

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Roosevelt.

In one of his recent campaign speeches—we quote from the report in the Chicago Record-Herald of March 28th—Mr. Roosevelt again re-
curred to his usurpation in the Panama case.* It is a startling disclosure of his notion of what he means when he talks of "carrying out the will of the people." In the Panama case, so he himself now says, "I guessed in advance what the will of the people would be and I guessed right." If he hadn't guessed at the will of the people, and carried out his guess as their will, there would have been masterly debates but no canal—so he further says. Instead of letting the people express their will in advance, he guessed their minds in advance, and, as he adds, "took the Isthmus, started the canal, and let them debate" him. And now he justifies his usurpation because he "guessed right." Couldn't that be said for Caesar? Wasn't it habitual with Napoleon?

And what reason is there for hoping that Mr. Roosevelt, if again in power, would limit his guessing at the will of the people to public works and the invasion of weak nations? Suppose he should guess "in advance what the will of the people would be" about invading a powerful nation and thereby beginning a great war out of which he might emerge as "the Man on Horseback"!

*See current volume of The Public, page 219.

Not to guess at the people's will, if the conditions for such an invasion and its consequent war were ripe, might open the way for masterly debates but no war; whereas by making the invasion and starting a war, he could "let them debate" him instead of the war. And wouldn't he "guess right" in such a case also? The war once begun, wouldn't it be the people's will to prosecute it? Or, if not their voluntary will, couldn't Mr. Roosevelt use treason statutes to guide the will of the people in the direction of verifying his guess?



There is nothing in our present political situation more ominous than Mr. Roosevelt's popularity. It is the popularity at a democratic crisis of a demagogic despot in the confidence of plutagogic schemers. Better by far Taft than Roosevelt, if the choice be indeed so unhappily limited. Better King Log than King Stork. Better an Aristocrat full-fed with conservative traditions than a Progressive hungry for personal power.



"Playing the Game."

What has been a vague suspicion, that the Perkins-Roosevelt-Progressive movement is a kind of standpat rally, begins to assume definite outlines. Conservatives are making many a curious rally in these desperate days; and as the interests back of Roosevelt come more clearly into view they take on shapes that look very like political schemers at play with the peculiarities of a self-centered boy. Not that Roosevelt himself is in any deep, dark plot. One hesitates at that; first because the thought would be unkind, and second because the man is incapable of dark doings, for dark doings abhor the limelight. But have Mr. Perkins and such other backers of the Roosevelt plunge as he, ever before been noted for democratic ardor? Their eleventh hour conversion to Presidential preference primaries is hardly to be taken without a great deal of salt. And Mr. Roosevelt's speeches, although highly useful as straws showing the direction of the political wind, might easily be considered as more significant of what Mr. Roosevelt wants than of what he very profoundly believes; they might easily be considered the utterances of a clever opportunist, or of a puppet of clever opportunists, playing for position. Why is Mr. Roosevelt so suddenly awake to direct legislation and preference primaries just in the nick of time? When he previously undertook to discuss all human questions, he left these out. Mr. Roosevelt's backers, in advocating preferential voting for Presidential candidates, have apparently count-

ed, not without acuteness, upon Mr. Roosevelt's "popularity" as an asset. May they not be chuckling inwardly at the thought that even if he does advocate radical measures while seeking office, he can be "controlled" when he gets into office?



Belated Vindications.

A light which has been recently thrown upon two famous governmental murders should not be allowed to grow dim. One is the hanging of Mrs. Surratt at Washington in 1865; the other the shooting of Ferrer* in Spain nearly fifty years later.



Of the hanging of Mrs. Surratt, the late Benn Pitman has left valuable testimony. Benn Pitman, a brother of Sir Isaac Pitman, the inventor of phonographic shorthand writing, was the official stenographer for the military court before which Mrs. Surratt was tried as a conspirator in the murder of President Lincoln, and about a year before his death Mr. Pitman made a written statement of the case. In that statement, which has since been published, he declared with emphasis that to his mind Mrs. Surratt's entire innocence of participation in or prior knowledge of the conspiracy is beyond question. Here is his explanation of the basis of his judgment:

As official recorder of the trial; as having heard every word of the testimony; as compiler of the published volume, 'Lincoln Assassination Trial'; more than all, as having previous to the trial written down from the lips of the principal witnesses their stories of what they knew or about which, in their employment of spies, they lied, I have had the best opportunity of forming a true opinion.

And so he had. Not only did he have the best opportunity for passing judgment, but many things which leaked out after the execution indicate that his judgment was right.



Of the Ferrer case it is the Supreme Civil Court of Madrid that speaks. Ferrer was shot by order of a council of war. It is notorious that this council merely went through the form of pronouncing the judgment of death. As in the case of Mrs. Surratt, death had been determined upon in advance of the pretended trial. Ferrer's innocence is now judicially declared by the Supreme Court in a proceeding for the recovery by his heirs of his confiscated property. In ordering this restoration, and as the basis for it, the court decides that—

Ferrer was not concerned in the Barcelona dis-

*See The Public, volume xiv, page 301.

turbances, that none of the rioters who were prosecuted acted under his orders, and, that not in one hundred prosecutions arising out of the riot was any trace discovered of his participation or inspiration.



A True Saying.

Someone long ago quoted Abraham Lincoln as saying: "As a result of the war, corporations will be enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow; the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by playing on the prejudices of the people till all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and our liberties are lost." Mr. Lincoln's biographers protested that Lincoln never said this, and it must be conceded that no proof of his ever having said it has yet been produced. But what of that? Whether or not Lincoln said it makes little difference, except to his reputation for prophecy, but whether it is true or not is of vast importance. And isn't it true?



Make the Tax Fit the Profit.

When business men generally, those who busy themselves in producing legitimately instead of plundering legally—when these business men fully realize what one of the New York business men's organizations has caught a glimpse of, the labor problem will begin to solve itself peaceably and justly. Facing legislation requiring the doubling of floor space in factories in the interest of health and safety, the New York business men alluded to above have sensibly revived demands for the Sullivan-Brooks taxation bill.* This bill, it will be recalled, would progressively diminish taxes on the value of buildings and increase those on the value of land until, at the end of five years, buildings would be exempt to the extent of 50 per cent of their value, and land values would be taxed enough more to make up the difference.



Realizing that under the present tax laws a law forcing them to increase their floor space would double their rents and add heavily to their taxes, to the profit, not of business but of land monopoly, those foresighted manufacturers of New York urge the enactment of the Sullivan-Brooks bill.



It is indeed the only way out. Crowded and insanitary factories must go. Working girls and working men and children must be protected by

*See The Public of September 1, 1911, page 893.

sanitary laws if need be; and if these laws require more floor space, then more floor space must be exacted by our health laws. But why should the financial burden fall upon manufacturers? Financially, they will not be advantaged; financially, they will be injured. But the owners of factory sites will be advantaged financially. Then why not couple the factory sanitation law with a tax law that will tend to reduce the ad valorem taxes that manufacturers must pay, and to increase the ad valorem taxes that land monopolists must pay? This is what the Sullivan-Brooks bill would tend to do.



That Columbia University, one of the bloated land monopolists of New York, should be represented in opposition by its economic professors is no more strange than that the other speculative real estate interests also should oppose it; but none of this is any reason on the one hand for offering up the manhood, womanhood and childhood of working classes as human sacrifices, nor on the other hand for imposing fiscal fines upon legitimate business. Let land values pay. The arguments against this are many and long but weak. Better than all of those yet put out against the Sullivan-Brooks bill is this editorial argument the other way, which we take from the Dubuque Telegraph Herald. It is a comment on the support which that bill is getting from the New York manufacturers referred to above: "Here is a very good illustration," says the Telegraph Herald, "of the obstacles met with in attempts to safeguard the lives and the health of workers in the industries. It hits the pocket of the manufacturer. If the cost rests on him he is handicapped in competition with those who don't have to bear the taxes imposed on him. Self-preservation impels him to seek to pass the tax on to the landlord. That's where it ought to rest. There is no competition in land. And the heavier the tax on land, there being exemption of taxes on other property, the more difficult will it be for the land owner or speculator to hold land idle, or land poorly improved. All economic problems lead back to the land. The man who can monopolize that is lord of all he surveys."



A House of Commons Incident.

An extraordinary debate took place in the British House of Commons last winter. We had no news report of it in this country; it wasn't spectacular enough to be "news." But it echoed throughout Great Britain. The London "Land

Values" for March devotes a supplement to reporting it verbatim. For the Labour party, Ramsay Macdonald led; for profit-sharing, Mr. Peto; for the reactionaries, Hayes Fisher; for small land holdings, Mr. Stanier; for the taxation of land values, Mr. Wedgwood; and among the participants in the three days' debate were Mr. Parker, Mr. Lansbury, Keir Hardie, Viscount Helmsey, Walter Long, Bonar Law, Hicks Beach and Lloyd George. Mr. Wedgwood's floor leadership in behalf of a proposal that the assessment of the full site value of the land now being prepared under the Lloyd George budget be hastened in order that loss of license fees to local authorities under that budget may be compensated by local levies on local land values, was ably done; and Mr. Wedgwood was ably seconded by the Labour member from Halifax, Mr. Parker. This part of the debate, in which Wedgwood and Parker stood for land value taxation for local purposes, and reactionaries supported by dullards opposed them, affords a fine example of the strength of the Singletax under fire.



Hogan's "Hep."

