

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

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### Newton D. Baker.

The logical successor of Tom L. Johnson has been nominated as the Democratic candidate for Mayor of Cleveland. Newton D. Baker has Johnson's ideals for "a city set on a hill." He is filled with the enthusiasms that inspired Johnson. He grasps the fundamental principles of democracy that guided Johnson. He has the abilities, the temperament, the training and the experience to equip him for leadership in carrying out Johnson's civic policies sanely and progressively; and in every respect he possessed Johnson's confidence to the uttermost.

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Tom L. Johnson was too much of a democrat to impose post mortem obligations of political leadership upon his followers. He knew that as political conditions change methods also must change, and that individuals useful at one stage may become useless or inimical at another. The people at any given time must be free to judge—free from even the influence of a departed personality. This is democracy. But Tom L. Johnson's confidence in Newton D. Baker as personal friend, as professional adviser, as political lieutenant, was steadfast to the last moment of his life; and the Democratic voters of Cleveland have now registered their confidence in the man in whom Johnson confided. Though Baker was not the only one of Johnson's trusted lieutenants, he was that one of them to whom the other trusted ones

turned for leadership when Johnson's leadership was over. They knew, as did all who understood Tom L. Johnson, that *if* circumstances had demanded that Johnson name his own successor, he would have named Newton D. Baker. What is more, they knew Baker as the man whom in those circumstances Johnson ought to have named.



Though inspired by the same ideals as Tom L. Johnson, Newton D. Baker was not and is not a blind follower. In taking up the work from which Johnson has been called away, he takes it up as his own duty and not as another's. He is a man who as leader will lead upon his own initiative, who as a builder will build upon his own responsibility. Though his face turn often and lovingly toward the shrine of the lost leader at whose side he loyally stood in many a hot battle against Privilege, it will be, as indeed that leader would have had it, not to worship the memory of a mortal, but to draw stimulus anew for the service of a cause. A majority of the Democratic voters of Cleveland knew what the occasion demanded when they nominated Newton D. Baker to succeed Tom L. Johnson; we must wait to see, yet of the result there ought to be no room for doubt, if a majority of all the voters of Cleveland will be as wise.



**Those Beggars in Velvet.**

A New England mill owner and administrator fell into conversation with his neighbor recently on the subject of tariff reduction. The mill owner declared that if any part of the extremely high protection enjoyed by his mills were reduced, wages must be cut. But the neighbor by a few questions elicited that the mills were paying considerably above 15 per cent on their capital, and that the capital had been expanded 16-fold by the simple device of issuing to stockholders new stock in lieu of surplus dividends—so great for many years had been the profits under high protection, and a wage scale never higher than the condition of the labor market forced the mills to pay. In other words, this mill owner felt that he and his fellow stockholders were entitled to huge dividends upon stock chiefly representing accumulated profits, and that if any one must suffer from the loss of government coddling it should be the wage earners, though all along they have received no penny of the advantage from such protection.



One might be tempted to call this mill owner a liar and a thief, a sturdy beggar and a selfish

rogue. But we must not be too severe with individuals. Let us realize that good men may persuade themselves that they are entitled to tax their neighbors by grace of legislation obtained at the hands of the political party they have helped to keep in power through large contributions. We must be considerate also of wage-earners, whose fortunes are in the hands of such mill owners. Easy enough it may be for them to permit themselves to be deluded into supporting the policy of protection and to be terrified into the belief that their very existence depends upon its continuance. But how can any man not directly engaged in a protected industry, as owner or worker,—how can he be aware of such facts as those cited above, yet continue to advocate protection?



**The Congressional Balance Sheet.**

In the Commoner of September 1, William J. Bryan makes what he calls a balance sheet of the record of the Democratic party at the special session of Congress which closed last month. We here translate this balance from literary into book-keeping form:

**DR.**

Making Underwood chairman of Committee on Ways and Means. ("He is not a thorough-going tariff reformer and his environment is against progressive Democracy . . . Has led to a surrender of the Democratic doctrine of free wool and to the surrender to the Senate of the honor of introducing the bill reducing the tariff on iron and steel").....	1
Not putting wool on the free list. ("The tariff on wool is the keystone of the protectionist arch . . . Every speaker on the tariff will be confronted by the tariff on wool if he attempts to attack the principle of protection, and he must criticize Congress, or, if he defends Congress, he must do so at the expense of party principle") .....	1
Adjourning without submission of the amendment for election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.....	1
Not passing an anti-trust bill. ("The decision of the Supreme Court in the Standard Oil and tobacco cases so impaired the present anti-trust law that additional legislation is imperatively necessary") .....	1
Allowing secret caucus.....	1
<b>Balance to credit of future sessions.....</b>	<b>4</b>
	<hr/>
	9
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**CR.**

Election of Champ Clark as speaker ("a great improvement over Speaker Cannon").....	1
Transfer of committee appointments from Speaker to party caucus, each party selecting its own quota ("a step in advance").....	1
<b>Carried forward .....</b>	<b>2</b>

Brought forward ..... 2

Passing amendment for election of Senators by direct vote of the people ("an epoch-making reform") ..... 1

Corrupt practices act. ("Carries out the last Democratic national platform . . . broadened and improved in the Senate and the President has signed it. This is a distinct victory for the party. Mr. Taft emphatically opposed the idea in the last campaign") ..... 1

Keeping faith with the President in supporting the reciprocity agreement ("a step in the direction of tariff reduction") ..... 1

Passage of wool bill, vetoed by the President. ("Would have given the people a large measure of relief . . . More relief had it become a law in the form in which it passed the House . . . Still more satisfactory had it been framed on the basis of free wool") ..... 1

Passage of farmers' free list ("a very meritorious measure . . . The farmers ought to remember that in this matter the President deliberately surrendered them to the greed of the protected interests and cast in his lot with those who furnished his campaign fund") ..... 1

Passage of cotton reduction bill. ("Bill was good and the Senate amendments made it better") . . . 1

Action on Arizona and New Mexico Statehood. ("The first resolution permitted Arizona to vote out the recall of judges and permitted New Mexico to change her Constitution so as to make it more easily amendable. When the President vetoed this, Congress wisely changed the resolution to compel the elimination of the recall of judges [the provision can be reinstated by the State] and thus secured Statehood for both Territories") ..... 1

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9  
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A credit balance of 4 points out of a possible 14 makes a hopeful showing, to be sure; but unless at the next session this credit is very largely increased, those voters who look upon the matter as Mr. Bryan does—and they are not so very scarce, either—may lack the enthusiasm a year hence that the rank and file of a progressive party must have in order to win.

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### Bryan and Presidential Nominations.

William J. Bryan is under a constant fire of charges from all directions, mostly from old enemies or cold friends, the substance of which is that he is "butting in" to boss the Democratic party in the choice of its Presidential candidate for 1912. But if there is one man whose duty it is more than any other's to "butt in" at this time, that man is William J. Bryan.

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Some protest that Bryan has had honor enough in three nominations, and should now be a "silent

sage." Whoever looks upon Bryan's nominations in that way exposes himself as a politician instead of a patriot. An honor, yes; three times an honor, yes; but only as it is always an honor to be trusted by millions as the representative of their interests and aspirations. A mere offer of office, by preference of one man over others, just to please his pride, simply for the sake of the office—a Presidential chair or a kingly crown—there would have been no honor in that. If the man accepted his nomination in that spirit, it dishonored him; if his constituents proffered it in that spirit, it dishonored them. But if both were actuated by a better spirit, then and only then were the nominations honors. But in that case the honors rest upon both. The fact that this honor was bestowed thrice, imposes no obligation upon Bryan to retire or upon those who trust him to retire him. In fact it makes his participation in politics now all the more imperative as a duty, and his advice all the more valuable.

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But what is it that Bryan is doing, over which old enemies and cold friends make such an uproar? They say that he is trying to dictate the Presidential nomination. Let's see. In the Commoner of September 1, Mr. Bryan's position is stated, doubtless by himself, in these terms: "Mr. Bryan has but one desire in the matter, namely, that the best man may be chosen. *He has hesitated to urge any one man over others because he is anxious to have the benefit of all the light possible. Many have already reached a decision for one candidate or another and Mr. Bryan is glad to see such organize and present the claims of their choice.*" This is precisely in accord with the attitude Mr. Bryan has maintained from the start; and he has recently put himself squarely on record as advising a choice from four men—Clark, Wilson, Folk and Marshall.

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As to one person, and only one, has Bryan discriminated. This is Governor Harmon; but he discriminates *against* Harmon. We can therefore understand why Harmon's supporters roar. They know that with Bryan's advice hostile, Harmon can hardly be nominated, and if nominated will certainly be defeated at the polls. But how shall the other roar be explained? Supporters of any of the four men Bryan has named favorably and with no discrimination, upon what theory do any of them complain that he is dictating the nomination? We can think of none except that he names four men instead of one. But if that is their

reason, are they not in effect asking Bryan to do the very thing for their candidate which they mistakenly complain of him for doing for some other candidate? Bryan has no right to be a boss, of course; but on the other hand hasn't he the right not to be bossed?

\* \* \*

### Perquisites of a Railroad President.

An interesting example of how railroad presidents can make money on the side was told in a recent editorial note in the Brooklyn Eagle, called forth by a protest meeting of the commuters of the Long Island Railroad, who had long endured poor service. This road serves a territory of good farms and popular summer resorts, none of them very far from New York. It is now part of a large trunk line, but has its own administration. Commuters had noticed that first one place and then another would be favored with more and faster trains, for a time, each place being neglected when the next sprang into favor. This was a mystery until some thoughtful observer discovered that the phenomena coincided with the household migrations of the president of the road. That foresighted gentleman would settle in a place but little known, buy much land thereabout, and advertise it for development. The excellent train service would then bring homeseekers. But after a season or two, the president, having garnered a harvest of unearned increment, would move to another place where the same phenomena recurred, plus neglect of train service to the former place. There has been a disposition among the commuters to condemn the president of the road, but why? To be sure his use of official authority to throw increments of social values into his own pockets, instead of letting them drain into the pockets of other land speculators, furnishes them grounds for charging him with playing the game with cards up his sleeve. But when you consider the stakes, they don't belong to anybody that would have got them if he had played fair. Land values are not earned by particular land owners who happen to own land to which they attach, any more than to railroad presidents who water them with temporarily good railroad service. To borrow a favorite expression of men who get something for nothing and boast of it, if that railroad president was "smart enough to turn the trick why aren't the profits his?"

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### Preparing School Children for the Market.

