been declared to be illegal, inasmuch as the government, through its accredited representatives has put the seal of its approval on the plan, both by the consent and approval of the Attorney General and the action of the United States Circuit Judges in making it a judgment of record in their court, *the government is forever estopped from saying that its business is unlawfully conducted.*

As if to further advertise the fact that abolition was awaiting all who might apply, Attorney General Wickersham has given out the following

statement in an interview: "If in anticipation of action by the government, those in control of such combinations (meaning the great, complex combinations of corporations under a centralized control, dominating the trade of the country in an important industry) should work out a plan to avoid illegal condition, this Department would necessarily give very careful consideration to the plan, to avoid hostile action if possible. Personally I should much prefer that the business interests should readjust their organizations, so as to remove all possible criticism concerning their legality, than that the Department of Justice should conduct legal proceedings to compel such readjustment."

This is sufficient notice to those great, complex combinations of corporations, under centralized control, dominating the trade of the country in every important industry, to come in while the Republican party is yet in power and can consent to the plan, and be guaranteed an impregnable organization, safe for all time from overthrow at the hands of any party of reform that may finally get control of the affairs of the government.

The Government is signing a blank check that the System will soon fill in for a heart-rending amount.

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The Republican party is dying. Corruption has eaten into its heart. Its genius has departed, and, heavy with the loot and spoils of the country it is tottering to a fall. While the eyes of the people have been for years blinded to its vices by the glory of its battlefields, as the light fades its nakedness and horror stand revealed.

Instead of looking around it with human eyes upon the needs of the country the Republican party has created an independent class of rich and permitted them to withdraw by privilege and immunity, from the restraints of the law. It has established that order of things in which Princes of Privilege, booted and spurred, are allowed to put into governmental form their claim for the privilege of riding the many. It has pandered to the perverted commercial morality of the age. It has served those private interests that are always enlisted against the cause of the people. It never could be made to understand that to allow the System to take a man by the throat and rob him under the guise of an iniquitous tariff was no guaranty of tranquillity or prosperity. It never was able to realize that corruption by wealth will lower the moral tone of our people and that morality is the only sure guaranty of

property. It permitted the System to trample upon the consciences of the people from what seemed to it a higher interest.

But a slumbering sympathy is awakening into life. A new day is breaking. One by one the old lights are disappearing. The people are taking an inventory in the retrospect. It is not a single individual, but a system, an epoch, come to judgment.

The people have learned that patriotism is too often the last resort of the scoundrel. They have learned that they have been excluded from any real share in the government beyond the payment of taxes over which they exercise no control. They find that their government has been surrendered by the leaders of the Republican party into the hands of an irresponsible aristocracy of Privilege, utterly indifferent to public opinion, consistent only in the pursuit of wealth, lacking in integrity, careless of principle, oblivious to the voice of the people. While these "Children of the Preferred Stock" have been leading enchanted lives, charmed with the soft music of adulation, thrilled with the splendors of the world, the masses of the people have been living on the bare margin of a hungry subsistence.

"Take everything out of Italy that you can transport that is of any value to us," wrote the Directory to Napoleon at the head of the Army of Italy. In like estate the System writes: "Get everything out of the Republican party that you can that is of any value to us."

JOHN FREEMANTLE

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IMPORTANT FACTS NOT "EVEN FAINTLY" APPRECIATED.*

It seems to be the function of railway "mag-nates" to operate railways as an agency for creating public debt.

The cash profit divided among the stockholders of the New York Central lines in 1870 and 1871

*Mr. C. R. Burritt, of New York City, asks for a more particular citation, or information more in detail, of the operations of the New York Central lines as told over my signature in the editorial of this series in *The Public* of October 6th, at pages 1018 and 1019. The particulars he asks for are as follows:

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Capital stock September 30th, 1875..... | \$ 89,428,300 |
| Increase to June 30th, 1906 (11.82%)..... | 10,571,700 |

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------------|
| Capital stock June 30th, 1906..... | \$100,000,000 |
|------------------------------------|---------------|

The total number of passengers reported as having been carried one mile in the entire five-year period ending in 1906, is equal to the total number carried one mile in the five-year period ending September 30th, 1875, plus 254 per cent. The percentage of increase in the tons of freight hauled is arrived at by the same rule.

LEVI STEVENS LEWIS

would have paid every dollar of its alleged "debt," funded or unfunded, leaving many thousands of cash in hand. The dividends pocketed by the stockholders the five years ending September 30th, 1875, were more than 24 millions in excess of the "debt" outstanding September 30th, 1870.

In the same five years the alleged "debt" increased many millions. Total increase 1870 to June 30, 1909, about \$260,000,000. In these 39 years the total revenue, the income from all sources, was \$700,000,000 in excess of operating expenses (excluding taxes and rentals for leased lines)—more than \$49,300 for every twenty-four hours between October 31, 1869, and July 1, 1909.

And so the process of creating public debts for private profit goes on. Millions are reported to have been set aside to redeem "4% Gold Debentures," but the "bonded debt," so called, the debt on which the people and not the stockholders pay the interest, continues to increase as the traffic and the profits increase. The "bonded debt" of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company September 30, 1870, was equal to \$3.12 for each inhabitant of the State of New York. It has since been increased to about \$31.

Now note the increased profits. Deducting operating expenses (taxes and rental of leased lines not included) for the ten years ending June 30, 1909, from the total income from all sources, and dividing the remainder by 3,652, the number of days, we find the income during those ten years to exceed the operating expenses by a daily average of \$85,690.78.

Notwithstanding these figures, calculated from official reports, the president of this corporation declared to a body of presumably intelligent men who had met in Chicago to protest against a considerable advance of freight rates—still more millions of profit for the benefit of "the investing public"—that the margin of income over expenses on the Central lines was so narrow that they "have barely earned interest on their bonds"; and that a growing and well-founded conviction prevailed that the permanent payment of interest on railway bonds, to say nothing of a fair return upon the money invested by shareholders, "was extremely uncertain." And in very plain language he informed those gentlemen that an increase of railway profit was inevitable, and to be secured at any or all cost—even the risk of precipitating a conflict between organized capital and organized labor of unprecedented violence, "a struggle" that would cost the business interests of the country "one hundred times one hundred millions." In conclusion he said: "I doubt,

Mr. President, if the importance of this meeting and the great significance of the result of the deliberations of this gathering of representatives of the great commercial and manufacturing interests of the country is *even faintly appreciated by any of us.*" In this remark he was quite correct, as you will see if you read the second, third and fourth paragraphs of this editorial over again attentively.

LEVI STEVENS LEWIS.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE VICTORY IN CALIFORNIA.

San Diego, California.

For a couple of generations the Southern Pacific and San Francisco politicians had dominated the State, even to the appointment of dog-catchers, using either political party as best suited their purpose. That they abused their power is notorious. The Common People were apparently helpless. And then, through the mere passage of a direct-primary law, carried by a combination of the progressives of all parties, the giant was smote as Goliath of old and crumpled to the ground in all his armor.

