

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Governor Folk for the Cabinet.

Were Governor Folk invited into President Wilson's official family, there are Democratic leaders who wouldn't like it. But there are others who would. The former are of the reactionary group and amount to little except for wire-pulling; the latter are progressives and amount to much in these stirring times. As the reactionaries will leave no stone unturned to keep Folk out of the Cabinet, progressive Democrats the whole country over should bestir themselves for Folk's appointment. It isn't fair to leave President Wilson to bear the burden alone, of disgruntling the reactionary elements of his party. He should know in advance that he will have the hearty approval of democratic Democrats.



Governor Folk was the original choice of the progressive Democrats of his State for President, and is clearly of Cabinet size. His whole public record testifies to his soundness as a fundamental democrat, and to his fidelity, courage and skill as a public official. Were he at the head of the Department of the Interior, as progressive Democrats of Missouri are hoping he may be, President Wilson could feel at ease about that happy hunting ground of the Interests. With Folk as game keeper, there wouldn't be any poaching. Folk's appointment to any Cabinet position would be opposed, to be sure, by the dominant Democrats

of Missouri. But who are they? Senator Stone's "old guard." Perhaps Mr. Wilson ought to be politically grateful to Senator Stone for having got Speaker Clark into a hole during the pre-convention campaign in connection with Bryan's famous question which Wilson answered frankly. But Mr. Wilson isn't famous for this kind of gratitude, glory be! And why should any State dictate Cabinet opportunities? The President's Cabinet is of national, not of mere State concern. To allow Stone's "old guard" to determine a Cabinet appointment for Missouri, whether by thrusting the wrong Missourian in or elbowing the right Missourian out, would be stultifying.



That President Wilson will consider Folk for the Cabinet upon his merits as a sincere and able Democrat of the progressive variety, and of national character, is a reasonable inference from the public career of both men. It remains for influential progressive Democrats of the country to assure the incoming President of their support, if in making this selection he offends influential reactionaries of his party—in Missouri or anywhere else.



Wilson versus Smith in New Jersey.

A clear line between Governor Wilson progressives and "Jim" Smith reactionaries was drawn last week in the Democratic caucus for Speaker of the House in the New Jersey legislature. It is in favor of the "Jim" Smiths, but by a narrow margin. The candidate representing Wilson policies was Charles O'Connor Hennessy, a Democrat who is so much more democratic than the regular brand that at the polls he draws more democrats of other parties to him than he drives away reactionaries of his own party. He was defeated by only 4 votes in a caucus vote of 51—26 for Taylor, 22 for Hennessy, and 3 for Holcombe. It seems that Mr. Hennessy could have been elected by making a "Jim" Smith deal but wouldn't make it. The Bergen News vouches for the truth of that highly probable inference. "Having the prize within his grasp," says The News of the 4th, "by acquiescence in the demands of a most obnoxious and discredited boss, Mr. Hennessy spurned the honor which must thus be bought with the taint of a sacrifice of principle." The News adds this sensible comment: "His friends and admirers can glory more in his defeat under these circumstances than in his success at the dictation of the Interests from which the hard work of Governor Wilson and the independent

Democrats have wrested control." Allied with the "Jim" Smiths were the liquor interests of the State, of course; for had not Mr. Hennessy stood against them and for local option in the last legislature? One New Jersey paper wonders if this "Jim" Smith victory may not be the beginning of a party difference that will put Democrats in New Jersey "somewhat in the same position as that now occupied by the Republicans and Progressives on the other side of the political fence?" Let all democratic Democrats hope so. The body of that political death which "Jim" Smith typifies in New Jersey is a grievous burden for the Democratic Party to bear.



The Glory of Governor Blease.

It is the great glory of the present Governor of South Carolina that while he might have been born into almost any estate, he chose to be born a white man. Would that there were a Gilbert yet living to sing his praises. Governor Blease can not sing them well himself, but he thinks without ceasing of this wonderful fact in his career; and at the Richmond Conference of Governors his language about it in public speech was coarse. But coarse language is only a sort of outer apparel. It does not make the man, though it may advertise him. Coarse purposes are worse than coarse language. They are all the worse if criminal. And Governor Blease's coarseness at Richmond was criminal, in purpose as well as expression. He had defined a policy, as Governor, of protecting lynchers of Negroes accused of abhorrent crime, and when asked if he had not taken an oath to uphold the Constitution of his State and if this did not require him to protect the rights of Negroes as well as other citizens to fair trials upon accusations of crime, he replied: "To hell with the Constitution!" Governor Blease appears to be one of those pitiful men who waste their minds in proud contemplation and boastful publication of the fact that they were not born black. Have they nothing more in the way of accident to be proud of, and nothing at all in the way of achievement?