The factory methods of education which the Commercial Club of Chicago has begun to boom again, call out from one of its organs the remark

that this new boom "should stir our educators to a desire for closer relations with the world of industry." The idea behind those words was more candidly expressed by a certain Secretary of the Treasury when at a school teachers' meeting in a rural region he said: "Prepare your children for the market, the same as you prepare your cattle and your hogs."

\* \* \*

### An Attractive School Bond Proposition.

Somebody showed a good deal of financial sense at the recent convention of the National Educational Association. His name, whoever he may be, is John F. Murray. The great complaint at that convention, as everywhere, is that our school system is crippled for want of funds.

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Mr. Murray was able to see, as many others do not, that one of the causes for this obstacle to public education is manipulation by bankers. They deal in bonds, gilt edge securities, as a village storekeeper does in muslins and calicoes; and like the storekeeper, the banker must keep a good stock on hand. Consequently the whole banking interest is keen for public bonding propositions, and opposed to having communities pay as they go through equitable taxation. Hence school bonds, and more school bonds, and refunded school bonds, etc., etc., etc., to the squeezing of teachers' salaries and the prosperity of bankers who "place" the bonds and the big investors who get them.

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Now read Mr. Murray's resolution at the National Educational Association:

Whereas, The average school district bond is issued for a period of twenty years and draws 6 per cent interest, thus clearly showing that when the taxpayers of a school district tax themselves \$2.20 for school purposes they give the children \$1 and the money-lender \$1.20; and

Whereas, If the Federal government would recognize school district bonds as a proper security, and would issue currency thereon, as it now issues currency to national banks, it would save hundreds of millions of dollars to the school fund; therefore, be it

Resolved, We favor the Federal government permitting, in such manner and under such conditions as it may prescribe, school districts voting bonds and municipalities issuing bonds for school purposes, to deposit such bonds with the Treasurer of the Federal government—in such sub-treasuries as he may designate—and the issuance thereon of government currency to the full amount of such school bonds, at the cost of issuance to the government.

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Why isn't that a good financial plan for schools?

What possible objection to it is there that does not apply with greater force to the present method? Bond dealers need not answer. We are not asking them. No farmer when building a hen house consults the fox, the weasel or the hawk about its architecture, although any of them may be better poultry experts than he. We put these questions to the school teachers of the country who appear now to have broken up the ring that has so long dominated their organization, and to the parents of public school children who are not dealers in school bonds nor otherwise financially tied up with special interests.

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### Housekeeping and Woman Suffrage.

Dr. Harvey W. Wiley is quoted as saying that it would be easier to get pure-food laws enforced if the mothers and housekeepers of the nation had a right to vote. Another important issue between Dr. Wiley and President Taft.

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### JUDICIAL USURPATION.

It is to be hoped that the action of the President in vetoing the bill to admit New Mexico and Arizona as States, because the Constitution of Arizona contained a provision by which in the circumstances named therein judges might be recalled at any time during the terms for which they were elected, will awaken the people of this country to the grave danger that menaces our republican institutions—a danger growing out of the usurpation of power by our courts, and especially the usurpation of power by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Constitution of the United States provides for the establishment of one Supreme Court and clearly defines its powers. Nowhere does it appear that the Supreme Court has the power to declare an act of Congress void. Indeed, on four separate occasions during the Constitutional Convention, resolutions were introduced to give the Supreme Court this power, and on each occasion the resolution was overwhelmingly defeated.

That the Supreme Court has been constantly usurping power and encroaching on the domain of the remaining co-ordinate branches of our system of government is apparent to any one who has made a study of the rise and development of our judicial system.

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At the February Term of 1800, Mr. Justice Chase in the case of *Cooper vs. Telfair* said: "Although it alleges that all acts of the legislature in direct

opposition to the prohibitions of the Constitution would be void, *yet it remains a question where the power resides to declare it void.*"

In 1801, when Chief Justice Marshall came to the bench, he arrogated to the Supreme Court the right to declare void acts of Congress and of the legislatures of the several States in contravention of the Constitution of the United States, and this right has been asserted for over one hundred years without the sanction of law or of the Constitution. His decision was rendered in the early part of Jefferson's administration, and grew out of the appointment of some Justices of the peace for the District of Columbia whose commissions had been made out under John Adams's administration but were not delivered.

Years afterwards (in 1820) Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Mr. Jarvis, said: "It is a very dangerous doctrine to consider the judges as the ultimate arbiters of all Constitutional questions. It is one which would place us under the despotism of an oligarchy. The Constitution has erected no such single tribunal, knowing that to whatever hands confided, with the corruption of time and party, its members would become despots. It has made all of the departments co-equal and co-sovereign with themselves."

Again, in 1821, in a letter to Hammond, Jefferson used this language in commenting on the Supreme Court of the United States:

"It has long been my opinion that the germ of dissolution of our Federal government is in the Constitution of our Federal judiciary—an irrepressible body, for impeachment is scarcely a scarecrow, working like gravity by day and night, gaining a little today, a little tomorrow, and advancing in its noiseless step like a thief over the field of jurisdiction."

Mr. Jefferson's prophecy of ninety years ago has been fulfilled. "Advancing with noiseless step like a thief over the field of jurisdiction," the Supreme Court has at last arrived at the stage where it arrogates to itself the right to usurp the law-making powers of Congress and to change the laws after Congress has refused to do so.

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A few days ago Senator LaFollette denounced the Supreme Court of the United States for its decision in the recent Standard Oil case in the following words: "The Supreme Court has amended the Sherman act. It matters not that Congress for years refused to change this law. The Court has done it and made it apply to *unreasonable* restraint of trade.' It is a clear case of

usurpation of power by the Court. . . . The Court has yielded to the importunities of those who wanted the act amended and have changed the law after Congress has refused to do so."

Senator Nelson, chairman of the Senate judiciary committee, in commenting on a bill before the committee looking to an amendment of the Sherman act so as to make it apply only to cases of unreasonable restraint of trade, made the following report to the Senate: "To inject into the act [the Sherman act] the question whether an agreement or combination is reasonable or unreasonable would be to render the act as a criminal or penal statute *indefinite and uncertain* and hence to that extent utterly nugatory and void, and would practically amount to a *repeal of the act itself*. . . . The act as it now exists is clear, comprehensive and highly remedial. It practically covers the field of Federal jurisdiction and is in every respect a model law. *To destroy or undermine it at the present juncture, when combinations are on the increase, and appearing to be as oblivious as ever of the rights of the public, would be a calamity.*"

Congress refused to amend the Sherman act in the manner proposed, because to do so would be a calamity. Yet that calamity has happened. The act was amended by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Standard Oil decision. They are openly charged on the floor of the Senate with having "*yielded to the importunities of those who wanted the act amended and have changed the law after Congress refused to do so.*"

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Instead of precipitating a revolution as one might naturally expect when one of the co-ordinate branches of our government usurps the functions of another branch in a matter of vital importance, the matter seems to be viewed by the people of the country with indifference. The fault lies in the fact that we have millions in this country who live solely for gain and comfort and would prefer a servile peace to a struggle for independence. Quite as helpless as a decadent Roman senate that "discussed vain abstractions while the battering rams of the Barbarians thundered at the gates."

Why this adoration of judges and blind obedience to the decrees of our courts?

It has its genesis in the origin of our judicial system. The administration of justice was a part of the royal prerogative. The king was the *fons et origo* of all justice.

In a primitive state of society the king administered justice in person. In the protosocial stage

the chief or head man of the tribe doubtless dealt out such remedial measures, *vi et armis*, as to his savage mind seemed meet and just in the premises.

With the development of our social system the burden of administering justice in person became too arduous, and we then find that authority to do so is delegated to some official of the king's household, but always under the direction and sanction of the king. With the lapse of years we find a body of men specially trained for this work, and they finally usurp the prerogative itself and administer justice in direct opposition to the royal will. In the language of biotic evolution, this offshoot from the royal prerogative soon absorbed the largest bundle of fibro vascular tissues and the parent stock soon atrophied, so that the king today is in happy disability to do injury to the meanest of his subjects.

The offshoot grew and flourished and when transplanted in this country became a power that transcends all the other powers of our system of government and bids fair to absorb them as it absorbed the main stock of royal power.

It is axiomatic that development always follows the line of the germinal impulse. The exploded idea that the king can do no wrong has survived down to our day out of a past age in slavish obedience to the decrees of our courts, and the investing of the courts with that divinity that doth hedge about a king. The *ipse dixit* of the Court has been substituted for the royal will. The law of the land is no longer the will of the people expressed through their properly accredited representatives in Congress; the law of the land is in the mouth of the Supreme Court, and there is nothing basic, nothing fundamental, that will control them.

They have overridden the Constitution. They are irremovable. Their appointment is practically for life, and in a manner they are segregated from the great body of the people.

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The danger becomes more apparent when you consider the manner in which our Federal judiciary is selected.

They are appointed by the President—practically for life. The history of the Federal judiciary for the last fifty years shows that the judges are almost uniformly selected from among those lawyers who have gained repute by the adroit manner in which they have handled the business of large corporations. In the last analysis men are governed by their unconscious, inarticulate prejudices. The prejudices engendered by years

of servile attention to corporate interests, as against the interests of the people, tend to seduce the mind from the straight and narrow path that leads to justice. Thus we find the judiciary, under the tutelage of corrupt lawyers, ever ready to crucify the people to satisfy corporate greed.

It has been suggested that there is no need to provide for a recall, in that there is a full and adequate remedy by impeachment. Thomas Jefferson has said that impeachment is scarcely a scarecrow. It certainly falls far short of providing a remedy. In an impeachment proceeding a conviction is practically impossible. But on a recall it rests wholly with the people. They are the ones who are the most concerned and they should have the right to employ and discharge for reasons that seem sufficient to them. The people will judge their judicial servants by the character of their work.

It would be impossible to sustain an impeachment proceeding based upon the decision of the Supreme Court in the recent Standard Oil Case; yet we find them openly charged on the floor of the United States Senate with having usurped the power of Congress and amended the Sherman act when Congress refused to do so, and in so doing with "having yielded to the importunities of those who wanted the act amended."

At the time that decision was rendered the judges of the Supreme Court were well aware of the efforts that had been made to induce Congress to amend the Sherman act, and well knew that Congress had persistently refused. Yet eight out of the nine Justices voted to amend the law when they concurred in the decision in that case—voted to amend the law in open defiance of Congress. The Supreme Court has itself ravished the "ark of the covenant" and with sacrilegious hands has broken the tables of the law.

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The ideals of liberty which we have set up for ourselves have vanished with the first touch of reality. We are no longer consumed with theoretical aspirations for liberty, but are disenchanted by the hard conditions that our liberty brings.