Henry Hogan is a Chicago hackman—not a cab driver, but a hackman, a distinction upon which he is reported to insist. He is just now in the public eye in Illinois because, as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congressman-at-large, he either has been nominated or else has been but barely defeated. Because he is a hackman, some of the newspapers have thought it good sport to laugh at his pretensions to Congressional service, as if a hackman candidate for Congress were a joke. But many a man has gone to Congress more poorly equipped for public service than Henry Hogan, even as his qualifications appear through the distorted phrases of fun-making reporters. Observe, for instance, these quotations from a Tribune interview of the 14th:

I've been "hacking" for twenty-five years, and I've met all classes of people—rich and poor. I have driven all the big politicians, including William Jennings Bryan; and I think I am well qualified to represent Illinois as a Congressman. A man who has driven the people to weddings, receptions, balls, christenings, baseball games, and political meetings is bound to get close to the people and know their wants. I'm one of the common people, and I understand the kind of legislation they want better than a whole lot of high brows. I'm against imperialism. Shoot that in the paper good and strong. I believe that import duties should be taken off the necessities of life and put on the luxuries. I believe every human being who is subject to the law should have something to say in the making of the law. I believe in the initiative, referendum and recall. The

governing power should be entirely in the hands of the people, and if the people don't run things right it's their own fault. I'm in favor of electing United States Senators by direct vote of the people. And while I'm speaking on that subject I want to say that I'm against "jackpotting." I'm a William Jennings Bryan man from A to Z. I'm a Single Taxer. I don't believe in taxing a man for being industrious. Do you get "hep" to my line of talk? Let me give you an illustration: Here's the old West Side ball park, for instance, where Cap Anson used to play. The ground is owned by a man in New York. When he bought it fifty years ago it cost him \$5,000. It has been vacant all these years until just recently. Now, a man who had saved up \$10,000, we'll say, went over around the park some place and bought a lot for \$3,000. Then he built a house that cost him \$7,000. Some bloke from the city hall comes along and says, "I'm going to fine you \$200 for putting up that building." He's got to pay the fine or it will be sold for taxes. The gink who owns the vacant ball park don't have to pay any fine because he didn't put up a building. That's what I'm driving at.

When it is remembered that Congressmen for generations have been making unearned values for owners of the site of the District of Columbia, and with no thought of applying those values to the expense of creating and maintaining them, the poking of fun at a man of Hogan's views for presuming to run for Congress has a touch of the anti-climax about it. He has "got hep" to something that might improve the qualifications of any Congressmen who would "get hep" to the same thing. In very truth Henry Hogan is, as hundreds of Chicagoans know, a man well worthy a place in any honorable law-making body.



"UNEARNED DECREMENTS."

Now that the Singletax has come fairly into the arena of practical discussion, Singletaxers are confronted with a curious and interesting vagary of the human mind when under the influence of habit. In one form or another they are asked this question: If increases in land values are taken by the public, why shouldn't the public compensate for decreases in land values?"



Perhaps as good an example of this mental perversion as could be found anywhere, appeared last winter in an editorial of the New York Evening Post, which commented upon facts that very well illustrate the whole matter.

Owing to the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi, there was a collapse in Calcutta land values; and upon this occurrence the Evening Post observed that while a spectacular

fall in the value of land, such as that indicated, is a most unusual event—

it is too often overlooked, in discussions of the land question, that besides the "unearned increment" phenomenon, with which we are all so familiar, there is quietly going on all the time, in most cities, on a very considerable scale, the opposite phenomenon of decrement in land values, just as independent of the efforts or the control of the owner as is the "unearned increment." Especially is this seen to be true when we remember that the owner of improved city property loses not only when the land value actually declines, and not only the amount of that decline when it does take place, but suffers whatever loss comes from a change which makes the house unsuited to the location. A handsome residence built on a site that has gone down socially is often little or no better than a dead loss. This is a phase of the Singletax question which bristles with difficulties of the most serious kind, and yet which is usually all but completely ignored.

Now, what in reality are those bristling difficulties? Nothing in the world but a vicious habit of thought among privileged persons and classes—the habit of thinking that because they have inherited or purchased from some legally privileged person his legal privilege of living at a public crib, they and their successors are entitled to continue that enjoyment as long as grass grows and water runs.

The Evening Post wouldn't make this mistake about Tammany Hall spoilsmen or war pensioners, but it makes it glibly about land monopolists. Yet there is no difference—not if morality is to be taken into account as a "bristle" in the problem.



If questioners who bring forward the "unearned decrement" as an offset to the "unearned increment" mean to be fair and not merely pertinacious, let them divest their minds of selfish thought-habits and look the facts squarely in the face. They will find if they do this that the difficulties of a serious kind, point not against the Singletax but against its adversaries.

Take for illustration this very instance of the removal of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi. Calcutta land fell in value in consequence, and no doubt Delhi land rose in value. There was, then, as a result of that change of the seat of government, an "unearned increment" at Delhi and an "unearned decrement" at Calcutta. Therefore—so runs the logic of this "bristling" difficulty,—if the public takes from land owners the "increment" at Delhi, it must compensate land owners for the "decrement" at Calcutta.

Ingrained habits of thought could hardly evolve a lower type of public morality or a poorer quality of reasoning.

Why is there a land value "decrement" at Calcutta? Because the government decides to remove the capital from Calcutta. But what reason is this, in morals or logic, for compensating the owners of Calcutta land? To urge it as a reason is to say that a country has no moral right to change the location of its capital without compensating a set of land monopolists at the old capital for loss of somewhat of their power to charge other persons higher premiums in rent or price for living or doing business there!

But no one says that. What is said is, not that those who suffer loss of land values at Calcutta ought to be compensated, but that if they must lose then those who gain land values at Delhi should be allowed to keep the gains.

But where is the logical or moral connection?

To Calcutta land monopolists who lose land values when the capital goes from them, it makes no difference whether Delhi land monopolists are allowed to keep the increased land values which the coming of the capital to Delhi brings or are compelled to pay them over to the public.

If you compensate the Calcutta monopolists by taxing those of Delhi, you only take from a lucky set of land monopolists for the benefit of an unlucky set of land monopolists.

If you levy a general tax to compensate the Calcutta land monopolists for loss of land values due to taking the capital away, but let the Delhi land monopolists keep increases of land values due to bringing the capital in, you give public funds to private persons. And wouldn't that be dishonest?

There is no way in which the government can be held morally or logically bound to compensate for the "decrement" at Calcutta, nor to abstain from taking the "increment" at Delhi. The one, like the other, is a financial variation due to public or social in contradistinction to private or individual causes.



It is not the landowner but society as a whole, and in the due execution of its own functions, that makes those increased land values in Delhi and causes the slump in Calcutta.

That society must lose by the latter, even as it gains by the former, is true enough. But for this the Singletax makes full allowance. If land values were taken for common use, the social or public income would fall in Calcutta along with the "decrement," and rise in Delhi along with the "increment."

As for the land monopolists in either place, it is none of their affair. So long as they are secured in the full and free use and enjoyment of their

holdings, without taxation beyond the monopoly value of their respective sites, they have all they are entitled to in morals, all that government can or ever could give them morally, and all that they can get without plundering somebody else.

And as of Calcutta and Delhi in those respects, so of every place on the planet.

Regarding the loss of house value, which the Evening Post suggests, that is a begging of the question, and a rather gauzy bit of beggary into the bargain.

The instances in which an old house would be unsuited to a new location are of minor importance relatively. For the most part they are absolutely so. But without arguing this point, wouldn't it be vastly more economical, as well as more fair all around, to compensate for such building losses *out of* "unearned increment" publicly appropriated, than to turn "unearned increment" over in a mass to private ownership?

As it is no longer necessary to burn down the city in order to eat roast pig, neither is it any longer necessary to surrender land values to monopolists in order to insure individuals against loss of house values from the removal of a country's capital, the construction of public improvements, the growth or changing currents of population or enterprise, or any of the other social phenomena which are enormously and persistently expanding land values as a whole.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE SULLIVAN-BROOKS BILL IN THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE.

Brooklyn, New York.

The Sullivan-Brooks bill, recently suppressed for the session, was introduced in the New York legislature at the request of the New York Congestion Committee.* It provides for reducing the tax rate on all buildings in Greater New York 10 per cent each year for five years, thereby reducing the tax on all buildings to one-half the tax on the land.

The New York Congestion Committee made a campaign to secure the passage of this bill, and I was one of a committee of business men interested in its behalf. The bill received good attention; and, with an amendment calling for its submission to the electorate, got the editorial support of a number of New York papers: The Brooklyn Eagle, The Globe, The Mail, The New York American, The Evening Journal, and the Brooklyn Standard Union. The support thus received and the interest aroused were

*See The Public of September 1, 1911, page 893; also this Public, page 363.

sufficient to give expectations of a good fighting chance for passing the measure next year.

From the point of view of a business man interested in the industries of Greater New York, the bill is necessary to check the progressive increase of the value of land, also to check the speculative manipulation of these values.

For this reason the productive business interests and the real estate interests (be the latter speculative or investment interests) are necessarily in conflict. If the values due to improvements made by the City and State governments and by the railroads, are absorbed by increase of land values, productive business men and wage earners necessarily get none of the benefits of the improvements which they construct.

At the present time, when the high cost of living is an item of such great importance, it is interesting to see to what extent the increasing value of land increases the cost of living—or, putting it in another way, increases the cost of doing business. Here is a table which indicates it:

The assessed value of land of Greater New York (without improvements) this year, is..	\$4,550,000,000
The interest on that sum at 5% is.....	\$ 225,000,000
The tax budget, or the cost of conducting the government of the city last year was.....	\$ 175,000,000
The sum of interest and tax.....	\$ 400,000,000

That sum of \$400,000,000 may be said to be the fixed charges assessed against the privilege of doing business, or living, in New York City; and assuming that this fixed charge is paid by each family of five of our population, the expense per family would be \$420 annually.

This practical question therefore presents itself: Is this fixed charge increasing, and does such an increase tend to increase the cost of living and to increase the cost of doing business?

If we examine the increasing value of land for the last 100 years, we shall find that the percentage of increase in land values is about three times as large as the percentage of increase in population. If the history of the development of this increase continues, both the cost of governing the City and the value of the land will double within the next fifteen years. Within the same period the population of the City will increase about one-half.