With the passage of the direct-primary law, Hiram Johnson, the selected standard bearer, gave up all private business for months and going into every hamlet in the State preached a new crusade: "Kick the Southern Pacific out of politics!" The Common People heard him gladly. At the primary election he won out as a candidate for the Governorship, and then continued the same county to county, hamlet to hamlet, campaign, sticking to his one text. He was not only elected by a handsome majority, but carried the entire State ticket and legislature with him.

As soon as the legislature assembled, such reform legislation as could be acted upon was adopted, and twenty-three amendments were ordered submitted to the people after having been adopted with but few negative votes.

Arrayed against the initial campaigns and the program were, however, all the large and supposed influential newspapers, the big corporations, the liquor interests, the leading citizens, and all those who had flourished and been protected under the old regime. From first to last it was an uprising of the Common People striving for political and economic emancipation.

First and foremost was the amendment providing for the Recall of all elected public officials, including judges. Probably no other measure had more determined opposition, from the influence of the President of the United States down. Against it was not only the entire combined powerful opposition, but many progressives themselves doubted the advisability of the recall of the judges. The Los Angeles Times treated it as follows: "The Recall should be defeated because it makes official and judicial cowards and destroys stability and independence." Every effort had been made to divide the proposition, but Governor Johnson and his sup-

porters stood unyielding. And what was the result? It obtained the highest vote, some 150,000, upon the entire ballot, an almost four to one majority.

Next in importance was the Initiative and Referendum. This the Los Angeles Times treated as follows: "The Initiative and Referendum should be defeated because they are instruments of the turbulent few and their adoption means recurrent elections of frivolous character." Nevertheless this amendment obtained the next highest vote.

Then came three amendments which enlarged the powers and membership of what had been for thirty years a very inoffensive Railroad Commission, making it also a Public Service Commission. The Los Angeles Times treated this as follows: "The Railroad Commission amendments should be defeated because they propose a centralization of despotic entrenched power over the greatest instrumentalities of modern society." The Common People, however, thought it would be a good thing to try the shoe on the other foot for a while and "intrenched" by a big vote.

What in the end aroused the most popular interest was the amendment relating to Woman Suffrage. Of it the Los Angeles Times said: "Woman suffrage should be defeated because it tends to unsex society and destroy the home and puts a burden on women which most of them do not want." This amendment seemed to gather interest as it progressed and as the women and their friends gained confidence in public speaking, writing, and organization. Every fearful Interest was arrayed against it and reached the "pole cat" stage at the end, bringing in many time-honored stage properties: the "nigger question;" the denunciations of Cardinal Gibbons,—as well as the contrary statement that within two years, owing to woman's religious nature, the parson would supplant the schoolmaster and we would have an established state church. Owing to the fact that San Francisco cast a heavy majority against the measure, and even Los Angeles a light majority for it, and that these cities were the first to send in returns, it looked as though this was the only one of the twenty-three amendments to meet defeat; all the others were known almost at once to have carried. The women sadly gave up the result, but pluckily commenced to plan for a new campaign under the Initiative in 1912. Their mourning was turned to joy, however, as the plain quiet-home precincts and rural districts began to be heard from, and today it looks as though the amendment had safely carried by not less than 3,000, with each far away precinct adding to the majority. An analysis of the Los Angeles vote by the Tribune shows it to have been defeated in the very poorest and least intelligent precincts, such as around the railroad tracks, gas houses, car barns, etc., and also in the most beautiful and wealthiest precincts. It carried among the quiet owners of their own homes, among people not mentioned in the society supplements of the Sunday papers, among people who when night comes light the family lamp and read, study and discuss the economic problems of the day, which bear on them heavier and heavier year by year—the Ultimate Consumers. These city homes and the rural homes and ranches, the great middle classes, gave the im-

pressive silent vote which, for the first time in the history of the State, had the opportunity to express its convictions and aspirations.

Is there not a lesson and incentive in it all for those likewise aspiring to be free in other portions of our boss-ridden country? Lessons and a stimulant for other Common People no more hopeless, no more helpless than were those of California.

SEYMOUR W. TULLOCH.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

LOOKING THROUGH THE CURTAIN.

Portland, Oregon.

The way California made good is a consolation to all who worked so many years for power of the people. Equal suffrage by a "squeak," but what a roar it will be magnified into before long! Hurrah!

Here the papers are full of Singletax. More discussion than ever before. Much of it opposition, and from The Oregonian unfair. Still, the policy of silence is broken and the war is on.

I am told by one of the most conservative bankers of many years in Portland that loans on speculative properties that are unimproved are being made with great caution. He wants Singletax by inches, he says, and not a rod at a time.

The Grange is being more and more dominated by the farmers around the cities, many of whom are land speculators because of the extension of public facilities and growth of population. The largest local Grange in Oregon is dominated by a very able lawyer whose interests appear to lie close to the land speculator. Other local leaders the same. I find the "city Granger" hard to reach with Singletax. The usual case is a professional man, or a farmer suddenly seeing (or realizing) visions of wealth through being gobbled by the city. Usually he thinks he made all the increased value by raising "spuds" for a quarter of a century, and is inclined to regard the Singletax as a proposition to "rob the farmer." Some of them are very bitter, and intensify their ignorance at every opportunity.

ALFRED D. CRIDGE.

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TRAVEL GLIMPSES.

New York.

Just had a view of New York's Chinatown and the East Side. The squalor is not so great as I expected, the worst phases probably being hidden—such as windowless rooms and underground habitations.

But there is a worse blot on civilization on the West Side. At the Cunard Pier I saw seemingly sane people in alphabetical groups sitting on their luggage until midnight (and no doubt longer, for not half were disposed of) while impolite officials fumbled through trunks and satchels, examining private effects lest some trinket escape that might be taxed. They were well dressed people, supposedly of influence with the "ruling class," yet they made no protest. I understand that such idiotic insults have been endured for years, but they must be seen to be realized.

I can never learn New York dialect. Wanting to go to Chinatown, I asked a subway agent at what station to get off. "Woyt st." he replied. "White st.?" I inquired. "Woyt—Woyt st.," he insisted. My better half, being quick at analysis and knowing the stations, suggested "Worth st.," which was correct, but I was left in a state of stupid amazement.

C. F. HUNT.

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 24, 1911.

The Chinese Revolution.