Rural Credits.

With characteristic simplicity, President Taft has put in concise words the rural credit scheme with which Big Business is trying to chain farmers to its triumphal chariots. The object of the rural credit scheme is to capitalize the "unearned increment" of farm lands in the same great stock-gambling pool in which the "unearned incre-

ments" of railroads, mines and trustified factories are now capitalized. Mr. Taft puts it in this way, to quote from his speech to a deputation of 26 State Governors at the White House on the 7th: "The farmer engaged in producing crops should be able, in view of the value of what he produces *and the value of the land on which it is produced*, to obtain money *on the faith of the land* and the faith of the product, which will enable him," etc., etc. There is, of course, no serious objection to capitalizing farms in this fluid fashion. On the contrary, if done legitimately, it might be a very good thing for farmers and everybody else. Borrowing by farmers is now an old-fashioned, expensive and rackets performance. It is still in the stage-coach era of commercial life. No doubt great economic benefits would result from legitimate methods of "stocking" and "bonding" farms; but only disaster would result if the stocks or the bonds represented indistinguishably "the value of the land," to quote Mr. Taft, and also "the value of what he [the farmer] produces." As the railroad problem today is a monopoly-riddle, chiefly because paper titles to railways do not distinguish between the value of artificial equipment and the value of natural rights-of-way, so would the farm problem come to be a monopoly-riddle if farms were "stocked" and "bonded" without making titles to the land values and the industry values of farms distinct. And farmers themselves would be among the principal sufferers. They would become tenants of stock-exchange customers.



An Illinois Constitutional Convention.

Whether or not a Constitutional convention for Illinois should be called, is not now "the question before the house." The present agitation for it has a suspicious sound; all the more so, because it comes from suspicious directions. There should be no Constitutional convention in Illinois until the people have had an opportunity to instruct it on the question of Initiative and Referendum. Twice have the people of Illinois demanded this reform under the advisory Initiative, and been ignored by jackpot legislatures. There should no longer be any trifling. With the Progressive and Socialist legislators all favoring it, the Democrats all instructed for it, and the Governor pledged to it, the Initiative and Referendum amendment should be submitted at the next election, and the resolution submitting it should be adopted by the legislature before spring. If a Constitutional convention is called at all, it should not be called until that amendatory resolution is adopted by

the legislature, nor for a time earlier than the election at which the people are to vote upon the resolution. Meanwhile, let La Salle-street keep due silence. Its demand for fake tax reforms and its recent demonstration of affection for a Constitutional convention are in the same category of deceptive noises.



Tricky Bookkeeping.

An arbitration proceeding between the Chicago traction companies and their employes over the question of wages and working conditions, has developed some interesting facts of general concern. The capital value of one of these lines—\$21,000,000 when the "partnership with the city" was established by the ordinances of 1907 which were adopted over Mayor Dunne's veto—had risen in 1910 to \$39,465,240. About half of this increase is pure graft. Tabulating so as to distinguish graft from investment, one may find this condition:

Capital value in April, 1910.....	\$39,465,240
Capital value in April, 1907.....	21,000,000
<hr/>	
Total increase in capital value.....	\$18,465,240
New equipment from 1907 to 1910.....	8,663,138
<hr/>	
Capital value unaccounted for by new equipment	\$ 9,802,102
Old equipment replaced by the new....	6,047,739
<hr/>	
Capital value still unaccounted for.....	\$ 3,754,363