In making the provision in their Constitution providing for a Recall the people of Arizona were but pointing the way for others to follow—a way that it is sincerely hoped will relieve us of the threatened judicial usurpation. When our courts learn that they are but servants of the people, when they learn that a swift and sure judgment will be visited upon those who are unmindful of the interests of the community, they will have

greater care and we shall witness less of that arbitrary power that has been a standing disgrace to our judicial system. An honest judge has nothing to fear from such a provision. It is only the corrupt judge, elected to safeguard special interests, who need fear it.

The President has referred to the proposed provision as a "legal terrorism." Be that as it may. But viewed in the light of its constant aggression, "advancing with noiseless step like a thief over the field of jurisdiction," the action of our judiciary looks in the last analysis like treason.

Let us take heed lest the day of well meant reforms be past and the evil go so deep as to be beyond the power of any man to find a peaceful remedy, and we are confronted with an imposing army of anarchy, with hunger for the propelling power, carrying fire and the sword into the sanctuaries of the law.

JOHN FREEMANTLE.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### CONGESTION OF POPULATION IN NEW YORK.

New York, Sept. 2, 1911.

Your editorial on "Hostile Testimony to Single-tax Progress," in *The Public* of September 1 at page 893, gives me undeserved credit for leadership in the movement for the relief of congestion in New York City. This is a popular movement, and uniquely popular is the proposal to reduce the tax-rate on buildings.

As bitter an opponent of the movement as Mr. Allan Robinson, President of the Allied Real Estate Interests, has said that if put to a vote of the people, the halving-of-the-tax-rate-on-buildings bill would be adopted. The following list of organizations which have endorsed this bill indicates the basis for Mr. Robinson's conviction:

- Brooklyn Central Labor Union.
- Tenants' Union of New York.
- The Federation of Churches.
- The Wyckoff Heights Taxpayers' Association.
- The South Brooklyn Board of Trade.
- The City Club of New York.
- The Citizens' Union of the City of New York.
- The People's Institute.
- The Women's Trade Union League.
- The Church Association for Advancing the Interests of Labor.
- The Neighborhood Workers' Association.
- The East Flatbush Taxpayers' Association.
- The People's Forum.
- The Committee on Congestion of Population in New York.
- The United Hebrew Trades.
- The Central Federated Union.
- The New York State League of Savings & Loan Associations.

It is of paramount importance that this question be recognized as a moral issue, and the following

statement by Dr. Walter Laidlaw, Secretary of the Federation of Churches and Christian Organizations, sent to all churches, indicates the judgment of the Federation of Churches which has endorsed the bill:

In the minds of many this bill is an application of the "Gospel according to George." This is only partially true, inasmuch as Henry George advocated the abolition of all taxes except taxes on land, and this bill does not do that. The Federation regards the bill as the most important piece of social legislation introduced at Albany in the last 25 years, not even excepting the race-track gambling measures.

It is a bill in the interest of the proper housing of the people of New York. The Federation has proved by its publications that New York, in 1940, will have less than 10,000,000 people. That is to say, the people of New York a generation from now could be housed on its area at an average of less than 60 people per acre, whereas Manhattan Island has 166 people per acre, with districts running as high as 731 per acre, and individual blocks as high as 1,674 per acre, while Brooklyn has wards running over 300 per acre, and 31.9% of the Bronx's population is housed at an average density above the average density of Manhattan. From July, 1902, to December 31, 1908, 62% of the dwellings erected in the Bronx were five stories or over.

"Tenement House Reform," as a rallying cry for housing movements in New York, should give place to "Tenement House Prevention"; and speculative land owners, who are opposing this bill, which penalizes the non-use of land by placing a larger measure of the carrying charges of the city budget upon it, and rewards the building of homes for the people by exempting them in 1912 10% of their value and adding 10% exemption per annum, till in 1917 50% exemption is granted, should be routed by the combined force of the churches and laboring people of New York. If the tenement many stories high is to house the people of New York of the future, every church will in time be compelled to become an "institutional church." The churches should be willing to assume this form of social service if they are compelled to, but it would be better if they should become "restitutional churches" and so compel the use of the livable area of New York as to restore the single, the two-family and three-family dwelling as the normal type of housing. Rapid transit should not be allowed to enrich a few land speculators, but should be so developed as to distribute the population of New York throughout the whole livable area.

The enactment of this bill cannot be defeated, although it may be delayed a year or two because political organizations represent property interests and not the people's.

BENJAMIN C. MARSH,

Executive Secretary of The Committee on Congestion of Population in New York.

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## THE AMERICAN WORKINGMAN AND THE TARIFF.

New York.

The most sensible utterance yet made upon the connection between a high tariff and wages, was by Representative William Hughes of New Jersey in a speech printed in the Congressional Record of June 19, 1911, and quoted in large part in the Public of July 7. Endless hours have been given up to discussion and reams of paper have been covered with written argument as to the pro and con of the question whether a high tariff means high wages. Those who know that it does not, and those

who believe that it does, can never find the exact spot where their arguments—founded on facts in both cases—diverge. This missing link in the chain is revealed by a casual sentence in Mr. Hughes' speech. He says: "I do not deny that the tariff enables manufacturers to pay high wages—but it does not compel them to do so."

This simple truth is the crux of the whole situation, and shows up the utter futility of so much argumentation as to whether a high tariff means high wages—or not; or if not, why not. That's why—but nobody has said so until now.

The American workingman, however, is clearly conscious of the fact. While he is supporting a high tariff to kill competition with the products of foreign labor, he is trying to build up an organization that will enable him to share in what he is thus helping the manufacturer to earn. In other words, he does not trust the manufacturer to divide the plunder of his own free will. He would force him to do it. But Mr. Hughes cleverly points out the futility of this line of conduct. The labor organizations would have to make themselves so perfect and complete that they could say to the manufacturer: "When you're stealing from the public, steal enough for me too, and give it to me."

But as the organization is not strong enough for such action, the American workingman who votes for a protective tariff, is in the position of a man who helps to build a strong room in which to garner plunder stolen from an entire people—and then discovers that some other fellow has the key and has no intention of giving it to him. Then he has to train himself to be big and strong enough to take the key from the other fellow. And he isn't that just yet, so he keeps on with his futile Sisyphus task of first building the strong room, then building an army to conquer it, and take some of the plunder for himself. And meanwhile he is laboring under the disadvantage of being one of the plundered.—a fact that sadly hampers the full exertion of his strength.

Now when so much time and mental and physical strength are devoted to building up organizations—things excellent in themselves, but apparently useless in forcing manufacturers to share the plunder—why not give just a little of this time and strength to destroying the manufacturers' opportunity for plunder? That would give the workingman a fairer chance to get some more of his share of what he earns. For it is surely the honest share of his own earnings he is trying to get. He certainly cannot prefer a share of loot unjustly wrung from a whole people—including himself and his family.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

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## THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN OHIO.

Cincinnati, Sept. 11.

In "The Public" for 1st September it is stated at page 900 that the United Constitutional Committees of Hamilton county, Ohio, demand "the submission separately to the people of a Constitutional provision on the question of licensing or prohibiting the liquor traffic." But what the Committees formulated reads: "Shall the Constitution provide for the licensing of the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

or shall the Constitution prohibit the licensing of the traffic in intoxicating liquors?"

Between prohibiting "the licensing of the traffic" and prohibiting "the traffic" there is an immense difference. In 1851 the people of Ohio adopted a Constitution which prohibits licensing the liquor traffic, but does not prohibit the traffic itself. Temperance people then supposed that prohibition of license was prohibition of the traffic, and were urged to vote for the provision on that ground. They were deceived. The traffic was free—subject only to special legislation.

If, under the proposal of the Hamilton county Committees, the voters of Ohio favor license, the entire policy of the State will be reversed; but if they favor prohibition of license, the State's policy will remain unaltered.

GEORGE M. HAMMELL.

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## SALOON REGULATION.

San Diego, Calif., August 30, 1911.

In The Public of August 25th, p. 869, a very pertinent question is raised with regard to the operation of land value taxation on liquor licenses. It is unfortunate that the liquor question has to be drawn into every political movement, whether it be Initiative, Referendum, Recall, or Singletax; but without entering into any discussion, let me state one method of regulating the saloon independent of any license fees.

San Diego, Calif., has a population of 50,000 and is growing rapidly. By law only 55 saloons are allowed within the entire city limits. It is to the interest of the owners to keep the number restricted. The privilege is a valuable one and commands a premium. It is revocable by the city authorities at any time without compensation if it be shown, after a trial, that the regulations have been broken. The privilege being a valuable one, it is to the interest of those holding licenses to protect themselves and the city against contraband trade and unworthy holders of permits. A license carries no permanent privilege as to location, and when reissued to a new holder, the place of business can be fixed in another location less objectionable to the public. No saloons are allowed in the residential sections of the city, and as rapidly as possible are being eliminated from the shopping streets where ladies and children pass. No license can be purchased or transferred without the consent of the city authorities, and it is practically a new transaction in each instance, no vested rights being recognized. There are no window screens or private booths.

SEYMOUR W. TULLOCH.

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The thorough-going partisan and the captious cynic are both cowards. The loud and indiscriminate applause of the one—the other's miserable sneer, both are contemptible beside the open, sympathetic thoughtfulness of the man who believes in his country but thinks for himself, and so is always bringing an intelligent disagreement or an intelligent assent as a real contribution to his country's life.—Phillips Brooks.

## 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, September 12, 1911.

### Tom L. Johnson's Successor.

At the Democratic primaries in Cleveland on the 5th, Newton D. Baker was nominated for Mayor over Charles P. Salen by 17,216 to 3,815. At the election two years ago Mr. Baker won for City Solicitor (an office he had long held in the Johnson administration), although all the other candidates, including Mayor Johnson, were defeated. Among the closest and most trusted of Mayor Johnson's personal and political friends during the whole Johnson regime, Mr. Baker so remained during the remainder of Mr. Johnson's life. The candidate for President of the Council is Charles W. Lapp, another of Johnson's lieutenants. [See current volume, page 603.]

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At the Republican primaries on the same day Frank G. Hogen was nominated as Mr. Baker's adversary by 10,206 to 4,420 for Minor G. Norton.

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### Brand Whitlock Renominated.

At the Independent primaries in Toledo on the 5th Brand Whitlock was renominated for Mayor. The Republican candidate nominated against him was Alvin C. Jones, who is to make the campaign as a "dry" candidate.

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### The Cincinnati Mayoralty.

Henry T. Hunt was nominated for Mayor of Cincinnati by the Democrats on the 5th. It was Mr. Hunt that prosecuted Boss Cox. His defeated opponent was "Lew" Bernard, the Democratic "boss." Mayor Louis Schwab was renominated by the Republicans.

