

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Woman Suffrage in California.

The question of woman suffrage is to be voted on by the people of California at their referendum election of October 10th. This is an election at which every genuine democrat having the right to vote ought to vote; and we cannot conceive of a genuine democrat of any party as either withholding his vote from woman suffrage or casting it against woman suffrage, when an opportunity to vote directly on that question occurs. Here is an opportunity for all professed democrats of California to show their colors, and they should be judged in the future by the colors they show now. We hope we are well within the limits of prophecy in predicting, and we are sure we do not overstep the limits of fair judgment in assuming, that the vote of every fundamental democrat of the Golden State will be cast for woman suffrage.



Let no one be deceived or deceive himself by temporizing pleas. He who is not ready to vote for woman suffrage at this California election is opposed to it in his heart. By the same token he is disloyal to his professions of democracy if he makes any. If he says he wants woman suffrage but thinks California is not yet ready for it, he doesn't want it. Such men belong in the class of those who "believe in democracy but do not believe in putting it into practice." They are either pretenders or dupes. The time for excus-

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:	
Woman Suffrage in California.....	969
Woman Suffrage in Colorado.....	970
"Votes for Women" in Sculpture.....	971
The Woman Mayor of Kansas.....	971
Causes of Poverty.....	971
A Correction.....	971
Dr. Wiley, President Taft and Mr. Glavis.....	972
The Power of Congress Over Courts.....	972
"So Much to be Done".....	972
Brother Against Brother (W. G. Eggleston).....	973
EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:	
Gustav R. Weikert (Judson Grenell).....	974
Good Use of the Initiative in Maine (Christopher M. Gallup).....	974
INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:	
How to Pull the Supreme Court's Teeth (W. M. H.).....	975
NEWS NARRATIVE:	
Premier of Russia Assassinated.....	976
Strikes and Food Riots in Europe.....	976
Conference of State Governors.....	977
Organizing the Democratic Party.....	978
The Liquor Question in Maine.....	978
Other Maine Referendums.....	978
Politics in Minnesota.....	979
An Extraordinary Woman Suffrage Meeting.....	979
News Notes.....	979
Press Opinions.....	980
RELATED THINGS:	
The Pageant of Woman (S. Gertrude Ford).....	981
Why Women's Suffrage Is Wrong?.....	981
Woman Suffrage in Colorado.....	981
A Moral Weakness in Our Government (C. H. Ingersoll).....	982
Theodore Parker on Women in Public Affairs.....	983
A Song Domestic (Mary Brecht Pulver).....	984
Woman Suffrage Involved in the Declaration of Independence (John K. Lewis).....	985
"The Women That Are at Ease in Zion".....	986
BOOKS:	
Commission Government.....	986
Votes for Women.....	987
"Shall the Home Be Our World, or the World Our Home?".....	987
Books Received.....	988
Pamphlets.....	988
Periodicals.....	988

ing dupes is over in California; the time for tolerating pretenders there is past. Let the ballot talk when the boxes open at the coming election.

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Five States already have adult suffrage regardless of sex, and their experience has proved the case for woman's voting. Out of one of them, Colorado, has come much criticism, and many willing dupes have been duped by it. But its source alone is enough to destroy its value as testimony. Catch an active adversary of woman suffrage in Colorado, and you've caught a prostitute of Privilege. Woman suffrage in Colorado is condemned by the very interests and for the very reasons that ought to commend it to every true democrat in the land. The facts alleged against it are false; the interests that originate them are predatory and socially vicious; the periodicals and individuals that circulate them are of the depraved, the reactionary, or the dupe class. From every point of criticism woman suffrage in Colorado has been a great civic success.

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Woman suffrage is a medium for the expression of that voice of the people which is the voice of God. And the voice of the people fully and fairly expressed is the voice of God; for in a full and fair expression of the voice of the people, conflicting selfishnesses neutralize one another and the human impulse for righteousness comes to the fore. But righteous impulses are feminine as well as masculine in their qualities and tendencies. To check or suppress the feminine influence is therefore to unbalance social order; and the civic result, consequently, is not a democracy but a bachelordom. Woman suffrage will make no paradise of human society in a day. No one expects it, no one has ever predicted it, no one but its enemies ever pretends that it has been expected or predicted. But it will help to make human society more tenderly human than masculine suffrage alone can make it. Without the co-operation of woman in the household, the household is not a home; without the co-operation of woman in government, government lacks all the qualities of a home which every government to be just and progressive must possess. And the only way in which woman can co-operate in government is through woman suffrage.

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The "mother's knee" method—both kinds—may or may not be more than temporarily influential; but none of its influence will be lost if the mother

have the ballot added to her equipment. And so of the "clinging vine" method. All that is really affectionate and useful in it not only survives woman suffrage but is purified and strengthened by the greater civic intelligence and keener sense of personal responsibility that is acquired by women with the ballot. The time has gone by for deploring the imposition of citizenship duties upon women. The man who does this is dishonoring womanhood with frou-frou flatteries of the drawing-room; the woman who does it is a civic shirk—unintentionally, no doubt, and without deserving harsh condemnation—but "shirk" is really the only word that fits. For women are citizens now. The ballot would impose upon them no new duties; it would only give them the means of better performing those duties of citizenship which they already owe. They must be excused for ill-performance of their civic duties while the ballot is denied them, but it is not so easy to excuse them for begging that its denial be continued in order to relieve them of civic duties. Women who try thus to shirk the feminine duties of citizenship may be good mothers, good wives, good daughters, good sweethearts, good Sunday School teachers, good bridge players, good dressers, good anything you please of a personal kind—and doubtless most of them really are in every way good women personally—but *they are bad citizens*. And those men are worse citizens, be they never so good personally, who take from such women their cue for condescendingly opposing woman suffrage.

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In a few days we shall have California's verdict on this question. That the promoters and dupes of Privilege may be left as far behind in the vote as they allow themselves to rank in social progress, should be the prayer of fundamental democrats of both sexes and all parties everywhere.

+ +

Woman Suffrage in Colorado.

The opponents of equal suffrage have been circulating a statement that Denver has a great amount of juvenile crime—presumably due to mothers neglecting their children for politics. Judge Lindsey calls this an "outrageous slander." He says that most of the children's offenses are "of a trivial character," and that during the year 1910, out of a school population of 50,000, only 49 children were so persistently delinquent as to be complained of a second time. Judge Lindsey adds: "The police officers of Denver would, I am sure,

cheerfully testify that the criminal conditions among youths that formerly existed in Denver have not only greatly decreased, but the serious cases that we formerly had to cope with from exceptionally bad gangs have almost entirely passed away." In this connection let it be also noted that all the State officers of the Colorado W. C. T. U. have signed a published statement that equal suffrage does not demoralize women or make homes unhappy, and that in Colorado "nothing is so feared by corruptionists as the vote and influence of women." None of this is news to anybody who has taken the pains to look into affairs in Colorado. The reports that woman suffrage is detrimental to Colorado come from the same corrupt sources in that State, are propagated through the same corrupt channels elsewhere, and are swallowed by the same gullible innocents from which, through which and by whom scandalously false stories about Judge Lindsey have come, and been propagated and swallowed.

* *

"Votes for Women" in Sculpture.

A statuette which has for some weeks been on exhibition at the headquarters of the Political Equality League in the Fine Arts Building, Chicago, impressively represents a "votes for women" ideal. Its varied symbolism, true and strong simply as symbolism, is nevertheless so unified and subordinated that the central idea, a clarion call of woman to women in behalf of the whole sisterhood, never once eludes attention. The work is by Ella Buchanan, an Art Institute pupil in sculpture under Charles J. Mulligan. One notable feature of this group is the sculptor's use of drapery so adapted as to make an appropriate departure from the more usual nude of similar work, but with no consequent loss in symbolic value or artistic effect.

* *

The Woman Mayor of Kansas.

Ever since the municipal elections of last Spring, "special correspondents" have kept newspaper readers informed of a deadlock in the municipal government of Hunnewell, Kansas; and that this deadlock is due to the election of a woman as Mayor—Mrs. Ella Wilson—is a fact which flavors all the reports. But if any newspaper reader has yet been able to learn from those reports *why* the election of the woman Mayor makes the deadlock, we congratulate him upon his acuteness. None of the reports disclose any illegality in Mayor Wilson's election. None of them show any unlawful or scandalous conduct on her part either as candidate or as Mayor.

Everything appears to be regular enough so far as she is concerned. But the town Council, all masculines, refuse to co-operate officially with her. And if one may fairly read between the lines of the newspaper reports, they do this in a brutal manner, without provocation, and with no regard whatever for their own official responsibilities. We must confess to ignorance of the mystical cause of the Hunnewell trouble, and of the origin and motives for exploiting it in half-told fashion through the press of the country; but probably any one with an old hat wouldn't have to eat it were he to offer to do so if there isn't licensed lawbreaking in Hunnewell which the Mayor wants to stop, and a distillers' press bureau behind the "news" of the deadlock.

* *

Causes of Poverty.

Increasing poverty in New York City is reported by the Association for Relieving the Condition of the Poor; and out of this report those who explain poverty by the intemperance of the poor will get no help. Intemperance is given as accounting for *only two per cent* of all the cases of poverty reported on. Pretty soon the game of blind-man's-buff in the hunt for causes of poverty will have to be given up. An open-eyed hunt for the causes of wealth would soon solve both problems.

* *

A Correction.

The Public tries to be fair in its expressions of opinion and accurate in its statements of fact, but it doubtless fails often in both. That is the reason it disclaims all pretense to infallibility. But when mistakes are made, the only remedy is to acknowledge and correct them if they are of enough importance to be unjust or misleading. Such a mistake, as yet uncorrected, has just been called to our attention. In the issue of August 18th we reported Senator Bristow of Kansas as voting against the bill for the admission of Arizona, with the judicial recall in her Constitution and subject only to referendum after Statehood, and this wasn't true. Mr. Bristow voted the other way. [See current volume, p. 853.]

*

Our mistake was originally that of the Associated Press, which had named Senator Bristow as voting against the bill. Its report was published in the press of the country on the 9th of August. On the 11th of August Senator Bristow made the following statement in open Senate: "Mr. Presi-

dent, I desire to make a personal statement. In the report sent out by the Associated Press as to the vote on the Statehood bill the statement was made that I voted against the bill proposing to admit those Territories (Arizona and New Mexico) as States. It was wrong. I voted for it, but a contrary statement has been given very wide publicity. There was no possible excuse for any reporter who has the privilege of the floor or of the gallery making the mistake." The Associated Press reporter in the Senate must have heard that statement, but if any of the Associated Press newspapers has corrected the error the correction has escaped our notice. We regret that the misleading and unjust report should have stood in these columns uncorrected so long.