The fighting before Hankow, imminent last week, after a two days' battle left the situation to the revolutionists, and by the 20th the Imperial troops were reported to be in rapid retreat northward along the railway line to Peking. The Imperial fleet of twelve warships in the Yangtse opposite Hankow and Wu-Chang, shattered by the insurgent batteries, had steamed away down the river. One vessel was sunk by its crew which deserted to the enemy. The troops which were being rushed from Peking to support the Imperial vanguard, were halted on the way, as the men refused to make front against the insurgents. A further defeat of 20,000 Imperial troops at Kwang-Shui, in the mountain passes north of Hankow on the lines of the Hankow-Peking railway, was reported on the 22d. The Peling mountains cross China from west to east between the central provinces where the revolution is rife, and the northern provinces in which the Manchus are more numerous, and where is the capital city of Peking. The revolutionists claim to control a large number of the mountain passes, and they appear to be dominant in a large part of the Yangtse valley. The Imperial government admits the loss of the important city of I-Chang, above Hankow, and of Hwangchau, fifty miles below Hankow. Changsha and Nanchang, provincial capitals, south and southeast of Hankow, respectively, were reported as being in the hands of the revolutionists on the 23d. Changsha is a city of 300,000 population, on the railroad between Hankow and Canton. Dispatches of the 23d also stated that the revolutionary spirit had spread to the northern provinces. [See current volume, page 1075.]

Early in the revolution came reports of the slaughter of Manchus—men, women and children—in Hankow and other places by mobs in sympathy with the revolution. The slaughter began

in Hankow and Wu-Chang when it was learned that Imperial troops were approaching the city. It is said that the Manchus were singled out by their pronunciation of the Chinese word for "six" which the Manchus pronounce slightly different from the Chinese. The revolutionists are requiring that all queues should be cut off. The greatest care is being taken by the revolutionists that no foreigners shall receive injury to life or property, fearing that if this should happen the foreign powers might support the Imperial government against them, or might allow Japan to interfere on the pretext of producing order.

The Chinese National Assembly (or Imperial Senate), dismissed last January, was opened for its second session on the 22d, by Prince Shih-To in place of the Prince Regent. The Prince urged the members to turn the knowledge and experience which they had gained at the first session, to account, in order to assure the well being of the nation and to give expression to the wishes of the people. No mention was made of the revolution. [See current volume, pages 61, 84, 295, 318.]

The flag of the new "Republic of China" was displayed in New York on the 22d at a public meeting of 500 Chinese held under the auspices of the New York branch of the Young China Association. It is red with a blue field similar to that of the American flag, and in place of the stars has a white sun. There also was a "Union Jack," all blue, with a white sun in the center.

The Fight for La Follette.

Following their conference of last week at Chicago the Progressive Republicans launched the La Follette campaign within the Republican party at a mass meeting on the 17th in Orchestra Hall. The auditorium was crowded. Speeches were made by Senator Clapp of Minnesota, Senator Crawford of South Dakota, Charles E. Merriam of Illinois and George L. Record of New Jersey. State Senator Walter Clyde Jones, the Progressive Republican candidate for Governor of Illinois, who presided, gave the impersonal key note of the meeting in his demand for the Initiative and the Referendum and the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people. Headquarters are to be opened at New York and Chicago. [See current volume, page 1077.]

National Convention of Woman Suffragists.

In consequence of the woman suffrage victory in California, exceptional importance attached to the forty-third annual convention at Louisville,

Ky., of the American Woman Suffrage Association. [See current volume, page 957.]

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A significant feature of the convention was a strong movement to alter the existing form of representation in the national convention, through State organization exclusively, to representation directly from established local clubs of 50 members or more, so as to maintain the democracy of the national organization. Prominent in this movement are Martha Carey Thomas (president of Bryn Mawr College), Mary Ware Dennett of Boston, and Jessie Ashley of New York. Although strongly supported, the proposal was defeated. Anna Shaw was re-elected president on the 23d by a large majority, receiving 210 out of 266 votes. Jane Addams was elected first vice-president and Sophonisba Breckenridge second vice-president, with Mrs. Robert M. La Follette as auditor. Alice Stone Blackwell was continued as editor of the *Woman's Journal*. After a sharp contest over a motion to remove the national headquarters from New York to Chicago the Illinois delegation withdrew the motion, and the New York headquarters were retained.

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A Significant Political Departure in New Zealand.

New Zealand newspapers report the resignation from the New Zealand ministry on the 5th of September of George Fowlds, known throughout Australasia as a Singletaxer. Mr. Fowlds, who is a business man of high standing in Auckland, has long been a member of the New Zealand parliament, holding his seat through several successive election contests; and since 1906 he has been an important member of the ministry. The offices he resigned were a seat in the Executive Council—the portfolios of Education, of Immigration, and of Customs—and Minister in Charge of Mental Hospitals and of the Fire Insurance Department. [See vol. ix, pp. 490, 651, 1153; vol. xi, p. 851; current volume, p. 30.]

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Evidently no personal ill-feeling nor any party rupture caused Mr. Fowlds's resignation. The Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward, announced it and its acceptance with such assurances to Parliament, and Mr. Fowlds spoke appreciatively of the progressive statutes the Ward ministry had secured. Neither was the resignation caused by any fear on the part of Mr. Fowlds that the Liberal party may be displaced at the next elections by the Opposition. Apparently his sole motive for resigning was to enable him to participate actively and freely in political tendencies more democratic and more timely than any which the Liberal party represents. We quote excerpts from his speech to Parliament in reply to the Prime

Minister's announcement of his resignation, as reported in the mail correspondence of the *Otago (New Zealand) Daily Times* of September 11:

I have not taken this step on account of any personal difference between the Prime Minister and myself, or between any of my other colleagues and myself. My relations, both personal and official, have been of the most harmonious character with all of them. Our political ideals have been widely divergent on many questions, but these differences have never interfered with our personal relationship, and I can honestly say that it is with deep regret that I have felt impelled to take this serious step. . . . Such actions are usually precipitated by some crucial question marking a fundamental divergence of opinion between a Minister and his colleagues. My reasons are, however, of a more general character.

It is quite true that my action has to some extent been precipitated by a division that took place in Parliament some weeks ago on the Town-planning Bill. The importance of that vote from a constitutional point of view I have already dealt with in the public press. The political significance of it is no less momentous. That a substantial number of members of the Government party should by their votes say that, while they were not prepared to trust the Government as a whole sitting with the Governor-in-Council to do certain important administrative acts, they were prepared to entrust these acts to a board of Government officials, with perhaps one Minister sitting as a member or as chairman, was to my mind symptomatic of a very serious condition of affairs. The action and attitude of the Opposition were perfectly natural, its business being to oppose the Government and to displace it if it can. . . . But the position is entirely different when the Government supporters adopt that attitude. The vote itself was a comparatively trifling affair, and, considering the smallness of the number of members voting, I daresay it might easily have been adjusted, but the condition of which it was symptomatic is much more difficult of adjustment.

The condition, as it appears to me, is one of dissatisfaction and unrest in the party in its relations with its representatives who compose the Government. I have no indication that such dissatisfaction centers itself on me personally, but I have felt it impossible for me to remain a member of a Government which was unable to secure that measure of party loyalty necessary to carry on the government of the country with some degree of dignity and self-respect. I have never been greatly enamoured of party government, but until we have evolved both the machinery and the public spirit necessary to make some other form of government possible, it is essential that the Government should have such support as would enable it to carry out its functions in a reasonably dignified manner. When it is unable to do that its usefulness has gone.