Since this increasing tendency has been questioned, allow me to supplement my statement with the principal facts. In the century from 1810 to 1910, the cost of the government of the City of New York was 2,743 million dollars. This includes State taxes, the cost of the government of the Bronx since its annexation, and the cost of the government of Greater New York since 1898, and is not reduced by city revenues from water rates, dock rents, etc. The increase in the value of the land on Manhattan Island alone during the same period—namely, from 1810 to 1910—was 2,905 million dollars. This does not include the value of improvements. Applying

the engineering rule under which we estimate the future population of a city, or the future earnings of a railroad, by the percentage of increase shown in preceding years,—applying this rule to the increase in the value of land within the city (not considering improvements), and we find that within 16 years the present value of the land of the whole greater city, namely, 4,555 million dollars, will have doubled, and that in sixteen years more the value will again double.

Such a continuance of increase as this would, of course be ridiculous to expect. If the rent were figured at 5 per cent, and were to equal, as it would, 225 million dollars per year, and if that rent were to be double this amount in sixteen years, and double again in thirty-two years, it is obvious that, notwithstanding that this has been the history of the development of land values in New York City, it could not so continue.

Somewhere the increase in land value must stop. And it would in fact stop with a panic caused by the removal of the business of the city to communities where the burden would be less.



Is it not evident that, without appealing to ethical considerations, the business community must protect itself from an increase in the expense of doing business which is driving business away? Or shall we wait until the exodus of business from New York assumes proportions sufficiently large to stop the growth of the city?

FREDERICK L. CRANFORD.

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 16, 1912.

A Great Ocean Disaster.

Word was sent out from Newfoundland in the early morning of the 15th that wireless calls for help had been received from the White Star Steamer Titanic, which had struck an iceberg at 10:25 on the evening before. The Titanic was the largest steamship afloat. She had left Southampton for New York on the 10th on her maiden voyage, carrying 325 first-class passengers, 285 second-class passengers, 710 steerage passengers, and a crew and service of 860 persons. Wireless appeals and directions as to location had been sent out from the sinking ship, and were caught by the Carpathia of the Cunard line, by the Virginian and the Parisian of the Allan line; by the Olympic of the White Star line, only second in size to the Titanic; by the Baltic, and four steamers of the two German lines. Later dispatches state that the Titanic sank at 2:20 on the morning of the 15th, barely four hours after she was struck—at

a point just south of the Grand Banks of Newfoundland, and 600 miles southeast of Halifax. None of the steamers arrived before the great ship went down. The Carpathia reached the spot three hours later, and rescued 868 persons from tossing lifeboats—most of them women and children. The loss of life as we go to press is estimated at 1,312 persons. Of the 328 persons reported by name as having been saved, 79 are men, 233 are women, and 16 are children. Among the passengers who were probably not saved were W. T. Stead, the English editor and author; F. D. Millet, the artist; Major Archibald Butt, aide to President Taft; John Jacob Astor (Mrs. Astor being probably among the saved) and Benjamin Guggenheim of New York, and J. G. Widener of Philadelphia.



Home Rule for Ireland.

The long expected bill on Irish home rule was introduced in the British House of Commons on the 11th by the Prime Minister, who said of the cardinal principle of the bill that it retains "the supreme authority of the Imperial parliament, while at the same time real autonomy is conferred on Ireland in regard to Irish concerns." The bill is reported by cable as providing for the establishment of an Irish parliament consisting of a Senate and a House of Commons, with power to make laws for Ireland, the Senate to consist of 40 members and the House of 164, of which Ulster is to have 59 and the universities 2. The Senate is to be composed of nominated members. In the first instance the Imperial executive is to control the nominations with a view of assuring representation for the minority, but the nominations are to be for a fixed term, and as the members retire by rotation the vacancies will be filled by the Irish executive. In case of disagreement the two houses are to sit in joint session. The Lord Lieutenant is to be head of the executive. There will be no religious bar and he will hold office for a fixed term. The authority of the executive is to be co-extensive with that of the Irish Parliament. The 164 representatives are to be elected by the existing constituencies, but no constituency is to have less than 27,000 population. The bill also provides that the questions to be excluded from the control of the Irish Parliament are the Crown, the army and the navy, Imperial affairs, the Irish land purchase and the old age pensions and national insurance acts, the Irish constabulary, the postoffice savings bank and public loans in addition to those excluded by the home rule bill of 1893, which left the customs under the control of the Imperial government. [See current volume, page 179.]



T. P. O'Connor, M. P., says of the bill and its

introduction, in a cable dispatch to the Chicago Tribune of the 12th that—

while customs and excise are fixed primarily and in theory by the Imperial parliament, power is given the Irish parliament to abolish, raise, or decrease most of these taxes. The new assembly is not called by such names as "legislature," but boldly and frankly the Irish Parliament, and the popular chamber gets the good old name of the Irish House of Commons. The government of Ireland will be carried out by a Cabinet just as England is governed. The veto of the Lord Lieutenant is just the same as in all English colonies and of course is only to be employed in Ireland if some impossible or ridiculous proposal is carried by the Irish parliament. Appointment of judges passes to Ireland at once. The constabulary force passes after six years from the Imperial to the Irish government. An even more welcome provision gives control of the metropolitan police force of Dublin to the Irish government immediately it is constituted. In short, the home rule measure is hailed as the boldest, most generous, and most practical measure of self-government ever yet brought forward. There is jubilation among all the Irish Nationalists and the Liberals are equally delighted, while the Tories are dumfounded that their first night's attack ended in a disastrous fizzle. Premier Asquith and National Leader Redmond carried the highest honors of the evening. Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour party leader, made a splendid speech in favor of the bill. Having seen three home rule bills, I find an extraordinary difference in the reception as well as the character of this third from the other two. The Liberals as well as the Irish Nationalists showed none of the critical spirit displayed in Gladstone's measures. There is no sign whatever of any such a fissure in the Liberal ranks as on the two previous occasions, and Asquith's extraordinarily lucid, powerful, and eloquent exposition of the bill made all its details at once understood and produced a tremendous effect. The first night of the great battle leaves Ireland complete in her possession of the field, with fears dispelled and hope raised and a general feeling that at last, and this time, Ireland must win the final victory.

Mr. Asquith indicated in his speech on the floor of the House that this bill is the forerunner of a similar measure for Scotland.

The Ulster Liberal-Unionist Association issued a manifesto on the 12th declaring that the bill "warrants the worst fears of the disastrous results home rule in Ireland would have on the agricultural, commercial, and industrial prosperity of Ireland, and that it only confirms Ulster's stern resolve that under no circumstances will she be relegated to the control of such a Parliament."

The Presidential Contest.

As convention time approaches, Presidential

politics boils harder in both parties. [See current volume, page 347.]

On the Democratic side in Illinois, computations up to the 12th gave Speaker Clark 189,002 and Governor Wilson 65,036. In Pennsylvania on the 13th, Governor Wilson won all the delegates but two who are reported to be for Speaker Clark. Official returns from Wisconsin on the 13th give Wilson 45,504 and Clark 36,251, with 19 delegates pledged for Wilson, 6 pledged for Clark and 1 unpledged.

On the Republican side in Illinois, computations up to the 12th gave ex-President Roosevelt 228,842, President Taft 115,331, and Senator LaFollette 37,139. In Pennsylvania on the 13th, ex-President Roosevelt won two-thirds of the delegates. Official returns from Wisconsin on the 13th give LaFollette 131,920 and Taft 47,629, with a delegation unanimously pledged for LaFollette.

The Michigan legislature having prevented the going into immediate effect of the preferential primary law, the Republican convention at Bay City on the 11th was taken possession of by Taft managers, and under the riotous conditions thereby precipitated Roosevelt delegates were excluded and two conventions were held, one naming Taft delegates and the other naming Roosevelt delegates.

Bryan in Ohio.

Upon the invitation of democratic Democrats of Ohio, William J. Bryan is making a week's campaign in that State against the nomination of Governor Harmon for the Presidency by the Democratic party. His opening speech was at Ravenna on the 15th.

Woman Suffrage in Chicago.

Complete returns on the advisory vote in Chicago on woman suffrage at the primaries of the 9th give the affirmative vote as 71,354 and the negative as 135,410. [See current volume, pages 277, 289.]

Judicial War in Chicago.

A judicial conflict of possible moment came to an climax in Chicago on the 15th. The County Judge, John E. Owens, in order to secure a fair organization of the Democratic and the Republican county conventions, appointed the Republican member of the Board of Elections to call to order the Democratic delegates elected at the official

primaries and secure their lawful and peaceable temporary organization, and the Democratic member of the Board to perform the same function at the Republican convention. At the Republican convention there was no disturbance, but at the Democratic convention a faction controversy between the Hearst-Harrison and the Sullivan factions, in which the Sullivan faction refused to recognize Judge Owens's authority, resulted in an extraordinary situation. One of the Superior Court judges, Judge McKinley, of the Sullivan faction, issued an injunction against Judge Owens and all persons acting by his authority, including the sheriff, and at the instance of the Sullivan faction, a militia detachment was stationed in the armory where the convention was to meet. This detachment kept the doors closed. But Judge Owens, disregarding Judge McKinley's injunction, ordered the police to break down the armory doors, which they did. The Republican member of the Board of Elections thereupon called the convention to order, presented the official roll of delegates, called for the election of temporary officers, and this having been effected, withdrew. The Sullivan faction delegates, refusing to participate in this convention, held one of their own. What Judge McKinley will do regarding Judge Owens's defiance of his injunction is not yet clearly indicated. Judge Owens contends that under Supreme Court decisions the power of the County Court over elections is independent and absolute.



The Garment Workers of Chicago.