* *

Dr. Wiley, President Taft and Mr. Glavis.

When President Taft set out on his speaking tour two years ago, he made the occasion memorable by whitewashing Secretary Ballinger in the Pinchot controversy and dismissing a faithful and courageous public servant whom Secretary Ballinger had asked him to "bounce." Mr. Taft got severely stung thereby, and the sting sticks. It would seem so, at any rate, for he seizes upon the occasion of his setting out upon the second of his biennial speaking tours, to rebuke Secretary Wilson by exonerating Dr. Wiley.

*

Over the Wiley case the political atmosphere is heavily charged with rumors to the effect that the President's decision may make a vacancy at the head of the Department of Agriculture, and that Attorney-General Wickersham is embarrassed because he took sides with Secretary-of-Agriculture Wilson, as two years before he did with Secretary-of-the-Interior Ballinger. But there need be no embarrassment on the part of the Attorney General. Mr. Taft is reported as explaining that when in his official opinion Mr. Wickersham advised the President to let Dr. Wiley resign as a well-merited punishment, the Attorney General did not have all the testimony before him. The Attorney General need do nothing more, therefore, than to file an antedated opinion—as in the Glavis case.

* *

The Power of Congress Over Courts.

In our department of Incidental Suggestions this week, we publish a letter on the power of Congress to check judicial usurpation in the guise of Constitutional interpretation. It brings for-

ward the startling proposition made in Congress by Victor Berger, that Congress can legislate in restraint of the Supreme Court, that it has in fact done so, and that the Supreme Court has acquiesced by distinct and unanimous decision.

*

If Congressman Berger's contention as construed by our correspondent is right, there would seem to be no important issue regarding which Congress may not divest the Supreme Court of jurisdiction. Government by injunction, therefore, might be abolished, trusts could be regulated or destroyed, and many forms of privilege, even some of the fundamental ones, might be uprooted, with no power on the part of the judiciary to interfere. This raises a technical question, but its discussion in a technical way need not be mysterious. We should be glad to open the columns of *The Public* for an exposition of the subject from all points of view. As the question is not whether the theory is a wise or good one, but whether it has been already established as Constitutionally sound, there would seem to be no necessity for articles of much length.

* *

"So Much to Be Done."

"There's so much to be done, and so little time to do it!" complains a Progressive. Well, what of it? True, there is much to be done, and always will be; but the world doesn't expect one man or one set of men to do everything. The world knows that democracy will never go into liquidation and strike a final balance. There will always be reports on progress, but never a report "at the close of business." Democracy is never an accomplished fact, but always an uninterrupted movement of humanity toward perfection. Besides, there is time enough for the growth of democracy. Time is of the essence of democracy. Democracy is as much a growth *out* of something as it is a growth *into* something. It takes time to grow out of bad habits and into good habits, and democracy is a "habit." Originally the word "habit" meant "appearance" and "dress," and to-day the French use it where we would say "dress" or "clothing." But when the word migrated to England it began to be used to mean the "usual condition or state of a person or thing, either natural or acquired." Later it took on the meaning of "fixed or established custom or practice." In both senses democracy is a "habit." Now, the world is growing into the democratic "habit," out of the undemocratic "habit"; and the democratic habit is the Brotherhood habit. As it takes much time for an individual to grow out

of something into something better, so it takes much and more time for a State, a national or a world community to do so. This is natural, and for the best. Nothing that is to endure can spring to maturity in a night—nor in a week, a year or even a decade. Rapid growth and maturity are followed by early decline and short life. If world-democracy could be attained in a year, it would be forgotten in a few years. Nature provides time in which to do things; gives man the desire to accomplish; gives him a yearning for the democracy of Brotherhood; gives him means for working out the salvation of Brotherhood. Mark the oak. It has plenty of time in which to grow, and all that Nature asks of the acorn is that it get "on the job" and keep at it.

* * *

BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER.

Andrew Carnegie has been criticized for giving ten million dollars to an International Peace Fund—not because his intentions were not good but on the ground that the gift was misdirected. His critics say that donations, however large, to suppress evils can accomplish nothing unless they are used to remove the fundamental cause of the evils, and that the way to abolish war is to establish just economic conditions; and that unjust economic conditions can be abolished by international free trade and by giving labor access to natural opportunities. In other words, free trade and Singletax will abolish war and keep it abolished; and, therefore, if Mr. Carnegie is in earnest, he will give ten millions for free trade and Singletax in order to put his peace movement on a firm foundation.

*

That's one right way of looking at it. But isn't there another right way?

The public mind has often been derailed, when on the main line of correct thought, by war scares, rumors of and preparations for war and by war itself. Under the cover of war scares and of war, governments have committed many dark and evil deeds, knowing that the people were too much interested in watching the fireworks and saying "Ah-h-h-h-!" to pay any attention to the expert gentlemen who were picking the public pocket. A fight in a crowd, even a dog fight on the street, is the opportunity of the pickpocket.

The man who has his pocket picked is the man who is too busy thinking of something else to look after his pocket. So the people who are robbed of their liberties, or of certain rights, are the people whose attention is fixed upon something else.

If all the scrappy Powers can be tangled up in

a peace movement and put under bonds to keep the peace, naturally the world's attention will be turned away from war scares, war rumors, and "preparedness for war," and will be turned to and concentrated upon political and economic conditions. Wasn't our present "system" of Protection fastened to us when we were busy with the Civil War?

*

If it be true—and it seems true—that political and economic peace will result in the abolition of war, isn't it equally true that the abolition of war will result in political and economic peace? That is, assuming that political peace in advance of actual economic peace is possible.

Every nation that puts itself into a peace pact, or under bonds to keep the peace, means the removal of one disturbing factor in the attempt to bring about political and economic peace. So, for every war scare trimmed out and every war-scarer muzzled, there is so much more time for the people to give to sane political and economic thought. And what is needed is that the people shall have time to think, and peaceful opportunity to think, of methods of improving their individual and composite conditions. After all, perhaps, it isn't thinking that hurts the head, but the attempt to think under distracting conditions.

The world is about ripe for the great peace movement of democracy—for the Peace of Brotherhood. We have learned to trim our nails and cut our claws; we have acquired a taste for the better groomed condition, and with our scratching and tearing implements well pruned we are not in good condition for disfiguring our brothers; so we resort to other methods of settling or adjusting our personal disagreements. Decrease of individual conflict has increased the Brotherhood feeling, and at the same time we have learned, or are learning, that any interference with the natural rights of man and men is merely war with different weapons.

I do not pretend to read Mr. Carnegie's mind—and there is no record that any mind reader ever tackled the mind of a Scot. It is impossible to say what triumphant democratic thought was in his mind when he gave ten million dollars for an International Peace Fund.

*

Those of us who desire political and economic justice above all else sometimes get a mist on our spectacles, and that mist sometimes interferes with clear vision. We see the one way to do a certain thing. The man who has advanced no farther than geometry sees but one way to solve the "pons

asinorum" problem; but if he'll turn to trigonometry he'll find a shorter and easier way.

It is believed, and said, that political and economic peace will usher in the era of Brotherhood of Man. But isn't it true that the world-wide democratic movement is but an expression of the desire for and the belief in the Brotherhood of Man? And isn't it true that the desire for and belief in that Brotherhood is the force that is turning the thoughts of men to ways and means of political and economic peace? Are we not coming to believe, more and more, that the Brotherhood way is the natural way, and that we must follow the natural social and moral law in order to attain it?

Isn't that the source of the warmth and moisture, acting upon proper soil conditions, that are germinating or sprouting the seeds of popular government—"responsible representative government," as Governor Woodrow Wilson says—and that have caused the plant to blossom here and there? And isn't the same thing true of the seed planted by Henry George, which could not possibly germinate and spring to life in a world of warfare?

Then is not this the psychological moment for peace pacts between the professional Sluggers of the earth, the "strong arm" men who have set Brother against Brother? Freedom from war is an element of liberty. We shall have clearer thought when our ears are less distracted by the throbbing of war drums and when our eyes have a rest from the ghost-dancing of warriors. Reducing the output of war scares and de-Hobsonizing the press will enable us to make calm preparation for the necessary operation of sticking the taxation lancet into the economic tumors called "swollen fortunes" and thus letting out the purulent money which is the anti-social pus of a malignant abscess.

"All things," even Carnegie, "work together for good."

W. G. EGGLESTON.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

GUSTAV R. WEIKERT.

Detroit, Sept. 13.

The cause of Direct Legislation in Michigan has lost a hard and effective worker and a gallant champion in the death of Gustav R. Weikert, who has just passed away, aged 66 years. He was a most efficient enthusiast in his chosen reform field. No sacrifice was too great for him to make if by any chance it would advance the people's rule. He had faith in the people—a true democrat. For many years he was the moving spirit in such organizations as the Michigan Progressive Voters' League and the Detroit Henry George Association, and his recreation con-

sisted in the main in supplying voters with literature bearing on the initiative, the referendum and the recall.

Mr. Weikert was a draftsman in the employ of the Detroit Electric Lighting Commission, a municipal enterprise engaged in the business of lighting the thoroughfares of the city at the general cost of the taxpayers. He had under his charge important data, and he was as faithful to the city in his work as he was to the cause of direct legislation.

While viewing life from the materialistic standpoint, in the main, he was far from being irreligious. Rather his religion took the direction of love for his fellowman, instead of regard for a creed. And while he believed that property had rights, he held that the necessities of the human being—the right to an equal opportunity with other human beings to an equal chance for obtaining a livelihood—were paramount to all property rights not based on labor.

Frederick F. Ingram, in his remarks at the Detroit Crematorium, where the body was incinerated, voiced the sentiments of Mr. Weikert's comrades when he said:

In intensity of purpose he was a John the Baptist, a Peter the Hermit. Though he was not always understood, he was always respected. Himself indifferent to the accumulation of property, he enjoyed the confidence of many who make that the chief aim in life. Though not a member of any labor organization, his influence with the sons of toil was great. Always in controversy with those who believed in the rule of the few—the rule of "the best people"—he was usually able to make his plea for democracy, the rule of the common people, interesting even to them.