When I entered public life I did so for the attainment of ideals, and not with the object of attaining and maintaining place and power. The call to Ministerial rank came entirely unsolicited either by me or for me, and I accepted it in a spirit of service, willing and anxious at any time to step aside if I felt that I could do better for my country out of

office than I could in office. That conviction has now come to me, and has dictated the step I have taken.

When I joined the Government which Sir Joseph Ward formed in August, 1906, I did so with the full knowledge that only small progress would be made in the direction of many great reforms I had advocated as a private member, and in that respect I have not been greatly disappointed. I joined in the belief that I could render the country some useful service in the direction of honest and efficient administration, and that my presence in the Government, if it did not greatly help along reforms in which I was interested, would certainly not seriously hinder them. . . . I don't go out to form any new political cult. I believe in the principle of Liberalism. . . .

But the times in which we live demand a new evangel, a gospel which I have felt I could not preach as a member of the present Government, and so I have decided for freedom, in order that I might express my whole soul to the people of New Zealand.

Everywhere throughout the civilized world to-day we see a spirit of unrest amongst the masses of the people, an unrest, let me say, which is justified by the social conditions in which the great masses of the people live, and an unrest which will not be quieted until the condition of social justice has been established. If I can succeed to any great extent in moulding this rising tide of new democracy into what I believe to be the right channels, then I shall feel more than repaid for what appears like a present sacrifice.

I go out under no illusions regarding the difficulties and dangers that lie before me. Many people will judge me foolish. Some may even consider me wicked. In the future, as in the past, I shall endeavor to satisfy myself that my course is the right one, that my actions are dictated not by the hope of private advantage or preference, but by motives of public benefit. . . . Whenever a truly democratic party arises in this country, a party pledged to definite principles, principles which it believes in and which it is prepared to fight for, it shall have my whole-souled support; and if it should become numerous enough to enable it to form a Government, and invites me to join, my services will be available. In the meantime, I believe I can best serve the country as a private member.

In a newspaper explanation in the New Zealand Times of his meaning regarding the words "a new evangel" in his speech, Mr. Fowlds said:

I am not prepared at present to elaborate any cut and dried platform, but I consider one of the most urgent things to be done is to make a serious effort to reduce the cost of living; and, in my judgment, this can best be done by increasing the taxation on land values and using the proceeds of the tax first to abolish duties on the necessaries of life, and, secondly, to reduce railway freights in order to bring the produce of the country to the consumer more cheaply. I have held strongly to the belief that one of the most urgent constitutional reforms was the adoption of proportional representation, and that many of the evils that New Zealand suffers from today can only be remedied by that system of representation.

At a meeting of the Dunedin branch of the Labor party on the 5th of September the following motion was carried:

This branch desires to offer to the Hon. G. Fowlds sincere congratulations for the position he has taken up in separating himself from the Ministry, and to record its entire appreciation of the reason for the step taken, and wishes him many years of successful political work in the future.

NEWS NOTES

—John R. Walsh died at his home in Chicago on the 23d, at the age of 74 years. [See current volume, page 1078.]

—A rearrangement of the British Cabinet on the 23d transfers Winston Churchill from the Home department to the naval.

—George E. Vincent was installed on the 18th as president of the State university of Minnesota. [See vol. xiii, p. 1214.]

—At the Republican State convention of Rhode Island, Aram J. Pothier was re-nominated for Governor, and President Taft's administration and the Protective tariff were endorsed.

—The Singletaxers of Cleveland have begun an "acquaintance campaign" through an informal luncheon club, of which J. K. Dorn, Virgil Allen, J. B. Vining and Carl D. Friebolin are the instigators.

—Peter S. Grosscup, Circuit Judge of the United States for the Seventh Judicial District, which includes Chicago, resigned on the 21st, his resignation to take effect on the 23rd. [See current volume, p. 997.]

—Canada's population by the census of 1911, according to a statement made by the Census Director on the 17th, is about 7,100,000. The Director says this will be slightly increased when delayed returns are received.

—President Taft's campaigning tour took him last week from Los Angeles to Butte, Montana. Arriving in Butte on the 18th he left the same day. On the 20th he spoke at Newcastle, Wyoming; on the 21st at Deadwood, South Dakota, and on the 23rd at Aberdeen, Kansas. [See current volume, page 1078.]

—After a five years' fight, the women teachers in the public schools of New York have won equal pay with men in all grades, Mayor Gaynor having on the 19th signed the equal pay bill and Gov. Dix having already made it known that if the Mayor accepted the bill he also would sign it. [See current volume, page 350.]

—At the time of the British Conference at Glasgow, on land value taxation, the Corporation of the City of Glasgow gave an official reception at the City Chamber to the Scottish League and the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values. This is probably the first occasion anywhere in the world of an official reception, by a municipality, to delegates to a Single-tax gathering. [See current volume, page 1030.]

—The Italian invasion of Tripoli has encountered resistance in the rich eastern province of Cyrenaica,

the especial object of Italian desire. Defeats and massacres of Italians are uncertainly reported from one or two minor places. On the 19th the Italians were severely repulsed at the coast city of Benghazi, but on the following day succeeded in occupying the town, after losing many more men than were lost by the Turks. [See current volume, page 1078.]

—In a suit for libel begun by William Randolph Hearst against Collier's for publishing an article by Will Irwin stating that theatrical managers paying \$1,000 for a page advertisement in a Hearst paper at New York would be given the benefit of an editorial by Arthur Brisbane, Collier's answered on the 19th to the effect, as reported by newspaper dispatches, that the alleged libelous statement is true. The question remains now to be tried by a jury.

—At the annual meeting of the Massachusetts' Singletax League, held in Boston on the 17th, the members were urged to work for the Initiative and Referendum in Massachusetts. The following officers were elected: James R. Carret, president; Robert B. Capon, vice-president; Edwin Thatcher Clark, secretary; Comfort A. Adams, treasurer, and Ernest E. Brazier, Weldon L. Crosman, Lewis J. Johnson, John R. Nichols, John G. Pike and Henry Sterling, executive committee.

—Prominent scientists from the University of Chicago are to give a series of ten weekly evening lectures at Fullerton hall in the Art Institute, beginning November 2. Such men as Professors Moulton, Jordan and Coulter each will present an account of the recent work in his own field in a manner to interest a general audience. This unusual opportunity is offered under the auspices of the University of Chicago Settlement, and season tickets for ten dollars may be obtained from Miss Marion Dummer, Lake Geneva, Wis.

—Press reports from Detroit are to the effect that an agreement was concluded on the 20th between Mayor Thompson and Corporation Counsel Hally, acting for the city, and President Jere C. Hutchins and General Manager Brooks, on behalf of the local traction company, whereby the company grants 8 tickets for a quarter from 5 a. m. to 8 p. m. and 6 tickets for a quarter during the night hours, with universal transfers at all hours. The company agrees also to sell its system to the city on six months' notice.