Supplementary to their agreement for settling the strike of 1911, the Chicago garment workers employed by Hart, Schaffner & Marx signed an agreement with that company on the 12th which is regarded as a long step forward in treaty adjustments of working relations between employers and employes. The agreement was formulated by a conference committee composed of Mrs. Raymond Robins, John Fitzpatrick, W. O. Thompson and Henry M. Ashton (for the employes) and Joseph Schaffner, Mr. Meyer, Milton Strauss and Professor Earl Dean Howard for the company. This agreement authorizes Prof. Howard and Mr. Meyer (representing Hart, Schaffner & Marx), and Mr. Thompson and S. Hillman (representing the employes) to organize a Trade Board of eleven members with the aid of Charles H. Winslow of the Federal Department of Commerce and Labor. For the guidance of the Board a code of rules and regulations has been formulated, binding upon both parties until the expiration of the agreement, April 1, 1913, the only restriction on this Board being that it shall not take up the question of an increase of wages or the issue of the "open shop." Five members of the Board are to be selected by each side, and the eleventh member, to be chosen by these ten, will act as chairman and have the

deciding vote in case of a tie. Deputies for each branch of the garment workers' trade will, with a deputy representing the employers' side of their branches, take up all questions arising under their jurisdiction. If in any case they fail to agree, or their decision is unsatisfactory, the case will be appealed to the Trade Board. [See vol. xiv, p. 253.]



In recognition of the services of Mr. Thompson, both in bringing about the execution of this agreement and in representing the garment workers as an arbitrator (a place from which he has just withdrawn and is succeeded by Henry M. Ashton), representatives of the garment workers gave him a complimentary dinner at King's on the 13th. Mrs. Raymond Robins presided and appreciative speeches were made by half a score of leaders in the garment makers' organization, men and women, and a silver loving cup presented.



The Anthracite Coal Miners.

When the joint conference of the operators' committee and the anthracite miners' representatives opened at Philadelphia on the 10th, both sides were outwardly uncompromising, but it was reported that the operators and miners had agreed on a 10 per cent wage increase. President White, of the miners, stated, however, that without recognition of the union the 10 per cent wage increase would not result in settlement, and that unless all the original demands of the men were granted there was likely to be a strike. The operators came to the conference directly from a meeting in New York which was reported to have decided against recognition. [See current volume, page 323.]



Industrial Unionism Among Farmers.

An organization which is reported to be gaining membership rapidly, especially in northern Texas, is described in a recent issue of the Houston (Texas) Chronicle as "formulating very ambitious plans for the political year." Its official name is "The Renters' Union of America, State Division No. 1." This organization was originally formed at Waco, Texas, on the 4th of last November, by a conference of from 75 to 100 Texas farmers representing 22 counties of that State. The conference was called to order by A. G. Maxey, secretary of the Falls County Renters' Union, one of the counties then already organized. A constitution was adopted by the Conference, which went to the local organizations for approval on referendum. Agitation and organization have proceeded actively under the spur of "The Rebel," which is successor to the old "Farmers' Journal," and is edited and published at Hallettsville, Texas, by T. A. Hickey, an originator of the movement and its tireless promoter.

The Waco constitution of the Renters' Union of America recites in a preliminary address or preamble that—

out of 165,000,000 acres of tillable land in Texas only 27,000,000 acres were in cultivation in 1910; white tenants have increased from 165,000 in 1900 to 209,000 in 1910, and the number of Negro and Mexican tenants and farm laborers has greatly increased; the cost of machinery necessary to obtain the best results in farming has greatly increased; many landlords demand contracts that interfere with the political and personal liberty of the tenant as well as the manner in which he cultivates his crops; the present tenant system, through lack of proper improvements, overcropping and single cropping, is causing the soil to lose its fertility and yield unsatisfactory returns; the increase in land values has made it impossible for the tenant, under ordinary conditions, to buy and pay for land; these conditions are forcing the landless farmer to live in miserable shacks and keeping the women and children in the fields to such an extent as to be exceedingly detrimental to the mental and physical well-being of our people and a menace to the homes and social institutions of our State.

Thereupon the preamble protests—

against the evils of increased rents, bonuses and money rents; advocates a tax up to the limit on all lands held for speculation or exploitation, declaring for use and occupancy as the only just title to land; and, proposing to carry out its program by orderly and lawful methods, presents its own demands to the platform committees of all political conventions in Texas and to all candidates for political office regardless of party, pledging opposition to all parties and candidates that decline to advocate those demands.

The primary specific demand is in these words:

That the officials of our organization prepare and present to the citizens of our State for signature a blank petition demanding of the legislature which convenes in January, 1913, to submit to the people a Constitutional amendment authorizing a tax on land values to the limit, and use and occupancy to be the sole title to land.

By the Constitution thus introduced, minute provisions for extending the organization through the State of Texas and over the Union are made, and among the obligations of membership are these:

Each member shall use all lawful means in his power to bring land rents down to one-third of the grain and one-fourth of the cotton. Any member of this union who shall at any time learn that any member has been rented out by anyone, or who hears of any member promising to pay money rent for land, shall report the same to the union at the first meeting thereafter. The initiation of new members shall consist merely of the reading of the preamble and purposes as set forth in this constitution, and the communication of secret signs or passwords. And member found guilty of renting or trying to rent land from under a member of this union without the consent of said member, shall be expelled from the union. No member of this union shall be allowed to pay more than one-fourth of cotton for

rent and one-third of grain. It shall be the duty of the union to send a committee of three members to the persons promising said money rent or attempting to rent from under any member. All white persons over 16 years of age, of good moral character, who are tenant farmers or farm laborers, are entitled to membership; provided that land owners who have no tenants and cultivate their own land shall be eligible. No one who holds land for speculative purposes, or who subrents or who rents more than a reasonable amount of land or who employs more than a reasonable number of laborers necessary in an emergency shall be eligible.



Hugh N. Moore of Chilton, Texas, is president of the organization. A. G. Maxey, R. 3, Lorena, Texas, is secretary.



The United States Warns Mexico.

The killing by the Orozco insurrectos of a Federal prisoner of war who was an American—Thomas Fountain by name—together with the destruction of American properties and the endangering of American lives in the disorders now existing in Mexico, has brought on a warning issued by the United States on the 14th to the Mexican government, as well as to General Pascual Orozco, leader of the insurrectionary forces, to the effect that—

The United States demands that American life and property within the Republic of Mexico be justly and adequately protected; and that this government must hold Mexico and the Mexican people responsible for all wanton or illegal acts sacrificing or endangering American life or damaging American property or interests.

The United States government, by special instructions to Ambassador Wilson at Mexico City, authorized the statement that intervention was not contemplated by the United States. [See current volume, page 349.]



The Chinese Republic.

Wu Tingfang, formerly minister to the United States from the old Chinese Empire, has been nominated by President Yuan Shi Kai to represent the new Republic of China in the United States. [See current volume, page 349.]



The great central city of Hankow, burned by the Manchus during the revolution, is to be rebuilt, with lofty buildings, wharves, broad roads and other commercial facilities, according to the North China Herald. The landowners will contribute 10 per cent of their acreage for the highways and for sites for public buildings and parks. The landowners have been instructed to establish their claims to their respective holdings in the

burned area, and new title deeds will be issued. The Commercial Building Corporation will float a loan of 15,000,000 taels (\$9,200,000), guaranteed by the Republican Government, it is said, and this will provide for the erection of 30,000 houses.



Acting upon recommendation of the Committee on Foreign Relations the United States Senate on the 13th adopted a House resolution congratulating the people of China upon their assumption of power. The resolution, which was presented by Senator Lodge, was adopted without division. It expresses confidence that in the adoption of a republican form of government the Chinese people will insure the maintenance of their rights, liberties and happiness. The measure was changed in form from a joint resolution to a concurrent resolution so as to obviate the necessity of the President's signature, the idea being only to express the views of Congress.

NEWS NOTES

—Major General Frederick Dent Grant, eldest son of President U. S. Grant, died at New York City on the 12th at the age of 62.

—The President has signed the Esch bill for a prohibitive tax on white phosphorus matches. [See current volume, page 349.]

—Eugene Henri Brisson, distinguished French statesman, and three times elected President of the French Chamber of Deputies, died on the 14th at the age of 76.

—The Congressional act creating a bureau of child labor in the Department of Commerce and Labor was signed on the 9th by President Taft. [See current volume, page 350.]

—Abbas Effendi, the third leader, in succession, of the Bahai religious movement which originated in Persia a half century ago, has arrived in New York, and is to travel over the United States before he returns.

—Dr. Ira Remsen, President of Johns Hopkins University since 1901, resigned the presidency on the 10th, but will continue in the professorship of chemistry which he has held since the establishment of the chair in 1876.

—The House committee on election of President and Vice President reported favorably on the 13th on the Henry bill, which provides for publicity of all contributions to campaign funds to aid candidates for President and Vice-President. The vote was unanimous.

—An application before the Supreme Court of the United States, joined in by the government, for a rehearing of the recent decision holding that in selling a patented machine the patentee may require the purchaser to use only such supplies for the machine as are purchased from the owner of the patent notwithstanding that the supplies are not patentable,

was denied by the Supreme Court on the 8th. [See current volume, page 269.]

—The tour of the Secretary of State, Mr. P. C. Knox, through the Central American and northern South American countries, begun in February, closed with a visit to Cuba last week, and on the 13th Mr. Knox and his party left Havana for Norfolk. [See current volume, pages 159, 171, 180.]

—The reclamation of 70,000,000 acres of over-flow lands in the United States and an appeal to the government for assistance, was the object of the second annual convention of the National Drainage Congress, which began a four days' session at New Orleans on the 10th. [See vol. xiv, p. 1269.]

—By a majority of more than 23,000, of 25,000 votes cast, the locomotive engineers on fifty railroads east of Chicago and north of the Norfolk and Western have authorized their officials to call a strike if further negotiations with the railroads for increased pay fails. [See current volume, pages 255, 338.]

—The crest of the Mississippi floods has passed farther and farther down the river. New levee breaks occurred in Arkansas on the 9th, while the waters up at Cairo and Memphis were receding. In the St. Francis basin in Arkansas 500,000 acres of rich farming land were submerged by the 9th. By the 14th the Louisiana was the region of greatest danger and suffering. Sickness is reported from many points in the wake of the flood. [See current volume, page 348.]