Here we have \$3,754,363 as the increased value in three years of—what? Evidently of the franchise which the city gave to its traction partner when it rebuked Mayor Dunne by adopting the Morgan ordinances and electing the unspeakable Busse. This increase alone is nearly 13 per cent on the investment, and that ought to be graft enough to satisfy even the Chicago traction grabbers. But it isn't. They actually retain, as part of their capitalization fund, the book-value of property that has no value at all, having gone completely out of existence. To do so is said to be legitimate. But how can it be legitimate to base net profits on non-existent capital? Is it anything but a bookkeeping trick? In no competitive business can the book values of replaced property be treated as capital. Manufacturers or merchants who did not "write off" the value of old equipment when "writing on" the value of new equipment substituted for the old, would be undersold by competitors and driven into bankruptcy. Why, then, should the Chicago traction monopolists be allowed to treat dead and gone cap-

ital as alive? It enables them to defraud the city, which is entitled to 55 per cent of *net* profits. It enables them to oppress employes by exhibiting lower bookkeeping profits than they really make and thereupon to plead inability to pay better wages. City accountants who approve this kind of bookkeeping, unless the ordinances expressly require it, would serve the public more appropriately in jail than in the City Hall.



Women in Politics.

Men who oppose equal suffrage on the ground that woman's place is at home rather than at the ballot box, take the position, perhaps unwittingly, that ballot-box questions bear no relation to home questions. Women who oppose equal suffrage on the same ground take the position, perhaps without thinking, that home questions are in no way related to ballot-box questions. That was not the view of the thinking women of California. In a 60-word circular letter to the women of that State, the California Women's League for Home Rule in Taxation expressed the truth about the home very clearly, saying: "Vote for the Home Rule in Taxation amendment, the 8th on the ballot. It enables any county, city, town or district to adopt any system of taxation. Every authority recognizes that our existing system is unjust and unrighteous. The homes bear the burden of taxation, and through this measure will get such relief as the people by their votes adopt." What committee of men issued a better campaign circular this year? It is not an appeal to the emotions or to prejudice. It is an appeal to thoughtful voters and to those mistaken voters who would "protect the home from the polluting influence of the ballot."



Carrie Neal Erickson of Seattle.

Among the leading men of the Pacific coast, Oliver T. Erickson, of the City Council of Seattle, whose name is worthily familiar to Singletaxers everywhere, is one who can suffer no such sorrow as the death of his wife without the sympathy of all who know him personally and of thousands whom he has never seen. Mrs. Erickson was tirelessly active and intelligently interested in all that concerned their common life, from home and fireside to the forum and the polls. They were married in Massachusetts twenty-three years ago. After living eleven years in Minneapolis, they made their home in Seattle, where Mrs. Erickson died on Thanksgiving day. To her life Mr. Erickson pays this modest tribute in a letter to a friend:

"Through all the years we have lived together she has been an ardent Singletaxer. The faithful in this movement from far and near were welcome guests in her home. Besides Henry George and his wife, many of the old time Singletaxers have broken bread at her table. About a year ago, visiting in British Columbia, she enjoyed the satisfaction of being in a land where the cause for which she had labored was taking root. A lover of good and beautiful things, the best of books were her companions and flowers an endless source of joy; and though the sunshine she spread in her home has vanished, it can only have sunk below our horizon to glow in other realms."



THE REASON BEHIND REVOLUTIONS.

There is that in human nature which waits and endures. It has come down along the toil-roads of ten thousand years—it is wonderful Patience, and immense Obedience to Those Who Rule. These long abide by the Social Order, even while that which is, trembles on the edges of death. Wise men, trying to better things, depend upon this reservoir of Conservatism, which perhaps gives them time in which to work out some truly great result. Evil and selfish men yet more depend upon it to enable them to put new burdens on the millions.

Everywhere and in all ages this great fact warns, appalls and still gives hope—the vast but not limitless endurance of our brothers and our sisters. Because of this, narrow-minded statesmen make war—for soldiers will answer the call, and nations will give their mouthfuls of bread to meet new taxes. But some day the man on whom the weight falls will stop, will question, will make an end; not in passion, but because he has appealed to that which really rules the world of men—the Sense of Justice of the Average Man—and has received a decision against war.



The lesson of history is that all human endurance, all human conventions and close-knit systems, may at last wear down to the bone, and then suddenly collapse. One need not remark, "There was the French Revolution." Sometime, if the strong wisdom of those who study these things be not heeded, there may come a breaking up of all the old boundaries on such a scale as to make the Reign of Terror seem but an idle masque in an Italian garden.

The reason behind every revolution is ever the

same: Too great a strain has been somewhere put upon human nature; obedience to the established order becomes impossible. Then chaos comes again; demons ride on the whirlwinds; image-breakers wreck the cathedrals; emirs on horseback burn Alexandrine libraries; the sands of the deserts cover gardens and vineyards; Vesuvius pours forth its lava on sleeping cities.