—At the close of last week's proceedings in the McNamara trial at Los Angeles, there were three jurors in the box who had passed the ordeal of challenges for cause but were still subject to peremptory challenges. On the 23d one juror was rejected by the court because he believed from personal inspection that the explosion was caused by dynamite, but another was accepted by the court because, although he believed that the explosion was by dynamite, he based his belief upon what he had heard. [See current volume, page 1076.]

—The extension of the parole law even to life prisoners was advocated by Attorney General Wickersham before the American Prison Congress in session in Omaha on the 17th. Said Mr. Wickersham: "While there is life there should be hope. It may be far off, delayed, a dim, distant possibility, but it

would seem that that hope should be held out as a possible attainment to the meanest wretch who is allowed to live. The justice of man should aim at the perfection of divine justice and, though finite wisdom, not knowing the hearts of men, may not always deal justly with offenders, yet it should not 'shut the gates of mercy' against the meanest of God's creatures."

—The morning session of the Illinois Federation of Labor at Springfield on the 18th was devoted to the discussion by women delegates of woman suffrage, the child labor law, the ten-hour law for women, and women factory inspectors, the speakers being Mrs. Raymond Robins, Mary McEnerney, Elizabeth Maloney, Anna Willard, and Olive Sullivan. At the election on the 20th Edwin R. Wright was re-elected president by 196 votes to 93 for Joseph W. Morton. The new executive committee is composed wholly of men, Anna Willard having been defeated after twice polling a plurality vote. Resolutions were adopted on the 20th authorizing the legislative committee of the Federation to "co-operate at its discretion with the Secretary of the Initiative and Referendum League to secure the submission and adoption of amendments" to the State Constitution reserving to the people of Illinois the powers of Initiative and Referendum. [See current volume, page 1078.]

PRESS OPINIONS

A Great Day.

The (San Francisco) Star (dem. Dem.), Oct. 14.—Hurray! Hurrah! Glory be! And also, Hallelujah! Anything, everything, that tells of joy, of jubilation, of a happiness so extreme that it knows no way to express itself. It was the greatest day in California's story, a Red Letter Day, a day so tremendous in its import for this generation and generations yet unborn, that no letters of reddest red could give to it the emphasis it deserves. . . . Think of it! The Initiative and Referendum, the universal Recall, a Suffrage that insists on no distinction between skirts and trousers—and all this in one revivifying dose! Ladies and gentlemen, fellow voters, it gives us inexpressible pleasure to announce that the patient will get well; he is more than convalescent; all doubt is past. Hooray and Hallelujah! And what's the matter with a tiger? If The Star appears to be jubilant at this time, it does not appear enough so. It cannot; nothing less than a general explosion would express our joy, and the Business Manager insists that we cannot afford that.

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Cardinal Gibbons, Logician!

The (Lancaster, Pa.) Labor Leader (Labor union organ), Oct. 21.—Cardinal Gibbons is the latest prominent character who has publicly announced his adherence to reactionary political views. He has taken occasion to denounce not only the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, but the Direct Election of Senators also. . . . The reasons given by the Cardinal are of a kind that few of his reactionary comrades

will care to repeat. "The Constitution that was good enough for the fathers should be good enough for us," is the weighty argument which the Associated Press attributes to him. If that is good reasoning, then it would have been equally good to have said to the "fathers:" "The government of England, which was good enough for your ancestors should be good enough for you." It would have been just as good reasoning to have said to the Puritans who settled New England, to William Penn and his Quakers, to Lord Baltimore and his Catholic emigrants and to other early comers: "Europe was a good enough place for your fathers and ought to be good enough for you." It might have been said to the first Christians: "The religion that was good enough for your ancestors should be good enough for you." It might even be carried back to the cave dweller who conceived the first primitive improvement. If his argument is good argument at all it means not only that progress in all lines must now stop, but that we should actually go back to as rude and barbarous conditions as may possibly be imagined.

+ +

The Judicial Type.

The (Denver) Rocky Mountain News (dem. Dem.), Oct. 12.—Chief Justice Robert W. Steele died one year ago this day. Death, to the unworthy, is extinction, but for those of splendid lives there is an immortality of remembrance as well as soul. As long as mountains point to the heights—fit simile for one who stood so strong and high—Judge Steele will live in the hearts of the plain people that he loved and by whom he was loved. There is a greatness of the mind, and there is a greatness that waits on ambition, but more glorious and eternal than these is the greatness that proceeds from the passion for justice, the tenderness of fraternity and infinite comprehension of human rights and human needs. No less than Abraham Lincoln, Robert W. Steele was the perfect democrat, and no less than Lincoln he had the ever-springing courage which God so providently stores in the souls of those who strive for humanity. He entered his judicial career as a minority of one—he ended it as a majority of one. Against every pitfall and persuasion, against malice and machination, the approach of friend and threat of enemy, he stood true—true to the people and true to the Creator who intended equality of justice and opportunity. May his memory ever remain as a standard and an inspiration.

+ +

The Judicial Recall.

(Chicago) Real Estate News, Oct.—The general assault which all unprejudiced observers must perceive to be impending against the judicial camp is fomented by two principal causes: the decline in the character of judges, and the identification of the judges with a method and theory of legal decision which has suddenly grown inadequate to the demands of the country. The latter cause is the more potent of the two. . . . The malcontents see clearly enough that the obstacle to their demands is not so much in the Constitution itself as in the meaning placed upon its provisions by judges; and if judges can in one era interpret the law according to the

general ideas then prevailing, why should not the judges of another era place a different and more timely interpretation upon the same provisions? Hence, the demand for the recall of judges. . . . We are still unconverted to the judicial recall, though apparently the progressives are on the eve of reading out of their party all heretics who reject that article of faith. One thing, however, seems certain; unless the judges are able in the very near future to break in some measure their thralldom to precedent and respond more adequately to the social demands of the day, the proud eminence of the judiciary of this country is at an end. . . . We see nothing but confusion and chaos in the impending reconstruction of the courts, and in the departure from precedent as the rule of decision. At the same time, we think that judges might consistently take the new thought of the time more to heart than they do.

+ +

Presidential Breezes.

Market Letter (Warren W. Erwin & Co., 26 Beaver street, New York), Oct. 16.—There is as yet no sign that radicalism is waning. On the contrary, the result of the California election and the newspaper reception to President Taft's western speeches indicate that the tide of radicalism is still rising. A few weeks or months ago Wall Street expected to do what it could to re-elect President Taft. Today it is turning from him and expects to back Governor Harmon or some other supposedly safe and conservative Democrat. This change of the political outlook in Wall Street indicates clearly the desperateness of the situation in Wall Street's view.

+

Moody's Magazine (financial), October.—What might happen should the Republicans nominate Taft and the Democrats Harmon, is pretty plain to be seen. A third party of radical tendencies, drawn from the two older parties, would probably make its appearance. La Follette and Bryan, Wilson and Bristow, would be found working hand in hand. For the elements represented by these men are today far closer together than many people realize. . . . A three-cornered fight, on the foregoing lines, would in 1912, almost certainly result in the election of either Taft or Harmon; probably Harmon. Financial and business interests are a little afraid of Taft. If, however, there is no three-cornered fight, and Wilson or Champ Clark is nominated on the Democratic side, with Taft as the Republican nominee, then it is more than possible that Taft will be signally defeated.

