

The Public

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

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Vol. XV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, APRIL 12, 1912.

No. 732

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

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at
Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL

Breaking Through the Barriers.

Better in the public interest than any criminal conviction of the Big Business plunderers of San Francisco, better than anybody's conviction and arbitrary punishment, are the revelations which the San Francisco Bulletin has induced Abe Ruef to make through its columns. "Without reservation," says Mr. Ruef in his opening paragraphs, "I shall relate my actions and the part played by others;" whereupon he sets out with the story of his first recognition by influential men, of his consequent association with "their messengers and tools," of the way the railroad magnates courted him with passes and other favors, of money promises and money payments from public utility corporations, from public officials in their confidence and from politicians under their patronage. "I have given much consideration," he says, "to the events and influences which ended so ignominiously a life full of hope," and "I believe much good can come from a straightforward statement of my experiences." So he declares his determination to make such a statement and therein to give circumstantially all important facts and events, including those leading up to and embracing the San Francisco graft prosecutions. "With others," he explains, "I co-operated in selling out the city of San Francisco, and so I am in a prison cell; it has taken these stone walls, this area 6 by 10 where the only light or air is that which comes from a narrow wicket, to bring me to the full realization

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of this betrayal." There is every indication that he is making a clean breast of the matter, and that more of the dangerous Big Business muckholes, which some dainty people—or are they alarmed instead of dainty?—seem so solicitous to prevent the raking of, are to be exposed.



The Mystery of the McNamara Case.*

Simple as the McNamara case appeared at the time of those amazing pleas of guilty at Los Angeles (as it appeared, that is, to the righteous in their own conceit), a mere case of crime uncovered and criminals justly punished, an incident that was to close with the clang of the prison's door and in a triumph for spectacular detectives and employers' unions,—simple in all those respects and to all such people as this event appeared half a year ago, subsequent events are justifying the suspicions of those who then sensed a mystery in the case. There was more than one mystery. Some of them were superficial, and one of these it may be was that which Mr. Connolly explained in Collier's;† but beneath all the others there lurked a fundamental mystery. The nature of this mystery public opinion may not yet be quite ready to grasp, but public opinion had better grasp it without undue delay.



It is not a mystery that can be very easily explained, nor at all defined, so that fools who run may read or the wise who will not look may understand. Yet it may readily suggest itself to the observant and thoughtful. Hints may come from subsurface glimpses at the recent strike in Lawrence, at the present one in Passaic, at the free-speech and free-press episode in San Diego, and at the labor controversies of Europe, illuminated with recollections of the miners' war in Colorado which ended in the trial and acquittal of Haywood, and with the history of the split among the Communists of half a century ago out of which emerged the parliamentary Socialists whose peace tactics have been dominant until now. Deeper and clearer glimpses may possibly be had from the proceedings of the railroad conference at Kansas City on the 15th and those of the national Socialist convention to meet at Indianapolis next month.



When Lincoln Steffens adjured the purblind business group of Los Angeles to *forget the McNamaras and center sympathetic attention upon*

the conditions that make McNamaras faster than they can be imprisoned or hanged, the answer was a sneering groan which echoed over the land. It came from all quarters, too—from labor leaders as well as business leaders, from radical reformers as well as stupid reactionaries, from physical-force anarchists and likewise from parliamentary Socialists. *But Lincoln Steffens was right.* Perhaps even the blindest and the stupidest will soon begin to see and understand.



The "Tightwad" in Congress.

Economy in public administration is a good thing, but between economical and "tightwad" policies there is a world of difference. The one conserves, the other wastes. In respect at least of one item in their agricultural appropriation bill, it is this wasteful "tightwad" policy which the Democrats in Congress have adopted in the name of economy. They make a cut, so it is reported, of over a million dollars for forest service. What does this mean? It may have been meant to mean an opportunity to point out in a political campaign the saving of a million dollars; but it will mean something else in the final "show-down," and something so disastrous as to make the "economy" look like "thirty cents" and to baffle even its electioneering purpose. This "tightwad" economy is not unlikely to mean interruptions to the building of forest roads, trails, bridges and telephone lines, the necessity for which is imperative in case of forest fires. Consequently, it may turn out to mean a great and unnecessary loss of valuable timber. It may even happen to mean a wanton sacrifice of human life; and, although this consideration might indeed be of only secondary importance relatively to timber, timber being dear and human life so cheap, yet it is a consideration which should not be wholly ignored. Is the Democratic party in Congress emulating in this matter the estimable elderly lady of extravagant habits who upon deciding to economize, began with salt?



The Plundering Purpose of Protection.

To the thieving propensities of Big Business, and the whining appeals of its serving men when its privileges are in danger, there appears to be no end. Here, for instance, is The Iron Trade Review, of Cleveland, an organ of Big Business in the steel industry. Startled by the possibility of a reduction of the protective tariff to the point of difference in labor cost (which would abolish the tariff altogether if fairly applied), the issue of

*See The Public of December 15, 1911, page 1258.

†See The Public of January 5, 1912, page 7.

that Review for February 15th makes a piteous appeal for the iron masters' privilege. It finds "need for protection beyond that which would be accorded by following simply the 'difference in labor cost' rule lately formulated." And pray what can be that need? Why must a tariff for the protection of labor go beyond the protection of labor? Unless you are yourself a beggar for tariff plunder you would never guess. So let us explain.



To quote from The Iron Trade Review, "the American iron and steel industry requires a measure of tariff protection by reason of the fact that a number of improvements in methods and appliances have been made abroad, *but have not secured general adoption as yet in the United States.*" Now what think you of that as a reason for protection? Put a tax on imported steel high enough to make American consumers pay for domestic steel not only the difference in labor cost, if there is any, but the difference in cost due to inefficient management! Think of it. Yet this argument is no worse than any other for protection, when you once grasp the meaning of the other arguments. Its rank absurdity is due to its unveiled simplicity of statement. The editor who wrote it ought to be "called down" by his proprietor for his lucidity. He translates protectionism so that even a protectionist though a protectionist, may read and understand. He couldn't have been plainer if he had written, "We are for protection because we need the loot."



Yes, he could have been plainer, too; and in the same article he is plainer. That may seem incredible but it is true. Listen. Here is what that delightful editorial further says:

It may not be generally known that the appliances or processes to which reference is made are much more general abroad than they are in the United States, but such is the case. The limited adoption in this country does not help the industry as a whole, for the competition first touches the least economical plants. For example, were the steel industry of the United States made up of ten steel plants, one able to make billets at \$16 a ton, another at \$17, another at \$18, and so on up to \$25, it would not be sufficient that the best five could meet the competition of foreign steel offered at \$20.50. Foreign steel offered as high as \$24.50 would put one of the plants out of business.

Do you get it? If steel could be manufactured at \$16, but the cost to inefficiently located or inefficiently conducted concerns ranged from \$17 to \$25, there ought to be a tax on American steel con-

sumers large enough to maintain the inefficiency of the least efficient of all! That is bad enough in itself in all conscience—no, not in all conscience, nor in any conscience, for conscience and protection are totally unrelated except by contraries—but that profitable maintenance of inefficiency is not the worst thing about The Iron Trade Review's candid proposal. Through protection for the most inefficient up to its profit point, the others would get nice bonuses all the way from about \$1 a ton for \$24 inefficiency up to \$9 a ton for \$16 inefficiency—\$16 efficiency, if anyone wishes to call it such after the Stanley committee's demonstration of \$13 production. Nice arrangement, isn't it? Nice for Big Business. But what about American steel consumers who are thus invited to tax themselves handsomely for every pound of steel they use, in order to maintain *inefficient management* in production and to reward *efficient lobbying* for protection. The more one learns about Protection, the more confidence he ought to have in the kind of thieves that go to jail.



Democratic Art.

In the grind of economic slavery the artist too often looks to Mammon as his only patron, and Labor holds the artist as a flunkey. Yet in the idealistic days of his youth the artist dreamed of serving the common life. The laborer also dreamed of work that he could do with an artist's touch. The work of an artist who still dreams of serving the common life is just now being exhibited in the new clubhouse of the City Club of Chicago (315 Plymouth Court), where Charles Haag, the sculptor who so powerfully handles labor subjects,* has miniature clay models for municipal fountains—fountains of charm and individuality, suggesting in their decorations the birds and the animals and all primitive things that appeal to unspoiled sentiment. Not only do these designs appeal to the simple and eternal sense of beauty; they are practicable for use in the municipal development of even little towns and villages, as well as in the humbler sections of great cities, for they are designed to be made at very moderate costs. Let magnificent statues and ornate designs be furnished by Mammon for the pompous squares of showy municipal centers; but where men and women and little children, yes, and the horses and the dogs and the birds, desire to come to slake their thirst companionably, each kindly and adequately served, there might one of these fountains be set up, as a thing to be loved through the generations.

*See The Public of March 31, 1911, page 292.

Scholastic Straight-Jackets for Democracy.

Nicholas Murray Butler, the president of Columbia University, made a speech at St. Louis last fall against the Initiative, Referendum and Recall; and this speech the reactionaries are now circulating extensively under Congressional frank as a Senate document. It is a delightful speech, highly classical, intensely grave, passingly gay, politely vituperative, elegant in form, school-mastery in spirit, deferential in manner and altogether a model of how to say instructively and interestingly what isn't worth the saying—or worse. We advise our readers to read it.



When the school teachers of the country, who know much of President Butler and his ways and his manners, call him "Nicholas Miraculous" in lady-like derision, it may seem a weak retort in kind to Dr. Butler's rather more witty and more robust banter; but the miraculous ingenuity of this speech, in which Dr. Butler invokes the principles of democracy to prohibit the practice of it, rather indicates that those teachers, however dull they may possibly be in banter, are intensely keen in perception. And yet, in spite of the ingenuity of this polished "devil's advocate," no reader who resists the hypnotic effect of Dr. Butler's entrancing literary passes will find any difficulty in detecting the breaks in his historical parallels and the fallacies of his over-pretentious logic.