Mr. Weikert slowly starved to death. For eight weeks before the end came, no food passed his lips. With full possession of his mental faculties while the cancerous growth racked him with pain, his only regret was that he could not live a little longer in order to do more for direct legislation. His time was always at the service of The Cause; and he scrimped himself financially in order that he might do his part in raising the needed funds to carry on the work.

Gustav R. Weikert, a Swiss by nationality, a citizen of the world by preference, a lover of liberty and righteousness, a champion of equal opportunities, an enemy of privilege, is now but a memory; but it is a memory that will long survive in this community.

JUDSON GRENELL.

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GOOD USE OF THE INITIATIVE IN MAINE.

Skowhegan, Me., Sept. 14.

The Maine Republican State convention of 1896 adopted a platform containing a plank in favor of direct primaries. The Republican legislature the following year flatly repudiated the platform promise. The subject came before the legislative session of 1909 and was there referred to the session of 1911. Its friends then began to realize that their only hope lay in organized effort.

In December, 1909, the address of State-Master Stetson to the annual session of the Grange contained a ringing appeal for a direct primary law, and while the effect of that was still in the air, interested citizens met in Augusta and organized the Direct

Primary League of Maine. Several months were spent in the study of the legislation and experience of other States, and finally a bill was formulated with great care and especial reference to conditions and customs in Maine. Shortly afterwards both the Republican and the Democratic State conventions adopted platforms containing direct primary planks.

But the friends of the direct primary wisely placed little reliance upon those convention resolutions. They set out, instead, to invoke the Initiative clause of the Constitution. To do that it was necessary to secure the signatures of not less than 12,000 legal voters. Both the State Grange and the Federation of Labor co-operated, and the task was finally accomplished with the expenditure of only a few hundred dollars.

When this bill and petition were introduced in the legislature, as required by the Maine system, the politicians paid no more attention to it than they had before. They did pass an apology for a direct primary law, however, to make the people think they had lived up to their platform. Under the Maine Constitution our bill then had to go to the people, and the Governor called the special election upon it for the same date as that set for the referendum on the rum question.

We did very little campaigning, but considerable literature was distributed among the voters explaining the bill and its probable effect upon Maine politics. Evidently the politicians didn't care to buck anything backed by both the Grange and organized Labor, so they all kept quite aloof. The vote was taken September 11th, and although the returns are not quite all in, they show a vote in round numbers of 60,000 for the bill to 20,000 against. We "Maniacs" rather think that now we shall be able to handle our politicians and public servants.

The real lesson in it all is that without the direct legislation amendment to our Constitution, which was adopted in 1908, the will of our people would probably have been thwarted for years to come.

CHRISTOPHER M. GALLUP.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

HOW TO PULL THE SUPREME COURT'S TEETH.

Grand Rapids, Mich.

Whatever may be thought of the merits of Victor Berger's old age pension bill itself it must be conceded by all who reject the "judicial infallibility" dogma, that the Socialist Congressman has by the introduction of this measure incidentally performed a great public service by dealing a body blow not only to this heresy but to the more dangerous one of judicial supremacy and irresponsibility. Reference is here had to the last section of the Berger bill,* which runs:

That in accordance with section a, article 3 of the Constitution, and the precedent established by the act of Congress passed over the President's veto March 27, 1868, the exercise of jurisdiction by any of the Federal courts upon the validity of this act is hereby expressly forbidden.

*See on same subject in The Public, current volume, pages 842, 874.

The clause of the Constitution referred to provides that "In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those to which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction;" but that in all other cases "the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make."

Four times the Convention of 1787 refused to insert a clause in the Constitution giving the Supreme Court power to annul acts of Congress. But the Supreme Court has repeatedly exercised this power; and it has for years been generally accepted as a fact that Congress was helpless to resist judicial usurpations by that tribunal—that the Supreme Court, in fact, had become, through gradual, insidious encroachments, the sovereign and irresponsible power. When it has been proposed in Congress to curtail or regulate injunction jurisdiction in certain cases, and to provide for jury trials in contempt cases not committed in presence of the court, the claim has been strenuously set up that this would be an unconstitutional encroachment on the functions of the judiciary of which the Supreme Court would and should make short work.

There seems to be no question, in the face of the foregoing Constitutional provision, of the ample power of Congress to regulate, limit or exclude Supreme Court jurisdiction except in the comparatively few cases where it is original. But, as Mr. Berger points out in his speech in defense of this section of his bill, the United States Supreme Court, by unanimous decision, given by Chief Justice Chase April 12, 1868, has expressly upheld this power of Congress. Mr. Berger thus states the occasion of this decision:

Congress on March 27, 1868, enacted over President Johnson's veto, a law prohibiting the Federal courts from passing on the validity of the Civil War reconstruction laws. The cause of this defiant act of Congress was the fact that the Attorney General had expressed the opinion that these acts were unconstitutional, and had therefore refused to appear against one McArdle of Mississippi, who had an appeal for a habeas corpus writ before the Supreme Court, he having been arrested by the military authorities for newspaper criticisms of their conduct.

In sustaining the validity of this act of Congress the Supreme Court said: "The appellate jurisdiction of this court is, strictly speaking, conferred by the Constitution; but it is conferred with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make." Further on the Court says: "It is quite clear, therefore, that this court cannot proceed to pronounce judgment in this case, for it has no longer jurisdiction of the appeal, and judicial duty is not less fully performed by declining ungranted jurisdiction than by firmly exercising that which the Constitution and law confer."

It is surprising that a Congressional and judicial precedent of such far-reaching scope as that brought to the front by Mr. Berger has been practically ignored by nearly all the daily journals of the country. For, under this unanimous Supreme Court decision, Congress has unquestionably power not only to prohibit that court from nullifying any act of Congress except by a unanimous bench (as provided in a pending bill), but likewise to prohibit it from

declaring unconstitutional any or every act of Congress now subject to its appellate jurisdiction.

By its refusal to grant the Supreme Court a veto on acts of Congress the convention of 1787 prohibited the exercise by that tribunal of such power, for "all powers not granted by the Federal Constitution to the United States"—whether to its judicial, legislative or executive departments—are forbidden. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court, under the regime of that rank Federalist, Chief Justice Marshall, author of the indefensible Dartmouth College decision, early usurped this denied authority. And the wonder is that Congress and the country, with this ample Constitutional remedy at hand, should have so long submitted to this judicial usurpation.

Why these important and far-reaching precedents, now brought into the limelight by Mr. Berger, have been ignored by Congress and the country for more than 40 years, it is not easy to explain. Neither is it easy to explain why, now that he has resurrected them, they are still given little or no attention by the press of the country.

W. M. H.

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 19, 1911.

Premier of Russia Assassinated.

Peter A. Stolypin, President of the Council of Ministers since 1906, and Minister of the Interior, of the "Empire of all the Russias," was assassinated while attending a gala performance of the opera in the city of Kiev on the evening of the 14th. The Czar was present at the opera at the time of the shooting, having come to Kiev to be present at the unveiling of a monument to Czar Alexander II, which had taken place in the afternoon. He had also received deputations from the new western Zemstvos, and had given a reception to the nobility, previous to the special performance of the evening which was to mark the close of the festivities. Mr. Stolypin received two wounds. One bullet cut his hand, and another grazed the liver and lodged in the spine. The assassin was instantly apprehended, and was found to be a Jewish lawyer named Dmitri Bogroff, who seems to have been playing a double part between the police and the revolutionists. He was in the confidence of police officials and gained entrance to the opera house as a police spy. It was hoped for a day or two that Mr. Stolypin's life might be saved, but peritonitis set in and he died on the 18th. The Jews of Russia are panic-stricken, fearing retaliatory massacres. Thirty thousand troops have been poured into Kiev to prevent excesses. Mr. Kokovsoff, minister of finance, who was appointed acting Premier after Mr. Stolypin was

shot, has sent a peremptory circular to the various governors on the maintenance of order. This was the fourth attempt on Stolypin's life in five years. The Chicago Record-Herald of the 16th thus summed up Stolypin's relation to the different political groups of Russia:

Stolypin is hated by the Leftists and feared, suspected and denounced by the extreme Rightists. The Black Hundreds call him traitor. The advanced Liberals detest him. Even the mild Octobrists have had to rebuke and repudiate him. The upper house of the Russian "parliament" passed resolutions of censure against him. The Douma has thundered and condemned him. The grand dukes regard him as an enemy. But the Czar feels that he needs Stolypin and has on several occasions prevented him by personal appeal from resigning office. Stolypin is chiefly identified with intense nationalism, the movement to substitute private peasant ownership of land for communal ownership, and opposition to violence and crime as means of reform. Only the Moderates and the commercial elements sport him.

On the 19th the same paper expressed the view "that he was a Conservative with Liberal leanings who sincerely believed that Russia was not ripe for genuine constitutionalism." [See current volume, page 301.]

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Strikes and Food Riots in Europe.

Spain is suffering severely from strikes which may lead to revolution. There are general strikes at Bilbao and Saragossa, and partial ones at Huelva, Cadiz, Valencia, Seville and Gijon. Mobs of strikers aided by socialist and republican agitators have been in conflict with the soldiery in several cities, with fatal results. On the 19th the inhabitants of the towns of Alcoer and Carcagente, near Valencia, revolted, drove out the authorities and proclaimed a commune. On the same day the King suspended constitutional guarantees throughout the nation. [See current volume, page 855.]

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In Italy, at Parma, mobs of striking bricklayers were fired upon by soldiers on the 14th.

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In France the war against the high prices for food, which had been languishing for a few days, owing to vigorous precautions of the authorities or the palliative measures of the mayors in establishing municipal butcheries and food depots, burst forth afresh on the 12th with riots at Saint Etienne and Cherbourg, and on the 13th at Creil and Charleville. At the two latter places troops charged the crowds and large numbers were injured. [See current volume, page 933.]

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Similar food riots have broken out in Austria. At Vienna, on the 17th, the mobs destroyed property and built barricades, throwing missiles at the soldiers sent against them, and crying: "We want

no military! We want bread!" The soldiers responded with volleys of bullets and with free use of their bayonets. Unofficial reports give six persons killed and above two hundred severely injured. By the evening of the 18th order had been restored by the military and one district had been put under martial law. The leaders of the Social Democrats, in a manifesto, declared that the rioters were an undisciplined element of the city, and exhorted the workmen to abstain from further demonstration and to resume their work. The agitation is said to be the culmination of months of bitter discontent over the steady increase in the cost, not only of food, but of lodging, clothing and all the necessaries of life. That the movement has revolutionary possibilities was indicated by the fact that the mobs cheered the cry of "Revolution!" and shouted their applause for the overthrow of monarchy in Portugal.