+ +

### A Lynching as a Political Issue.

In Newark, Ohio, where a detective for the Anti-Saloon movement was lynched under the administration of Mayor Atherton, whom the Governor thereupon removed from office, ex-Mayor Atherton became a candidate on the 5th for renomination by the Democrats. He was defeated by F. M. Schwarz. [See vol. xiii, page 662.]

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### Politics in Illinois.

The Progressive Democracy of Illinois (Hearst-Harrison) met in conference at Chicago on the 7th. Mayor Harrison presided, and a committee of one from each Congressional district was selected by the attendants present from the districts

respectively. The committee as finally selected is as follows:

Carter H. Harrison, chairman; James M. Gray, vice chairman; John L. Pickering, secretary; Millard Filmore Dunlap, treasurer; Robert Redfield, Maclay Hoyne, John E. Traeger, James J. McCormick, A. J. Sabath, John E. Owens, Frank Paschen, B. J. Grogan, Herman J. Bauler of Chicago; William H. Sexton; F. O. Hawley of Aurora, A. E. Butters of Ottawa, M. H. Cleary of Galena, George W. McCaskrin of Rock Island, A. E. Bergland of Galva, R. M. Barnes of Lacon, C. S. Schneider of Paxton, Ben W. Alpiner of Kankakee, Irving Shuman of Sullivan, H. W. Pogue of Jerseyville, Charles C. Terry of Girard, Charles H. Burton of Edwardsville, C. F. Coleman of Vandalia, John W. Shaw of Harrisburg, Miles F. Gilbert of Cairo.

This committee is to report to the whole committee on organization at Springfield, October 4. [See current volume, pages 638, 795.]

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#### The Seattle Impeachment Case.

After the prosecution of Oliver T. Erickson and his co-defendants at Seattle, on the basis of their demands for the impeachment of Judge Hanford of the Federal Court of that district, had been adjourned, Judge Hanford's ex parte injunction against the operation of the State Supreme Court's decision in support of five-cent fares on the S., R. and S. Electric Railway to the new city limits, and of transfers within the city, came up for hearing before him and he dissolved the injunction. [See current volume, page 930.]

\*

Meanwhile, proceedings in the State courts had been instituted by the city against the S., R. and S. for resisting the decision of the Supreme Court of the State, and on the 7th the president of the road, W. R. Crawford, was sentenced by Justice Brown to imprisonment for thirty days in the county jail.

\*

We are able to append the speech of the Chairman of the mass meeting, Councilman Oliver T. Erickson, who is the principal defendant in the Federal prosecutions for "obstructing justice." It was shorthanded by the stenographer for the U. S. Attorney, who began the prosecutions on the following day. Following is the transcript from that stenographer's notes of Mr. Erickson's speech:

Ladies and Gentlemen: The spirit that drafted the Declaration of Independence still lives. (Applause.) God bless the men and women of the Rainier Valley. (Applause and cheers.) For years these people have fought down in that valley for their rights against a great and greedy corporation. They have threshed their grievances out from one end of this State to the other. They have been through our Superior Court, and they have been in our State courts,\* and upheld in their position. But now comes

Judge Hanford of the Federal courts and says that his court will hold these people by the throat while Crawford picks their pockets and destroys their property. (Applause and cheers.) These people have been extremely patient; they have done everything they could according to law; and, my friends, if this man Crawford were to go into any court in Christendom outside of the United States, if with his record he should appeal to any tribunal outside of the courts to get an injunction against these people, he would be taken by the scruff of the neck and thrown out of the window. (Applause and cheers. A voice: "You bet.") We talk a great deal about our respect for the courts, and I would like to respect the courts; but, my friends, the men who sit on our Federal and State judicial benches are not any different from other men. (Applause.) I was trained to respect the courts above other men when I was a young man, but I have learned through my life of experience in both public and private life, that they are only human. (Applause.) One day, a few years ago, I was going home on the car that leads up into my neighborhood, and a man who came staggering into that car, sat down in front of me. I spoke to a friend and said to him: "Who is this old gentleman with such a skate on?" (Laughter.) He replied: "That man is a judicial saint; can't you see the halo around his head?" I said: "No, I can't see the halo, but I can smell the whiskey." (Laughter and applause.) That man was Judge Hanford. (Laughter and prolonged applause and cheers.) And I have seen him in that condition repeatedly. Now, I want to tell you that I have no more respect for a judge that gets into that condition than I have for a councilman. (Laughter, applause and cheers.) This meeting has been called to-night to protest against the lawless persecution to which the people of Rainier Valley have been subjected, and to demand that Judge Hanford be taken from the bench. (Applause and cheers.) I have not come here to-night to make a speech, but to preside over this meeting, but it seems to me that I could not face this audience under the circumstances that have called it together without expressing here my contempt for Federal judges in general, who stand by corporations as against the people's interests, and for Judge Hanford in particular. (Applause and cheers.) I want to ask you men and women to stand back of these people in the Rainier Valley. (Applause and cheers. A voice: "That is what we will." Another voice: "Good.") Down in the City Council we are coming as fast as we can with a municipal street car line for that neighborhood. (Applause and cheers.) We are coming down there just as fast as the injunctions will let us. But we are not going to mind a few injunctions. Tom Johnson of Cleveland fought for a three-cent fare in that city and he had to fight 47 injunctions to a finish. (Applause.) So, if we have to fight a few injunctions here, hold mass meetings, and do a little bit of hard work, don't be discouraged or ever lie down until we win out. (Applause and cheers.)

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Court of the State was what the speaker intended and the audience understood. The case had been decided by the highest court in the State and against Crawford's corporation.

\*"State courts" is either a slip of the tongue by the speaker or of the pen by the stenographer. Supreme

### The Liquor Question in Maine.

A favorable but close vote on liquor prohibition in Maine was cast on the 11th. This was not a vote on the question of preventing prohibition; it was a vote on abandoning it. The legislature of Maine adopted a prohibition measure in 1853 which was soon repealed, but in 1857 it adopted another which is still in force and which was strengthened in 1881 by a Constitutional amendment. It was on a proposed repeal of the Constitutional amendment that the referendum of the 11th was taken. The vote in the State at large gives a prohibition majority of 295.

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One of the twenty cities went "dry." This was Calais, where the prohibition majority was 93. But taken together, the twenty cities voted 26,748 for repeal and 14,640 against—an anti-prohibition majority of 12,108 in a total vote of 41,388. The rural majorities against repeal, however, were so large as to wipe out the city majorities for repeal. Fred N. Dow, son of Neal Dow, who was the father of Prohibition in Maine, is quoted as saying in the news dispatches that "in counties where prohibition has been best enforced it was best sustained."

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### Conference of State Governors.

When Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, called the third annual Conference of Governors to order at Spring Lake, New Jersey, on the 12th, the Governors of 19 States were present. The response to Governor Wilson's address of welcome was made by Governor Joseph M. Carey of Wyoming. Governor Edwin L. Norris of Montana, in discussing Executive powers, made the following suggestion for improving the Initiative and Referendum:

In many States the voters have in large measure lost confidence in the efficiency of legislative assemblies, and the Initiative and Referendum methods of legislation have been invoked as a means to procure laws that the legislature would not act on and to veto legislation that in the public mind was not wise or beneficial. At best, however, initiating legislation by and referring laws to the people is cumbersome and not easy to use. As a companion to and supplement of these methods, the power of the Executive should be strengthened by giving to him the right to present bills for the consideration of the legislative assembly. If the bills were not passed in form substantially as presented he should have the right to submit those bills direct to the voters at the next general election for their approval or rejection.

[See current volume, page 901.]

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### Tax Reform in Eastern Canada.

The second annual convention of the Tax Reform League of Eastern Canada (formerly the

Tax Reform and Direct Legislation League of Ontario, the name having been changed so as to admit into the League representatives from the Province of Quebec and the Maritime Provinces) met at Toronto on the 5th, with ex-Alderman J. W. Bengough occupying the chair. When a new constitution had been adopted, the following officers were elected: President, John MacKay, business manager of the Toronto Globe; vice presidents, W. M. Southam, editor of the Ottawa Citizen, J. E. Atkinson, managing editor of the Toronto Star, Julian Sale, of the Julian Sale Leather Goods Co., and H. B. Cowan, managing editor of Farm & Dairy; secretary, A. B. Farmer, and treasurer, D. B. Jacques. A feature of the convention was a demonstration by E. W. Doty (representing the Manufacturers' Appraisal Company of Cleveland) of the Somers unit system of land valuation as used successfully in appraising land values for Cleveland, Columbus, Springfield, Denver, Philadelphia, and other American cities. The Somers system,\* Mr. Doty explained, is not a system of taxation. It is merely the simplest way of applying common sense to the valuation of land. Asked if he believed in taxing land values, Mr. Doty replied: "Certainly, nobody can be in this work long without becoming a Singletaxer." In describing the Somers system as now in use in seven cities of the United States, Mr. Doty said, as reported in the local press, that it is founded upon the law of the constant effect of depth on the value of city sites, and consists of mathematical formulae and mechanical devices, for using that law so that the relative value of sites may be ascertained; that the system does not appraise, but leaves this to a public meeting where the owners and occupants of lots in a certain block are invited to give publicly their estimate of value, and that as a result of these gatherings the computation is made. In this manner, said Mr. Doty, the public practically does its own assessing; many of the evils and weaknesses of the old system are eliminated and equitable values are arrived at on a unit basis of so much per foot for a certain depth of lot. For purposes of illustration Mr. Doty exhibited a chart showing the values of the block bounded by King, Adelaide, Victoria and Yonge streets, and explained by this how the system would actually work in Toronto. [See vol. xiii, p. 540.]

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At an evening meeting of the convention, presided over by Vice-President Cowan, Mr. Cowan explained his interest in tax reform as dating from the insertion in his paper, Farm and Dairy, of a little item on the folly of taxing improvements. This item brought such a flood of letters from all over the country complaining of the tax on improvements that he was led to make a study

\*See The Public, current volume, pages 137, 224, 370.

of the question and was convinced that to tax land values only is the true solution. Farmers, he added, readily take up with the idea. The following resolutions were presented to this meeting and strongly approved:

Moved by Clayton Hurlbut Preston, and seconded by A. B. Farmer: Resolved, that the Tax Reform League congratulate the Ontario Legislature on the progressive legislation enacted by the present Administration, by which the exemption of incomes has been increased, the farm lands exemption in cities has been abolished, and cities have been allowed to expropriate land affected by public improvements in order to secure the increased value caused by public expenditure; and that the Tax Reform League express their appreciation of the good work done for the cause of tax reform by Mr. A. E. Fripp, M. L. A., (Conservative) in his able presentation of the bill allowing municipalities to reduce taxes on improvements and increase taxes on land values; by Mr. A. G. MacKay (leader of the Opposition) and by Mr. Allan Studholme for their support of Mr. Fripp's bill on the floor of the House; and that the League respectfully urge the Government to consider the widespread demand for tax reform as expressed in the petitions of more than 370 municipal councils, 200 trade and labor organizations, and 200 Ontario newspapers and many business concerns, and to enact legislation allowing municipalities to reduce taxes on buildings, improvements and business assessments and increase taxes on land values, and thus prevent this important question from becoming a party issue in Ontario politics.