Since Dr. Butler makes scarecrows out of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, but with all his ingenuity is unable quite to give irresponsible "representative" government a clean bill of health, he ventures upon a suggestion of his own and thereby diggeth a ditch for his whole speech. True political progress, as he views it, "leads to a political practice in which a few important officers are chosen for relatively *long terms* of service, given *much power* and responsibility, and then held to strict *accountability* therefor." Now this is precisely the political practice which the Initiative, Referendum and Recall are designed to secure. But Dr. Butler rejects them as undemocratic. By what means, then, would he hold his few elective officials, with their long terms and much power, to strict accountability? He doesn't say. It is a safe guess that he won't try to say. It is perhaps a safer one that with all his miraculous ingenuity as a "democratic" special pleader for aristocracy, he couldn't say if he tried.

Without the protection of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, the people would soon find Dr. Butler's few elective officials, with *long terms* and *much power*, strictly *without accountability* therefor. This is the testimony of all peoples who have either lacked that protection, or possessed it in crude and inefficient forms; it is the increasingly emphatic lesson of American experience. To have but few elective officials, is highly desirable; to make their terms long is also desirable; to give them much power is sound doctrine. But unless they are held to strict accountability to the people, these officials will evolve irresponsible despotisms, as such officials always have—despotisms which can be overthrown only by greater despotisms or by tragical revolutions; and no means for holding them to strict accountability to the people is yet proposed other than the Initiative, Referendum and Recall.



"Natural Laws."

In the country-wide discussion of political, economic, and social problems, one frequently hears mysterious appeals to "natural law." As no details are given, we find ourselves in the dark about the meaning of these impressive terms. Captains of industry talk about "the natural laws of business." Bankers refer to "the natural laws of money and banking." Presidents, Governors, and other functionaries, take the cue and fall in line with the same phrases. What does this glib reference to natural law mean? If there be natural laws governing social problems, why not tell the world what they are? We suggest that somebody make a sort of average of all public utterances by captains of industry, bankers, Presidents, Governors, and other safe and sane men, and issue a treatise in book form under some such title as, "The Natural Laws of Society Inductively Deduced from the Speeches of Experts for the Enlightenment of the Benighted." Such a work would undoubtedly fill a "long-felt want;" and in this way the aching void, which various expert gentlemen ache to fill, might be filled and soothed.



Lest it be supposed that we are not in serious mood, we hasten to add that we are very much in earnest. The Public believes that there actually are natural laws governing social problems; and we hail with joy any agreement with this fundamental proposition. We neither hint, nor imply, nor suggest, nor even remotely insinuate, that there are no natural laws of society. What we want is to have these laws understood by as many

people as possible. Hence our suggestion for a treatise. We suspect, however, that if such a treatise were made, it would show that most of those "safe and sane" advocates of natural law are in the same state of mind that Mark Hanna was in when he told the Republican party to "stand pat" and "let well enough alone." When you hear oily talk about natural law, the chances are nine in ten it is all for the cult that worships the god of things-as-they-are. In the eyes of that cult natural law is pretty apt to mean "any old thing" that doesn't disturb respectable graft. To your respectable grafter any variation from the present system would be "unnatural," "artificial," and "highly dangerous."



ASSESSMENT WORK UNDER THE SOMERS SYSTEM.*

With the completion of the assessment of realty in the city of Houston, Texas, under the auspices of Tax Commissioner Pastoriza and Assessor Welsh, and by means of the Somers system, seven cities of the United States have been assessed wholly or in part by Somers system methods.



Along with the agitation and discussion on taxation in every part of the country, there has gone an examination of methods of assessment under present laws. Citizens have begun to see that while they may or may not think it wise to change any of the larger fiscal policies, the time for better methods of assessment of realty for taxation purposes is at hand—especially as no new laws are necessary for the purpose.

*This article, written at the request of The Public by Edward W. Doty of Cleveland, a member of the Ohio Constitutional Convention and chairman of its committee on taxation, is intended to bring down to date the work of the tax valuation department of the Manufacturers' Appraisal Company of Cleveland (of which Mr. Doty is the manager) in promoting the adoption by cities of the Somers system of land valuation. The Somers system was first used in St. Paul by its inventor, W. A. Somers, some twenty years ago, and was first introduced in Cleveland by Mayor Tom L. Johnson about ten years ago. Mayor Johnson afterwards induced the Appraisal company to establish its present tax department under Mr. Doty for promoting the system. The value of the Somers system has been demonstrated in other places than those in which it has been adopted as stated by Mr. Doty; notably in Philadelphia, where its value is generally acknowledged after an extensive demonstration. Its adoption there by the city authorities was prevented by local land monopolists whose tax-dodging it exposed. The growing tendency toward land value taxation gives to experiments with the Somers system special and timely interest. For previous articles on the subject see Publics of February 24, 1911, page 173; and March 10, 1911, page 224.

Equality of assessment interferes not at all with the man who desires changes of an economic nature in the tax laws, nor does it interfere with the notions of the man who desires to retain present methods of taxation, no matter what those methods may be. All citizens realize that whatever the subjects of taxation, land values must bear their share, whether that share be all or only a part of the tax burden. They also realize that the owners of land should carry that proportion of the taxes which the value of their holdings bears to the value of all holdings. In other words, equity and justice are to be desired, so far at least as the relations of individual owners to one another are concerned.



The Somers system being primarily a computation system, by which the value of the whole may be assigned among the owners, to each in proportion to the value of the whole or of any part of the whole, appeals to citizens wherever studied; and those who live in cities where the Somers system has been installed, have for the most part come to see the justice of its principles and the effectiveness of its methods. It is a remarkable fact that even those who have been in the habit of escaping their just share of the tax burdens of a community because inadequate assessment methods have made escape possible, are as a rule complacent in the face of what is to them an increase in the number of dollars that they have to pay into the public treasury after they have witnessed and taken part in an assessment of all the realty of their community under Somers system methods. In every city where the Somers system has been used, many of the so-called "big" owners who have opposed the introduction of this system at the start, have publicly changed their minds after the assessment work was over with—and almost always on the ground that every taxpayer is treated alike. Even these men, who have been allowed to get into the habit of escaping tax burdens because they can, or because they think they have to in self-defense, are really willing to pay their share without protest when they have public evidence, as they have where the Somers system is used, that they are really paying their share and only their share. This fact is one of the collateral benefits of a just assessment, for it is a benefit to any community to have its taxes so laid that its citizens willingly bear their share of the public burden. So far as known, no other assessment method yet used has ever produced any such widespread satisfaction as the Somers system.

But perhaps the greatest gain to a community that uses the Somers system, is that which comes from the taking part by individual property owners in the work of assessing the realty of their community. It is surprising how much help the people of a city, great or small, can give in the assessment of their city if the chance is afforded. The Somers system methods make it possible for all the people of a community to take part in the assessment, and help the assessor to come to a fair conclusion of value.

This is possible because the Somers system is the only method by which neighbors can easily exchange opinions on the value of their property. Whenever it is really easy to perform a task, it is much more likely to be done. Therefore, when the Somers system makes it easy to exchange opinions on value for the benefit of the assessor, the community always responds. The effect of this public work upon the public itself is wonderfully beneficial to all who make up that public. This has been noticed in every city where the Somers system has been adopted or exhibited.



Cleveland, Ohio, was assessed two years ago under the supervision of Mr. Somers himself. Cleveland has a population of 560,000. While there was not time to ascertain the community opinion in every part of the city to the extent that would have been beneficial in the highest degree, yet enough was accomplished along this line to produce general confidence in the assessment and equity in the tax burdens. Property is bought and sold in the city of Cleveland, and loans are negotiated at the banks, on the basis of the assessments. Values have been standardized to a degree never before dreamed possible.

These observations apply also to the Columbus, Ohio, assessment, except that there was perhaps a greater degree of care in determining values there than in Cleveland; this being true because the assessors in Columbus, which is only a third as large as Cleveland, were able to obtain three months' longer time for the completion of their work.

The city of Springfield, Ill., was most carefully assessed last year by Assessor Burke Vancil, using Somers system methods. Mr. Vancil spared no pains to get at community opinion of land value. Springfield has but 52,000 people, so that the task for the assessor was not as great as in the Ohio cities named. Springfield was divided up into 35 sections. The people living and owning property in every section responded to the invitation of Mr. Vancil to come to public

meetings and exchange their opinions on the value of their own property. They appeared to like to do it; they liked to talk about something that they knew something about, and they liked to take part in the public function of assessing property for their city.

The city of East St. Louis, Ill., had doubled in size in ten years. Its population is about 60,000. Assessor McWilliams installed the Somers system, and 45 citizens of that city, real estate owners and dealers, retail merchants, doctors and lawyers, passed judgment on the land values of that city in public meetings. Any citizen who desired could attend and tell what he thought about values. These 45 citizens may be said to represent fairly the public opinion of East St. Louis on almost any public question, especially when they are called upon to work in the open as they were under the Somers system. Since the work has been completed, leading business men of that city who took part in this public work have publicly expressed themselves to the effect that the Somers system has done more for their city than anything that has been installed there. It did this only because it made it possible for the citizens to do for themselves a task that had before been impossible for them to do.

The Somers system was installed in the business districts of Joliet, Ill., and Denver, Colo., and with the same effect except in a more limited way, necessarily, than in the other cities.

Houston, Texas, has just completed its assessment of the whole city under Somers system methods. Every newspaper in the city is loud in its praises of the effect of the work there. It is too early to get a perspective of the effect as in other places, but Tax Commissioner Pastoriza observes in a newspaper interview that the thoroughness of Somers system methods has disclosed enough property that had escaped any taxation at all, to pay with the tax upon it in one year the entire expense of installing the system. The work there was similar to that in other cities, and real estate men, real estate owners, Chamber of Commerce members, ordinary citizens, all improved the opportunity to take part in the assessment work. The good result in Houston has been so evident that the news of it has spread to other Texas cities, many of which are now considering the installation of the Somers system for their next assessment.