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Conference of State Governors.

Beginning with no very pronounced purpose only two or three years ago, the annual Conference of Governors appears to have developed into a highly significant voluntary organization of the States in resistance to concentration of national power. An impetus has been given it by the intrusion of Federal judicial authority into the domain of State authority, a threatening instance being the recent decision of Judge Sanborn to the effect that State authority cannot regulate railway rates within a State on inter-State railways. This decision would have the effect of freeing inter-State traffic from all regulation—from State regulation because the line is *inter-State*, and from national regulation because the rates are *intra-State*. This subject caused the most pronounced and significant action of the Conference of Governors at their meeting at Spring Lake, N. J., of which the opening session was reported in *The Public* last week. [See vol. xiii, p. 1163; and current volume, page 955.]

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The proceedings on the 11th developed a controversy of general interest between Governor Wilson of New Jersey and Governor O'Neal of Alabama over the Initiative and Referendum. Speaking on the subject of strengthening the power of Governors in their respective States, Governor O'Neal advocated gubernatorial authority to remove county and municipal officers, whether appointive or elective, as a preventive of lynching. But he bitterly opposed the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, referring to them as "a movement which seems to be gathering strength in certain sections of the country" and which "tends to weaken rather than strengthen executive authority," a Governor having "no power to veto or amend a law initiated by the people and adopted

by referendum" but the only remedy being in the courts "if the law is in violation of the Constitution, invades vested rights, or destroys individual liberty," and "where the system of recall of judges prevails (overthrowing as it does the independence of the judiciary) the courts would degenerate into tribunals organized chiefly to register popular judgment on all legal questions." Replying to Governor O'Neal Governor Wilson said in substance, with reference to the Initiative and Referendum, that—

it is necessary that we carry the analysis a little further than it has been carried. An important thing is, the source of the law. Some of the laws that we have are bad laws and they are bad for the reason that there is a suspicion as to their source. There is nothing inconsistent between the strengthening of the powers of the Executive and the direct power of the people. There is no distrust of the fundamental principles of democracy. We are all democrats if we use a small 'd'. We are merely at odds as to the best method of giving expression with reference to that great public opinion upon which all depends. I have known of instances of the caprice of the mob, but I have never known of any instance where the vote of the population was spoken of as a caprice.

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The subject of woman suffrage was brought before the Conference on the 11th by Governor Carey of Wyoming, who said that he came from a woman-suffrage State, and from his observation and experience there he wished to see every State in the Union adopt woman suffrage. In allusion to one of the engrossing subjects of the conference, the conflict of marriage and divorce laws in the several States, he argued that the women of the country should have a voice in deciding how to deal with this question and predicted that woman suffrage would lead to a remedy for the divorce evil. Following Governor Carey's speech, Governor Shafroth of Colorado offered and the Conference adopted a motion for a session to be addressed by woman suffrage representatives. Accordingly on the 14th Mrs. Abram Van Winkle, Mrs. J. W. Brannon and the Rev. Dr. Anna Shaw addressed the Conference.

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Governors Aldrich of Nebraska and Hadley of Missouri took the lead on the 14th in the movement which resulted in pronounced action with reference to Federal invasion of State authority through the Federal judiciary. They denounced Judge Sanborn's decision as judicial tyranny, and upon their motion a committee of Governors was appointed to appear before the Supreme Court of the United States, as counsel in one of the State cases pending there, with a protest against interference in State affairs by inferior Federal judges. Governor Harmon of Ohio is chairman of this committee, and Governors Aldrich and Hadley are the other members.

Organizing the Democratic Party.

United States Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma has begun the organization of Democratic voters throughout the United States into voting precinct (election district) clubs, for the purpose of enabling the Democratic party to control its own nominations. Urging the vital importance of the movement Senator Owen says:

The real political contest in this country is between the people and the holders of special privilege. Already the special interests are making secret efforts to control the regular Democratic organization, and will endeavor to name the Democratic nominees. For this reason the people must control the primaries, the conventions, the nominations and elections, and the men elected, in their own interest. In this contest the advocates of Privilege have large funds representing very great wealth, and an army of skilled workers and strikers, a powerful press, an army of beneficiaries, and will contest the field from end to end, while the people are unorganized. The present regular Democratic organization, consisting of national, State, county, city, township, ward, and precinct committees, and office holders, have no right and no duty as an organization to take sides or determine the nomination and election of their successors in office. The work of the regular Democratic party organization begins when the candidates shall have been nominated. The imperative need of the hour is organization of the people themselves, for self-defense in the governing business through the Democratic party. The party should be safe-guarded in every precinct, and from the precinct to the national convention. We propose such an organization, self-governing and self-sustaining, and we urgently desire endorsement and active support.

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The plan of organization is simple. It begins with the coming together of five or more Democratic voters in any voting precinct, and their forming a club under the name of The Democratic Precinct Club, of the Precinct of the Ward (or Township) of County (or City) of the State of Membership must be open to all Democrats who pay a yearly fee of twenty-five cents for the support of the club and approve its constitution, which requires—

The taking part in the nation-wide movement of patriotic Democrats for ensuring progressive control of the regular Democratic organization, from the precinct to the national convention, and thereby place in office within the party and nominate for public office none but trustworthy citizens, especially a progressive Presidential nominee, all of whom shall be pledged to the voters to support the following People's Rule program: (1) To promote the establishment of a thorough system of actual self-government within the party by the members of the party; (2) to promote the establishment of a thorough system of actual self-government by the people within the States and the nation; and (3) to so legislate and to so administer the laws as to abolish privileges in industry, thereby lowering the cost of living and

opening up the opportunities of life in full measure to the masses of the people.

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Each precinct club is federated with the other Democratic precinct clubs of its county, city and State, and also with those of the whole country, the national federation being called The Federation of Democratic Precinct Clubs of the United States of America. The executive work of each precinct club is under the direction of an Executive Council consisting of the president, the secretary, the treasurer and two other members, all subject to recall by a majority vote at any meeting upon due notice. Regular meetings are few, but there are liberal provisions for special meetings, either on call by the officers or on the initiative of members. The superior bodies of the organization up to and including the national Federation are under the constant control of the membership by means of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. Full information regarding this movement may be had by addressing Senator R. L. Owen, Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

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The Liquor Question in Maine.

Nothing final can be reported on the proposed repeal of the prohibition amendment to the Maine Constitution, until the official canvass is officially announced. [See current volume, page 955.]

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First reports gave the victory to the liquor side by a small majority, but later ones threw the small majority the other way, and later still this result was disputed. The last of the unofficial reports, being an unofficial announcement of an official tabulation still subject to correction, gives the following results:

For abolishing prohibition	60,487
For continuing prohibition	60,461

Majority against prohibition 26

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Other Maine Referendums.

There were two referendums in Maine at the recent election, besides that on the Constitutional amendment regarding the liquor traffic. One was the question of perpetuating Augusta as the State capital. It was carried by 48,295 to 30,419—an affirmative majority of 17,876.

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The more important referendum, however, came before the voters under the recent Initiative and Referendum law of Maine. The legislature having refused for years to enact a direct primary law, the question was put by Initiative and is carried by 55,840 to 17,751—a majority of 38,089 in a total of 73,591 at an election at which the

highest total was 120,769. An interesting account of this victory for the direct primary will be found in our Editorial Correspondence.

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Politics in Minnesota.

A large dinner-meeting of the Progressive Republicans of Minnesota was held at Minneapolis on the 7th at which Congressman Lenroot of Wisconsin and Charles E. Merriam of Chicago were the principal speakers. Resolutions pledging unwavering support to Senator La Follette for President were adopted. They also declare that—

political and industrial conditions are unsatisfactory as a result of the influence of the special interests in government. This influence is maintained by controlling political parties and electing business agents instead of statesmen to public office. The servility of politicians to the stand-pat demands of unfair business has become intolerable, but without opportunity for direct legislation the average citizen is helpless. To accomplish desired results, organization is necessary. We approve the campaign now in progress to secure control of the next national Republican convention for the purpose of nominating candidates whose public record and personal convictions are in harmony with these principles.

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An Extraordinary Woman Suffrage Meeting.

At Cooper Union, New York City, on the 16th, a mass meeting in behalf of woman suffrage, presided over by Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, president of the Women's Political Union, was addressed by the Governors of the five woman-suffrage States—Carey of Wyoming, Hawley of Idaho, Hay of Washington, Spry of Utah, and Shafroth of Colorado.

NEWS NOTES

—Thomas H. Carter, formerly United States Senator from Montana, died at Washington, D. C., on the 17th, at the age of 57.

—The village of Ridgewood, N. J., adopted the commission form of government on the 12th by 481 to 287—a majority of 194 in a total vote of 768 out of a population of 5500.

—The Republic of Portugal, according to the press dispatches of the 13th, had been formally recognized by Great Britain, Spain, Germany, Italy and Austria. (See current volume, page 900.)

—Edmond H. Madison, the Progressive Republican member of Congress from Jerry Simpson's old district in Kansas, died suddenly at breakfast in his home at Dodge City, Kan., on the 18th at the age of 46.

—Lecture appointments so far made for the Hon. Henry George, Jr., are announced as follows by Frederick H. Monroe: Milwaukee, September 21 and 22; Minneapolis, September 23; Winnipeg, September 24, 25 and 26; Virden, September 27; Regina,

September 28; Moose Jaw, September 29 and 30 and October 1; and Calgary, October 5, 6, 7 and 8.

—Nellie Carlin, a chancery and probate lawyer in successful practice at Chicago for ten years, was last week appointed to the office of Special Tax Inheritance Attorney, the function of which is to collect the State inheritance tax.

—In a furious wind and rainstorm that swept over central Illinois early on the 13th the State capitol at Springfield was to a large extent deroofted, and a deluge of rain destroyed plastering with costly frescoes. The supreme court building also suffered.

—The first woman ever to enter the diplomatic service of any country in the world is Miss Clotilde Luisi, who has been appointed by the President of Uruguay as an attache of the Uruguayan legation at Brussels, Belgium. Miss Luisi recently received a university degree of doctor of laws.