Moved by Allan Studholme, M. L. A., and seconded by Dr. J. H. Farmer, LL. D.: Resolved, that the Tax Reform League congratulate the churches on the increased interest they are taking in social problems, and commend to them a special study of the relation between taxation and the problems of the slums, overcrowding, and the de-population of the rural districts.

Moved by Alan Thompson, and seconded by Allan Studholme: Resolved, that the Tax Reform League express to Mr. Joseph Fels their gratitude for his generous financial assistance to the work of the League, and their appreciation of his great services to the cause of humanity by promoting tax reform throughout the world.

† †

#### British Conference on Land Values Taxation.

At Glasgow on the 11th a "Conference to Promote the Taxation of Land Values" met in Conference Hall of the Scottish Exhibition, with ex-Baillie Peter Burt in the chair. The Conference convened upon the call of the Executive Committee of the Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values and of the United Committees [all Britain and Ireland] for the Taxation of Land Values. [See current volume, page 784.]

†

The first official resolution, formulated by the organizing committee, was moved on the 11th by

the Right Hon. Alex. Ure, Esq., K. C., M. P., the Advocate for Scotland in the British Ministry, and seconded by James Dundas White, Esq., LL.D. M. P. It was as follows:

In view of the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the valuation of the land apart from improvements being the necessary basis for the reform of local and national taxation, this Conference urges the Government to hasten the completion of that valuation, and to make it public, so that at the earliest possible moment the rating authorities of the country may be granted the power they have demanded, namely, to adopt the value of land as the standard of local rating.

"Rating" is the British term for what would in the United States be called local taxation.

†

The second official resolution was moved, also on the 11th, by Charles E. Price, Esq., M. P., and seconded by Josiah C. Wedgwood, Esq., M. P. It was as follows:

That this Conference heartily endorses the memorial on "Land and Taxation Reform" presented to the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 18th of May, 1911, and signed by 175 Members of Parliament, urging the Government to levy a Budget tax on all land values, part of the revenue from which to be used for education, main roads, police, and poor relief, thus lessening the burden of the cost of such services, now borne by the local rates.

†

On the 12th Joseph Fels, Esq., moved, and P. Wilson Raffan, Esq., M. P., seconded, the third official resolution, which was as follows:

That this Conference affirms its deep conviction that the existing deplorable condition of the people in regard to bad housing, low wages, and unemployment in town and country is directly traceable to land monopoly, and is further aggravated by the present system of taxation and rating; emphatically declares its opinion that the only just and expedient method of removing these social evils is by the exemption of all improvements and all the processes of industry from the burden of rates and taxes and the substitution of a direct tax on the value of all land, a value which is entirely due to the presence, growth, and industry of the people.

†

The foregoing information is derived from the advance program of the Conference. No reports of action on the resolutions have been yet received. On the evening but one before the Conference, the Scottish League held a social meeting in Charing Cross Halls, Glasgow, at which Crompton L. Davies and John Paul (executive secretaries of the United Committees) and their respective brides were the guests of honor. The annual Henry George commemoration meeting was held, also under the auspices of the Scottish League and at Charing

Cross Halls, in the afternoon of Sunday the 10th. Alexander Mackendrick presided. He opened the discussion with an address on "The Moral and Philosophical Teachings of Henry George." Participating in the discussion were J. C. Wedgwood, M. P., Joseph Fels, R. L. Outhwaite, Lewis H. Berens and John Paul.

## NEWS NOTES

—The National Farmers' Union met at Shawnee, Okla., on the 5th. Senator Gore was the principal speaker of the day.

—Senator Bailey formally announced on the 6th that he will not be a candidate for re-election as Senator from Texas.

—The forty-third convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association is to meet at Louisville, Kentucky, October 19-25. [See vol. xiii, p. 366.]

—At the Virginia primaries on the 7th the Democratic faction led by Senators Martin and Swanson defeated the progressives, led by Representatives Jones and Glass.

—William J. Bryan furnished mysterious news matter to the New York reporters on the 8th by spending two hours at The Outlook office with ex-President Roosevelt.

—The ex-Shah of Persia who, as lately reported, has been endeavoring to get back on the throne, is now reported to have met crushing defeat southeast of Teheran. [See current volume, page 877.]

—Mt. Etna in the island of Sicily is again in eruption, throwing up volumes of ashes, and creating earthquakes. The people of the villages on the mountain slopes are fleeing from their homes. [See vol. xiii, pp. 299, 350.]

—Stella M. Franklin and Editha C. Phelps, equal suffragists and co-operators with organized working-women, were given a reception on the 8th at the office of "Life and Labor," Chicago, upon their return from a tour of investigation into social conditions in England.

—At the Denver celebration of Henry George's 72d birthday at the Savoy Hotel, George Creel delivered the principal address. The other speakers were Clarence Morehouse, James T. Smith, Jabez Norman, George Eisler, J. R. Hermann and J. B. McGauran.

—State Senator Arthur Pue Gorman (Democrat), son of the late United States Senator Gorman, and Phillip Lee Goldsborough (Republican), collector of internal revenue for the Baltimore district, were nominated for Governor by their respective party conventions on the 7th.

—A conference of the American Association for Labor Legislation is to be held in Chicago, at the Auditorium Hotel, the last of this week, with the following program: Friday, 2:15 p. m., Standardization for Accident Prevention; 8:15 p. m., Administration by Commissions, in connection with which Louis D. Brandeis will speak on the Constitutionality of Commission Orders. Saturday, 9:30 a.

m., Uniform Reporting of Industrial Injuries; 2:15 p. m., Round Table Conference. [See current volume, page 83.]

—The first Chinese warship that ever entered American waters, the cruiser Hai Chi, steamed slowly up the Hudson on the 11th, flying astern a long yellow pennant with a dragon on it in deep blue. The officers, who are without queues, mostly speak excellent English.

—In commemoration of Henry George's 72nd birthday at Portland, Oregon, a meeting was held in the East Side Baptist Church on the 2nd, at which H. D. Wagon presided and the other speakers were F. E. Coulter, E. S. J. McAllister, A. M. Hines, Rev. Albert Ehrsgott and A. D. Cridge.

—The revolution started in Ecuador last month by General Flavio Alfaro in an effort to obtain control of the government after having been defeated at the elections by Emilio Estrada, is at an end, and General Alfaro, defeated, has sailed for Panama. [See current volume, page 854.]

—An attempt of the political and saloon ring in Seattle to set in motion machinery for recalling Mayor Dilling, came to a disastrous end on the 8th. Barely enough signatures to the petition were obtained, and upon publication of the significance of the movement more than 500 signers withdrew. [See current volume, pages 134, 151, 156.]

—Great Britain, Germany, Austria and Spain have agreed to simultaneously recognize the Republic of Portugal, according to a dispatch from London on the 11th. These governments consider the new regime now sufficiently established to warrant formal national recognition, which is to be accorded without delay. [See current volume, page 900.]

—The cholera plague gains ground in southern Europe. It has spread across the Turkish frontier into Servia, and has made its appearance in virulent form in Spain. The number of deaths in Italy has passed the 30,000 mark. In superstitious terror the inhabitants of some Italian towns have mobbed officials and burned hospitals. [See current volume, page 934.]

—The first flying postal service was inaugurated in England on the 9th under the auspices of the British postoffice. The service was between the Hendon aerodrome and Windsor Castle, a distance less than 20 miles. The experiment was undertaken to demonstrate the practicability of this form of mail service when war or strikes should render unavailable the usual train service.

—A \$500,000 corporation was launched by the Socialists of Chicago on the 12th, the purpose of which is to be the publication of every Socialist periodical of the city that supports the Socialist party, including four daily, nine weekly and seven monthly newspapers and magazines. A charter has been secured and the company will be known as Labor's Co-operative Press Association.

—China is suffering from terrible floods in the great Yangste Kiang valley, stretching over a territory 700 miles in extent. Seventy thousand starving survivors are said to surround Nanking where they are dying at the rate of 300 a day. The Chinese

government has appropriated \$420,000 for relief purposes in the flooded valley, but this amount is regarded as wholly inadequate to meet the need.

—The Mayor of Hunnewell, Kansas, Mrs. Ella Wilson, nominated in succession on the 11th three women for city clerk, two women for treasurer, and then a man for each of those offices; but the City Council rejected them all, thus leaving the offices vacant. The City Council has persistently refused to co-operate with the Mayor, because she is a woman, and she has appealed to the Governor for support. [See current volume, page 661.]

—The case of Earl Gilchrist, a Negro of 19, sentenced in Arkansas to have been hanged early this month, drew out a great many petitions to the Governor for clemency. They were based chiefly on his youth, which was variously put at 11 to 15 years. On the 2nd, Governor Donaghey made this announcement: "The people of the North and East apparently think Gilchrist is an infant, and that Arkansas is going to hang him. He is not an infant and he will not be hanged."

—Practical and theoretical farming is being taught the German soldiers during their years of compulsory service, according to a dispatch in the Chicago Inter Ocean. "Many of the soldiers," says the report, "even those from the cities, become so interested that when they have finished their term they take advantage of a law passed some years ago by which they are enabled to purchase small plots of land by the payment in ready money of a quarter of its value. In this way it is hoped to stem the rush of people from the agricultural districts to the cities, which has caused so much anxiety to the authorities of recent years."

—Rodney Diegle, sergeant-at-arms of the State Senate at the recent session of the Ohio legislature, and convicted of bribing Senators, was sentenced on the 9th at Columbus to three years' imprisonment in the penitentiary and the sentence suspended pending appeal. Upon applying for sentence the Attorney General stated to the court that Mr. Diegle had at no time been promised immunity, and added: "We told Mr. Diegle that if he told the truth we would make a plea for mercy to the court. Instead of confessing, he concealed everything we desired to know, hence we cannot ask the court for clemency in this case." [See current volume, page 444.]