Safeguard against these disasters there is none, except the constant labor of those reformers whose watchwords are Education and Evolution, who fight to relieve the strain before it reaches the breaking point, who especially toil to so re-create and reinspire Law and Order that a loyal and joyous obedience is justified. In the last analysis this means the slow creation of higher and yet higher ideals of government, in which all take part, and to which all are willingly obedient.

Thus we arrive at a point of view where the Idealist and Reformer is in fact the only true Conservative, for he is transforming the ancient, out-worn order into the new order, without violent revolution. Also, as it appears, the person who opposes all change is the one who sows the wind and reaps the sirocco. He it is who fosters and brings to pass every revolution.



But, one asks, what is the reason behind every great change in human affairs? By what standard are the mighty forces of life measured? Ah! but that is an easy question to one who lives among men. The ultimate Court of Appeal dwells unseen, eternal, sleeplessly ready to give reply in the Hour of Fate. It is the Sense of Justice which abides within the Average Man's heart, and passes judgment in the end upon individuals and systems. It is that which when a man is dead fixes his place forever in the minds of his neighbors. It is that which sometimes says to human endurance: "It is enough—stand aside so that the old order may pass away." It is the "Reason behind Revolution"; but it is infinitely more, that which prevents revolution.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



FEDERATED CHURCHES.

Gatherings of religious people within recent years have been dominated more and more by the social-problem interest. A startling illustration in many respects is the inter-denominational Church Council held in Chicago during the week after December 3rd. The various Protestant bodies, held apart hitherto by differences in doctrine and

polity, are now for the first time coming together on the basis of a common interest.

The significant thing is, that the ground of their common interest is the social problem.

The rank and file of church people belong to the non-privileged economic classes; and it is the inarticulate pressure of the rank and file, reinforced by the growing indifference of the "working classes," that stands below the vast religious revolution which is going forward in our times. This revolution, considered as a "church" fact, is not significant by reason of the adoption of any fixed program of social reform. Such a thing would be practically impossible. The central emphasis of the new movement is upon the church as the sanctuary of an idealism which embraces the rights and welfare of the downmost man. Its fundamental meaning is the reassertion of democracy, in its broadest sense, as one of the ruling forces in religion.

The student of current history must therefore interpret the Council just closed, not in view of its specific "actions," but in the light of the awakening idealism and social passion which it represents. And inasmuch as we are living in a period of transition from one age to another, we should not be at all surprised to find that many divergent interests were expressed in the different gatherings and sessions of this Council.

All attitudes of mind were on exhibit, from advanced insurgency to reactionary standpatism.

Standpatism was exemplified by a politician who announced that preachers ought to have nothing to say about politics, and who held the church up to view as a hospital where sick souls are made well by a mysterious medicine administered by doctors who know more about the other world than they do about the one in which we live. This address, by the Vice-President-elect of the United States, was perhaps the most incongruous feature of the Council. But it serves as a kind of background showing the distance from which the church of today has moved.

Strongly in contrast with Mr. Marshall's attitude was the wholesome insurgency which found its most conspicuous representative in the Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch of the Rochester Theological Seminary and the Rev. Thomas C. Hall of Union.

LOUIS WALLIS.



THREE CENT FARES IN CLEVELAND.

In its issue of September last, the Public Service Magazine, published at Chicago and devoted

to electricity, gas, water, transportation and tele-phones, printed this editorial statement under the title of "Half Million Deficit in Three Cent Fares":

Three-cent car fares in Cleveland, O., has shown a deficit of \$503,288.08 since the Taylor grant went into operation, March 1, 1910, according to Finance of that city. For 15 months of that time there was a penny charge for transfers. These figures were presented to the directors of the Cleveland Railway Co. at the August monthly meeting. The July report showed a book deficit of \$20,533.23 and an actual deficit of \$18,684.27. The actual book deficit under 3-cent fare has totaled \$76,156.81. This leaves the interest fund at \$423,843.19. The big deficit is in the maintenance and operating funds. Since the inception of the Taylor grant a deficit of \$293,936.51 has piled up in the maintenance fund, the allowances under the ordinance falling by that much to meet the expenditures. The operating fund has fallen short \$133,194.76. The two funds show a total deficit of \$427,131.27. The company is expected to ask the council next fall to increase these allowances, so as to make up these deficits. If such increases were granted 3-cent fare would be in danger. The directors extended the date before which subscriptions for the \$3,015,000 stock issue must be made, from September 1 to October 1. Treasurer H. J. Davies appears before the State Utility Commission at Columbus to show cause for the stock issue.