—President Taft began in earnest on the 15th his second national speaking tour, his first having been made two years ago. Leaving Beverly, Mass., his summer home, on the 15th, he spoke at Syracuse, N. Y., on the 16th and at Detroit on the 18th. [See volume xii, p. 1118; current volume, page 901.]

—Just before leaving Beverly for his Union-wide speaking tour, President Taft exonerated Dr. W. H. Wiley, chief of the bureau of chemistry in the Department of Agriculture, upon charges preferred by Secretary Wilson and approved by Attorney-General Wickersham. [See current volume, page 681.]

—Mt. Etna, reported in eruption last week, began to emit a great stream of lava on the 12th, which has driven thousands of the inhabitants from their homes. The front of the stream was described as being fifty feet high and a third of a mile wide. By the 17th the eruption seemed to be losing some of its activity but the advancing lava, by that date in five main streams, continued its work of destruction. (See current volume, page 957.)

—The first International Municipal Congress and Exposition met at Chicago on the 18th, under the local auspices of the City of Chicago, the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Citizens' Association, the Industrial Club, the Civic Federation, the City Club and the United Charities. The idea originated with the Chicago Association of Commerce, and the Commissioner General is John MacVicar of Des Moines. Mayor Harrison of Chicago made the address of welcome, and Mayor Fitzgerald of Boston spoke on the opening day. [See current volume, page 984.]

—Uprisings in Sze-Chuan Province in southwest China, in protest against oppressive taxes for railroad building and the use of foreign capital, have been reported for a week. The city of Chen-Tu, the capital of the Province, was besieged, and word came on the 17th that it had been captured by the rebels, that high officials had been slain, and that the viceroy of the Province had barely escaped. In the meantime revolt was lifting its head in the east. A dispatch from Peking on the 18th stated that the anti-railway loan movement seemed to be taking on an increasingly revolutionary character throughout the country, and told of a recent meeting of anti-loan agitators at Hongkong where it was resolved

to organize the opposition of the Provinces of Hupeh, Hunan and Kwan-Tung (where an effort at revolt was made last spring.) (See current volume, page 448.)

—The annual conference of the American Association for Labor Legislation met in Chicago last week. The discussion on occupational diseases was led by John B. Andrew. Edgar T. Davies, factory inspector of Illinois, spoke for the better education of judges and lawyers in industrial legislation, saying that as a rule judges live in an environment so different from that of the industrial worker that they are incapable of understanding his needs. Professor John R. Commons of the Wisconsin University explained the powers of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, of which he is a member, as designed to do for employers and employes what public-utility commissioners are doing for investors and consumers. [See current volume, page 957.]

PRESS OPINIONS

How Farmers Are Farmed.

The (Portland, Ore.) Labor Press (Labor), August 12.—The Gresham Herald points out that agricultural land in all parts of the country is held at too high a price to be either safe or profitable. "To pay \$500 to \$1,000 or more an acre is simply trifling with fate," warns the Herald. "No piece of ground in existence is a safe investment in a farming way at such prices." This is very true. At the same time there are ten acres of good land idle in Oregon to every one acre used, and great areas of farmed land very indifferently used; yet a homeseeker cannot get this speculatively held land at any reasonable price. It is under-assessed until it is used, and then the user is taxed on everything he does. Have we not got to get some approach toward the British Columbia conditions, where land held idle is taxed eight times more than land used?

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Woman Suffrage in California.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Sept. 9.—An organization to fight woman suffrage has been formed in Los Angeles. One of its leading members is Frank P. Flint, former Senator when Attorney Herrin of the Southern Pacific ran the politics and government of the State. Mr. Flint voted for Lorimer—and retired to private life. Another leading member is Oscar P. Lawlor, the assistant attorney general whose activities in behalf of Mr. Ballinger will be recalled. Another is Cornelius Cole, also a Senator in the golden age of government by railroad. With such foes in the open we can no longer doubt the success of the equal suffrage movement in California. The suffragists ought to give the gentlemen a vote of thanks.

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The Sacramento Bee (dem. Dem.), August 25.—The Bee publishes today a communication from the Southern California Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in which it is declared that "not half the women in the State will use the ballot when they get it," and

that the Association protests against having the ballot "thrust upon them." It remains to be seen what proportion of the women will use the ballot when they get it, and no one can tell in advance what that will be. In Seattle and other cities the proportion has been unexpectedly large. The main question, however, is the right of women to vote. That should not be denied to those willing to exercise it, merely because some of their sisters do not want it or might not use it if they had it. It is a mistake to say an attempt is being made to "force" the ballot on unwilling women. There is no "force" involved. The only question before the male voters is that of recognizing the right of women to the ballot, and whether they shall cease to be Constitutionally classed with idiots, insane persons and criminals, as barred from the polls.

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From Piety Through Atheism to Religion.

The (Omaha) Chancellor (Laurie J. Quinby), August.—I talked frequently to a young man of intellectual attainments who in earlier life had met with an accident that had badly crippled him. He had been born and bred in the church, yet had seen much misery and injustice in the world, to all of which he was merely told that the future life would make all this plain, and that he must only trust. He was too wise to accept that sort of answer, and the result was that he drifted to materialism, denying that there was a God, and asserting that if there were, He had neither Love, Wisdom, nor any sense of Justice. He became essentially an atheist. After I had tried in vain to have him get a view of things that seemed more rational to me, I finally broached Henry George to him. He said he knew nothing of George's philosophy, but as it seemed to deal with this life, and aimed to bring about a just system here instead of lulling the intellects of men to look complacently upon this in the hope of some promised land on the other side of Jordan, he would gladly look into it. On his request I promised that I would never mention to him while he read my "Progress and Poverty" anything of the subject. I waited for months, keeping my word and he never mentioning it. One day I went to him and said, "Now I will not ask you anything about the subject, further than to ask if you are reading my book." He assured me that he was and very carefully. In course of time he brought it to me one morning, and I shall never forget the expression on his intelligent face, when he said, "Well, I have gone through that book, and it has gone through me." Then taking me by the arm he walked over to the window, looking over the hills with a far-away pensive look. "Do you know," said he, "that Henry George has shown me something that I never believed anyone ever could show me?" "And what is that?" I asked. "He has proved to me," he said, "that there is a God." "How is that," I said, "since that is not primarily the object of Progress and Poverty?" "No," he answered, "and had I discovered such was his object, I may never have read it. What George has done for me has been to show me so clearly the law of natural justice by which peace and happiness could be realized here in this world without waiting for the next. When I looked over the world and saw

how cruel men were and how unfair things seemed to be, I blamed it all upon creation, and denied there could be any God. Now I know that all this cruelty and agony is only the effect of the ignorance of man. And my reason declares to me that if these natural laws of justice could work so well, there must have been an Intelligent Design or Law back of it all—and that Law to me is God.”

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE PAGEANT OF WOMAN.

S. Gertrude Ford in the London Daily News.

Way, make way, for the marching troops of justice;
 High, yet nigh, gleams the goal that shall be won;
 Near we, cheer we, the hope wherein our trust is;
 Long was the night, but we go to meet the sun.
 Stay not, stray not! the fight shall have its sequel.
 Spin we, win we, the robes that clothe the free!
 Rate man's mate as his comrade and his equal,
 All ye who call to the race that is to be!

Cede our need, ye who look on these our legions—
 Own our throne, in each realm we seek to share!
 Art, mill and mart, law and lore—in all their regions
 Nigh you, and by you, behold our footsteps fare.
 Trade counts the maid in the foremost of her armies;
 Science holds her page for the woman's eye to scan;

Yield we not a field, for in all the woman's charm is
 Shining by the side of her partner, Man.

Mile on mile we file; through the highways still we
 gather;

Mass we, pass we, in all our marshalled might.
 Cede our need! free the mother as the father;
 So, only so, shall the race be reared aright.
 Freedom we seek; in the battle where the dust is
 Palms we see and calms of the country that shall
 be—

Way, make way, for the marching troops of justice!
 Man, join the van, till the army shall be free!

* * *

WHY WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IS WRONG.

From the London Labour Leader.

Women would forsake their children to vote.
 They would not vote at all.
 Their political antagonism to their husbands
 would destroy the family.
 They would vote as their husbands vote.
 They now hold a superior position.
 They are and should be held subordinate.
 They are not equipped to teach.
 Their chief duty is to train their children's
 minds.
 They should become experts in government be-
 fore seeking the franchise.

They should leave the study of political prob-
 lems to their husbands.

They are now accorded equal opportunities to
 earn their livings.

They ought not to compete with men in the
 rude world of business.

They are not fitted for holding office.

They are permitted to serve on local bodies.

They should be satisfied with the existing en-
 lightened government.

Politics is a mire of corruption.

They cannot understand or appreciate eco-
 nomics.

Their business is to manage the household and
 safeguard the expenditures.

They would insist upon holding office.

They would not assume official responsibilities.

They are too ignorant to vote.

They are too wise to want to vote.

* * *

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN COLORADO

A Sensible Summary from a Responsible Source.
 Editorial in *The California Outlook*, of Septem-
 ber 2, 1911, Under the Title of "Women
 Voters a Moral Force."

It has been charged that where women vote po-
 litical morality is neither better nor worse than be-
 fore women voted, and that saloons exist in States
 where women vote is cited in proof of the fact.
 The evidence adduced is not conclusive. first, be-
 cause women, moral women, are not all agreed
 that prohibition renders the liquor evil less un-
 bearable than high license with attendant regula-
 tion and, second, because the status of the liquor
 evil is not the only standard wherewith to meas-
 ure political betterment.

In Denver, not long since, the writer of this
 held an extended conference with a State officer
 of much experience and discernment and it was
 the deliberate judgment of this State officer that
 few good things can hopefully be attempted in
 Colorado unless the women of Colorado can be
 counted on to rally to their support and, further,
 that there have been few really good movements
 started in Colorado that have not obtained the
 support of the enfranchised womanhood of that
 State.

The women of Colorado constitute the most in-
 dependent voting constituency in that common-
 wealth and the voting constituency that stands
 least in fear of the financial interests that have
 dominated Colorado to the degradation of its citi-
 zenship and the exploitation of its resources and
 its industrial and commercial life. The extent of
 this degradation may the better be understood in
 the light of the truth that it is the commonly re-
 ceived opinion in Colorado that, during the thirty-
 five years of its Statehood, not one representative
 has taken his seat in the United States Senate

whose seat was not bought either by himself or for him. That Colorado is now represented in the United States Senate by only one Senator instead of two is attributable to the interesting detail that no one could be elected without buying his election, and in view of the woes of Lorimer, no would-be purchaser quite dared to "come through" with the needful legal tender. The men of Colorado are either discouraged or case-hardened. The women are neither, and the most potent force now at work for the political regeneration of the Centennial State is the votes of women.