—The International Tax Conference opened in Richmond, Va., on the 5th. Thirteen Governors of States attended in person—A. W. Gilchrist of Florida, James H. Hawley of Idaho, A. L. Crothers of Maryland, E. F. Noel of Mississippi, Chester H. Aldrich of Nebraska, R. P. Bass of New Hampshire, Judson Harmon of Ohio, Lee Cruce of Oklahoma, J. K. Tener of Pennsylvania, Cole L. Blease of South Carolina, W. E. Glasscock of West Virginia, and William H. Mann of Virginia. An address by Governor Dix of New York was read by Lawson Purdy. Exhibits from thirty-eight States and several Canadian Provinces were displayed, consisting of tables and diagrams illustrating tax rolls and the kind of reports required from corporations and individuals.

## PRESS OPINIONS

### Business Prophecies.

(New York) Market Letter (Warren W. Erwin & Co., financial), Sept. 5: We take no stock in the assertions of financial writers that muck-raking is on the wane, that insurgency has run its course, that politicians are about to stop persecuting big corporations, and that, generally, the world is sobering up and turning toward conservatism. Quite the contrary, we expect to see the cost of living continue to advance (rapidly this year, because of short crops); labor troubles to multiply; the Interstate Commerce Commission to reduce more and more rates; railroad earnings and dividends to decline; stockholders, wage-earners and consumers to increase their complaints and to demand new political remedies; and radicalism to become more widespread than ever before. All of these things will not come to pass in a month or a year, but, in our opinion, the tendency in the direction of these things will be sufficiently pronounced to make it inadvisable, at any time in the near future, to buy railroad stocks for more than a few points' profit or for longer than a few months' or a year's hold.

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### A Down-State View of Illinois Politics.

Belleville (Ill.) News-Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 9—The Dunlap-Thompson wing of the Illinois Democracy held a get-together meeting at the Hotel La Salle in Chicago, on Thursday. This faction of the party has adopted the name "Progressive Democrats," and has put Mayor Carter H. Harrison and William Randolph Hearst at the head of the old crowd under the new name. . . . Hearst is a bolter, and he is worse. He is a sensationalist, a vendor of falsehoods, a dealer in villification, a disseminator of slander; in short, a character assassin. He fouled Haskell to help Taft and to stab Bryan in the back. Besides the aforesaid, he is a hypocrite. He is a multi-millionaire, who lets on that he has spasms of palpitation of the heart for the poor and down-trodden. That part of it is all a bluff. The interests always get him when they need him. . . . So far as Carter Harrison is concerned, he was never before known to be a progressive Democrat. Merely calling himself a progressive Democrat does not make him one. Charley White can call himself that and does, and the Hon. Lee O'Neil Browne designates himself by the same name. Lorimer calls himself a Lincoln Republican for no other reason that is apparent except that he is so different. The progressive Democrats of Chicago all voted for Ed Dunne against Carter Harrison in the primary. Carter was supported by "Bathhouse" and "Hinky Dink." . . . Carter H. Harrison Jr., has always been an ultra-conservative, either from fear or lethargy, under the apt definition that a conservative man is one who is either afraid to fight or too fat to run away. Hearst says that the 1904 Springfield convention was a thug convention run and controlled by rowdies. If that charge be true, it may shed some light on the hitherto unaccounted-for phenom-

anon of its instructing the delegates to the national convention to cast their votes for President for Hearst.

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#### Civilizing the Negro.

Chicago Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), August 15.—It is sometimes said in the North as well as the South that the Negro cannot be made orderly unless he is terrorized by swift and horrible punishment of his crimes. But if the Negro is to live in the United States he must be civilized, and he cannot be civilized by being treated as a wild beast by white wild beasts.

+ +

#### "Bread and Butter" in Education.

The (Philadelphia) Saturday Evening Post (ind.), Aug. 5.—An able and admirable woman expresses the wish that teachers in the United States may rise above a "bread-and-butter" attitude toward their profession. With no invidious intention whatever, we suggest that the wisher herself probably rises high above that attitude by virtue of possessing a very comfortable fortune. The teacher's average wage is fifty dollars a month. An individual teacher, with fifty dollars in hand, finds himself or herself completely surrounded and engulfed, so to speak, in a bread-and-butter attitude. . . . When the general public that employs school-teachers, is thinking so constantly and intently about bread and butter that it refuses to tax itself enough to pay them good wages, is there really much hope that the teachers will soar above a bread-and-butter attitude?

+ +

#### The British Revolution.

The (Ottawa daily) Citizen (ind. Con.), August 24.—The members of the House of Lords will realize very soon that instead of being degraded they have been really ennobled. George III. thought he was exalting his throne by asserting his individual power. He was placed, despite himself, upon a constitutional throne and made the real sovereign of the British people. And that throne has lately been seen raised high upon the love and loyalty of a worldwide empire in honor of its new occupant. Will anyone pretend that, even as an autocrat, George III. could have been as glorious as is George V. today? The same is true of the House of Lords. Even with the cardinal defect of the hereditary principle, it will be a body of real senators. It will retain its old honors and will win new ones. It will be, not a lackey of one party, but an honored adviser of both parties. It will be the balance wheel to steady the machinery of legislation. And, should the time ever come when neither throne nor senate is needed to assist the work of democracy, the history of both these venerable and useful institutions will be an inspiration and guide to the statesmen of that long prophesied day.

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#### The Conference on Charities and Corrections.

The (San Francisco) Labor Clarion (labor), July 21.—Mr. Fels called attention to the fact that charity workers are doing little or nothing to remove the

cause of poverty, and that many of them are either indifferent or opposed to the reforms that would have this effect. . . . He suggested that a committee be appointed, composed of members in whose fairness and intelligence all could have confidence, to make a thorough investigation of the merits of all proposed plans to end poverty and to report to the next annual conference. The adoption of this suggestion would not have committed the conference to any particular idea. The committee would have been free to investigate the relative merits of Single Tax, Socialism, Anarchism, public ownership and any other plan. He only asked that the committee be properly constituted so that it might have the confidence of all. . . . The failure to act on Mr. Fels' suggestion justifies the suspicion that a majority of the Conference is not particularly interested in seeing poverty abolished. This puts the members in a rather awkward position. If they are unwilling to do what they can to abolish poverty they necessarily assume some responsibility for its continued existence. Consequently their charity amounts practically to inadequate payment of damages for injury done the recipients.

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#### Metropolitan Provincialism.

The Chicago Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), Sept. 11.—A New York paper published the other day a map which showed Mobile to be west of New Orleans. The wonder is that a New York mapmaker knew there were such places as Mobile and New Orleans.

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#### The Spirit of Tom L. Johnson.

The Mirror (Wm. Marion Reedy), August 10.—The Chicago Public, issue of July 21st, was a Tom L. Johnson Memorial Number. It contained a selection of the estimates of the late great Singletaxer appearing in the papers at the time of his death. The sum of these obituaries is that the people's Mayor of Cleveland, ex-Congressman, manufacturer and street railway magnate made a decided impression upon his time, by his forthright honesty, by his clear exposition of his social and economic faith, by his rather unusual quality, for a militant reformer, of bonhomie, by his unshakable pertinacity of purpose. Looking at him from the multitudinous angles represented by the writers of hundreds of notices, and allowing all weight to de mortuis nil nisi bonum, he appears to have produced a deep and lasting effect by living his gospel. The most un-sentimental reader cannot but look behind these little pictures of the man for the spiritual inspiration of his energy. A faith that will make a man abandon the pursuit of profit, give up the accompaniments of material success, engage in conflict with his own financial interests and range himself with the Have Nots as against the Haves, must be more than a materialistic philosophy, however it appears superficially to be concerned only with material things. A life lived thus for a cause is testimony of the cause's worth, for even though, as the Tempter showed St. Anthony, in Flaubert's masterpiece, men have died for falsities, that is a quibble, since what the men really died for was the truth behind the falsities as it appeared to them. Tom L. Johnson lived, after his first reading of Henry George, for the eco-

conomic emancipation of the masses of mankind from the oppressions of privilege and for the Georgan method of that emancipation. . . . Knowledge went before theory with him and that is why he won his fight.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### A SONG FOR LABOR DAY.

Will M. Maupin in Eryan's Commoner of  
September 1.

I have builded your towns and cities,  
And over your widest streams  
I have hung with a giant's ardor  
The web of strong steel beams.  
I have carved out the busy highways  
That mark where your commerce reigns;  
With hammer and forge and anvil  
I have wrought your golden gains.

I have girded the rock-ribbed mountains  
With rails for the iron steed;  
I have delved in the old earth's bosom  
To answer the great world's greed.  
I have clothed you, housed you, fed you,  
For thousands of years gone by;  
I have stepped to the front when duty  
Has called, and I've answered "I!"

I have wrung from the soil denied me  
Your toll of the golden grains;  
I have garbed you in silks and satins--  
And fettered my limbs with chains.  
I have given my sweat and muscle  
To build for you, stone on stone,  
The palace of ease and pleasure--  
The hut I may call my own.

For a thousand years you've driven--  
A thousand years and a day.  
But I, like another Samson,  
Am giving my muscles play.  
My brain is no longer idle;  
I see with a clearer sight,  
And piercing the gloom about me  
I'm seeing, thank God, the light!

I see in the days before me  
My share of the things I've wrought;  
See Justice no longer blinded,  
The weights of her scales unbought.  
I see in the not far future  
The day when the worker's share  
Is more than his belly's succor;  
Is more than a rag to wear.

I see on the morrow's mountains  
The glints of a golden dawn;  
The dawn of a day fast coming  
When strivings and hates are gone.  
Lo, out of the vastly darkness  
That fetters my limbs like steel  
I can hear the swelling chorus  
That sings of the common weal.

For a thousand years you've driven--  
For a thousand years and one.  
But I'm coming to take possession  
Of all that my hands have done.  
And cities and towns and highways  
I've builded shall be mine own;  
And Labor, at last unfettered,  
Shall sit on the kingly throne.

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#### A LABOR DAY FORECAST.

Mrs. Lona Ingham Robinson in the Des Moines  
Register and Leader of September 4.

Again the day has arrived when the city's visible genii of the lamp—those who mysteriously bring magical things to pass; those who unmistakably do things; workers who, with farmers, create all the wealth there is, will be for a few hours visibly in evidence on our streets.

Since our childhood days of fairy tales, folk-lore rooted in the dark ages of absolute monarchy, we still incline to the old habit of thought unconsciously breathed in through the pages of primitive romance clear through to the end where the good princess celebrated her marriage to her true prince by ordering a measure of golden coins distributed to each of the poor peasants in the realm; to those tilling the fields, digging in mines, working in looms, clearing forests or burning charcoal in the pits.

Never did it dawn on our innocent minds how the bushels of money came into the possession of the royal family, who never did a stroke of work in their lives, nor how the various toilers in the kingdom, working from dawn till dusk, came to be in such dire need of financial aid.