Investigation of the Somers system methods is active also in the East. Mayor Fitzgerald of Boston has called for an investigation of its merits, and this will soon be had. The City-Wide

Congress of Baltimore, an organization made up of representatives of 100 or more civic societies of that city, has investigated the system and endorsed its installation there.

The Iowa cities, many of them, have begun to study the system with the idea of using it for next year's assessment work. Many cities on the Pacific slope have inquired about and are studying the system at long range. And so it goes. The effect in each city that installs it, encourages its introduction in other cities.



Publicity of assessment work and accuracy in distribution of values thus obtained, will win in the end; the Somers system is the only method yet devised that provides for these two essentials, and this fact is the secret of its success wherever tried.

E. W. DOTY.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE MEXICAN INSURRECTION RE-ACTIONARY.

Los Angeles, Cal., March 27.

I trust that you may be able to find room in your newspaper for the following article on the Mexican situation, which I hope will prove of interest to readers in the general confusion prevailing on that subject. I speak from the knowledge of one who has lived in Mexico practically from infancy, who was educated there, and has studied the history and politics of that country from childhood.

The Madero revolution, as I think is generally conceded, was an attempt to overthrow a dictatorship which had of late years degenerated into a despotism so shameless and tyrannical that it was impossible longer to endure it. The Dictator, in his advancing age, had practically resigned his absolute power to a group of men who formed the heads of what is known in Mexico as the Cientifico Party, and these, shielding themselves behind the great General's fame and prestige, converted his at one time beneficent rule into a perfect orgy of unbridled tyranny, greed and exploitation. The appalling electoral fraud of 1910, and the wholesale arrest and persecution of members of an Anti-re-electionist Party, thrown into startling relief by the brutal mockery of the Centennial celebrations, marked the end of Diaz. The country rebelled, and, after a brief struggle, the revolution obtained what appeared to be a complete triumph.

The resignation of Diaz and Corral, however, and even the election, by an overwhelming majority of votes, of the hero of the population revolution, Francisco Madero, constituted only a partial victory. The "Cientificos" and their money had still to be reckoned with before the liberal ideas of the new administration could be carried out; and it is against

the carrying out of these liberal ideas that the whole fight is being made.

In reality, the present "revolution" is not a revolution at all, but a reaction—an effort on the part of the Cientificos, whom Madero deposed, to get back into the place of supreme power from which they were ousted. The money and the munitions of war that keep the disturbance alive come from the Cientificos, and go to arm and equip the lowest of the peon class—men, a few of whom, in their hopeless ignorance and illiteracy, have been persuaded that Madero has failed to keep his promises to them, but most of whom are nothing but bandits and pillagers. A short time ago this "revolution" had no head at all, no political significance; for Zapata was never anything but a bandit, whose methods of warfare were barbarous and intolerable. Then the Terrazas family, and the bankers and land owners of Chihuahua openly gave Pascual Orozco \$1,000,000 to equip an army against the city of Mexico "for the overthrow of Madero"; and, in addition, Alberto Terrazas gave him \$10,000, and he was promised, and subsequently received, \$90,000 more. That is why Pascual Orozco, erstwhile commander of the Government troops in Chihuahua, to whom Madero had entrusted the safeguarding of that State, is now shouting for Vazquez Gomez. For an equal sum of money he would doubtless shout as lustily for any one else, and, indeed, he is already veering around to De la Barra.

Certainly the money that bought Orozco was not furnished by peons fighting for liberty against plutocracy—which is what some people appear to think the present rebellion stands for. It came direct and barefacedly from the pockets of the plutocrats—Terrazas and Creel, the kings of the Cientificos—and it went to pay ignorant peons to fight against the man who promised the peon redemption, and to put back into power those same Cientificos, that they may continue to exploit the peon in the good old way.

The reason the Cientificos and land owners are so determined to overthrow Madero is precisely because he did not break his promises and betray the ideals of the revolution. He had promised the people primarily that he would divide the land, and upon entering office, he at once took steps toward the fulfillment of that pledge. He did not undertake to accomplish this division by confiscation nor arbitrary measures, but by the simple application of a land tax tantamount to the putting in force of what is known in this country as the Singletax.

The land of Mexico is held in enormous tracts owned by a few rich men. The Terrazas and Creel families own the entire State of Chihuahua; the Madero family itself owns practically all of Coahuila; three or four men own the Territory of Tepic; and so it goes in every State in the Republic. There were, it is true, large bodies of Government lands which could be taken up by any one desiring; but, under the Diaz regime, frightful inroads were made into these tracts by the wealthy hacendados. Already, in the few months that he has been President (for he only entered office last November), Madero has reclaimed as national lands 30,000,000 acres, and has established a bank backed by the Government for the purpose of making long-

time loans on the very easiest terms, to poor people desiring to acquire and work these lands in small tracts. These are not promises, nor dreams, nor indiscriminate howls. These are facts; and they speak for themselves.

This is the worst of Madero's crimes, for the landed interests are the interests of Mexico; but it is not his only one. Even before he became President, he advised the workingmen to organize and demand higher wages, saying that now the atrocities of Rio Blanco and Cananea would not be repeated. The workingmen took his advice, and the strikes which took place all over Mexico immediately following the triumph of the Madero revolution, were peaceful and of short duration. The strikers committed no violence, and the employers could not call on Federal troops to subdue "riots." Wages rose, and the popularity of the Madero administration with the "obrero" class was an assured thing; also, its corresponding disfavor with the plutocrat class.

The administration continued to tread upon the sacred toes of the powers that be. It abolished the lotteries and other lucratively-conducted forms of gambling. It proposed abolishing bull fights, but the revolution intervened before this measure could be definitely undertaken. It cast a wary glance at the Pulque dragon, but prudently decided to postpone that encounter—not, however, until the dragon had taken warning of what might happen to it later. It did attack the dragon of illiteracy, taking up the educational movement of Diaz at the point where the Cientificos had paralyzed it, and attempting to extend it throughout the country. This enterprise has also had to be abandoned, owing to the outbreak of the reactionary war and the consequent lack of available funds with which to carry on so expensive an undertaking.

It is because of these reckless radicalisms that the land owners, Cientificos and plutocrats in general are bending every energy to overthrow Francisco Madero, no matter what the cost to the country. They are the Money Power of Mexico, and they have the Money Power of this country to help them, so it is very much more than likely that they will succeed in accomplishing their purpose. When he was only a writer, they were content to scoff at his "impractical Utopian dreams," dubbing him "el loco Don Pancho;" when he became a Presidential candidate against Diaz, they imprisoned him. Now that he is President, and they see that, far from being impractical, he knows exactly how to set about to realize a few of those "Utopian dreams," they are sparing no effort to ruin and misrepresent him.

The worst of it is that, in fighting him, the Cientificos have with them a great proportion of the peon class itself, for they have found it easy to avail themselves of the ignorance which they fostered for their own ends. These men know nothing. They are absolutely illiterate. They have no faintest glimmering of comprehension of the enactments, proposed or accomplished, of the Madero administration. They have no love for Peace, Law and Order, and who can blame them? They do not wish to hear about honest work and industry. Again, who can blame them? And they cannot realize, now that

peace might mean something different from the peace of Porfirio Diaz, that honest work might receive some approximate reward. They have arms in their hands; ammunition comes from somewhere; money comes from somewhere to pay them twice as much as the Federal soldier is getting; and, by avoiding garrisoned towns and real battles, and only raiding ranches and small villages (the tactics adopted by far the greater part of these "rebels"), they can lead a merry life of it while it lasts. They are just ignorant and childish enough to think it can last more or less forever.

There is very little probability, or indeed possibility, that Madero can save either himself or his country; but it is a sad mistake to suppose that he represents the plutocracy of Mexico, and that the peon is fighting an intelligent revolution to free himself from that plutocracy. The peon plays no loftier part in the tragedy than that of the helpless instrument of his own and his would-be emancipator's undoing. The Madero administration is doomed, but it is the Mexican Cientificos, and Wall Street, that will compass its downfall—the first because they prefer anything to having the Singletax go into effect upon those hundreds of thousands of acres of theirs which, under Diaz, were practically untaxed; the second, because Wall Street, aside from also owning land in Mexico, could not possibly sit still and let a genuine patriot and radical undertake the Presidency of any Latin-American republic. If they can manage between them to make Madero resign, and slip into his place the "wise and prudent" De la Barra, friend of Taft and Knox, also of the Cientificos, and also and particularly of the Mexican Catholic Church (against the religious and political tyranny of which Juarez and the old-time Liberals fought their forty-years War of Reform), well and good. If Madero should persist in sticking it out as the legal and constitutional President of Mexico, or if the Cientificos, once more in power, should be unable, even by stopping the revolutionary money supply, to cope with the situation they have created, it will be intervention, and our American army may go down into a desperate war to conquer for Wall Street and the Cientificos a country which Madero and the handful of altruists surrounding him were trying to free from their grip.

It is bad enough that such a man as President Madero should be facing exile and ruin, and very possibly death, for no greater crime than that of having loved his unfortunate country better than anything else in the world; but it is the cruelest irony of all that he should be misunderstood to a great extent, even by his brother radicals of other countries. With the Money Power of two countries united to bring him down, he is at least entitled to the moral support of every radical in the world.

DOLORES BUTTERFIELD.



Hughes is being talked of as a dark horse. One good thing about being a dark horse is that while acting in that capacity one is not compelled to go out traveling around the country for the purpose of showing how eagerly the office is seeking the man.—Chicago Record-Herald.

IN CANADIAN PRAIRIELAND.

Ceylon, Saskatchewan.

Western Canada is an acute sufferer from the high cost of living. Added to this, the congestion and demoralization of her freight traffic has well-nigh produced a crisis. Only Anglo-Saxon staying power, combined with the well known Western adaptability and dauntless optimism, prevents a crisis.