For ten years a fight has been waged for an eight-hour working day in the hazardous occupation of mining, in which men only are employed. A decade ago the people of Colorado so amended their State Constitution as to empower the legislature to enact such a law and make it compulsory. The mining interests prevented such legislation and the Cripple Creek strike with its tragedies and usurpations followed. The legislature, lately adjourned, belatedly enacted the laws necessary for putting that constitutional provision into operation and it was the women of Colorado and not the men who forced the issue upon legislative attention. They descended upon the State senate in two divisions, one Republican and the other Democratic, and made a man-to-man canvass for this wise and humane measure and got it. They did it because it was right.

Furthermore, public questions are nowhere else, in Colorado, so thoroughly discussed and painstakingly studied as in the women's clubs of that State. Women—such women as are intelligently interested in anything else, in church or school or home—give to the consideration of public issues that fidelity and service that so characterizes womanhood in the home and the church, with the result that such women, at least, vote more understandingly than men commonly do. Men are inclined to take the newspapers for their guides, whereas many women do genuine research work before they vote and are not content to vote unless they understand what they are voting for and why.

One result of this is that the tendency to discharge the duties of electors with fidelity and patriotism is, in Colorado, a growing tendency, especially with that generation of youths that has come under the tutelage of an enfranchised womanhood. During those plastic years in which boys are in the hands of women, either as mothers or as teachers, the mothers and women teachers of Colorado are talking and thinking of civic affairs and it is impossible that their patriotic enthusiasm for civic Right Things shall not be communicated to, and become a part of, the characters of the men of the Colorado of the future. The political millenium has not been brought to Colorado through women's voting. It will be long, long on the way, but if it comes it will be anyhow as

much through the enfranchised womanhood of the State as through that of its manhood.

* * *

A MORAL WEAKNESS IN OUR GOVERNMENT.

Charles H. Ingersoll in the *New York Times* of January 16, 1910.

Woman's right to vote I accept as a matter of course and irrespective of any conclusions as to public policy. The fact that this right inheres in woman implies that the exercise of it would broadly benefit civic government, and the denial of it, purely as an act of injustice, implies a moral weakness in governments likely to be fundamental.

And it is along these general lines that my convictions on this subject are based, for in considering the details of woman's fitness in the qualities contributing to best citizenship there is too much that is speculative to make deduction profitable.

One rather negative but quite effective point might be that if we men are to concede Bryce's charge against our government of cities,* consistency and frankness would indicate a resort to the assistance of women in improving our work; could they do worse than we have?

Is it not quite possible that the questions raised as to woman's eligibility for governmental honors proceed from that same obliquity that makes us failures as governors? If so, may we be temporarily endowed with moral courage to summon women to our aid! As a somewhat literal believer in democracy I cannot but deplore the disfranchisement of a large half of our citizens, especially so respectable a half as chivalry insists that women are.

We listen with reverence to orators' apostrophization of the sacred right of franchise, and with approval to the rebuke of men who fail to exercise that right, never thinking of our participation in the universal paradox of denying this sacred right to half of humanity! It is perhaps questionable if woman has more civic intelligence than man, but, accepting Bryce's conclusion, I doubt if any one will claim she has less, and there are many indications that with opportunity she would not only develop more aptly in this direction than has her master, but that she might pull him with her to higher levels.

The fact that we don't know because we have never tried her, and are, therefore, compelled to deal purely in theory, is strictly up to us. It has been shown on numerous occasions where the bars have been dropped that women are at least capable of direct positive action. These instances

*Mr. Ingersoll's allusion is to the opinion expressed by the Hon. James Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," that their city governments constituted the one conspicuous failure of the American people.

have afforded a glimpse of possibilities which might at once settle woman's status in civic matters, and also account for the many conservative fears as to letting her vote.

As an instance, in South Orange, N. J., a referendum vote, including women, passed an appropriation of nearly \$200,000 for school purposes which had been unfavorably considered for a decade by the man government. Women have in many ways shown their contempt of a myriad of "considerations" that weigh heavily with professional and business men and politicians who have given American municipalities their unenviable reputation, and there is much to encourage the hope that they would disturb enough well-established precedents to make requisite an appendix to Bryce's history.

Municipal questions are essentially home questions, and as such essentially concern the women whose exclusive business is at home; woman's concentration is, therefore, in the direction of municipal affairs, while man's is in the direction of business, which in itself often disqualifies him for public service. The business man has pretty thoroughly proved his incapacity for public office, and has contributed his full share to municipal disrepute. This is the natural result, first, from preoccupation with money getting, but most important from his deep-seated bias toward private, personal, financial and business considerations when weighed against purely public interests; he of all others is most susceptible to ulterior influence.

Thus municipal governments are left largely to professional politicians, who legislate ruthlessly against the home and community, and make a business of government. Can we doubt that the real householders will work at least some improvement in this condition?

Woman's suffrage is not so vital a matter under existing voting methods, but with the various improved systems that are doubtless coming in the various guises of direct primary, short ballot, commission government, initiative, referendum and recall, and preferential voting, which will bring the people again in touch with their government, there will come an era of civic intelligence and progressiveness inconceivable from our present viewpoint; then will more democracy cure the present evils of democracy, and then will woman contribute her full share to real municipal government.

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THEODORE PARKER ON WOMEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

From Theodore Parker's Address on "The Public"
Function of Woman."

By nature woman has the same political rights that man has—to vote, to hold office, to make and administer laws. These she has as a matter of

right. The strong hand and the great head of man keep her down, nothing more. In America, in Christendom, woman has no political rights, is not a citizen in full; she has no voice in making or administering the laws, none in electing the rulers or administrators thereof. She can hold no office—cannot be committee of a primary school, overseer of the poor, or guardian to a public lamp-post. But any man, with conscience enough to keep out of jail, mind enough to escape the poorhouse, and body enough to drop his ballot into the box, he is a voter. He may have no character, even no money, that is no matter—he is male. The noblest woman has no voice in the State. Men make laws disposing of her property, her person, her children; still she must bear it "with a patient shrug."

Looking at it as a matter of pure right and pure science, I know no reason why woman should not be a voter, or hold office, or make and administer laws. I do not see how I can shut myself into political privileges and shut woman out, and do both in the name of inalienable right. Certainly, every woman has a natural right to have her property represented in the general representation of property, and her person represented in the general representation of persons.

Looking at it as a matter of expediency, see some facts. Suppose woman had a share in the municipal regulation of Boston, and there were as many Alderwomen as Aldermen, as many Common Councilwomen as Common Councilmen—do you believe that, in defiance of the law of Massachusetts, the city government, last spring, would have licensed every two hundred and forty-fourth person in the city to sell intoxicating drink? would have made every thirty-fifth voter a rum-seller? I do not.

Do you believe the women of Boston would spend ten thousand dollars in one year in a city frolic, or spend two or three thousand every year, on the Fourth of July, for skyrockets and firecrackers; would spend four or five thousand dollars to get their Canadian guests drunk in Boston harbor, and then pretend that Boston had not money enough to establish a high school for girls, to teach the daughters of mechanics and grocers to read French and Latin, and to understand the higher things which rich men's sons are driven to at college? I do not.

Do you believe that the women of Boston, in 1851, would have spent three or four thousand dollars to kidnap a poor man, and have taken all the chains which belonged to the city, and put them round the court house, and have drilled three hundred men, armed with bludgeons and cutlasses, to steal a man and carry him back to slavery? I do not. Do you think, if the women had had the control, "fifteen hundred men of property and standing" would have volunteered to take a poor man, kidnaped in Boston, and conduct him

out of the State with fire and sword? I believe no such thing.

Do you think that the women of Boston would take the poorest and most unfortunate children in the town, put them together into one school, making that the most miserable in the city, where they had not, and could not, have half the advantages of the other children in different schools, and all that because the unfortunates were dark colored? Do you think the women of Boston would shut a bright boy out of the High School, or Latin School because he was black in the face?

Women are said to be cowardly. When Thomas Sims, out of his dungeon, sent to the churches his petition for their prayers, had women been "the Christian clergy," do not you believe they would have dared to pray?

If women had a voice in the affairs of Massachusetts, do you think they would ever have made laws so that a lazy husband could devour all the substance of his active wife, spite of her wish? so that a drunken husband could command her bodily presence in his loathly house? and when an infamous man was divorced from his wife, that he could keep all the children? I confess I do not.

If the affairs of the nation had been under woman's joint control, I doubt that we should have butchered the Indians with such exterminating savagery; that, in fifty years, we should have spent seven hundred million dollars for war; and now, in time of peace, send twenty annual millions more to the same waste. I doubt that we should have spread slavery into nine new States, and made it national. I think the Fugitive Slave Bill would never have been an Act. Woman has some respect for the natural law of God.

I know men say women cannot manage the great affairs of a nation. Very well. Government is political economy—national housekeeping. Does any respectable woman keep house so badly as the United States? with so much bribery, so much corruption, so much quarreling in the domestic councils?

But government is also political morality, it is national ethics. Is there any worthy woman who rules her household as wickedly as the nations are ruled? who hires bullies to fight for her? Is there any woman who treats one-eighth part of her household as if they were cattle and not creatures of God—as if they were things and not persons? I know of none such. In government as housekeeping, or government as morality, I think man makes a very poor appearance when he says woman could not do as well as he has done and is doing.

I doubt that women will ever, as a general thing, take the same interest as men in political affairs, or find therein an abiding satisfaction. But that is for women themselves to determine, not for men.

A SONG DOMESTIC.

Mary Brecht Pulver in the *New York Independent*.

I sing of my kitchen!

Sing you of cathedrals; of dim, purple crypt; of dimpling brook; of wind-swept grasses; of sun-pageants; of heav'n-kissing hilltops; of cities; of castles; of festal boards a-glitter with cheer of silver and crystal—

Sing you of the heart—of tears—of laughter—of love—But I sing of Life—of that whence emanates the sap of life; of the shrine of things domestic—the kitchen. For birth and death may be achieved without it, but it is life's necessity.

Into the fabric of my song are woven many things. Humble things! My tea-kettle!

A great plump-shouldered vessel singing its time-old bubbly chant.

(The day is gray without, with a plaintive, whining little wind fumbling at the window.) But my tea-kettle purrs softly on, humming quietly to itself.