+ +

Bryan Worth Watching.

The (South Bend, Ind.) New Era (dem. Dem.), Sept. 16.—Last winter William J. Bryan protested vigorously against the choice of Senator Thomas S. Martin of Virginia as the Democratic leader in the United States Senate. His enemies replied that Mr. Bryan was playing the role of dictator and was opposing Senator Martin on grounds other than patriotic ones. . . . A letter written by the Senator sixteen years ago and addressed to the king of the railroad lobbyists has recently been made public, throw-

ing a light on his character that ought to convince every fair-minded person that Mr. Bryan was right in his demands that some other should be selected as the leader of the Democratic party in the United States Senate. This letter is a plea to the railroad companies to save the Democratic machine in Virginia from defeat by liberal donations to the campaign funds. In it he points out the danger of having agitators elected to the State legislature and promises that if the regular candidates are given support and elected they can be relied upon to be friendly to the railroad interests.

+ +

Progressive Municipal Taxation.

Passaic (N. J.) Daily Herald (Ind.), Sept. 7.—Since taxes must be collected for the support of government, they should be levied, as far as possible in the proportion that men enjoy protection and benefit from government. . . . The man who builds a house or store, conducts a business, or who merely sells his labor and pays rent in a community, confers a benefit upon the community by his investment, enterprise or industry. He helps to make the community prosperous. The head tax fines him for being a citizen. The personal property tax and the tax on his home and buildings are penalties imposed because he has done something to aid the community and make it larger and richer. And while men of industry and enterprise are thus penalized for helping to build the community, a premium is placed upon selfishness by the system which imposes the lightest taxes upon the holder of unimproved land. The speculator who holds unimproved property for increased values gets rich without effort, and pays little to the support of the community, whose growth gives him his unearned profits, while the man of industry and enterprise, whose operations have made the unimproved property more valuable, is taxed heavily for having contributed to the prosperity of the community and the wealth of the speculator in unearned increment. This newspaper has for years advocated the adoption of the plan which would exempt personal property and improvements from taxation, abolish the head tax, and place all taxation on land values; which would encourage enterprise, and secure the city revenues from a source that would impoverish nobody. Such a plan of taxation is merely the taking back by the community in taxes from the users of the land of the added value the growth and prosperity the community has given to the land. It is putting the land into use, by making it unprofitable for individuals to hold it in unimproved condition for unearned profits. It is offering an incentive to enterprise, thrift and improvement, instead of placing a penalty on the erection of better buildings. It absolves the individual from taxation, and places the burden of governmental cost upon a uniform and impersonal basis. It makes tax shirking and swearing off of taxes well nigh impossible, and benefits the community in encouraging and forcing a growth and a better quality of improvements. The only preliminary step necessary to installing this system of taxation is to secure State legislation giving cities the power to exempt from taxes such property as they see fit.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

PROGRESSIVE RIGHT AND OPPRESSIVE WRONG.

Michael McGovern, in Youngstown (O.) Vindicator.

Progressive Right is calling to
The people to awake,
And from their lives the gathered dust
Of backward ages shake.
It tells them to retain what's good,
And worthless things discard;
Then nature's blessings—signed by God—
Will be their just reward.

Who dreads the march of Progress? None
Who's honest fears its call;
'Tis but the man in Wrong's employ
Who fears a downward fall
From crumbling crags of Privilege
Into the depths below,
Where Justice through progressiveness
Would evil-doers throw.

Progressive Right abhors the laws
By which the past was bound
To stakes of serfdom—driven deep
In foul Oppression's ground.
'Twould have each generation make
The laws that serve it best,
And not be bound by fetters made
By despots laid at rest.

The clothes we wore in infancy
Are changed to suit old age:
We find within the book of life,
While reading page by page,
That ideas of youth don't serve
New Progress when we're old;
'Tis selfish men, alone, who'd have
Old laws to guard their gold.

The Present always something finds
To supersede the Past;
The things we think so perfect now
Will not forever last.
Tho' earth and love are always young,
And both may last for aye,
The laws that bind the living should
Be framed to suit their day.

Had Progress never prompted men
To action, there would be
A world which God might well despise
As lost to liberty,
The human race would be inert,
And backward as the brute,
Too slow to climb the highest branch
To get the ripest fruit.

Progressive Right means liberty—
It hates old selfish Wrong.
It helps the weak against the fierce
Encroachments of the strong.

but he whose gains accrue
 from wrongful systems, fears
 progress that will brush away
 the risks of backward years.

Progressive Right has open'd the gates
 of superstition's field;
 the fenced-up fallacies
 had been there concealed;
 it has men to think anew,
 and have the past behind,
 and the present gifts of God
 whose future has designed.

Our fathers cast aside
 their well-worn things
 and the badge of servitude
 of democratic kings,
 and had a new progressive robe
 for the bold and brave,
 and would now a mongrel be—
 a freeman and half slave.

"Progressive Right!" Beneath
 every flag, or sign,
 you assert yourself,
 and motto shall be mine.
 Every generation must
 earn its daily bread,
 and you to protect it from
 the hands of the dead.



OF INCORRUPTIBILITY

An Article on "The Fear of the People."
 by Frank R. Crane in the Chicago
 Examiner of September 2, 1911.

The foundation of this Republic
 by alleged statesmen have been fear-
 frenzy and busy erecting bulwarks

The people have smashed these bul-
 warks. There is the fool sys-
 tem of electoral College, practically swept
 away. It quadrennially enacts its solemn

Senate, an inheritance from Eng-
 lish politics, wherein the upper classes
 are to be as much wiser than the com-
 mon whole second chamber, two
 of a holdover from a theory of gov-
 ernment absolutely outgrown.

The people are getting daily more
 independent of the Senate, and some day it will
 have become a huge machine for pre-
 popular will.

Mr. Justice Brandeis's idea of the judgeship is the
 idea of the governing class—to wit,
 a judge or legislator incorruptible
 and independent of the people.

Work. The bottom truth about the
 system is that where there is power there
 is corruption. To give any man, be he
 a pauper or millionaire, power over his fel-

lows, and not make him at the same time account-
 able to his fellows for the use he makes of his
 power, is to plant the seed of tyranny, cruelty,
 corruption and obstructionism.

The greatest evils that have beset this country
 have come from its Senate and the courts. It is
 from these non-popular bodies that have come the
 Dred Scott decision, the principle that the Con-
 stitution does not follow the flag, and the most
 stubborn support of high tariffs and all other
 forms of private privilege.

It was "popular frenzy" that instigated the
 Revolution and made this country a nation in defi-
 ance of precedent; that crushed Secession and lib-
 erated the slaves, and that is wresting the natural
 monopolies from the hands of irresponsible pri-
 vate corporations and lodging them in the hands
 of the people.