Thus it became traditional to feel that wealth belonged at the top of the social scale, to those families which for generations did not work, and that poverty belonged by rights to those who were so foolish as to toil, dig and smite and shovel and build and weave all day long.

Even to-day our prevalent political doctrines and the laws and institutions that result therefrom assume that laws must protect those who have wealth in order that a modicum of it can somehow percolate down to the masses and insure them plenty—of work! In Europe to-day a sleep-walking working class concurs in a large measure in this theory and bends the servile knee to the "quality" able to command.

In this country a few centuries of pioneering in our primeval forests and prairies, and of retaining the fruits of honest toil, has bred in our people a common sense "I'm-as-good-as-you-are" feeling now growing more articulate every day, that weakens the social scepter of plutocracy. In a certain pioneer town of South Dakota a few families were sharp enough to acquire wealth and luxury, and naturally would have liked to do a little lording on their own account among their fellow townspeople.

but the joke of it was these worthy people simply would not let them! They were too self-respecting. The opulent element tried to be an upper crust, but the rest of the pie quietly refused to be upper crusted. And so with little envy or ill-nature these bankers, teamsters, lawyers, carpenters, professors, janitors, mistresses and "girls" all dwell together on terms of undisputed social equality.

On the other hand we are all fast coming to see that every possible effort to upset this American tendency to self-respect is being made by a united gang of man hunters and wage trappers now entrenched firmly in our government. Its aim is to put the workers at the point of the sharp prod of necessity where they must beg for jobs and retain only part of their earnings; this humiliates and breaks down self-respect.

To guard against this disaster trades unions have arisen and are growing in power and popularity in spite of the D. M. Parrys, the C. W. Posts, and the Harrison Gray Otises of the country, openly trying to destroy this last bulwark of the working people and deepen the tradition that wealth inherently belongs to those born to command.

In the old fairy books the rack renting, the tax extortioners, the excise collectors and other pirates were omitted. How the trapping of money earned in the sweat of other men's brows was done remained untold. It was trapped between the acts. When the curtain rose the golden princess or the magnificent king already had it. And as Mr. Dooley would observe, "they had had it long enough to look as if it belonged to them."

But our kings and barons have not had their wealth long enough to look as if it belonged to them. When the curtain first rose they did not have it. Plethoric opulence side by side with hunger and famine looks too suspicious. We can fairly see the pits whence so many millions were digged, in the cavernous eyes and cheeks and stomachs of the poor. We have passed the point where we can say of this state of things, "It is the Lord's will," and stop there.

Many are seeing that from all the bountiful provisions of nature, it must be the Lord's will that all should have enough; that our kings and barons have staked out the choicest pickings of our country for themselves: mines, oil wells, forests, water power, municipal franchises, and building sites, seaboard and railway terminals. If there are any left Taft will find them and give the rest away.

All these valuable opportunities for millions of livelihoods are, by our feudal system of land tenure, held out of use except at a prohibitive price, and so, instead of the old free pioneering and prospecting and self-employment of the common people, they must more and more seek jobs at the hands of other men with no alternative but to take them.

But if the masses awaken as fast in the next two decades as they have in the last twenty years the workers will come into their own, and in many States textbooks on these elementary questions will be in the sixth and seventh grade schools, beginning something like the following:

What is wealth? It consists of those products of nature which are by labor either combined, altered, stored or transported to fit them for the use of man.

What are the three modern elements in the creation of wealth? Land, labor and capital.

Which are the fundamental elements? Land and labor.

What is capital? Stored up wealth, primarily produced by labor on land used for the production of more wealth.

Who gets the chief benefit, the wage payer or the wage taker? Under fair conditions the good would be equal.

What are fair conditions? Those when there are as many jobs seeking the men as men seeking the jobs.

When only could these prevail? When the single tax on land values makes it unprofitable to hold land for speculation and only profitable for use.

How would that make fair labor conditions? Millions of jobs now closed would then be open to whoever would care to apply his industry to land in some form; that would leave fewer men to the rest of the jobs and the job would seek the man.

Are there any countries now which maintain these fair conditions? Yes, New Zealand has for many years, and Canada in the northwestern part; England made a beginning over twenty years ago and has nearly completed the revolution.

Is there an appreciable improvement? Startling. Canada is amazing the world. In England that 3,000,000 of East End Londoners swarming in poverty and ignorance are in this generation again becoming something like human beings. The great landed estates are fast becoming transformed into many cozy and picturesque homes for those before unable to own a foot of land in their mother country, and merry England is coming to herself again.

How about this country? Oregon has adopted these fair conditions—Washington, California, Arizona, Colorado, Minnesota and Ohio, beginning in Oregon, one county at a time—with marvelous results.

How about the other States? They are most of them contemplating following suit, as the parasites driven from the other States have infested those that are left to a condition almost unendurable and their people are all migrating to where justice is beginning to be maintained.

Who was the founder of these fair conditions?

Henry George, who first saw the leak by which labor lost its earnings and privilege grew stuffed and overgrown as it reduced men to poverty. His

birthday occurs so near Labor day that it is now always appropriately celebrated on that day as a matter of course.

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### NEWTON D. BAKER AS SEEN BY BRAND WHITLOCK.

Reprinted from the American Magazine for September, by Permission.

When the thousands that were gathered for the memorial to Tom L. Johnson that Sunday afternoon under the chestnut trees in Wade Park in Cleveland saw the slight, slender figure in gray standing by the speaker's stand, and recognized Newton D. Baker, they burst into applause and somebody began crying "The next mayor!" And at the words the applause grew louder, and it became, just as the newspapers said, a veritable ovation. Those in Cleveland who are gifted with the spirit of political prophecy say that Newton D. Baker will be the next mayor of that city. Certain it is that he is the leader of the democracy of Cleveland, not only of the Democracy that spells itself with a big "D," but the democracy that spells itself with a little "d," and he is recognized by everyone as the successor of Tom L. Johnson, the logical successor, as the politicians say, and, as those intimately acquainted with the charming circle the great Mayor of Cleveland gathered about him would readily understand, the spiritual successor as well. Lincoln Steffens was right when he called Tom Johnson the best mayor of the best governed city of America, and it is, of course, a difficult task to be the successor of such a man; but Newton Baker is entirely fitted for the work, possibly because in all but principle and ideal he is altogether so different from Tom Johnson. I assume that it must annoy him to be called, as he is so frequently called, "the boy orator" or "the boy solicitor" or "the boy" anything that comes into the mind of the excited adherent in the political meeting; at least it would be annoying to anyone of a temper less kind than Baker's; he knows of course that it is all said in affection, and that people do not differentiate refinement and grace from youth. Baker is just under forty, but he is slender and slight and small in stature, and he might very creditably make up for a juvenile part on the stage, but his face, delicate, spiritual and poetic, shows all the finer qualities of the race and is alive with a superior intelligence. As a lawyer—for four terms the city solicitor of Cleveland—Baker has shown his metal and ability in encounters with the best legal talents the street railway magnates of Cleveland could engage in the eight years' war that resulted finally in Tom Johnson's victory for three-cent fare. Through all the tribunals, up to the Supreme Court of the United States and back again, and over and over, Baker went in the long wrestle of those years, and he won his cases. During all that

time he was Tom Johnson's legal adviser and his political adviser, too, if Tom Johnson ever took political advice from anyone. He did it too without gaining that personal enmity that most men would have made in such a bitter class war, for Baker's philosophy is the high and inspiring philosophy of kindness. I suppose he never said an unkind word about anyone, which sounds extravagant, I know; but then Newton Baker has been extravagant with kindness. And then Baker was the orator of the Cleveland group. Johnson was a tremendously forceful public speaker, but he



couldn't speak long unless somebody contradicted him. And his statements were so simple and positive and direct that it didn't take him long to cover the ground with them. Thus he invited heckling, and he never appeared at better advantage than he did when answering some opponent in the big circus tent in which he held all his political meetings. It was Johnson and Baker and Peter Witt who made the campaign speeches. Baker's oratory is of an order that classifies it in what may be called rather loosely "the new school." That is to say, it lacks the pretense, the sound and fury that have gone with the frock coat and the long hair and the black string tie. It lacks the eternal flapdoodle with which so many senseless periods have been rounded out on the stump in this country by the bawling and blowing politicians of the old

school—a school happily passing away and to receive its *coup de grâce*, it is to be hoped, by the new blue pencil of the Congressional Record so that no more shall there be given “leave to print” those speeches of which the best thing that can be said is that they were never delivered. Newton Baker is graceful, simple, convincing and courteous and at times rises to heights of pure eloquence. And, best of all in the orator’s equipment, he has that indefinable thing which in the despair of accurate expression we call “charm.” As the candidate for city solicitor he usually ran ahead of Johnson on the ticket. And it was a sad, almost tragic triumph, to him when in the last municipal election he was elected and Johnson defeated. Then Tom Johnson died and everyone devoted to the radical cause in Cleveland, and indeed in all Ohio, turned to Newton Baker as Tom Johnson’s successor.

Newton Baker was graduated from Johns Hopkins in 1892. He was educated in the law at Washington and Lee University and admitted to the West Virginia bar in 1894. He practiced in his native town of Martinsburg and then was made private secretary to the late William L. Wilson when that gentleman was Postmaster General in Grover Cleveland’s cabinet. Then he went to Cleveland, and in 1902 was appointed First Assistant Director of Law, and in 1903 was made Director of Law by Mayor Johnson. In the same year—the rurales in the Ohio Legislature having made their annual devastation in the city code—he was elected City Solicitor, and to this office he was re-elected in 1905, 1907, and 1909. And now, in all likelihood, he is to be the mayor of a city that has been trained to expect much of its mayors. He knows what difficulties beset one in that office, but he has the philosophy with which to meet them. One of the greatest of those difficulties, at the outset, will be that those who hail him as the successor of Tom Johnson will expect him to be another Tom Johnson, which is the one thing he could not and would not do. He himself is a strong personality, and his personality must tell in its own way. It is, as I have tried to suggest, a charming personality; for Newton Baker is not only a good lawyer and a good man, an able official and a wise politician, using the word in its highest, best sense, but he is a gentleman of culture, and of artistic tastes, fond of literature, fond of music, with a fine curiosity about all life, and an unselfish wish to make life better and more beautiful for all the people in those cities in which he sees, here in America, the hope of democracy.

\* \* \*

Willie: “Pa!”

Pa: “Yes.”

Willie: “Teacher says we’re here to help others.”

Pa: “Of course we are.”

Willie: “Well, what are the others here for?”—

Chicago News.