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department for March, 1912, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912 [See current volume, page 255]:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash	131,534,096.15
Total	\$281,534,096.15
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1911	288,200,599.23
Decrease	\$ 6,666,503.08

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (vol. xiv, p. 831), for the first eight months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for February, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise ..	\$1,506,027,907	\$1,047,159,706	\$458,868,201 exp.
Gold	38,436,009	31,750,675	4,685,334 exp.
Silver	42,371,124	29,924,456	12,446,668 exp.
Total ...	\$1,584,835,040	\$1,108,834,837	\$476,000,203 exp.

—A woman's vocational conference, the first of its kind held in the United States, was opened on the 10th at Madison, Wisconsin. The principal participants were university women. "We want to show there are other things that a woman can do than teach school," said Katherine Lenroot, daughter of Representative Lenroot. "We want to show that woman has a field in professional and business work." Richard Lloyd Jones spoke on "Opportunities for Women in Journalism," and the address of welcome was by President Van Hise of the State University.

—Clara Barton, first President of the American Red Cross Relief Association, died at her home in Maryland on the 12th, at the age of 90 years. Miss Barton was born in Massachusetts, and taught school

in her early years. She organized battle-field relief work during the American Civil War, and worked on foreign battlefields during the Franco-Prussian war, also in the Spanish-American war. Miss Barton secured the adoption of the treaty of Geneva by the United States in 1882, and inaugurated the American amendment of the Red Cross principle, which provides relief in great calamities, as well as in wars.

—The Manhattan Singletax Club of New York held its annual Jefferson dinner on the 13th, at Kall's Restaurant, Park Place, with an attendance of over 250, the speakers being Harris R. Cooley of Cleveland, William H. Berry (ex-Treasurer of the State of Pennsylvania), Charles Frederick Adams and Geo. L. Rusby. Grace Isabel Colbron was toastmaster. While these dinners are a long established institution, this one was also the third in a special propaganda series, inaugurated by the new administration of the Manhattan Singletax Club, which seem to be highly successful in winning new members for the club.

—The monthly Treasury report of receipts and disbursements of the Federal government for March, 1912, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912 [See current volume, page 256]:

Receipts	\$494,707,493.76
Disbursements	505,835,667.55
	\$ 11,128,173.79
Repayment of unexpended balances.....	1,196,222.90
Ordinary deficit	\$ 9,931,950.89
Panama Canal (surplus from bonds).....	6,204,827.44
	\$ 3,727,123.45
Public debt deficit.....	4,915,706.53
Grand deficit	\$ 8,642,829.98

PRESS OPINIONS

The Socialist Defeat in Milwaukee.

The Chicago Daily Socialist, April 3.—The Socialist movement is a growth and that growth can not be stopped or to any perceptible degree retarded by the results of isolated elections. Every politician in Milwaukee, in and out of office, knows that every vote cast for the Socialist ticket this time means a vote cast for the Socialist ticket the next time. If the principles and propaganda of the Socialist movement appeal to thirty thousand voters now they are certain to appeal to forty thousand and fifty thousand voters at future elections in Milwaukee. There is no escape for the Big Business interests that are opposed to the working class party.



To Realize the Democratic Ideal.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (dem. Dem.), March 14.—One of the interesting developments in the remarkable world-wide growth of the Singletax, or land-value-tax, idea is the announcement in the current issue of Collier's National Weekly that the real democratic ideal will not be realized until the universal system shall be the taxation of land values. The proposition is more and more appealing to the sober sense of the people everywhere and Collier's

Weekly is a powerful accession to the ranks of those who are striving for the accomplishment of that purpose.



Trade Unionism.

Collier's (Ind.), March 16.—The tragedy at Lawrence means just so far the failure of our time. Had there been strong unions there, the disaster would not have happened. There would have been collective bargaining and decent standards. Anybody who opposes the strengthening of unions invites the overthrow of our present civilization. The preferential union shop includes all the benefits of unionism without the weak points of the closed shop. If you want to understand this new and extraordinary development of industrial fair play, it will pay you well to send twelve cents to "Life and Labor," 127 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, for a copy of the January number.



The Trail of the Money Trust.

La Follette's (Ind. Rep.), March 23.—Ten great groups of interests, with the General Electric Company as the most powerful, are declared by Commissioner Smith to control about 60 per cent of the developed commercial water power of the United States. These ten groups themselves are more or less interrelated. They work together. They have the "community of interest" that always goes with combination of combinations. At the head of these great interests stands the imposing figure of J. Pierpont Morgan. Water powers, public utilities, railroads, banks—here is the trail of the Money Trust, which the Democratic organization in Congress is so fearful of approaching with the searchlight of a genuine, thorough-going investigation.



Fostering "Dogs-in-the-Manger."

The Boston Post (ind. Dem.), Jan. 8.—There is much talk just now about the "waste" lands in and around the city of Boston—that is to say, tracts that are idle, unimproved and, in many cases, simply held by their owners for a long speculation. . . . We let the holder of idle land keep his useless grip on it for years at little taxation. Just as soon as he makes it of benefit to the community we begin to jack up his assessment and compel him to pay more and more as he continues to improve it. That is the way of Boston and in fact of the United States generally. Up in Edmonton, Alberta, the city taxes idle land the highest. . . . Can there be any doubt as to which is the more just, common-sense and generally helpful method?



The Blight of Land Capitalists.

(Canadian) Grain Growers' Guide, Feb. 21.—Any person who has an idea that land speculators are good for a country such as the Canadian West should take the trip over any one of our Western railways. It will be seen that there are miles upon miles of vacant land next to the railways everywhere, while out beyond are the farmers, making

their own living and also making fat incomes for the men who are holding the unused lands and living in luxury and frequently in foreign countries. Canada, particularly Western Canada, is doing splendidly in developing and maintaining a foreign landed aristocracy. Of course, it is very pleasant to reflect upon this matter and to know that we are building up a well groomed aristocracy, but nevertheless it is a most expensive luxury and one that a new country can ill afford.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

LIFE.

For The Public.

A rift of dawn in the Orient skies,
And our lives begin.
Heirs to a world of sordid lies,
Where the day is one of mean compromise;
Where Justice stands with a cloth on her eyes,
'Midst a riot of stench and sin.

Amid the heat of the burning day
We stagger along.
Ever the sins of our fathers we pay;
Ever the victims of merciless prey.
O Lord, how long till Thy Judgment Day,
And joy's sweet song?

A shaft of red in the dying West—
The night draws near.
Beloved ones sob with hearts oppressed,
As the Soul prepares for eternal rest,
Beyond this vale of sorrow and jest
And poverty's fear.

ROYD EASTWOOD MORRISON.



CONCERNING PREJUDICE.

Scott Nearing, in *Everybody's Magazine*.

There are three popular beliefs which rise like mountain chains across the trail of progress. The first and most rock-ribbed is the belief that things are sacred because they are old, or, conversely, that things are dangerous because they are new.

The second is the belief that the "submerged tenth" wants to be submerged; that it enjoys dark rooms and revels in filthy alleys; that it gloats over insanitary plumbing and thrives upon malnutrition.

The third, no less preposterous, is the belief that the "submerged tenth" is submerged because it is degenerate; that the very fact of remaining submerged is proof conclusive of innate incapacity for improvement.

During every hour of the day society is wasting a vast store of latent human ability and power, and heedlessly creating untold misery and suffering. The loss and the pain are both due to social

conditions which are remediable through education and legislative action.

Could we succeed but a little in showing that old things are often old only because they are traditional, or, conversely, that in the evolution of new things lies social salvation; that the "submerged tenth" is submerged because of ignorance and low wages, and that the community abounds in latent ability which awaits the opportunity for development, we should perform a service of untold social value—turning men forever away from the outgrown things of the past, and leading them to a vision of social adjustment in the future.



THE AWAKENING OF ICELAND.

Jerome Hall Raymond, Professor of Economics and Political Science in Knox College, in *Twentieth Century Magazine* for January, 1912. Reprinted Here by Courteous Permission of the Editors of the *Twentieth Century*.

It was more than a thousand years ago that Iceland was colonized by hardy sons of Norway who refused to bow the knee to the "overbearing" King Harold the Fairhaired when he brought all Norway under his sole rule. The Icelanders consider 874 their natal year, though the island had been discovered some half century before that date. For four centuries, Iceland was an independent republic; and it is to those first four centuries of their national life that the Icelanders look back as their Golden Age. It was then that their great poets and historians flourished. It was then that their heroes and lawgivers wrought their mighty deeds, and their discoverers found America. Yet the life that was lived in Iceland in those halcyon days must have been a very rude, uncivilized, comfortless life as compared with the life that is lived in Iceland today, though nobody, apparently, thinks of calling this the Golden Age of Iceland.

In 1264, Iceland voluntarily placed itself under the rule of Norway, thinking thus to secure relief from its constant civil disorders; and when, in 1380, Norway passed to Denmark, Iceland passed with it and has ever since remained a Danish possession. It is today, in the formal phraseology of law, "an inseparable part of Denmark, with special rights."

With the loss of its independence, Iceland seems to have lost its glory. No more heroes arose; or if they did, there were no poets to sing their heroic deeds—and what is the use of being a hero if there is no one to praise you for it? So Iceland entered its Dark Ages, and the outer world thought no more about it.

In 1602, however, when Christian the Fourth was King of Denmark and was erecting those beautiful Dutch Renaissance buildings in Copen-

hagen and elsewhere which have made him famous even to our day, he found himself in need of money for his building operations and for his wars. He thereupon bethought himself of Iceland, and instituted a royal monopoly of all its trade. This monopoly the King farmed out to a trading company, and all the traffic of the country was placed in its hands. The cost of living in Iceland rose enormously in consequence, and the wretched Icelanders were utterly crushed.