Canned goods sell at almost prohibitive prices; even dried fruits are a near-luxury. Home-produced meats, butter and eggs, depending on the local market, vary in price, from nothing to the utmost limit of the pocketbook. Cotton goods are said to be higher than in any other civilized country, and lumber is as high and farm machinery 30 per cent higher than across the border. The price of draught horses takes your breath, and freight rates make you dizzy.

Now, don't take it from this that the back trail is lined with disheartened settlers. The toe marks all point westward and northward, and the procession still continues. But this terrible drain has caused Western optimism to pause and consider. Some of our troubles will disappear with a more symmetrical development that is bound to come later, but inefficient service and greedy monopolies are problems that call for special treatment. And the lines that self help has taken in these matters are both interesting and instructive.

The first fight—some dozen years ago—and the perennial struggle ever since have centered about the grain trade. The elevators and flour mills are the basis of Winnipeg's aristocracy. In the grain trade we have seen individualism rampant (on a monopoly foundation), government supervision, co-operation, and now we have the promise of government ownership. The signs point to a union of these last two as the final solution.

In the early days of robbing-elevators and irresponsible commission men a happy genius proposed a commission firm of farmers. The Grain Growers' Grain Company was the result, and now it is one of the largest dealers on the Winnipeg Exchange; its stock is held all over the prairie Provinces, and it is planning an entry into the lumber and other industries.

The Manitoba government has established a system of government (local) elevators, but these merely store and ship grain; they do not buy. Last year, in Saskatchewan, a co-operative company, backed by a 20-year government loan of 85 per cent of its capital stock, started business with 48 elevators, buying about a million bushels and shipping another million for the farmers. This year they hope to build a hundred more, and do a much larger proportionate business.

The Alberta farmers, after watching the two systems, have decided in favor of the co-operative system with government aid.

The present Federal ministry went into power last fall with a promise to acquire and operate as a public utility the great terminal elevators. That was conceded to be the only efficient preventive

of the mixing of low-grade wheat with higher, which is so profitable to the mixer but injures the wheat's reputation abroad and depresses the market at home. Now the Borden ministry find either that the job is too big or that the pressure of elevator interests is too great; for they have announced their intention to acquire some of the terminal elevators, a plan that the farmers assure him is perfectly unsatisfactory.

The Hudson Bay Railway, the long-cherished if somewhat dubious outlet to the sea, still claims our attention, but the West has steadfastly demanded that it be government built, owned and operated.

The Alberta farmers have long wanted to secure chilled meat plants to enable them to get their beef, pork and mutton to foreign markets. Private enterprise has neglected it, co-operation has not risen to it, and the Provincial government has fought shy of it. Last fall this was included in Borden's election promises. He hasn't got to it yet on the docket.

The three prairie Provinces have bought out the great Bell telephone system, and are operating the lines, for the most part successfully. Rural lines, groups of ten farmers, are encouraged to form co-operative units, leasing the poles of other groups to connect their wires with the long-distance.

A bill is now before the Saskatchewan legislature (a similar one has been asked by the farmers of Alberta) to provide government hail-insurance. The local governing divisions (rural municipalities) are to decide, each for itself, whether they shall take advantage of the protection afforded.

The Provincial governments have been very successful in their employment bureaus, by which every summer they distribute immense numbers of transient laborers to the harvest fields where they are needed. They have also undertaken to import farm laborers and domestics for permanent employment.

It is only a question of time when the general and bitter complaints of railway inefficiency and extortion, whether merited or not, shall crystallize in a demand for government railways. I believe a general acquaintance with the Australian system would bring about that consummation in five years.

Many of these problems, and at least one other, that of retail distribution, could be solved in a better way by co-operation—co-operation, so much talked of and so little practiced—but co-operators, impatient or discouraged at their slow progress, take the short cut and appeal to the government.

This is the Western way.

GEO. W. ATKINSON.

JUDGE-MADE LAW—BRITISH AND AMERICAN.

Pembroke College,
Oxford University, England.

In the recent discussion over the recall of judges, several correspondents, and perhaps the editor of The Public, made one statement not quite strictly true. In commenting upon the relative satisfaction

with judges in England as compared to the United States, it was stated that here judges do not make law. On the contrary they do make law and perhaps even more than the American courts. There is, however, a vital difference. When an American court makes an obnoxious ruling, there is no remedy for it; when an English court makes a ruling that meets with popular disfavor, a bill is introduced in Parliament enacting the contrary, and that stands as the Supreme law.

Englishmen point out that Parliament is already swamped with business; that in legal matters judges are the best qualified to make laws anyhow, and that in nine cases out of ten this extra-Parliamentarian law is most satisfactory. The same might be said of America. The rub comes in the tenth case where the British have a remedy and we have none.

In England, Parliament, under the people is supreme. Historically, it is the descendant of the folk-moot and, actually, it is today regarded as the legal gathering of the entire people of the land. Naturally, then, it is supreme, for even the worst Tories seem to realize that in the last analysis government does derive its just powers from the consent of the governed. It took the American Revolution to teach them that.

In America, the people chose, for good or ill, to repose the supreme power not in a body of men but in an instrument. In England, Parliament is the embodiment of the voice of the people; in the United States, it is the Constitution.

That Constitution provided that the three great divisions of government—executive, legislative, judicial—should be equal. How then do we get the spectacle of the judicial branch overriding and setting aside the work of the legislative? Nothing could really be more simple. If the Congress pass a law which the Constitution does not permit it to pass, Congress is not a law-making body but a set of men illegally representing themselves as such, and any man, if he believe such to be the case, is perfectly justified in refusing assent to such a law.

He is, therefore, arrested and brought before a court. His defense is that Congress has exceeded its authority in passing such an act and that that act is not law. The court examines the case and sustains the defense. There its authority ends. Even tho this court were the Supreme Court, it cannot take the bill off the statute books. It can only say that all executive action under it is unauthorized.

Nothing could be more natural than this process, or more inevitable. Since the people set up a Constitution and made Congress subject to it, some one must decide when and how far Congress has exceeded its Constitutional powers. The courts are indeed well fitted for this, in general. It has been assumed in the past that something partaking of the nature of a court must exist where such matters can be adjudicated, and all remedies proposed for the excessive and overweening power of the courts have been aimed at their appointment, term of office, etc.

There is, however, another tribunal before which Constitutional disputes may come for settlement—a power superior not only to Congress and the Federal judiciary but to the Constitution—the people of the United States.

If the Constitution really is the living voice of the sovereign people, who, better than the people, can say what that voice means?

The method of procedure is a matter of detail once the principle is accepted. As an example of how it might be managed, consider this: If Congress in two successive sessions pass a bill which the Supreme Court holds unconstitutional, a deadlock exists between two equal powers. Recourse must, therefore, be had to their common master—the people.

I believe that this stupendous and far-reaching change in our government is possible by a mere act of Congress. The Ninth Amendment to the Constitution declares, "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." The Tenth declares: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Clearly the power to interpret the Constitution was not "delegated to the United States." Clearly also, this is evidently not a matter for State action, for we should have forty-eight separate interpretations possible. The only logical result seems to be that the power of interpreting the Constitution is reserved to the people.

It only remains to set up the machinery for this interpretation.

HORACE B. ENGLISH.
(Junior Rhodes Scholar from Nebraska.)

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, April 9, 1912.

End of British Miners' Strike.

Subsequent to the cable dispatches noted last week, there came dispatches reporting an adverse referendum vote by the rank and file of the strikers, those published on the 3rd putting the vote then heard from at 123,000 for returning to work under the terms of the Parliamentary minimum-wage bill, and 135,000 in the negative. This adverse majority of 12,000 was reported on the 4th as having risen to 43,000. Nevertheless, the executive committee of the Miners' Federation recommended resumption of work, and its recommendation was adopted on the 6th by the Federation by a vote of 440 to 125. The controversy at the conference of the Federation was bitter, but the moderates won because 60,000 striking miners had already returned to work and as many more were expected to do so within the next two or three days. [See current volume, page 323.]

Presidential Preference Primaries.

At the Wisconsin primaries on the 2nd, the Republican vote was in round numbers 120,000 for La Follette for President and 50,000 for Taft. Mr. Roosevelt's name was not on the printed ballots. The Democrats polled in round numbers 34,000 for Wilson and 16,000 for Clark.



At the primary elections in Illinois on the 9th, from incomplete returns as this Public goes to press, Clark had received a vote which would give him all the delegates to the Democratic convention; and Roosevelt had received a vote which would give him 52 delegates to the Republican convention, leaving 2 for Taft and 4 in doubt.



Illinois State Nominations.

Edward F. Dunne was nominated for Governor by the Illinois Democrats on the 8th, by a vote estimated as we go to press as 135,000, as against 89,000 for Samuel Alschuler, 72,000 for Ben F. Caldwell, and 7,000 for Dickson. Charles S. Deneen was nominated by the Republicans for the same office, to succeed himself, by an estimated vote of 139,000, as against Len Small with 60,600, and six other candidates with 179,500 votes between them.



Philippine Independence.

A bill for Philippine independence, introduced on the 20th of March by Congressman Jones of Virginia, is now before the Committee on Insular Affairs of the lower House of Congress. Its title is, "A bill to establish a qualified independent government for the Philippines and to fix the date when such qualified independence shall become absolute and complete." Reciting that "it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement," and that "it is and always has been the purpose of the people of the United States to relinquish sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and the people thereof, and to permit said people to establish for themselves an independent government," this bill provides that—

on and after the 4th day of July, 1913, and for the period of eight years thereafter, there shall be established for the Philippines a qualified independent government; and on and after the 4th day of July, 1921, the full and complete independence of said Philippines shall be acknowledged by the United States.