Say what you please of the incorruptibility of
 the courts, the one permanently incorruptible
 thing is the whole people. The greatness of Abra-
 ham Lincoln lay in the fact that he knew this.

If there be "popular frenzy," the way to cure
 it is to trust the people. The way to inflame it is
 to distrust the people.

Any honest judge ought to be glad to go before
 his masters and give an account of his integrity.
 And dishonest judges ought to be compelled to.



THE REFERENDUM IN COURT.

Closing Paragraphs of the Brief of Jackson H. Ral-
 ston, Fred'k L. Siddons and Wm. E. Richardson,
 of Counsel for the State of Oregon, in Be-
 half of the Initiative and Referendum
 in the Oregon Case Now Before
 the Supreme Court of the
 United States.

The application now being made to this court
 is extraordinary to the last degree. A private
 corporation, deeming itself aggrieved, asks this
 Court in effect to overturn the legislative systems
 of eight States of the Union; to declare that these
 States, while apparently equal members of the
 Union with the other States, have in fact ex-
 cluded themselves and are living under systems of
 laws antagonistic in spirit to those which should
 prevail in the American States.

It asks a decision, the effect of which would be,
 so far as this Court is concerned, to nullify per-
 haps two score of important laws acquiesced in
 by millions of people.

It asks that this Court may set a precedent
 which will justify the disregard of a number of
 Constitutional amendments which have received
 the sanction of thousands of our voters.

It asks that the Supreme Court of the United
 States shall travel far beyond the judicial limits
 set to it by the Constitution, by our traditions of
 government, by the practice of more than a hun-

dred and twenty years, and assume to pass adversely to the expressed views of the Executive and Congress, given upon purely political questions.

It has asked, for the logic of its position can be no less, that this Court shall say that the people may not act directly upon any law, even though their power so to act be reserved by their Constitution.

It has called upon this body to defeat the natural and peaceful evolution of republican institutions, and to inaugurate a reactionary revolution. Instead of permitting the forward movement of the people, under our Constitution, allowing freedom to grow with the growth of public intelligence, it would make of their constitutions something greater than the people creating them, bands stronger than iron, preventing national progress.

It asks that, although two co-ordinate branches of the government, and although two successive Presidents, have recognized the Initiative and Referendum as appropriate under a republican form of government, nevertheless, this Court shall declare the contrary, and say in effect that in its opinion not only Oregon but seven other States of the Union are not such members of the American commonwealth of States, as are contemplated by the Constitution; that their Senators and Representatives are wrongfully seated at the capitol; that when a President certifies to the official character of the officers of Oregon and seven other States of the Union, the utmost he is doing is to recognize them as *de facto* and not *de jure* officers.

The fact is not to be overlooked that utterances of this Court are simply statements of the law as between the parties thereto, and that even though this Court could be induced in this case to hold that the Initiative and Referendum amendment to the Constitution of Oregon was contrary to the Federal Constitution, *the amendment itself would still remain, and similar provisions would likewise remain in a number of other States.* Whether operative or inoperative in the courts, the constitutions, until the people have acted, would remain in the judgment of the appellant un-republican, and the Senators and Representatives of the States in question still not entitled to retain or receive seats in Congress, and Presidential certifications of the acts of civil officers continue to be certifications to the acts of those who were representing an un-republican State. The most vivid imagination will hardly suffice to picture the political and legal ills to follow upon the granting of the correctness of the appellant's position.

But above all, the moral and social ill resultant upon the declaration of the unconstitutionality of the Initiative and Referendum would be infinitely greater. To say that the people rule, and in the next breath to say that they may not rule save

through representatives who may be faithless to their trust, or may fail to represent; to say that the evils committed by representatives through mistakes as to their mandate, through corruption, through official pressure, are beyond the control of the constituents, is to make popular government a mockery. To say that reforms may not be had save by the chance agreement of a majority of the legislature with a majority of the people, or, in the case of Constitutional amendments, of two-thirds, or three-fifths, or three-fourths, or two successive legislatures with the popular majority, is to urge the placing in the way of natural and peaceful political progress of obstacles which may lead even to possibly dangerous irritation. If we would pretend to have a government of the people, we must be prepared to live up to our pretension and not to "keep the word of promise to the ear, to break it to our hope."

BOOKS

A WORD FOR THE TIMES.

The Labor Question. By Washington Gladden. The Pilgrim Press, Boston, New York, Chicago. Price, 75 cts.

The author aims at a fair statement of the much discussed question so often considered from opposite points of view and presenting in argument only one of the two important factors of the problem.

While dealing freely with the abuses of Unionism, because most of those whom he wishes to convince are aware of nothing but the abuses, Mr. Gladden proceeds to show the eminently just and reasonable demands of Unionism which no fair-minded employer can honorably dispute. Every instinct of justice urges the principle of co-operation among labor forces as a protection against the combined power of the money corporations. The only criticism passed on the resistance that labor offers to capital is on the acts of lawlessness in the destruction of life and property which sometimes occurs during labor disturbances. John Mitchell is quoted as saying: "A single act of violence, while it may deter a strike-breaker, or a score of them, inflicts much greater and more irreparable damage upon the party giving than upon the party receiving the blow." And the labor leader goes on to pronounce much stronger condemnation of all dastardly and destructive work on the part of strikers though it is known that many acts attributed to them are instigated and accomplished by their enemies.

In his review of industrial warfares Mr. Gladden betrays his sympathy with the union forces while taking the stand of a dispassionate and un-

ge between opposing forces. His
y of the situation is to be strongly
the notice of employers who regard
material interests in their dealings
his argument appeals directly to the
standing and conscience of men who
themselves to take a wide, impartial
conflict which arises from a grasping
which human nature unfaillingly

recommends to employers not only
but the encouragement of unions.
clearly discussed in his chapter on
and Counter-claims," where he pic-
turer going out among the men and
to organize. "I mean to trust you
s, "but I do not want you to be de-
y favor. I insist that you shall
to stand for your own rights and
men in this shop to join this union.
urry favor with me by staying out
going to be friends with the union
the union to be my friend. This is
s, not your business, it is our busi-
stand for my rights if you are mean
ble, and you will stand for yours if
n unjust, but if we must fight we
el and fight fair."

Mr. Gladden declares: "My own
upon the proposition that if I were
in any trade I should feel under
oin the trade union. It is so en-
me that the freedom of the work-
be maintained these days only by
on that I could not get the consent
ce to stand outside of the union.
lly sure that I could not feel any
ic admiration for men of my own
ed to join the union and did what
feat its purposes. I trust I should
ain from applying to them oppro-
and from assailing them with
I should not be able to hold them

viewer aims to reflect the real spirit
s book its substance will be missed
employer and the wage-earner who
Simply because it presents a dis-
openly and dispassionately before
of contending forces it merits the
tion of both.