This system lasted from 1602 until 1787; its evil effects are visible even yet. The old Icelandic enterprise was practically annihilated. Probably even the terrible volcanic eruptions, the earthquakes, famines, plagues, and pirate raids from which Iceland has suffered so severely in the past have not, all combined, done so much to injure it as this trade monopoly instituted by King Christian the Fourth of unhappy memory.

By 1787, this system had plunged the island in such misery that it was recognized, even by the Danish Government, that something must be done if Iceland was not to become an uninhabited waste once more; and so in that year traffic with Iceland was made free to all Danish subjects. All others, however, were still forbidden to trade in Iceland.

This was a partial relief. But Iceland was too exhausted to recover, and for many decades continued to languish. At last, in 1854, trade was made free to all. This was probably the most important event in Icelandic history. As Iceland produces practically nothing but sheep, ponies and fish, almost all the necessities of life must come from abroad; and as long as there was any artificial restriction upon the importation of these necessities, human life in Iceland was almost impossible.

It has been a long, slow process, the process of recovery; and it has been hampered by many minor obstacles, chief of which, perhaps, has been the ill feeling toward the Danes—often amounting even to hatred—engendered in the hearts of the Icelanders by the centuries of oppression they have suffered. The average Icelander regards the Danes about as the average Irishman regards the English. It is true that religious differences have not added to the bitterness of Dano-Icelandic relations, as they have in the case of Anglo-Irish relations; for Iceland accepted the Reformation shortly after Denmark accepted it, and there is no strong theological spirit in either Iceland or Denmark. It is, perhaps, fortunate that this is the case; for if religious persecution and bitterness had been added to its other troubles, the situation of Iceland would have been melancholy indeed.

There is a sense, however, in which the friends of Iceland might almost wish that religious passions had been aroused for they would at least have kept the country awake. Whatever misery

Ireland has suffered, it has never been able to go to sleep. The peculiar horror of Iceland's condition has been the death-like somnolence to which the age-long trade monopoly condemned it.

Ireland, like Iceland, has suffered greatly from emigration; but the Irish emigrant had only to go to France or Spain or America, whence he could easily watch affairs in his own island, and return when a favorable turn in Irish affairs seemed to present itself. The Icelandic emigrant, on the other hand, has had to make the long journey to Canada or the United States, by way of Scotland and England; and owing to the distance and the time and expense involved, return to Iceland has been exceedingly difficult for him. The result has been that the Icelandic emigrant has been almost wholly lost to Iceland.

A remote island, with few natural resources, will inevitably tend to be rather unprogressive, even under favorable circumstances. In Iceland, tendency toward unprogressiveness has been intensified by the artificial influences of trade restrictions and constant loss of its more enterprising citizens.

Under these circumstances, one would hardly expect to find Iceland in the vanguard of progress; and so one is not greatly surprised to learn that the island has a population of only about eighty-four thousand (much more than half of them women), though it has been settled more than a thousand years and is one-fifth larger than Ireland—larger than the six states of Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Jersey combined, which have a total population of 8,347,471, or about a hundred times the population of Iceland. Nor is one very much more surprised to find that there are no railroads of any kind in the country, either steam or electric, and very few roads. Until 1905, there was no telegraph in Iceland, and no cable connection with the outside world. But Iceland is waking up.

It is an unfortunate feature of Icelandic, as of Irish, politics that most of the time and energy of its politicians, great and small, are consumed in denunciation of a foreign oppressor. In Iceland, too, as in Ireland, the foreign oppressor is no longer an oppressor in fact; but his past misdeeds bulk so large in the minds of the people that his present mildness is overlooked. The habit of denunciation of the Danes has apparently become so firmly fixed that no amount of friendliness and concession on the part of Denmark can make the Icelanders forget their past sufferings at Denmark's hands.

The Icelandic Parliament, or Althing, had a continuous existence for nearly nine hundred years on the famous plain at Thingvellir (pronounced Thing-vet-leer, with the accent on the last syllable), which is among the striking and awe-inspiring geological formations that have been so often

described by writers on Iceland. This famous plain, about thirty miles from Reykjavik, the present capital and metropolis of Iceland, is now deserted, save for the tiny church and parsonage, and the primitive little inn which endeavors unsuccessfully to supply the most necessary requirements of the few tourists from other countries that visit the place in summer, and the many residents of Reykjavik that come out for a holiday on Saturdays and Sundays. Here at Thingvellir, the first Althing was held in the year 930, and here successive Althings were held until 1798. In that year and in 1800, the Althing met in Reykjavik. But the Althing lost all its legislative functions about 1700, and from that time until 1800 it was only a court, its functions being confined to the settling of personal disputes and the punishing of crime. In 1800, the Danish Government abolished it entirely, substituting for it the Superior Court, with three members, which still exists.

It is interesting to note that the parallel between Iceland and Ireland extends even to the date of the abolition of their Parliaments; and Icelanders, like Irishmen, look back to that abolition as the lowest depth of their national humiliation.

In 1845, however, Iceland's Parliament was restored to it by the Danish King, Christian the Eighth; and that is why you may see his portrait hanging today in the room where the Lower House meets, in Parliament Building, in Reykjavik. But while this soothed the feelings of the Icelanders to a certain extent, they had merely the shadow of a Parliament, for its functions were only advisory, as it had no power to make laws. All legislation for Iceland was still determined by the Danish Parliament in Copenhagen.

Jon Sigurdsson the beloved, the modern Icelandic hero, was a member of the new Althing, and remained a member continuously from its establishment, in 1845, until his lamented death, in 1879. He was president of the Althing during the last twenty-three years of his life, and is regarded by all Icelanders as the father of the New Iceland. He became the leader, almost the embodiment, of the movement for Home Rule for Iceland; and in 1874 his efforts were crowned with success. On the thousandth anniversary of the settlement of Iceland, its ancient law-making power was restored to the Althing, and the happy Icelanders celebrated at one and the same time their original birth as a nation and their rebirth as a self-governing state. It was King Christian the Ninth, "the father-in-law of Europe," who nominally conferred this boon upon Iceland; and so his portrait, also, adorns the hall of the Icelandic Parliament. But the real author of Iceland's freedom, as every Icelander knows, was the revered Jon Sigurdsson, and it is his benign countenance

which receives the most honor in Parliament Hall and in every Icelandic home.

But all laws passed by the Althing were still subject to the royal veto, and the King of Denmark was still represented in Iceland by a Governor who was not responsible to the Icelandic Parliament or people. Thus Iceland felt herself still in the position of a subject nation, and her bitterness of heart continued. The Governor was a living reminder of the hateful Danish yoke.

The anti-Danish agitation continued and increased. The Icelanders demanded an Icelandic Parliament, in place of a Governor responsible to the Danish King. And at last they gained their point.

On October 3, 1903, the Icelandic Constitution of 1874 was amended, and the amended Constitution went into effect February 1, 1904. The new form of government provided for a responsible Minister in place of the irresponsible Governor, thus once more removing the chief objection of the Icelanders to Danish rule.

The King of Denmark still nominally has the right to veto bills passed by the Icelandic Althing; but, since the new Constitution went into effect, in 1904, he has never exercised that right, and the royal veto is probably as dead in Iceland as it is in England.

The Icelandic Parliament is composed of forty members, divided into two Houses. The Senate, or Upper House, has fourteen members; the House of Representatives, or Lower House, twenty-six.

The Constitution provided that the men of Iceland who were twenty-five years of age or older, and in independent position (i. e., not servants), should elect thirty-four members of the Althing. Then the Althing itself elected eight of its thirty-four members to be members of the Senate, or Upper House, the remaining twenty-six composing the Lower House. Six members of the Senate, or Upper House, were to be appointed by the King, making fourteen Senators in all. The members of the Althing, including those appointed by the King, were to serve for six years.

After the new Constitution went into effect, in 1904, the executive head of the Government was a Minister, who, though appointed by the King, was an Icelander, was responsible, not to the King, but to the Icelandic Parliament, and held office only so long as he was supported by a majority of the Parliament. Since, as in England and other parliamentary countries, the King acted only through the Minister, it resulted that the Minister really appointed the six royal members of the Upper House. He naturally appointed members of his own political party. So it happened that the royal prerogative of appointing six of the fourteen Senators simply resulted in giving six additional votes in the Senate to the party in power. This was felt by practically all Icelanders to be highly

undesirable. Moreover, many of them regarded it as a badge of Icelandic subjection. It reminded them too strongly of the old days when the Danes made the laws for Iceland. So there was a constant demand for the abolition of the royal appointment of the six Senators, and it soon became apparent that it was only a matter of time when this reform would be effected.

In May, 1911, after a prolonged agitation, the Althing voted an amendment to the Constitution providing for the abolition of the royal prerogative of appointing the six Senators. The amendment also provides for a Ministry of three members instead of one, and for the extension of parliamentary suffrage to women and servants.

Women already had municipal suffrage in all the Icelandic towns, and they were also eligible to membership in all the town councils and boards of education. In the town council of Reykjavik, the capital and metropolis of Iceland, there are at present three women members, out of a total of fifteen. In the council which preceded the present one, there were four women members. There seems to be no opposition in Iceland to women voting and taking part in public affairs. Not long ago an artificial gas plant was established in Reykjavik, which now enables the people to light their houses and cook with gas. Occasionally some man is heard to complain that this was the work of the women, who wanted the gas for their culinary operations.

When one remembers the scarcity of fuel in Iceland, one does not wonder that the women wanted the gas. There is no coal worth mentioning in the island—only lignite, which is by no means a satisfactory fuel, and which is hardly known at all to the people at large. There is no timber to provide wood for fuel; many an Icelander has lived and died without ever seeing a tree. Peat is cut and used for fuel almost everywhere in the island—another point in which Iceland resembles Ireland. But peat is not a fuel which a progressive housewife loves. It is so undesirable that nobody will burn it alone unless absolutely compelled to do so. The imported coal is so expensive that few are able to afford it. So serious is the question of fuel in Iceland that many of the farm-houses have no stoves or fireplaces for heating at all. Doubtless this is one reason why pulmonary diseases are so common in the island. For centuries this famine of fuel has been its greatest scourge; and it is one manifestation of the awakening of Iceland that the women of Reykjavik have at last secured the establishment of a gas plant, and are now able to cook the family food and light their homes with gas. This one improvement has made life in Reykjavik much easier and more worth while; and the complaint of the few male objectors that "the women are to blame for it" has been considered a testimony to the value of women's activity in politics. Accordingly

most Icelanders have been entirely willing to go farther and permit women to vote in parliamentary elections also.