The proposed terms and conditions precedent for such acknowledgment are in substance as follows:

(1) That the United States are to have and re-

tain control, ownership and complete sovereignty over such lands and harborage waters as are actually necessary for coaling and naval stations, and convenient terminal points for cables, at such places and within such boundaries as shall be selected and designated by a commission sitting on behalf of the United States of America composed of the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of the Navy. (2) That the government of the Philippines shall assume and carry into effect the treaty obligations of the United States with the Kingdom of Spain. (3) That the government of the Philippines shall, by legislative act and by treaty, guarantee that no higher tax shall ever be levied upon the property, merchandise or business of citizens of the United States residing or doing business in the Philippines, than shall be at the same time levied upon like goods, wares, merchandise or business of the citizens of the Philippines; and that no law shall be enacted and no treaty or commercial agreement or convention entered into with any foreign government by or under which the citizens thereof are given any trade advantage over the citizens of the United States. (4) That the government of the Philippines shall, by legislative act and by treaty, guarantee to American citizens for all time, freedom of access to and of travel in the Philippines for business or for missionary purposes, and shall protect and give the same advantages to all citizens of the United States as shall be furnished to the citizens of the Philippines.

Along with his independence bill, Congressman Jones offered a Joint Resolution to promote its purposes. This resolution also is now before the House Committee on Insular Affairs. It—

requests the President of the United States to open negotiations with such foreign governments as in his judgment should be parties to the compact, including those of Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Japan, and Spain, whereby the neutralization of the Philippine Islands shall be guaranteed and their independence recognized through international agreement.

The purpose of this resolution is to insure the independence of the Philippines and save them from falling a prey to land-grabbing countries. As a representative of the Filipino people in the United States, Manuel L. Quezon, Resident Commissioner from the Philippines, has given his approval and co-operation to both the bill and the resolution. He states, too, that the Speaker of the Philippine Assembly has cabled him to the effect that the Filipino people have hailed with enthusiasm the news that this bill and resolution are before Congress. [See vol. xiii, p. 1073; vol. xiv, pp. 32, 418, 882.]



Direct Legislation in Ohio.

In describing the proposed amendment to the Constitution of Ohio providing for Direct Legislation, we were in error in putting the number of petitioners for a legislative act at 4 per cent, with

not less than 2 per cent thereof from each of half the counties of the State. By the official report it appears that the total percentage for such a petition is 6 per cent, with not less than 3 per cent from each of half the counties. [See current volume, pages 319, 320.]



Socialist Defeat in Milwaukee.

At the municipal election in Milwaukee on the 2nd the Socialist party was defeated by the Democratic-Republican union. "It was the bitterest contest," says Luke Grant in the Chicago Record-Herald of the 3rd, "ever waged in a municipal election in Milwaukee." He adds that "the Socialists have held their own compared with the vote of two years ago, although their vote has not increased in proportion to the increase in the total vote cast;" but he explains that whereas the Socialist victory of two years ago was regarded as a protest against the old political machines, "no such claims can be advanced in today's election, for it is conceded by the opposition that the vote cast today for the ticket headed by Mayor Seidel is a real Socialist vote, and while not strong enough to win against the combined opposition, is still of sufficient importance to force the old political parties to disregard party lines and unite against the common enemy." The vote for the Mayor-elect, Dr. Gerhard A. Bading, was 43,177; that for Mayor Seidel was 30,200—a majority against Mayor Seidel and for the Democratic-Republican union of 12,977. Following is a comparative statement of the vote for the Socialist party in Milwaukee for 1910 and 1912, with its own vote since 1898:

	1898.	1900.	1902.	1904.	1906.	1908.	1910.	1912.
Socialist	2,414	2,473	8,453	15,056	16,837	20,887	27,708	30,200
Democr'tic	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20,530	43,177
Repub'can	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11,346	none
Socialist percentage of total.....							46%	41%

[See vol. xiii, pp. 339, 346, 362; current volume, page 324.]



The Mississippi in Flood.

The Mississippi River, reported last week as being in extraordinary flood, has surpassed its highest previous records, but is now happily receding. On the 2nd Congress made immediately available \$350,000 for strengthening and rebuilding levees in the flood region. On the same day the levee at Hickman, Ky., gave way and the town was floodswept, rendering 2,000 persons homeless. By the breaking of the Mobile and Ohio levee at Cairo on the 4th, Urbandale and Future City, manufacturing suburbs of Cairo, were flooded. By the breaking of two levees at Memphis on the same day portions of that city were put under water, and

the rest of the city threatened. The government levee near Hickman, Ky., which protected the Reelfoot Lake region, gave way on the 5th, and the released waters quickly spread over thousands of acres of land to a depth of many feet. By the 6th 500 square miles of this region, mostly in northwest Tennessee, was under water. On the following day the government levee at St. Clair, Ark., crumbled and the waters rushed with a roar over many thousand acres in the St. Francis basin. Situated in this basin are many towns and villages and hundreds of farms. By the 8th the flood situation was summarized as having caused 30 deaths by drowning, as having rendered 30,000 persons homeless, and as having created a financial loss of \$10,000,000. The inundated lands were put at 2,000 square miles. (See current volume, page 325.)



The Negro Citizen.

The fourth annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will assemble in New Sinai Temple, Chicago, on the 28th and remain in session until the 30th. Its object is to discuss methods by which race prejudice may be eliminated and friendly relations between American whites and Negroes may be increased. At the Sinai Temple meeting in the evening of the 28th, Miss Jane Addams will preside. The other speakers will be Dr. Emil G. Hirsch of Chicago, Oswald Garrison Villard of New York, and Prof. William Pickens of Alabama. On the 29th and 30th the meetings will be in Handel Hall, Sherman C. Kingsley presiding on the 29th in the afternoon and Bishop B. T. Lee of Ohio in the evening, Oswald Garrison Villard presiding on the morning of the 30th and Mrs. Emmons Blaine in the evening. The speakers on the 29th will be Prof. W. E. B. DuBois, Judge Edward Osgood Brown, Miss Julia Lathrop, I. M. Renow, Charles Edward Russell and Professor Kelly Miller. The morning session of the 30th will be devoted to business; in the evening Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett, John H. Walker and Jenkin Lloyd Jones will speak. The topics for discussion include "The Negro in the City," "The Negro's Progress During the Year," "Help for the Negro from the Silent South," "The Year's Record of Lynching," "Segregation of the Negro," "Disfranchisement," "The Psychology of Race Prejudice," and "Denial of the Negro's Civil Rights in the North." In its address to the public the Association explains its purpose as being—

to uplift the colored men and women of this country by securing to them the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens, justice in all the courts, and equality of opportunity everywhere. The Association favors, and it aims to aid, every kind of education among them save that which teaches special

privilege or prerogative, class or caste. It recognizes the national character of the Negro problem and no sectionalism. It believes in the upholding of the Constitution of the United States and its Amendments, in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. The Association upholds the doctrine of "all men up and no man down." It abhors Negro crime, but still more the conditions which breed crime, and most of all the crimes committed by mobs in the mockery of the law, or by individuals in the name of the law. It believes that the scientific truths of the Negro problem must be available before the country can see its way wholly clear to right existing wrongs. It has no other belief than the best way to uplift the colored man is the best way to aid the white man to peace and social content; it has no other desire than to exact justice and no other motive than humanity.

[See vol. xiii, p. 974; vol. xiv, pp. 255, 324, 1245.]



Mexico in the Balance.

Fighting continues between the Federal and the Revolutionary troops in Mexico, without great advantages to either side. Francisco de la Barra, who was provisional president before the election of Madero, and who went abroad on a special mission after Madero's inauguration, has returned, and was greeted by vast crowds when he arrived at the City of Mexico on the 7th. Three special commissioners from General Orozco are in New York for the purpose of presenting the case of the revolutionists to Americans. They charge Madero with violating his oaths to the men who helped him to overthrow the Diaz regime. (See current volume, pages 324, 343.)



Sun Yat Sen's Economic Program for China.

In the hall of the National Assembly at Nan-king, on the 1st, Sun Yat Sen formally withdrew from the office of provisional President of the Great Republic of China. Speeches were delivered by the Speaker of the Assembly and by several deputies. Dr. Sun urged that every effort should be made to unite China, and to achieve the highest ideals of the Republic. He reiterated his confidence in President Yuan Shi Kai as well as in the cabinet and the National Assembly. [See current volume, page 300.]



After his withdrawal Dr. Sun proceeded immediately to Shanghai, and cable dispatches of the 4th report an interview in which he laid down the program of economic reform to which he now feels free to devote himself. The interview, as reported in various American papers, included the following statements:

I intend to devote my future to the promotion of the welfare of the Chinese people as a people. The teachings of your single taxer, Henry George,

will be the basis of our program of reform. The land tax as the only means of supporting the government is an infinitely just, reasonable, and equitably distributed tax, and on it we will found our new system. The centuries of heavy and irregular taxation for the benefit of the Manchus have shown China the injustice of any other system of taxation. A single reasonable tax on the land will supply all the funds necessary to put China among the first of the civilized nations in political and economic advancement. We will embrace all of the teachings of Henry George and will include the ownership by the national government of all natural monopolies. No private interest will be allowed to tax and exploit the people through control of any material or service which is a necessity to life and happiness. These reforms China is certain to adopt, and under them we will grow into an industrious, peace-loving, prosperous people.

According to the Chicago Tribune's report, "Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who lived for years in the United States, is a personal friend of Representative Henry George, Jr., of New York."

NEWS NOTES

—A bill for woman suffrage passed the lower house of the Arizona legislature on the 8th, by 21 to 4.

—A treaty establishing a French protectorate over Morocco has been recently signed. [See vol. xiv, p. 1146.]

—In the lower House of the Massachusetts legislature on the 2nd the woman suffrage bill was defeated by 127 to 85. [See current volume, page 300.]

—A bill introduced in the Swedish parliament officially by the Ministry extends the parliamentary franchise to women, including rights of election to the parliament. [See current volume, page 85.]

—Herbert S. Bigelow, president of the Constitutional Convention of Ohio, is reported to have announced his candidacy for the Ohio legislature from Hamilton county at the next election. [See current volume, pages 313, 321.]