A. L. M.

† † †

BUSINESS CHARACTER.

nts of Business Character. By Her-
ell. Published by Fleming H. Revell
ork and Chicago.

lure: whereip lies the difference?"
question, which always raises an-
all the essential elements of busi-

ness character, is one sure to succeed? For in-
stance:

There is in New York a man who manufactures a
product ninety per cent of which is controlled by a
trust. This independent, though pressed, will not
join the consolidation, and time after time efforts
have been made to dislodge him from his trade. He
manufactures an article with a brand that has be-
come known among a certain class of people who
will accept no substitute. He is alert and vigorous,
watching, studying, to counteract a subtle move by
the giant corporation. Now the big men realize
that, with all their capital, they have met an equal.

In that case, apparently, the corporation has
not control of the raw material. Often they have,
and no amount of business strategy and knowledge
can avail in a fight against them.

Like so many of our books on business, this vol-
ume, brimful of suggestive thoughts invaluable to
anyone in business, leaves in the reader's mind the
impression that much of our modern success-talk
is built upon an "if" foundation—*If* Justice
ruled!

At the same time there can be no doubt that if
our business men studied the science and psychol-
ogy of business and developed in themselves the
qualities of character that Mr. Stockwell holds to
be essential to success, we should have only a very
small percentage of our present-day failures. The
harder the fight the greater the need for charac-

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ter-development and for giving friendly help to our brother travelers along the hard and stony road to real achievement.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Tariff in Our Times. By Ida M. Tarbell. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1911. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Puppets. A Work-A-Day Philosophy. By George Forbes. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1911. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Fifty Years of Public Service. Personal Recollections of Shelby M. Cullom. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co. 1911. Price, \$3.00.

—The Call of the Carpenter. By Bouck White. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1911. Price, \$1.20, postage 12 cents.

—The Christ Myth. By Arthur Drews. Translated from the Third German Edition by C. Delisle Burns. Published by the Open Court Publishing Co., 378 Wabash avenue, Chicago, 1911.

—Law and Liberty. A Manual of the Elements of Political Economy. By Alexander W. Johnston. Published by Angus & Robertson, 89 Castlereagh street, Sydney, Australia, 1910.

—My Neighbour's Landmark. Short Studies in Bible Land Laws. By Frederick Verinder. Pub-

lished by Andrew Melrose, 3 York street, Covent Garden, London. 1911. Price, 2 shillings net.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Among the pamphlets recently received are the following:

Reclamation. By Lyman E. Cooley. Address Delivered before the Association of Drainage and Levee Districts of Illinois, July 18, 1911. Copies may be obtained from H. V. Teal, Secretary, Rushville, Ill.

The Modern School in New York. By Bayard Boyesen. Published by The Francisco Ferrer Association, 104 E 12th St., New York. Price, 5 cents.

Apprehension Versus Progress and The Tools to Him who Can Handle Them. By George R. Lockwood, St. Louis.

+ + +

A small girl from the far West who is visiting in Cleveland, attempted the other day the difficult problem of dodging two automobiles and a street car while crossing the street. It was too much for her. The street car fender bowled her over.

She was hurried back to the home of her friends—which was close by—where a hastily summoned doctor declared she wasn't hurt in any way. With this assurance the child's mother resumed her journey down town.

Shortly after the mother's departure the street railway's medical man appeared to see the little

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THE AMERICAN MESSENGER, New York, N. Y.

"A thoughtful and scholarly book, advocates what might be termed an applied Christianity."

THE UNION, Springfield, Mass.

"Is practical, sensible and applicable to everyday living"

EXPRESS, Portland, Me.

"A masterly work. * * * The subject is dealt with in a scientific manner."

THE SPECTATOR, Portland, Ore.

A FEW ON VOLUME II

"A very remarkable book. * * * We have not found a dull line in the book before us, and until one has read it he can hardly be said to be abreast of the best thought of the day."

THE NEW AGE, Sydney, Australia.

"This book is logical, convincing and helpful, and at this time when the 'higher criticism' seeks to demolish the faith of our fathers, it comes as a gleam of light in the darkness."

PORTLAND SUNDAY TELEGRAM, Portland, Me.

"A suggestive book and will be read with interest by many who realize the fashion in which formal religion has ceased to appeal to a great number of people who are not wicked, but puzzled."

TIMES, Hartford, Conn.

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MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Your Renewal Free

¶ One of our subscribers in Binghamton (N. Y.) thinks we "are too high on the subscription price." The Public is all right, he says, but he wants it at a "sale-day" figure.

¶ We'd like to send The Public free to everyone who finds it hard to get together one hundred cents to pay the subscription, but the trouble is that our bills for paper, printing, etc., come tripping along every thirty days. Rolls and coffee, too, are ten cents a time in Chicago.

¶ But it beats me why this reader should think it necessary to send us any of his money. It's not. Last year some one took him in on a club at club rates. This year if he gets two friends to subscribe and sends us their names and their two dollars we will renew his subscription free.

¶ And this applies also to you.

Stanley Bowmar

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to Advertisers.

s told that a doctor had already at-
tended he was anxious to see her himself.
she appeared in the hall.
were not hurt?" he said in his friend-

ed the ten-year-old, "I wasn't really
mostly the shock. Mamma says I
s temperature."

ed the smiling doctor. "And so you
ur mamma has any intention of suing
mpany?"

ild gravely replied. "I don't think she

has. I heard her say she didn't believe in throw-
ing her children under street cars for an invest-
ment."

And the smiling doctor had nothing more to say.—
Cleveland Plain Dealer.

+ + +

Visitor: "Last time I was here your Board of
Trade was booming the town. Didn't they keep
it up?"

Uncle Eben: "Nope! We called them off pretty
quick. First thing we knew, there was a lot of peo-



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failure) have
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tally, physi-
cally and fin-
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Tampa, Florida. References: Manitowoc (Wis.)
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Did you ever

look at a piece of linen under the
magnifying glass?

Or any other kind of cloth?

You'd see a multitude of small
threads woven together with tiny
open spaces between.

When soiled clothes are boiled,
the dirt is just softened, not loos-
ened.

When you rub them on the wash-
board, the soft dirt is partly rubbed
into the tiny spaces between the
threads and you might rub till
doomsday without getting it all
out.

That's why clothes washed in
the boiling, hard-rubbing way are
so often muddy or dull-looking.

They're not wholly clean.

Fels-Naptha cleanses clothes per-
fectly because it attacks the dirt
and dissolves it.

Breaks it up into particles which
are easily rinsed out of the cloth
meshes.

Fels-Naptha Soap does this in
cool or lukewarm water.

No boiling; no hard-rubbing;
takes less than half the time of the
old way.

Saves the clothes; saves fuel.

ple coming into town that we didn't know at all!"
—Puck.

* * *

"A woman was complaining about the depredations of her dog.

"'Only yesterday,' she cried, 'he broke into the larder.'

"'Dear me!' said her interlocuter. 'Did he eat much?'

"'He ate,' she replied, 'every blessed thing except the dog biscuit.'"—Washington Star.

Books Explanatory of

The Single Tax

Other Than Those by Henry George

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337 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

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