## BOOKS

### FOR A DEMOCRATIC NATIONALISM

**The New Politics.** By Frank Buffington Vrooman, B. S. (Oxon.), F. R. G. S., Author of Theodore Roosevelt, Dynamic Geographer. Published by Oxford University Press, American Branch, 35 W. 32nd St., New York. Price, \$1.50.

In a book that is replete with fresh and catching phrases, that is scholarly and yet understandable, Frank B. Vrooman, an American with an F. R. G. S. to his name, has made a search and vivisection of our political institutions, not without offering a solution well worth the reading of every citizen of the United States. Though addressed to the Anglo-Saxon world, this book is meant particularly for America.

It reads history backward and forward in search of a first principle underlying our political and economic ideas, and finds a chaos. Blindly, gropingly, we are found to have incorporated into our national institutions certain great principles which we have not recognized as such, making one great blunder after another, assuming that the world of politics is a chance world, a field for the opportunist. Plutocratic individualism has run rampant, and now the reaction is toward democratic socialism. “The New Politics” attempts to find a middle ground between socialism and the doctrine that has prostituted power to tyranny and is registered in our multibillionaires.

Mr. Vrooman’s cry is for a national sovereignty that can deal with all national and inter-State (or extra-State) concerns, without denying to the States their proper jurisdictions. He finds the Interests entrenched in a slough of particularism, or individualism, and barricaded behind States’ rights. He finds the elements of a party of nationalism among Republicans and Democrats alike, North, South, East and West, but lost in a failure to understand the two opposing doctrines that have run through all our political life from the beginning and have caused the chaos that we live in today.

Readers may not agree with the author in his conclusions, but they cannot but be helped by him in having their notions overhauled. The book goes back, away back, to Greece and Rome, and deals with fundamentals and first principles in the philosophy of political science. Its great merit is in that. It has not to do with subsidiary things, the tariff, etc.; and if one does not learn something from it, it at least makes one think.

Perhaps for popular reading the author might have done well to have turned his book around, putting the last first and the first last, but he was too seriously intent on driving home his particular message; and he may be pardoned for his reitera-

tions, for there is no doubting his sincerity and earnestness.

Though serious, the book is not without humor. Sample: "Where George Washington carried the surveyor's compass through the pathless woods and started the advancing hosts of American conquerors over the Alleghanies, what have we today? Pittsburg."

C. F. O'BRIEN.

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### HAMILTONIAN IDEALS.

**The Business of Congress.** By Samuel W. McCall, Member of Congress from Massachusetts. The Columbia University Press, New York, 1911. Price \$1.50.

It is to be deplored that so inviting a field and subject should be marred to an unfortunate degree by a narrow spirit of partisan egotism and handicapped by a point of view that shrinks from the present awakening of actual democracy as from an impious thing. This volume is a revised series of lectures delivered at Columbia University in the winter of 1908-1909 and, as the author states: "It was my chief purpose to portray the important processes of legislation . . . and to give a study of government with Congress as the central theme." The unquestionable value of the former has been submerged in the latter and the result, instead of being a scholarly, historical textbook which one might naturally suppose would be presented to university undergraduates, is, in the main, a cloth-bound, partisan polemic in which the special pleading of the stand-pat conservative often stands forth in naive candor.

Mr. McCall's theory seems to be that Congress should be representative of special interests, for he writes: "If we could have industrial and financial captains like Morgan and Carnegie, labor leaders like Gompers and Mitchell, railroad builders like Hill and Harriman, with a sprinkling of men chosen by the universities, as in England—our Congress would certainly not be a weaker body, and it would perhaps more fully epitomize the nation, represent its industrial and social life, and we should have representative government in even a truer sense than that in which it now exists."

Evidently Senator Guggenheim's scandalous Senatorial seat is a step in the right direction, and any objection to Lorimer's election should be based on the fact that he is at best merely a deputy and that Mr. Hines, the lumber trust's president, should assume his duties direct. How far a sprinkling of university officials from endowed universities would leaven such a collection is a nice question which probably the author alone is capable of working out. But to a mind capable of dividing capital into a multitude of representative law-making interests and retaining labor as a single consolidated voice many things are possible,

although it is doubtful if much can result of value to present and future generations in this "study of government with Congress as the central theme."

Throughout, the book is blemished with stand-pat reactionary pleadings, and in closing it devotes considerable scorn to Roosevelt, the only Republican President since the war who gave even an erratic trace of progressive thought.

The opportunity of the Columbia lectures delivered by Mr. McCall was to establish a scholarly, historical work, with as much intellectual analysis or digression as he chose; yet apparently it made no greater appeal, in the main, to the author than to attest his personal bias toward the Hamiltonian and aristocratic distrust of democracy with which the Republican party has identified itself.

C. J. P.

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### COMMISSION GOVERNMENT.

**City Government by Commission.** By Ford H. MacGregor, B. A., Instructor in Political Science at the University of Wisconsin. Bulletin of University of Wisconsin, No. 423. Price, 40 cents.

An analysis of the commission form of government for cities which enumerates as essentials only those features that are autocratic, treating reservations of power to the people as non-essentials, is not likely to commend very highly the book which makes that kind of analysis. The essentials of commission government of which the Des Moines rather than the Galveston plan is the type, and which is called "commission government" for short, are *efficiency with democracy*. The efficiency is secured by centralization of power and responsibility; the democracy by making those in power *responsible* at all times to the people whose servants they are. Anything short of this may be called commission government, but it is not the kind of government that is most widely known by that name. To argue that the initiative, referendum and recall are not essentials, because they are adaptable to others than the commission form, is to disclose some inaptitude for analyzing civic relationships. As a report on details, however, the book will be handy for reference until its collection of facts is obsolete.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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—The Passing of the Idle Rich. By Frederick Townsend Martin. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1911. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Fifty-third Annual Insurance Report of the State of Illinois. Part III—Casualty and Assessment Insurance and Fraternal Societies. 1911. By Fred W. Potter, Insurance Superintendent. Printed by the Illinois State Journal Co., Springfield, Ill.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### Pamphlets Received.

Among the pamphlets recently received are the following:

**Land Valuation and Its Objects.** A Brief Statement of Possible Future Developments. By C. H. Smithson, Halifax, England. Published by The Yorkshire Land Values League, West Bar Chambers, Boar Lane, Leeds. Price, one penny.

**The Road to Freedom.** Speech of Hon. Henry George, Jr., of New York, in the House of Representatives, June 10, 1911. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. To be obtained from Daniel Kiefer, Chairman Fels Fund Commission, 530 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

**Haldon.** A Village without a Landlord. Written for the Trustees by Samuel Milliken. Cumberland Mills, Maine. 1911.

**Farm Life Conditions in the South.** Chapter VI. Country-Life Defenses. By E. C. Branson, State Normal School, Athens, Georgia.

**Federal Patronage.** Speech of Hon. Jonathan Bourne, Jr., of Oregon, in the Senate of the United States, February 27, 1911. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

**Prohibition Handbook.** Issued by the State Committee of the No License Movement. Edited by Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts. To be obtained from George W. Norton, 12 Monument Square, Portland, Me. Price, 10 cents.

**Money and a Sound Compromise.** By Henry N. Starr. Published by the Smith Publishing Co., Rockford, Ill. 1895. Price, 15 cents.

**Who Are the Quacks?** A Correspondence Between Two Doctors. Published at 230 E. 10th St., New York. 1911. Price, 15 cents.

**The Wool Schedule.** Speech of Hon. William C. Redfield of New York in the House of Representatives, June 12, 1911. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

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## PERIODICALS

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### Current Literature.

Those who in the last Hampton's took a dive into Papal politics and rose somewhat breathless, may

**M**OST of the readers of The Public know that the business connection of our friend Mr. Emil Schmied with The Public has by mutual consent been severed, and that he has gone into other work. This change, which was without any but the most friendly sense of confidence on both sides, occurred June 30th last. Since then The Public has been without a Business Manager. With the 1st of September, however, Mr. Stanley Bowmar, an experienced newspaper man who has worked with me at Cincinnati for the Fels Fund for nearly a year and to my great satisfaction, assumed the responsibilities of that place. I am sure, and in this I am heartily seconded by the editorial management, that friends of The Public will soon learn to appreciate Mr. Bowmar as they did Mr. Schmied, in his efforts to realize for them their wishes regarding "The Public."

Cincinnati, September 9.

DANIEL KIEFER.

like to read the views of European editors on the same subject, as summarized in Current Literature for September.

A. L. G.

† †

### A Letter to Social Workers.

In the Survey of August 26, Joseph Fels renews his last year's suggestion to the National Conference of Charities and Correction that a committee be appointed to investigate the merits of different proposed plans to abolish poverty and report next year.

A. L. G.

† †

### The Aryan.

"The Aryan," devoted to the Spread of Eastern View of Truth; the Interests of the Hindus in the British Dominions; and the Causes of the Present Unrest in India," has just issued its first number at Vancouver, B. C. Some anomalies of the Canadian immigration laws are set forth. For example, no Hindu is allowed to land in Canada who has not come direct from India—and yet all vessels sail from India via China!

A. L. G.

† † †

It's no in titles nor in rank;  
It's no in wealth like London bank,

To purchase peace and rest.

It's no in making muckle mair;

It's no in books; it's no in lear

To make us truly blest.

If happiness has not her seat

And center in the breast,

We may be wise, or rich, or great,

But never can be blest.

Nae treasures, nor pleasures,

Could make us happy lang,

The heart aye's the part aye

That makes us right or wrang.

—Robert Burns.

† † †

A child of strict parents, whose greatest joy had hitherto been the weekly prayer-meeting, was taken by its nurse to the circus for the first time. When he came home he exclaimed:

"Oh, mama, if you once went to the circus you'd

ver, never go to prayer-meeting again in all your e."—Tit-Bits.

\* \* \*

"He used to be a straight enough young chap. hat made him get crooked?"

"Trying to make both ends meet, I believe."—To-do Blade.

\* \* \*

In the Yakima valley, Washington, where apple

growing is an important industry, rain is scarce. Last summer a fruit grower who owns forty acres of orchard was rejoicing in a slight precipitation of rain, when one of his hired men entered the house.

"Why don't you stay in out of the rain?" inquired the fruit grower.

"Oh, that's all right," replied the man. "A little sprinkle like that doesn't bother me in the least. I can work right along just the same."

"That isn't the point!" exclaimed the fruit grower.

## A FREE PICTURE

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

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

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

DANIEL KIEFER

CINCINNATI

OHIO

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"Next time it rains you come into the house. I want that water on the land."—Metropolitan.

+ + +

"Yes, madam; we have books printed in raised letters, for the blind, but they are rather expensive."

"O, but you misunderstood me. He isn't blind; he's deaf. Haven't you some books printed in the deaf and dumb alphabet?"—Chicago Tribune.

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