—As a result of the Lloyd George budget the Exchequer reported on the 2nd a surplus from the last fiscal year—April 1, 1911, to March 31, 1912—of \$32,725,000, the largest surplus in British history. [See vol. xiv, pp. 351, 492, 772.]

—The United States Senate passed on the 3rd the House bill imposing a prohibitive tax on white phosphorous matches, in order to prevent the match-making disease known as "phossyjaw." [See current volume, pages 316, 325.]

—Newell Sanders, a native of Indiana who has lived in Tennessee since 1878, was appointed on the 8th by Governor Hooper to succeed the late Robert L. Taylor as United States Senator from Tennessee. [See current volume, page 325.]

—The Singletax Information Bureau (134 Clarkson St., Brooklyn, N. Y.) reports for the six months ending March 30, receipts to the sum of \$89.69, and disbursements to the sum of \$49.82. During the six months 1,304 applications for literature have been

supplied, the total number of documents sent out being 20,209. [See vol. xiv, pages 62, 351, 1078.]

—The Senate bill to establish a Federal children's bureau for the purpose of investigating questions affecting the care, employment, and general welfare of children throughout the United States was passed by the House of Representatives on the 2nd by 173 to 17. [See current volume, page 132.]

—Chitti Harjo (Crazy Snake), a famous and much respected Indian chief of Oklahoma, died on the 5th at his home near Vinita. Chitti Harjo was responsible for the Indian uprising in Oklahoma three years ago. He always maintained that the Indians had been robbed of their lands by the white men. [See vol. xii, p. 350.]

—The Conservative convention of Cuba on the 7th nominated for the Presidency General Juan Mario Menocal, and for the Vice-Presidency José Enrique Varona. The Liberal convention is to meet on the 15th, and Alfredo Zayas, now Vice-President, is regarded as likely to receive its nomination for the Presidency. [See current volume, page 159.]

—Reed Paige Clark has been appointed by the United States Department of State as general receiver of customs for Liberia, and has reached London on his journey thither. Mr. Clark expects the operation of the receivership to be in force by June 1. He is arranging the details of a national loan, the security for which will be the entire revenue of the country. In regard to Liberia's solvency, Mr. Clark said in a London interview: "Liberia is never bankrupt. It is a conspicuous success as a Negro republic, although in Africa. There has never been but one President deposed before the expiration of his term, and he was formally impeached and convicted according to constitutional forms." Mr. Clark is to be followed soon to Liberia by Captain Young, who is to fill the position of military attaché there. Captain Young is the only Negro graduate of West Point in the United States army. [See current volume, page 38.]

PRESS OPINIONS

The Singletax in China.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (ind.), March 11.—President Yuan says the Singletax will be adopted throughout the vast Chinese republic. . . . Henry George, whose great principle his own country has not yet adopted, will take a place along with Washington and Lincoln as men exerting a profound influence on the establishment of the great Chinese commonwealth. The rest of the world may yet be following China's demonstration on the workable quality of many benign and helpful governmental features. The real Yellow Peril may be a peril to Privilege, to unequal burdens, to unjust discrimination.



Democratic China.

(Chicago) Inter Ocean (Rep.), April 8.—A Japanese writer, reviewing the existing conditions with the keen insight born of race kinship, recently has de-

clared that Chinese modes of life for several centuries have been preparing them for the democratic form of government they now have. This writer declares that the corruption of the Imperial government and the loose rein it held over the people resulted in bringing about a state within a state, and that under the forms of the Manchu laws the people really had set up a government of their own that to all intents and purposes was Republican. This popular government comprised the unions or guilds, into which every class of the population was organized. The guilds had their own laws and popular courts to which disputants resorted in preference to the mandarin courts, where justice sided with the longest pocketbook. Family and clan councils laid down laws more binding than those that issued from the Throne. In time the under-government became an institution of such weight that Imperial officials recognized its regulations and edicts. This, according to the Japanese, is the school in which the Chinese people have been taking their lesson in democracy, and his conclusion is that they have learned it so well that now they are equipped to manage the overgovernment that has been placed in their hands. If the Japanese writer is correct in his reasoning, Western apprehension of chaos in China is unfounded.



The Future of Political Parties.

Collier's (ind.), March 16.—In the struggle to live, democratic methods must come, as surely as in political government they are in the main already here. An industrial oligarchy cannot remain in a political democracy. This means either Socialism or thoroughgoing and constant industrial reform. Take your choice. There is no other way. . . . A few years from to-day parties will divide sharply and almost exclusively on industrial questions. Let us throw out a few propositions to show what we mean: Indirect taxation is in the main nothing but robbery of the poor. Our present tariff is no exception. Taxation should be mostly on land values. There are a few other good taxes, such as those on inheritances, but they are, in comparison, unimportant.



British Land Policies.

The (London) Daily News (Lib.) February 24.—Landlords would not be talking to-day about the multiplication of small owners if Liberals and other disinterested land reformers were not talking about small holdings. They want to defeat the Liberal land policy; their own is a political after-thought. . . . The Liberal land policy is to compel the landlord to let widely at a fair rent with security, and when public money is applied for purchase to purchase for public ownership. We are a long way from a full or an energetic application of this policy, but at least we are on the right road. And when the valuation under the Budget of 1909 is complete we shall not only have the basis for a just purchase price, but the way will be clear for the extension of the policy inaugurated by Mr. Lloyd George in the taxation of land values and the mitigation of the burden of local rates.

RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE BUILDERS.

For The Public.

Brothers of Time and Sun to God's own mountains,
O Pyramids, that stand through countless ages!
What do you mean in all your fog of mystery?

What is the message you write on Time's dim pages?

Forerunner of palace and of mansion in all countries,

Symbol of might and of Toil's hard degradation,
Monument to that power which shackles freemen,
You stand unchanged, unchangeable as Earth's foundation.

Open your caverned mouths and bawl your story;
Speak out the pent-up secret from your bosom.
You cannot lift the veil which hides your mystery.
Those mummies in your heart, are they less gruesome?

You speak—yet mutely do you tell your record;
Your every rock throbs with a sentient story—
A bondsman's sigh, who broke beneath his burden;
A master's curse, who wrought for Pharaoh's glory:

“Build, damned brute, and die with bursted muscle,
Die, for ten thousand men are ready at my beckon;
Build for the glory of your king and for your nation;
Die, for what will a life among a million reckon?

“Man unconstrained is but a worthless savage,
Roaming at will, and losing all care of direction;
Only the rod of command builds a great temple,
Only the hand of a master leads to perfection!”

GEORGE T. EDSON.



DID THE PEOPLE VOTE FOR CALVARY?

Extracts from a Sermon Delivered by Rev. Quincy Ewing in Christ (Episcopal) Church, Napoleonville, La., Palm Sunday, March 31, 1912.

Can anybody, having read the New Testament, or a single one of the Gospels, entertain for a moment the thought that the men who brought Jesus to Pilate would have been willing to refer the question of his life or death to the mass of the people—the mass of the adult male population of Jerusalem?

How absurd such a thought would be is manifest on this evidence alone, that during the last week of his ministry he taught every day in the porch of the temple, in the very face of the highest civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and not one

of them dared to molest him; not one of them dared to order his arrest anywhere in or out of the city in daylight. And, surrounded as he was by only twelve unarmed disciples, what danger would there have been in arresting him, had the people wanted him arrested and put to death? . . .

The marvel is not that the people of Judea did not prevail and prevent the crucifixion of Jesus. The marvel is that they prevailed enough to prevent it so long; that they prevailed enough to force their chief priests to bribery and midnight subtlety, in order to lay hands on a defenceless Prophet and get him before the bar of their packed court. . . .

It is well to have the record in mind when one hears such statements as that ascribed to the Kansas Congressman.* It is well to remember at all times that Jesus was crucified, not because the Jewish people wanted him crucified, but because they didn't want him crucified; not because they rejected him, but because they accepted him; not because they were his enemies, but because they were his friends.

If we must charge the Jewish people with responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus, let us do so fairly. Let us, with the record before us, confess that it was their approval, not their condemnation; their hosannas, not their maledictions, that sent him to the Cross. It is many thousand times more likely that the Jew we meet on the street today is a descendant of one of those who waved his palm branch and cried, “Hosanna to him who cometh in the name of the Lord,” than that he is a descendant of one of those who made the midnight excursion to the Garden of Gethsemane, and then sat as a judge in the Sanhedrin between midnight and sunrise.

So, it would seem, the priest or the politician is treading on dangerous ground, who points back to Calvary when he decides against the people the question whether they are fit to govern themselves, or fit only to give their consent to being governed. The company of the chief priests, scribes, and elders is not good company for any man to place himself in today, who believes that the people need to be saved from themselves by official saviors; that majorities would go at once headlong to self-destruction, unless restrained by a select minority.

The ancient elders, and scribes, and chief priests—who were also chief politicians—were firmly convinced that the people of their day needed to be saved from themselves—from the wild foolishness of following after Jesus of Nazareth with his terrifying Gospel that threatened to “put down the mighty from their seat and exalt the humble and meek.” That is why they persuaded their retainers to ask Pilate for the freeing of

*Congressman P. P. Campbell in his published letter to Mr. Roosevelt. See The Public of April 5, pages 317, 322.—Editors of The Public.

Barabbas and the crucifixion of Jesus. The people could be safely trusted to deal with the robber. They could not be safely trusted to deal with the Prophet!

The modern elders, and scribes, and chief priests, and chief politicians, are as firmly convinced as their ancient prototypes that the people need to be *saved from themselves*—from the wild foolishness of supposing that they should have and enjoy what they believe to be good for themselves, rather than what a clique or a class believe to be good for them. But the world over, there is abundant promise today that the old conflict between the priest and the politician on the one hand, and the people on the other, will not have its old termination.

There is abundant promise that the reign and authority of those who "fear the people" is about to end; that the leadership and service of those who *trust* the people is about to begin.

There is abundant promise that not the select circle of the ephods and the breast-plates will prevail; but the *great multitude of the palm branches and hosannas!*



LEWIS JEROME JOHNSON.