The provision to extend the suffrage to servants (male and female) has had more opponents. The early Icelandic colonists of a thousand years ago brought with them their slaves, whom they had captured in their piratical raids in Ireland and elsewhere; and though slavery gradually disappeared in Iceland, owing to economic causes, yet the early division of the population into the two distinct classes of masters and servants has remained to this day. Until 1911, no servant, male or female, had a vote in either national or local elections.

The term "servant" has a special meaning in Iceland. It applies to all persons, men or women, who work for others under yearly contracts; and such persons constitute a very large proportion of the population—probably fully one-half.

With the spread of education and enlightenment, the servants of Iceland gradually became more and more unwilling to be excluded from political life. Many of them emigrated to America; many others migrated to the towns and thus endeavored to escape from their class. So there came to be a "servant problem" even in Iceland. It became increasingly difficult to get good servants on the farms; and still greater difficulties in this respect loomed in the near future. So another step toward democracy had to be taken, and the dominant political party, the "Independents," included in their program of reform the extension of the suffrage to servants, though there was considerable opposition to it from the more conservative elements of the population.

The other provision of the amendment, namely, the creation of three Ministers instead of one as at present, was opposed by many on the ground that it would divide responsibility and increase expense; but it was adopted nevertheless. The politicians favored it, for they saw with satisfaction that it would provide a few more coveted ministerial positions and pensions for ex-Ministers.

To become a valid part of the Constitution, an amendment must be passed in exactly the same form by two successive Althings. As a general thing, all members of the Althing serve six years, and all go out of office together at the end of each six-year period. Under ordinary circumstances, the sessions of the Althing are biennial, beginning the middle of February, on alternate years, and continuing two months. When an amendment to the Constitution is adopted, however, the session of the Althing comes to an end, the terms of office of all the members cease, and there must be new elections and an extra session of the Althing the following year. So the adoption of a Constitutional amendment by the members of the Althing, unless at the end of the six-year period, is equivalent to voting themselves out of office; and they

cannot be expected to indulge in such recreation very joyously or very often. It requires patriotism of a high order—or the pressure of urgent need.

In the regular course of events, this autumn and winter would have seen no session of the Althing; but as the Constitutional amendment was adopted last May and the Althing dissolved in consequence, there was an election of members for a new Althing in October, 1911, and the cable announced that the amendment had been adopted a second time. This makes it a part of the Constitution.

In adopting this amendment to its Constitution, Iceland has taken three important steps toward political democracy: (1) she has enfranchised her servant class; (2) she has completed the enfranchisement of her women; and (3) she has removed a remnant of mediaevalism in her legislative system by abolishing the royal appointment of the six Senators.

The awakening of Iceland, however, is not solely a political awakening; it is seen in almost every phase of her natural life as well. Her industry, for example, is developing. A few years ago the excellent wool that her many sheep produce was either exported as raw material for the woolen mills of England and the continent, or else was slowly and laboriously spun and woven by hand into coarse homespun in the farmhouses, as was done in England in the Middle Ages. This primitive system of industry still exists in Iceland to a large extent; but it is now being superseded rapidly by the woolen mills, of which there are now three in Iceland, fitted up with the most modern machinery from Germany; and the cloth manufactured in these Icelandic woolen mills is as good and as beautiful as that produced in any other mills in the world.

Educationally, too, Iceland is awakening. The new national University of Iceland, and Reykjavik, began giving instruction October 1, 1911; and though it is small at present, it has high hopes of larger usefulness in the future. An American observer may wish that the new University would devote a somewhat smaller proportion of its energies to the language, literature, and history of Iceland; but the very fact that these purely Icelandic subjects are so emphasized—or, as it seems to an outsider, over-emphasized—is in itself an indication of the present national awakening.

There are many other illustrations of this national awakening. A splendid new National Library has been established at Reykjavik; telephone lines are being extended into many of the remote parts of the island; excellent and much-needed roads and bridges are being built; agricultural experiments are being made which will undoubtedly demonstrate the possibility of raising something more than the present lonely and inadequate crops of potatoes and turnips; prospectors are energet-

ically exploring the mountains and plains in search of mineral treasures; municipal improvements such as water systems and sewer systems are being introduced in Reykjavik; and one even hears talk of harnessing some of the magnificent waterfalls to produce electric light and power with which to operate proposed new mills and even railways. These hopes will not be realized immediately; for Iceland lacks capital to materialize her dreams and her thousand years of history have not yet eradicated the excessive individualism of her people which leads them to expend a large proportion of their energies in personal strife.

But hope itself is a blessing to any people; and visions of a rosy future for Iceland are today making life sweeter for the sturdy, self-reliant sons and daughters of that far Northern island, and proving to the world that Iceland, too, is marching in step with human progress.



OLD IRELAND.

On Reading Mr. Winston Churchill's Speech at Belfast, Feb. 8, 1912.

Let Ulster fight for the dignity and honor of Ireland; let her fight for the reconciliation of races and for the forgiveness of ancient wrongs; let her fight for the unity and consolidation of the British Empire; let her fight for the spread of charity, tolerance, and enlightenment among men. Then, indeed, "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right."—From the Speech.



What is it stirring round the world? There's a thrilling in the air!
The olden hates are vanquished; Great Heart has slain Despair.
And Erin's sons shall come again from lands across the foam
To the lap of the Ancient Mother, the Emerald Isle, their home.
The Red Tree lives a thousand years, and brief's the elegantine,
But the Saxon and the Celt, my boys, are falling into line!

The shamrock spreads three leaves in one, and each is like a heart;
And one is for the Sisters Three, and one Old Ireland's part,
And one is for the Empire the Sisters Four did raise,
And they shall pull together, boys, through all the coming days;
For the folk who speak the English speech where'er the sun may shine,
From Limerick to Adelaide, are falling into line!
—Harold Johnson in London Daily News.



"Well, Aunt Emma, when are you coming for a trip in my aeroplane?"
"My dear boy, I'd no more think of doing that than I'd think of flying."—Punch.

BOOKS

ELLEN KEY'S "LOVE AND ETHICS."

Love and Ethics. By Ellen Key, author of "The Century of the Child," "Love and Marriage." New York. B. W. Huebsch, 1911. Price, 50 cents net.

Ellen Key is a tantalizing writer. The courageous fashion in which she has for so many years handled the problems of sex and marriage must win the frank admiration of all sincere souls. The strange blending of radicalism and conservatism on the other hand have made her a force effective in rousing thought on these subjects among those much too conservative to be touched by such writers as Olive Schreiner or Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

For while Ellen Key pleads for the immediate reform of marriage and divorce laws in all countries, always with freedom of divorce in view on the petition of either party as an object, and while she never wearies of insisting upon mutual love as the only solid basis for the marriage relation, and is therein a radical of radicals, she at the same time is found in the conservative camp in discussing the place of woman in the modern community. She insists, as we have seen, on woman's right to be a happy wife. Beyond that she is not greatly concerned with woman as a human being. Her sole important social function in Ellen Key's eyes is motherhood. A large and broad motherhood, it is true, with many alleviations of present burdens hinted at, but all the same based upon the old theory of submissiveness to a lot prearranged for her, although the submissiveness urged is rather to society than to the husband.

The author's fears of the new American woman and her undomestic ways have an old-fashioned ring, and are often very much out of keeping with facts. (Ellen Key has never been in America.)

"Love and Ethics" is intended as a summing up of answers to objections made to former books. If the unconvinced reader remains the unconvinced reader still, he is none the less touched by the loftiness of aim to which every page bears witness. One of the finest passages in the book is where the author very acutely points out how greater happiness in marriage has been the response to greater freedom of choice on both sides in contracting the marriage.

"When parents decided the marriages of their children, particularly their daughters, when the one all-absorbing question was 'Will I or will I not obtain the object of my love?' how lacking in spiritual qualities was love then, how little part it played in the whole spiritual life, how few shadings it had, what slender demands it made upon inward harmony. All emphasis had to be laid upon the mere external struggle. But now,

when the young lovers as a rule decide their own fate, what a wealth of new spiritual sensations, of varied shadings, of sentiment, sensibility and reserve they betray to those who are privileged to look into their souls."

ALICE HENRY.



AN AGE-LONG CONTROVERSY.

The Problem of Freedom. By George Herbert Palmer, Alford Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company. Price, \$1.25.

Professor Palmer wishes he were able to conform himself to the precept of that profound and limpid writer, Bishop Berkeley, who bids us "to think with the learned and speak with the vulgar."

The substance of his effort in this direction is embodied in a course of lectures delivered for the Lowell Institute, Boston, and revised in the present volume. Quite aware of the mental confusion that exists on the subject, this later expounder of the Problem of Freedom seeks to evade technicalities and to come down to the single naturalness of language adapted to the untrained mind.

A brief review is given of the arguments of ancient and modern philosophers who have wrangled over the matter of Free Will with an indistinctness that leaves the reader little wiser at the conclusion than at the beginning of the discussion. In view of such unsatisfactory results Prof. Palmer inclines to Henry Sidgwick's opinion, that persons act substantially alike whether they are libertarians or determinists; but as the problem is one to which every generation returns he proceeds to discuss both sides of the opposed doctrines, very generously leaving us to decide for ourselves to which school we give our preference. This is most kind of the Professor. For while we follow his fascinating argument on "The Improbability of Freedom" we do not care to be bullied into feeling that all things are determined for us. And no more when our liberty of action is asserted, are we ready to acknowledge that we are responsible personally for the events of our lives. The Problem of Freedom is far deeper than philosophers and moralists have measured, and no individual is able to solve it for another. This our author nominally admits in his chapter on the "Mysteries of Freedom" when he states his own limitations in declaring himself a libertarian.