What are you crooning, O tea-kettle?

"It is a lullaby I sing. Long ago I learned it—I and my brothers. The first tea-kettle sang it from the hob-corner—sang it to a little one sleeping in its cradle by the fire. The mother wrought at her spindle and pushed the cradle with her foot. She sang alone to the child and her song was of the gray sea outside, of the fishing vessels and the bleak winds. And while she sang the wind moaned in the chimney and the babe fretted, for her song came from a grieving heart. And the kettle, pondering, knew this, and at length commenced to sing this same little lullaby of mine, and the babe slept, and at length also the sad mother.

But of the song I cannot tell more save that it has in it peace—and comfort—and the whisper of Eternity."

(The little wind frets without and wails down the chimney.)

I look into my fire-box.

What a cheerful, ruddy mass! The glowing coals! They, too, murmur and sing and leap with vivid color-play:

"We burn. We burn. That you may have warmth to boil your kettle—to roast your meats—to bake your great loaves. We give our lives to be consumed for you.

Cheerfully. Cheerfully."

The ranks of shining tins and coppers! My willing servitors they.

Let the winds assail. Let the nip of November wait outside—whose heart can fail to be staunch here at the household shrine? For its voice is of peace and the goodness of things.

My stove, all radiant, invites alluringly. Sit with me here this gray afternoon and listen to the soft little life sounds. My old clock ticking the passing of the hours; my old cat breathing deep draughts of peace at my feet; my kettle bubbling—bubbling its sleepy lullaby—my fire chirring, whispering warmly, rebuking the wind, that tries to creep down to it.

Warm! warm! warm as Love—warm as Life—the very heart of God speaks here.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE INVOLVED IN THE DECLARATION OF INDE- PENDENCE.

A Portion of an Address on "The Suffrage for Women," by Chaplain John K. Lewis, U. S. N. (Retired), as Printed in the Morning Press of Santa Barbara, Cal., of August 6, 1911.

No trumpet ever gave grander call to humanity than the immortal words of the Declaration of Independence, where it asserts—"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Where it so speaks it is as though a voice from the throne of the universe. The soul of the Declaration is indicated in that one word, "Rights." Mark it—"Rights!" Men! all men! Created! Created equal! endowed! endowed by their Creator, with rights! Rights that are inalienable! Every development of the mighty document gets its splendid force from the one assertion of the self-evidence of humanity's rights.

The far sweep of the majestic mind that conceived and formulated that Declaration of Independence, took into its unbounded purview, the universal human race. The 64 signers of that Magna Charta fully understood the sublime force of its meaning. Their names shine in the firmament of our political life, as do stars of the first magnitude in the firmament of heaven. We do well to ponder their words. We do wisely to do so. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights. No man, no legislation makes them equal, they are created equal. Their rights are not given them by any earthly power, nor can be given; their rights are an endowment from their Creator, and as inalienable as their personality.

There are triflers, a sordid, pigmy race, that would stand up and contradict with their falsetto voices, and gossamer argument, this declaration. They are too small, and too little-eyed to see the plain on-coming of the day of the full realization of this irresistible truth, in concrete political social life. We need not delay to notice them. We scorn to think the truth of the very corner stone of our great national existence, needs proof and approval at this late day. We speak of rights natural, and Creator-given, rights inalienable; rights to life, to liberty, to the pursuit of happiness; rights that are the equal rights of all men. When I have been asked what constitutes rights, any one's rights, I have simply directed the inquirer's attention to this passage of the great Declaration

of Independence. Man's rights are an endowment of God. Man does not bring himself into this world, but is born into it, he is the creature, the creation of nature. He has, therefore, a right to be here. No sane person can deny the right of nature to do what she will, and as man's sight and hearing are gifts to him, endowments of his nature, so his whole self is a wondrous body of endowments. Among these endowments are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Man is here, he has, therefore, a right to be here, that is, he has a right to his life. It is impossible to think of it as at the will of any other power than that of God. Liberty is man's right. So-called laws, and provisions of men must not attempt to take away man's liberty. All sentient life is at liberty. Every bird, beast and fish is a parable of liberty. As such, they realize their God-imposed mission in the world. So with man; he must be free, he must be independent. He is here in the midst of the world's various attractions and necessities. He must have right to seek his happiness as may seem best to him. If he prizes his life, he must be free to use such measures as appear best to him in order to maintain his life, and promote his happiness. To deny man that liberty is, so far, to destroy his life. There is but one limit to the rights of man, and that is the equal rights of each individual man. The right of a man to his life goes with the same right of every other man. The right of a man to his liberty is only limited by the same right of every other man. The only limit upon a man's right of seeking happiness is the right of every other man to the like search.

If I were addressing my words to the barbarian dwellers in Central Africa I might well look for no approving response. But down deep fixed in the hearts of those to whom they are addressed is the inescapable conviction that these words of the great Declaration of Independence are self-evident truths. What men do in contradiction of these truths is one thing, but they know in their souls they are God-truths. They may claim rights they disallow to others, but somehow, as though it were a great black cloud overshadowing them, and threatening storm, they feel they have no such rights any more than the highwayman to his booty.

Now, to the end that the God-endowed equal rights of men may be secured to them, it is that governments are instituted among men. The fundamental, the only one reason for the existence of government, is that it shall secure to men the sacred, equal rights of all. There is no second reason. Government, so-called, that does not aim at this object, even the sacred equal rights of each and thereby the rights of the community, is, in fact, a travesty of government, is no government, is but the survival of brute force. To govern it must have power, and its power must stand in moral right. Without such right it will, in due

time, be found powerless, for evolution will bring revolution, and revolution, as any other storm will clear the political atmosphere. For truth is mighty and will prevail. There is no government ultimately, yes, and immediately, but that of nature, and of nature's God. When, therefore, men get together and assume to make laws and govern by them, and yet contravene what is God's law of human rights, they but provide for their own unhappiness and the state's destruction. As well might men legislate against gravitation. There can be no less certainty in a God's world, in the operation of laws moral, than of laws physical. All history is the illustration of this truth. The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind very fine.

Now, all I have been saying is in the interest of the question of the suffrage, in government, of womankind. The suffrage has come most gradually, and yet most surely, to be accounted an effective means of government. The wit of man has not been able to devise any other as likely efficient means. As a means, it has grown in approval with significant speed. It verily appears to have been inspired, however faintly for the time, by the conviction that government must be by the consent of the governed. To this end the people, the governed, must speak as a solidarity, as though with one voice. The suffrage has been that voice. It has grown in its volume. It has increased in its insistency. It has given its warrant to the saying—"The voice of the people is the voice of God." And now in the widening of the suffrage, there has come the question of the suffrage for women.

At the mere mention of the question one has to wonder why the question has waited so long for an answer. Even when the Declaration was proclaimed, and the famous bell in Philadelphia's State House tower, with its marvelous inscription upon it—"Proclaim Liberty Throughout All the Land, and to All the Inhabitants 'Thereof," rang out its great message, there were men and women whose rights of life, liberty or pursuit of happiness had no recognition. But these rights were theirs, and it took nearly a hundred years, and then in sorrow and blood, for the nation to realize the wrong of which it had been guilty in refusing these people their rights.

Why! Why such delay? And then, too, the equal rights of women had no recognition. For fifty years and more the claim for the recognition of their rights has been made by the noblest of women. There was no denial of their rights in the Declaration, as there was no denial of the rights of the men then held as slaves. To insert such a denial for either of them in the Declaration would be to make of it an intolerable monstrosity. Why the delay, then? Why is the ideal of Christianity so slow of realization? The reasons all sadly tell of man's selfish fear to commit himself

to the right. But now the question has come into the bright light, and must have its answer according to right. Government must be of all, by all, for all.

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"THE WOMEN THAT ARE AT EASE IN ZION."

Oh, God! to think of the women,
The women who are at ease,
Whose food falls down like manna,
Who do just what they please!

Whose pantry is never empty,
Whose clothes are always new.
To think of those sick with hunger,
To think of the pampered few!

And these are the womanly women
Whose axioms the grand-dames quote,
For they (so the Cabinets tell us)
Deny their wish for the vote.

Yet this dainty womanly woman,
Her hands, alas! are red;
The bleeding heron's love-plume
Waves o'er her lovely head!

She cries, "Tally-ho," with the loudest
Over the heath and broom,
And follows, this womanly woman,
The agonized stag to his doom.

Her sweated sister's slavery
To meet her rent's arrears,
Leaves her unmoved; yet her blouses
Are sewn with that sister's tears.

Come out from your magic circle,
Oh, women who are at ease!
Turn from your own loved children
And deign a glance on these.

Where dirt, disease, and hunger,
Wait for the babies' breath;
And the only hope of rescue
Is hid in the hand of Death.

Stretch out your hands to help us
And make our burden light;
Clasp with your weary sisters,
Now struggling for the right!

We do not want your money,
We ask the better part;
As you are womanly women,
We pray you for your heart!

—"Women's Franchise."

BOOKS

Commission Government.

John J. Hamilton's book in explanation of the commission form of government, published by Funk & Wagnalls originally as "The Dethronement of the City Boss," is now published by them

as "Government by Commission." [See vol. xiii, p. 740.]

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VOTES FOR WOMEN.

The Wrongs of Women. By John Orr. United Committees, 20 Tothill street, Westminster, London, W. C.

A blending, in four brief chapters, of the Scotch intellect and the Scotch affections (which, after all, are the human intellect and affections at work under intensifying conditions) in support of equality of the sexes and a better civilization in consequence. The declared object of the book is "to point out peculiar wrongs to which women are subject, to show how these wrongs extend until the whole human race is harmfully affected, and also to show how women might win the deepest desires of their hearts, and how good it would be for themselves and for everyone if they were enabled to do this."

If no other quality would make this discussion of a great question welcome, it should be so for the blessed relief it gives the reader from the awful monotony of "facts," "facts," "facts,"—petty, pestiferous and impertinent—which are dumped helter-skelter into present-day books on problems of the times. Mr. Orr has the almost obsolete faculty of generalization. On the other hand, his book should be welcome because its generalizations are so simple and common-sensical that no one need be afflicted with expertitis in order to understand and appreciate them.