Walter Lippman in *The American Magazine* for February. Reprinted by Courteous Permission of the Editors of *The American*.

Civil engineer and civic engineer, builder of the Harvard Stadium, leader in the Single Tax movement, author of an ideal charter for the city of Cambridge, propagandist for everything he believes in: Prof. Lewis Jerome Johnson of Harvard University is a tornado of efficient enthusiasm sweeping out the cobwebs of petty doubts, and the whole litter and rubbish of habits, caste-feeling, prejudice and snobbishness.

His pupils seem middle-aged and settled by comparison. He makes most people feel as if they were about half alive. Come within radiating distance of him, and if you have time to think of yourself, you'll feel like a listless, anemic putterer. In a few minutes you'll hear him go at a vested stupidity and smash it with a bludgeon of genial indignation which makes you want to laugh for joy at the sport of it. On top of indignation comes enthusiasm over a piece of democratic good news from Vancouver or Denmark, explained and expounded in spite of dinner, other engagements, and the routine of things. "Oh," he sighed to me once, "I can't stand it. Life's getting too interesting for me."

He hails you from across the street as you go sauntering along worrying about yourself. "You know," he will say, "the Grand Junction scheme for election of city officers is better than the Los Angeles one. Look here," and he fishes out of his green students' bag, charts, statistics, news-

paper reports, and proves it to you then and there in the sunshine with the cars clanging by.



But his energy doesn't sputter. It has the quality of completing effectively whatever it undertakes. In the city of Cambridge they need among other things a new charter, for the present one is obviously a treasure for the Historical Society which preserves so carefully the Washington Elm and the minds of some of the inhabitants. So with a few others, principally engineers like himself, he set to work to draw up for Cambridge the most democratically efficient charter it was possible to devise. He went for his inspiration and for his models to the experiments of democrats the world over—to New Zealand, and Switzerland, to Des Moines, to U'Ren's work in Oregon. He studied their failures and their successes, and he helped write a charter based on their experience.

"But," protested a Boston banker, "it's all very well in New Zealand and Switzerland, but that doesn't prove it'll work in Massachusetts."

"Well, it works in Oregon, doesn't it?"

"Ah, yes," replied the practical man to the theorist. "but Oregon isn't Massachusetts."

"I tell you," said Johnson, "what kind of proof you want. You want me to prove that it has worked well in Massachusetts for a hundred years.

Then you'll be convinced that it'll work well in Massachusetts. You're not from Missouri; you're from Massachusetts."

He told about this encounter at a dinner of more or less radical college students. "It's high time," he continued, "that the applied scientist took a hand in politics. We engineers are taught to make things for people to use and enjoy. We build bridges for men, not for dividends. When government is handled as an applied science, our politics will be as good as our bridges."

Men are bothered at first by all the precision and accuracy and efficiency of minds like his. They wonder, as I did, whether it means not only the end of waste and confusion but of beauty too, and the sense of wonder.

On the night of President Lowell's inauguration we marched to the Stadium by classes, carrying torches. There was a good deal of parading, and cheering, and speech-making. I met Professor Johnson the next day, and I asked him what he thought of our performance.

"Well, to tell you the truth, I didn't see much of it. I was watching the Stadium." It was the first time I had heard him comment about the thing he had built. "I was looking at the sweep of it. It was fine by the October light." I was satisfied, assured that the precision and accuracy of the scientist is coming not only to end waste, but to create things of use, and to enjoy them in their highest use, which is beauty.



A RONDEAU.

(Exodus xv. 27.)

Palm-trees and wells they found of yore,
Who, that Egyptian bondage o'er,
Got sight betimes of feathering green,
Of lengthened shadows, and between
The deep, long-garnered water-store.

Dear—dear is Rest by sea and shore;
But dearest to the travel-sore,
Whose camping-place not yet has been
Palm-trees and wells.

For such we plead. Shall we ignore
The long procession of the Poor,
Still faring through the night wind keen,
With faltering steps, to the Unseen?
Nay; let us seek for these once more
Palm-trees and wells!

—Austin Dobson, in Putnam's.



Let the value of land be assessed independently of the buildings upon it, and upon such valuation let contribution be made to those public services which create the value. This is not to disturb the balance of equity, but to redress it. There is no unfairness in it. The unfairness is in the present state of things. Why should one man reap what another man sows?—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at Leeds, March 19, 1903.

BOOKS

DANISH TRANSLATIONS OF HENRY GEORGE'S BOOKS.

"Protection or Free Trade" has recently been translated into Danish by P. Larsen, Olstykke, Denmark. An excellent full page halftone of the well-known portrait showing Henry George reading a letter, his right elbow resting on the corner of a mantelpiece and the left arm held akimbo, adorns the volume. The language is fine throughout, though not always as close to the original as might be desired. In the last paragraph but one, for instance, "ignorance, neglect, or contempt for human rights, etc.," is translated into Danish with the equivalent in English for "ignorance about, neglect of and contempt for human rights, etc." The substitution of "and" for "or" somewhat alters the meaning. As given by Henry George either of the three conditions may cause public misfortunes and corruption of government, but as translated all three conditions must be present. What is more regrettable, however, is the elimination of whole pages of the text besides eight footnotes with over 200 lines. In a preface these amputations are explained by a statement that the parts omitted are superfluous, but that seems a poor reason. Is anyone justified in using the title page of any of the books of Henry George for a translation not made in full and with something of the exactness a lawyer would employ in translating a legal document? In case of abridgment, the fact should be noted on the title page itself.

Similar faults aggravated are found in Jacob E. Lange's translation of "Progress and Poverty," where fully one-third has been cut out, partly by elimination, partly by condensation. A translator's preface excuses this as having been done to make the book more accessible to the public. But couldn't that have been better accomplished by using cheaper paper and somewhat smaller print? Surely it is far better in getting up a cheap edition to trim the material of a book than its text. Condensations of the text of "Progress and Poverty," however carefully done, are too apt to give rise to controversies which should be avoided. They are hardly warranted, either, in view of the fact that Henry George himself, before issuing his first edition, did all the condensing he thought justifiable. Now that his voice is still and his pen at rest, it should be an especial concern of translators of his books to perform their task with painstaking fidelity so that every word in every sentence is given its true equivalent in the foreign language. The same full page halftone picture of Henry George mentioned above is found in Lange's translation of "Progress and Poverty,"

the language of which is beautiful and often sublime, as in the original.

Both books are certain to impress readers of open mind, and thereby enrich the economic thought of the people of Denmark. The make-up of both is as faultless as might be expected from the famous old Gyldendal publishing house, which has numbered among its clients such men as Bjornstjerne Bjornson and Henrik Ibsen.

C. M. KOEDT.



"THERE'S SOMETHING COME INTO MY THOUGHT."

Human Confessions. By Frank Crane. Chicago: Forbes & Company. Price, \$1.00.

In the author's foreword he says: "I would like these thoughts to be read and accepted in the sense of being purely human, reflecting no cult, college or creed. They are not written to convert anybody, or for any end except the pleasure of utterance."

As none of the several hundred subjects discussed by Mr. Crane cover more than a page or so each the reader will not be aroused to great antagonism even when he disagrees with the "Human Confessions." But the thoughts so briefly expressed are very appealing, and in the main compel an acknowledgment of their practical everyday truth. They are wrought out of human experience and may be taken up at any page with certainty that they will yield satisfaction if not the needed direction of the moment.

Among the many subjects from which it would be pleasant to quote we may take these remarks on "Progress":

The enemies to human progress are not the "bad" people but the "good" people. Humanity moves forward in a very curious way. We advance one step—then we bitterly attack those who would have us advance to the next step. "Good" people are those who stand for the existing order. They not only oppose those who break it (the criminals) but also those who would improve it (the reformers). A good church member is as hard toward a heretic as toward a sinner. The men who occupy the Present with its convictions and organizations fight front and rear, and repel the men of the Past and the men of the Future. Hence the progressive person is often classed with the criminal. . . . There is a modicum of truth in the charge that "advanced thinkers" are loosening morality. For the mass of men do not think at all, but take their opinions and their morals from existing institutions. Naturally, whoever intimates that these institutions are not perfect tends to confuse the average mind. And, naturally again, those in charge of the flock look askance at all progressives. Why can't things be let alone? The Pharisees thought Jesus was removing all law. The church believed Luther to be opening the way for every immorality. . . . The proverb runs, "The Good is the enemy of the Best." And of

Christ it is written: "He was numbered with the transgressors."

A. L. M.



HISTORY OF NORWICH UNIVERSITY

Norwich University. 1819-1911. Her History, Her Graduates, Her Roll of Honor. Published by Major General Grenville M. Dodge, C. E., A. M., LL. D. Compiled and edited by William Arba Ellis, B. S., A. M., 3 vols.

In these three volumes the history of technical education in the United States has one of its important roots. The oldest surviving technical school in the English speaking world, Norwich University of Vermont, was the very first to give instruction in farming. It was established in 1819 as the "American Literary, Scientific and Military Academy," by Captain Partridge, U. S. A., who had been for two years superintendent of the Academy at West Point, but since 1834 has had its present name. Its history, now before us, is a fairly rich biographical chronicle of the country for three-quarters of a century. Into these volumes are gathered, besides the story of the University, biographical data of all Norwich cadets, many of whom have served in the Senate and in the lower house of Congress, as Governor of States, in the military service of the United States and of the Confederate States, and in pulpits, at the bar, on the bench, in educational institutions, and in business and professional life other than as clergymen or lawyers. Among the military and naval celebrities are Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, Gen. F. T. Ward, Admiral George Dewey and Commodore Josiah Tatnall; and the civil officials include Governor Horatio Seymour of New York, and Gideon Welles, President Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy. Libraries with genealogical or biographical alcoves will find Mr. Ellis's painstaking work of special value.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Wisconsin Idea. By Charles McCarthy. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Our Economic Troubles and the Way Out: An Answer to Socialism. By William H. Berry. Printed by John Spencer, Chester, Pa., 1912.