"When we approach one of these puzzling matters which have bewildered the ages," he says, "our proper course is first entire frankness and then a serious effort to work out where the center of difficulty lies."

And one of Prof. Palmer's charms is the "entire frankness" with which he treats a subject that really demands superhuman understanding. We may wrestle with its mysteries in an intellectual way, but we find ourselves inevitably running up

against unanswerable objections on the plane of human observation.

It appears to us a self-evident truth that the principles of determinism and libertarianism are so subtly interwrought that we may adopt neither without, in a degree, committing ourselves, however unconsciously, to the leadings of the other.

Because Prof. Palmer confesses himself "a moderate idealist" to whom "mind is no accident—but rather the originating and explanatory factor conditioning all," we find his arguments' delightful incentives to thought upon a topic so vast that we have no desire, in our little human way, of arriving at definite and dogmatic conclusions.

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Promised Land. By Mary Antin. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1912. Price, \$1.75 net.

—The Elements of Statistical Method. By Willford I. King. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Story of a Ploughboy. By James Bryce. Published by John Lane Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.25 net, postage, 12 cents.

—Sociological Study of the Bible. By Louis Wallis. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Marcus Alonzo Hanna. His Life and Work. By Herbert Croly. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$2.50 net.

—Scum o' the Earth and Other Poems. By Robert Haven Schaufler. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1912. Price, \$1.00 net.

—The Science of Poetry and the Philosophy of Language. By Hudson Maxim. Published by Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York and London. 1910. Price, \$2.50; postage prepaid.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

The School Journal: Parts I, II and III for Classes I to VI. Published by the Education Department of New Zealand, Wellington, N. Z. March, 1912.

An Outline of the European Co-operative Credit Systems. Published by the International Institute of Agriculture, G. Lorenzoni, Secretary, Rome. 1912.

The Socialist Party in the November Elections. By Robert F. Hoxie. Reprinted from The Journal of Political Economy of March, 1912. Published by The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Review of Legislative Proceedings of Session of 1911. by Joint Legislative Committee of Direct Legislation League of Washington State Federation of Labor, Farmers' Union, State Grange.

The Initiative and Referendum: Necessary Aids to True Representative Government. By George H. Duncan. Published for the New Hampshire Direct Legislation League, George H. Duncan, Secretary, East Jaffrey, N. H. Price, 5 cents.

PERIODICALS

The Bookman.

The Bookman (New York) seems to be waking up. This old established conservative magazine, which has made itself an authority for dignified criticism of literature and kindred art forms, but which for the last decade at least has kept its pages free from all contact with the burning public questions of the day, as if in fear of any touch of progressive thought, has recently printed articles which indicate an awakening. Not long ago a remarkable contribution under the title "Proletaire" marked the opening of this new era. The March number contains a most sympathetic and understanding review of Tom L. Johnson's book, "My Story." The fact of such a book receiving attention in the Bookman's pages at all was novelty enough; the manner in which it is handled completes the surprise. The writer of this review, which all those who knew Mayor Johnson's work will want to read, is George Middleton, a promising young playwright of New York city. Incidentally, Mr. Middleton is the son-in-law of Senator La-Follette.



The Christian Science Monitor.

From its name, the Christian Science Monitor, published at Boston, is not uncommonly understood to be one of the organs of the Christian Science movement, somewhat as most religious publications are denominational organs, but this is a misapprehension. The Monitor is a national daily newspaper, and a model newspaper it has become. It stands for clean journalism, not so much by profession as many other newspapers do, but firmly so in fact. Avoiding the sensational, it gathers the news that is worth while and of general interest, and comments with editorial fairness. Although it carries a religious article daily, its recognition of readers' rights is so sensitive that these articles are distinguished in such manner that no one who buys the paper for its journalistic merits may find himself a victim of proselyting. He may read the religious article or ignore it, at his own will. We are moved to say this of the Monitor, because we have found in it one of the few really good newspapers of this country, a judgment which is confirmed by the opinions of readers outside the religious body whose name it bears.



The French Singletax Review.

Writing under the date of March 10, Mr. Georges Darien, editor of "La Revue de L'Impot Unique," says: "A legislative election is taking place in Paris at the end of the present month (the present member having unexpectedly resigned his seat), and it has been resolved that I shall be a candidate. I have no hope of winning the seat—as our propaganda has not been carried on long enough—but it will create a great agitation around our ideas; and we shall be able to see exactly to what extent our doctrines catch the people at large. . . . My electoral campaign will bear exclusively upon the taxation of land values." In view of the political contest the April num-

ber of the review is given over chiefly to a restatement of elementary principles. On page 10 appear interesting portraits of Quesnay, Turgot and Henry George. The Singletax League presents its candidate for the establishment of "Liberty, Happiness and Justice for all by a Single Tax on Land Values." They hold out to the disinherited the hope of becoming in fact citizens of France and not merely exiles on French soil. The candidate sums up his declaration of principles with, "Justice for all, special privilege for none. I do not promise you victory," he adds. "That does not depend upon me. But I promise you a fight. And when we shall have obliged our enemies—the speculators who are enemies of their country—to unmask, we shall know where to strike—if we wish to live." The principal political groups in France are thus characterized: The Conservative, or

Nationalist party, which claims a monopoly of patriotism, is in reality concerned with the continuance of a more substantial sort of monopoly. "In fact, it is the party of satisfied appetites. The Radicals or Radical Socialists form the most important party numerically. When they were in the minority they offered a programme which was acceptable as a point of departure, however incomplete. But since gaining power they have abandoned their programme and exhausted their energies in the anti-clerical campaign. Content with the spoils of office, they offer small hope of reform. As for the Socialist party, it is five years since Mr. Clemenceau, then premier, challenged Mr. Jaurès to state what he would do if called to power. The Socialist leader, unprepared with an immediate answer, offered to present a plan of action in six months, but it has never seen the light.

Dollar Diplomacy.



Sketch by Charles Johnson Post.

"Socialism has no clear-conception or practical idea. . . . It has always been incapable of explaining the question of property," and is blind to the gulf between property in land and other kinds of property. A free lance, not to be beguiled by the empty catch words of existing parties, Mr. Darien entered the lists as an Individualist Republican.

F. W. GARRISON.



"Having rallied my troops," said the Red Knight, "I will now march to settle the Trust problem at the head of my invincible army."

"You mean invincible, don't you?" said Alice.

"I mean invincible," replied the Red Knight. "Because we always march to battle convinced that we shall be robbed of the fruits of victory."

"Then why fight at all?" said Alice.

The Red Knight looked at her in astonishment. "If we don't fight, how can we cry fraud afterwards?"

"But you don't absolutely have to cry fraud, do you?" said Alice, timidly.

For the first time since their acquaintance the Red Knight grew sarcastic. "If you can tell me any other way we can keep up our spirits, I'd be much obliged," he said. . . .

The Red Knight gave the signal and the invincible army started out. Soon they came to two finger-posts pointing in the same direction. One finger-post said: "To the House of Good Trust," and the other finger-post said: "To the House of Bad Trust."

Alice thought that was very odd, but she resolved she'd wait until they came to a crossing. But when

they did the road on the left had no guide-post at all, and the two fingers continued to point down the other road.

"Do Good Trust and Bad Trust both live in the same house?" asked Alice.

"I shouldn't be surprised," said the Red Knight, and they marched on till they came to New Jersey. —The New York Nation of April 4.



Two women were leaving the theater after a performance of "The Doll's House."

"Oh, don't you love Ibsen?" asked one ecstatically.

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successful? Do you want to get in touch with other progressive democrats and singletaxers? If you do advertise your meetings in **The Public**. Notices of meetings can be received up to noon on Monday preceding day of issue (Friday).

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Next Sunday, April 21st, is the date to bring all your friends and come yourself to hear BENJAMIN FAY MILLS at 11 a. m. at the Whitney Opera House. You will find the faithful already there. It is fast becoming the Mecca of progressive Chicago. Mr. Mills' topic next Sunday will be

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On May 3rd, 8 p. m., Schiller Hall, Schiller Bldg., Charles Frederick Adams will lecture on "How Shall Capital and Labor Be Reconciled?"

Come yourself and bring your friends.

James B. Ellery, Sec.

The Single Taxers of Chicago

And their friends will dine at the **Union Restaurant** (2nd floor), 70 West Randolph Street, every Friday evening at 6.30 o'clock, beginning April 19. **Dinner a la carte.**

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

A **Progressive Euchre**, under auspices Single Tax League of Maryland, (Francis I. Mooney, President), for the benefit of "Joseph Fels Fund of America, to Abolish Poverty," Tuesday Evening, April 30th, at 8 o'clock. Claggett's Hall, 614 N. Fremont Ave., near Edmondson Ave. Tickets 50 cents.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Pennsylvania Single Tax League. Special Notice — Commencing Sunday, May 5, the League will meet on the first, instead of the second Sunday afternoon of each month at 2:30 p. m., on the first floor of 1414 Arch Street. An open air meeting will also be held every Sunday Evening, on the City Hall Plaza, beginning this date. Royd Eastwood Morrison, Secretary, 50 N. Hobart St.

BOSTON, MASS.

Professor Lewis Jerome Johnson of Harvard University, will speak on "Singletax," at the School of Social Science, Perkins Hall, 264 Boylston Street, Boston, on Wednesday, April 24, at 8 P. M. Admission Free.

GALESBURG, ILL.

Louis F. Post, Editor The Public, will speak at Galesburg, Ill., on "Womanhood and Politics," Friday, April 26.

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"Are there dragons, mother?"
"Oh, no, dear."
"Why not?"

—Punch.

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