He sees as well as the most skillful of experts in social multifariology, that social life is complex. But he sees, also, what those experts sniffily ignore, that "it is made up of simple things," and that while "myriads of parts go to form this life, but one or two clear and simple principles govern and maintain its existence." He catches also the pragmatist's idea that man makes his world; but with deeper perception than most pragmatists, that the material for the making proceeds from and is constantly maintained by forces that man never made—forces impregnated, however, with intelligence and affection resembling those which man recognizes as his own.

From such bases Mr. Orr argues, and with that inspiration he gives poetic color to the argument, up to the social law which civilization must obey or collapse—the law of moral judgment. "All parts of Nature (God in the broad sense) are linked together, and are penetrated, informed, by kindred laws. Of these the highest and most beautiful part is human nature. . . . The law of approval and disapproval, the law of judgment, or whatever title we choose to give it, is in the moral world what the law of gravitation is in the physical world. It is according to this law that the relations of men will stand or fall, that societies and

members of societies will prosper or decline." To get this judgment, all must be free to express their desires and ideas—children and dependents in the household, all women as well as all men in the state. "When every soul has a voice and every voice is heard, social relationships shall adjust themselves in accordance with natural forces and laws." It is indeed a true saying.

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"SHALL THE HOME BE OUR WORLD, OR THE WORLD OUR HOME?"

The Home, Its Work and Influence. By Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Published by the Charlton Co., New York, 1910. Price, \$1.00.

Once more Mrs. Gilman has put on her well-known armor of wisdom and eloquence and come forth to battle against—and for—the home. Sternly she accuses the home as it is today. It is an antiquated workshop, an improvident hostelry, a deadly nursery. The house is ugly without and within, for to its mediaeval variety of functions no architect can give unity of form, nor any artist a beautiful interior. The spirit of home lacks that highest of all social virtues, Justice. Love is there, but justice not at all. "No child cries for 'Justice!' to the deaf walls of home. . . . He gets love—endless love and indulgence. He gets anger and punishment with no court of appeal. He gets care—neglect—discourtesy—affection—indifference—cruelty—and sometimes wise and lovely training—but none of these are justice."

The wife, the husband, the child, the youth, all find home exacting and narrow. Why? Because in the great march of progress the home—and woman within it—has lagged a thousand years behind. While industry, art, ethics, all things else, material and spiritual, have moved on from chaos toward order, from brutality to beauty, in the great world of man,—woman is still perforce either drudge or butterfly, Cinderella always, noble worker never. This need not and will not be. Already millions of women are finding their place in the world outside. Soon the skill of specialized and organized industry will come to the aid of the makers of homes, will take away their burdens—all needless—leaving women as well as men free to do their share of the great world's work and learn their share of the great world's lessons. Then for men and women and children home—freely left and gladly re-entered—will be what it should be: "Private, secluded, sweet, wholly our own; not invaded by any trade or work or business, not open to the crowd; the place of the one initial and undying group of father, mother and child. These, and the real friend, are all that belong in the home."

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The History and Problems of Organized Labor. By Frank Tracy Carlton. Published by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. 1911.

—The Labor Question. By Washington Gladden. Published by the Pilgrim Press, Boston. 1911. Price, 75 cents, postage, 10 cents.

—Wages in the United States. 1908-1910. By Scott Nearing. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1911. Price, \$1.25 net.

—The Presidential Campaign of 1860. By Emerson David Fite. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1911. Price, \$2.00 net.

—Through the Mill. The Life of a Mill-Boy. By Al Priddy. Published by the Pilgrim Press, Boston. 1911. Price, \$1.35, postage, 15 cents.

—The Land We Live In. The Boys' Book of Conservation. By Overton W. Price. With a Foreword by Gifford Pinchot. Published by Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. 1911. Price, \$1.50 net, postage 30 cents.

—Workmen's Insurance and Compensation Systems in Europe. Volume II, Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Russia, Spain, Sweden. Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor. 1909. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1911.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Among the pamphlets recently received are the following.

Woonsocket Taxpayers. Honest vs. Crooked Taxes. Issued by the Rhode Island Tax Reform Association, Providence, R. I. 1911.

The Grand Junction Plan of City Government and Its Results. By James W. Bucklin, Chairman Charter Convention. Republished from the October, 1911, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Educational Opportunities in Chicago. A Summary prepared by the Council for Library and Museum Extension, Aksel G. S. Josephson, Secretary, The John Crerar Library, Chicago. 1911.

The Relation of Wage-Earning Mothers to Infant Mortality. By Louis Curtis Ager. Reprinted from the Long Island College Hospital Chronicle.

PERIODICALS

The Women Lawyers' Journal.

Two numbers of their new quarterly have been published by the Women Lawyers' Club of New York City (220 Broadway). The brief editorials followed by concise non-technical articles on subjects of general legal interest will prove very readable also to women both outside of New York State and outside of the profession of law.

A. L. G.

The Woman's Journal.

The "coming victory" in California is the all-pervading topic in last week's number of The Woman's Journal (Boston). Prominent speakers from all over the country have gathered on the Pacific Coast to campaign for the State Constitutional amendment which, if carried, will grant suffrage to the women of California.

A. L. G.

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The Forerunner.

Whether with the horrors of sin or the glories of truth, fascinating Mrs. Gilman's writing always is; and she seems somehow usually at her best in The Forerunner (67 Wall St., New York). This month the story entitled "Turned," and the chapter of "The Cruc," lay hold fiercely upon the crime which murders love and unborn children.

A. L. G.

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"The Woman Voter."

For the cause of woman suffrage in England, the Lord Mayor of Dublin exercised last Spring a privilege belonging only to him and to the Lord Mayor of London, one unclaimed for ninety years—the right to petition Parliament at the Bar of the House of Commons. Lord Mayor Farrell was accompanied "with all the antiquated pomp and ceremonial of the unreformed middle ages," and his petition that the women of Great Britain and Ireland be enfranchised on equal terms with the men "was graciously and gravely received." The details of this and of the part played by Australian women in the Imperial Conference last June come to us in a good suffrage periodical from Melbourne, Australia, "The Woman Voter."

A. L. G.

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"The Ontario Woman" on Public Property.

In the August number of "The Ontario Woman" (28 Palmerston Square, Toronto, Canada) we find this interesting and outspoken editorial paragraph: "Still another form of Public Property, not yet fully recognized as such, is the value human beings give to land by living together on it. The greatest values of land are social values. Land in a big city is of great value because of its close relations to the public life. The value is made by the people and their life and what they have done and are doing round about. It is a value proper to the people who have made it; it is a people's property, a Public Property, and the possession by any men or bodies of men of a present legal control over these social values confers no moral right. And wide and sufficiently strong increase in moral sense will take away the legal but unjust control of this kind of Public Property from the present holders of it and will give it to the rightful owner, the community."

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The French Singletax Review.

The September number of the French Singletax Review (La Revue de l'Impot Unique, 3 rue de Furstenberg, Paris) restates its aim to procure for all men access to the use of the earth on equal terms. It repudiates violence which betrayed the

nobler inspiration of the French Revolution, and bases its demand for justice upon the force of reason. In a pungent article entitled "The 80 Poisoners," the editor arraigns the Municipal Council of Paris for its tolerance of conditions which breed poverty and disease, and for its subserviency to the Prefect of the department of the Seine, to whose veto it must submit. The demand for local self-government is supplemented by an exposition of the benefits to be derived from shifting taxation from industry to land values. "In the 13th century an acre (hectare) of land in Paris was worth \$130; in the 20th century it is worth \$260,000. How much of this enormous increment has been received by the population which created it? Not a cent." In an eloquent appeal to doctors the Review recalls the fact that among the Physiocrats, Quesnay, who was a physician, drew his economic conceptions largely from his medical observations; and it contends that "the economic life ought to be as free in the social body as the circulation of the blood in the human body. . . . The mind is dominated by two influences: memory and hope. . . . What nobler, more vital hope for him who has seen human misery, who has wept and seen others weep, than to trust Earth's call to men and aid them to hear the call? . . . The waste of war, the crowding of cities, the ravages of disease and vice, all fall within the doctor's domain. Let him speak! The great economic idea to which we call his attention will make his power irresistible." The number ends with a criticism of the recent strike in Great Britain. Neither side in the falsely termed conflict between Capital and Labor is aware of the natural law of freedom to which both must in time submit. So long as the owner of the soil retains the power of absorbing the fruits of a labor victory what will it profit the striker to win his fight? When will the disinherited learn that nothing permanent can be gained until we establish "the equal rights of all to the chances of life? . . . Sympathizing as we do with the sufferings of the disinherited in revolt, applauding their struggles towards liberty and well-being, it is nevertheless our duty to warn them that their attempts are bound to fail. They know neither how nor whom to attack. The battle to be fought is not one of classes; is a struggle of humanity; it demands not privileges for some, but justice for all. Neither the active violence of the barricade nor the passive violence of the strike will cure social disease; reason, which understands the fundamental cause of the disease, will cure it by the abolition of land monopoly."

F. W. G.

There are many signs of promise in India. The caste spirit is yielding. The high caste eat with the low caste or no caste. Widows of high caste are now being married. There are movements among the Indians to suppress child-marriage. This is especially true in the native state of Baroda. Schools are multiplying and the grade is rising. Less re-

spect is being paid to the Brahman. He does not receive presents as in the past, nor does he receive the "salaams" of the people as in former times. Old temples are decaying and few new ones are being erected, while the number of churches and schools is being rapidly enlarged. Reform sects are springing up in different parts of the country, trying to adjust the old faiths to the new order. There is a rapid increase in the number of Christians and all Christian work is being enlarged.—Christian Evangelist.

* * *

Head Gardener [in the recent hot weather]: "You'd better mow the tennis courts now, then you can roll 'em both ways; it won't do 'em no 'urt. After that, you can dig up that path I want alterin,' and take and make a fire of all that rubbish that's lyin' by the frames. If that don't carry you to tea-time come and look fer me and I'll give you another job. You'll find me busy with the goldfish, very likely, or cleanin' the tap o' the fountain. You don't seem to feel the 'eat so much if you keep on workin'."—Punch.

* * *

In the midst of an election in Denver, a little girl sat in church with her suffragette mother, listening to a minister who was preaching with much earnestness and emphatic gestures. When he had finished, the little girl turned to her mother and asked:

"Mother, was he for or against God?"

—Everybody's.

* * *

Senator (just returned from Washington): "Mr. Eeler, what is the sentiment of the people of your town concerning—"

Rising Politician (sternly interrupting): "Senator, we don't deal in sentiment in our town; we deal in fac's—f, a, x, fac's!"—Chicago Tribune.

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