—Theodore Roosevelt the Citizen. By Jacob A. Riis, New Edition. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1912. Price, 50 cents net.

—The Referendum in America, together with some chapters on the Initiative and the Recall. By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. New Edition, 1912. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

—Annual Magazine Subject—Index, 1911. Including as Part II, The Dramatic Index. Edited by Frederick Winthrop Faxon. Published by the Boston Book Co., Boston. 1912. Price, \$5.50 net.

PAMPHLETS

The Tariff System of China.

In the United States consular report of February 5, Consul-General George E. Anderson writes from Hongkong a very instructive article on the Chinese tariff. "In a general way," he says, "the import duties on foreign goods entering the country are at specific rates, which are theoretically 5 per cent of the average price of the commodities. The export tariff is . . . practically 5 per cent duty upon the average export value of goods. In the way of imports at present the actual free list in China includes only rice, foreign cereals and flour, and gold and silver bullion and coin." But China has also internal revenue taxes, the most important and troublesome being the "likin" or transit taxes. "Along all trade routes throughout the Empire of China tax stations are established and barriers are erected. The transportation of any goods whatever, whether of native or of foreign production, past a barrier involves the payment of a tax. Originally the rate of the likin was one-tenth of 1 per cent, the term 'likin' signifying 'contribution of a thousandth.' It has gradually been raised and has lost all uniformity of amount, varying according to locality. Likin charges are generally farmed out and are collected with less regard for the law than for the limit of what the traffic will bear. While the amount of taxes collected on goods at any one station is not great, the total amount at all stations, when goods are transported any considerable distance, becomes very material. On goods produced in a district and sold in the markets of a neighboring city the amount of tax paid is not great; when these same goods are produced at a distance from the market, however, the tax becomes very burdensome. The result is that the system is particularly severe on commodities like silk and tea, of which the great quantities needed for export must, under the Chinese method of production, be collected from innumerable small producers, whether they are far from or near to the market center in which such supplies are collected. The distance such commodities must be transported before they can reach an open port at the coast for exportation increases the tax upon such goods, so that likin is a matter of much importance in the export trade. In the import trade the process is reversed, but is of no less moment. Not only must imported goods received at open ports be transported considerable distances at a high cost of transportation before native distributing points can be reached, but this likin tax must be paid at an increasing number of stations as the goods proceed farther and farther inland, until at times the likin taxes reach a proportion of the original value of the goods which renders it impossible for the natives to purchase and use them." An arrangement made by Great Britain with China for the abolition of "likin" is to go into effect as soon as it is accepted by all the powers trading with China, the old rate to continue until all powers agree to the new rate. This was accepted by the United States in 1904 but has not yet been accepted by Russia, Germany or France.

A. L. G.

Pamphlets Received.

The Nude in Art and Kindred Follies. By Oliver Wendell Smith.

The Growing Grocery Bill. By Allan L. Benson. Reprinted from Pearson's Magazine, 1912.

Public Opinion: Its Effect on Business. By Howard Elliott. Address before the Publicity Club of Minneapolis, Jan. 10, 1912.

The Standard Price of Cotton. By Henry Rawie. Published by the Author, 1201 American Bldg., Baltimore, Md. 1912. Price, 25 cents.

State Taxation of Interstate Commerce. By H. J. Davenport. Reprinted from The Political Science Quarterly, in two parts. Published by Ginn & Co., New York, 1912.

Oregon State Federation of Labor. Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention at Dalles, Ore., Jan. 15-18, 1912. E. J. Stack, Secretary, Labor Temple, Portland, Ore.

Government by Ballot: Arizona Constitution—Initiative, Referendum, and Recall. Speech of George Sutherland of Utah in the Senate of the United States, July 11, 1911.

Light on the Courts for Lawyers and Laymen. Number 2. Franchise Value; Land and Pavement Values. By Jesse F. Orton, Elmhurst, N. Y., 1912. Reprinted from The Independent.

Address of Miss Lind-af-Hageby at the Public Meeting of the American Anti-Vivisection Society, Feb. 5, 1909. Issued by the American Vivisection Society, 36 S. 18th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Initiative and Referendum. Published for the Constitutional Convention of Ohio, 1912. Compiled by C. B. Galbreath, Secretary. The F. J. Heer Printing Co., Columbus, O., 1912.

The Buckskin Book of the Boy Pioneers of America. Compiled by the Founder, Daniel C. Beard. Published by Pictorial Review, Official Organ of the Society, 222 W. 39th St., New York City. 1911.

Wealth and Health from Gardens on Idle City Land. Philadelphia Vacant Lots Cultivation Association, Fifteenth Annual Report, Season of 1911. James H. Dix, Superintendent, 1122 Land Title Building.

Why Should We Change Our Form of Government? Address by Nicholas Murray Butler before the Commercial Club of St. Louis, November 27, 1911. Presented by Mr. Sutherland and Ordered to be Printed. Washington, D. C.

The Strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts. Hearings before the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives on House Resolutions 409 and 433. March 2-7, 1912. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

In Re Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison, Respondents. Argument of Mr. Jackson H. Ralston on behalf of the Respondents. In the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, March 13, 1912. Judd & Detweiler, Printers, Washington, D. C.

Review of Legislative Proceedings of Session of 1911, in the State of Washington. By the Joint Legislative Committee of the Direct Legislation League of Washington, State Federation of Labor, Farmers' Union and State Grange. Charles R. Case, Secretary-Treasurer Joint Committee, 1518 Sixteenth Ave. N., Seattle, Wash.

Preparation of Woman for Citizenship. By Virginia Barlow Le Roy. Published by The Political Settlement Committee, Woman Suffrage Party, Illinois. Room 1316, 127 N. Dearborn St., Chicago. A miniature working democracy in each ward or precinct which aims, too, at the larger and actual democracy of the nation, is here advocated as one good way to prepare women for citizenship.

PERIODICALS

Turning Privilege into Property.

Jesse F. Orton contributes to the Independent (New York) for March 28, another of his thorough articles on the creation by the courts of private property out of legal privilege. This article deals especially with the Consolidated Gas case, in which the Supreme Court of the United States decided that a public service corporation had a right to earn dividends on nearly \$8,000,000 of value created by the community.

The Chancellor.

Laurie J. Quinby's Omaha monthly, with its issue of March 28, becomes a weekly, changing its form

THE RECALL, Fifteen Selected Articles on The Recall, Affirmative and Negative. 32 pp. 25c

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DARTMOUTH COLLEGE CASE, by John Z. White. 24 pp. 5c.

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and adopting a much bigger page. Its subscription price, editor and principles remain the same. Always, writes the editor, its effort and aim shall be for "a larger citizenship for men, a larger degree of self-government, an extension of the powers of government to all, regardless of sex, an application of the principles of direct legislation by the people by means of the initiative, referendum, and recall, a sane and equitable system of taxation under which industry and thrift shall not be penalized as they are now, and where those who are engaged in the production of the wealth of the world shall enjoy the full fruits of their toil."

A. L. G.

"The late Thomas Wentworth Higginson," said a Harvard instructor, "loved music, but not the extremely technical music of Richard Strauss, Ravel and others of that type. Colonel Higginson used to

Women's Trade Union League of Chicago

Public Meeting, Sunday, April 14, at 3 o'Clock.
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COMING NATION,

GIRARD, KANS.

tell a story. He said that Strauss went one summer on a hunting trip in the mountains. It chanced that on a certain afternoon a terrific thunderstorm descended on a hunting party. Amid ear-splitting thunder and blinding lightning, amid deluges of rain whipped by a roaring wind, the huntsmen all sought shelter. Where, though, was Strauss?

"Three friends set out in alarm to look for him. They feared that in the wild chaos of the storm he had fallen down a precipice. After a long while they

found him, they found him doing—what do you suppose?

"Strauss stood bareheaded on the summit of a lofty crag. The lightning played about him in vivid violent flashes; the rain deluged him; the thunder rolled and rumbled around him; the roaring wind flapped his coattails about his head; and the musician, a ramrod in his hand, was busily engaged on his high crag in conducting the thunderstorm!"—Detroit Free Press.

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Read this letter from Congressman Henry George, Jr:

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., March 1, 1912.

Dear Friend:—Twenty years ago Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade" was printed in the "Congressional Record." Six members of the House divided the book among them, and each, under the "leave to print" privilege, introduced a section into the "Record" as part of his remarks during a debate on wool. These members were: Hon. Tom L. Johnson, of Ohio; Hon. William J. Stone, of Kentucky; Hon. Joseph E. Washington, of Tennessee; Hon. George W. Felt, of Illinois; Hon. Thomas Bowman, of Iowa, and Hon. Jerry Simpson, of Kansas.

By an old Rule, whatever appears in the "Record" is privileged to be sent through the mails free under a Congressional frank. "Protection or Free Trade" had therefore become frankable. Funds were raised by popular subscription to meet the expense of printing, and in the form of a sixty-four page pamphlet, one million and sixty-two thousand copies were printed and circulated.

This circulation took place in the second Presidential struggle between Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison. The tariff question was the main issue. Grover Cleveland and a Democratic House of Representatives were elected. Tom L. Johnson and many others believed that the most telling agency in that result was the circulation of "Protection or Free Trade."

History repeats itself. Now, again, in a Presidential campaign the tariff is to be the dominant issue. The people suffer from the cost of living. They charge the cost largely to the tariff, which breeds and fosters the trusts which, in turn, sell their products dear in our markets and cheap in the markets abroad. The people want light on this subject—underlying principles and argument,—not the ex-parte findings of Tariff Boards and statistical jugglers. Where can the plain truth of the matter be found so simply and plainly as in "Protection or Free Trade"?

The Fels Fund Commission, of Cincinnati, Ohio, will at once undertake a tariff educational campaign with a new edition of "Protection or Free Trade." It hopes to circulate a million copies. It will charge 1-3 cents a copy to cover the bare cost of printing and handling. The type will be such as is used in ordinary newspaper editorials.

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