Widely published, that article has brought us inquiries as to its truthfulness, and we have obtained from Peter Witt, City Street Railroad Commissioner of Cleveland, the full reply quoted below.

Mr. Witt's reply is in substance, that *the article quoted above is false.*



Following is Mr. Witt's reply in full. It is based upon his official knowledge as Street Railroad Commissioner:

The article in the September number of the Public Service Magazine, to which my attention has been called, charging that the Cleveland three-cent fare railway system is burdened with a half-million-dollar deficit, is merely another one of those many idiotic lies that franchise interests and their subsidized newspapers have persistently peddled ever since Tom Johnson first began his fight to liberate American cities from the feudalism of privately owned public utilities.

The simplest answer is that there is not a grain of truth in it. It is an absolute, downright falsehood. If inquiries did not emanate from public-spirited people throughout the country who simply want the facts, I wouldn't dignify the obviously dishonest character of the article with a reply. But here are the facts, from the books of the Cleveland Railway Company, as briefly and simply as I can put them:

The company is allowed an average of 5 cents a car mile for maintaining and renewing its property—a larger allowance than any metropolitan system in America has.

The ordinance also provides that if this allowance

is not fully spent in a given month, it shall be credited to the Maintenance and Renewal Fund; if the allowance is exceeded, the excess shall be charged to the Fund. In other words, this Fund never loses its identity. It must always be used for keeping the system up to a high standard of repair, and it is automatically replenished or diminished as the monthly expenditures for maintenance are light or heavy.

At the expiration of the grant, or upon purchase by the city, the allowances and the actual expenditures for maintenance will be balanced. If the allowances exceed the expenditures, the capital value of the property will be diminished by the difference; if the allowances fall short of the expenditures, capital value will be increased to the amount of the deficit.

During the first two years, extraordinary maintenance charges, due to the fact that little had been spent by the Receivers who managed the property before the Cleveland Railway Company resumed control, caused a "deficit" in the Maintenance Fund. Lax supervision on the part of the then Street Railroad Commissioner also contributed to the over-drafts on this Fund. The company went through a transition period under difficulties which it never again will have to experience.

Hence, when the Baker administration took office January 1, 1912, there was this so-called "deficit" in the Maintenance Fund. That this "deficit" means nothing was soon demonstrated. The company had passed the stage of extraordinary charges due to the need of sudden and excessive rehabilitation. The property was back to the normal ratio of renewal.

As a result, the "deficit" of \$343,550.07, as of January 1, 1912, had been diminished in October to \$282,854.71, on account of monthly surpluses in the Maintenance Fund, and bade fair, in the course of 18 months, to be completely extinguished. After that, far from "deficits" in this Fund, we may almost certainly expect "surpluses," for the maintenance allowances of the present ordinance are undoubtedly too high for ordinary maintenance.

The so-called "deficit" in the Operating Fund (Sept. 1, 1912) of \$135,599.24 is also misleading. Far from there being a deficit in this fund, there is an actual surplus. For months the company has been arbitrarily charging off a fixed sum to meet its various expenses. Most of these charge-offs are consumed in actual expenditures; but in the case of at least two accounts, the accident and insurance accounts, the credits have been far in excess of actual expenditures.

Accordingly on September 1st of this year there were unexpended reserves in the accident account of \$159,548.63, and \$48,996.09 in the insurance account, or a total of \$208,544.72. In other words, this sum represents what has been set up, month by month, arbitrarily, as an operating expense, but which has not been spent and exists as an actual surplus.

Therefore, comparing the so-called "deficit" in the Operating Fund with the actual surplus of \$208,544.72, there was a net surplus in operation of \$72,945.48.

Nor is this subject to the objection that good financing requires reserves to be carried along in

these accounts. The traction ordinance has provided for unusual contingencies by establishing an Interest Fund of \$500,000 to be utilized in taking care of extraordinary operating charges. When this Fund is drained to the level of \$300,000, the rate of fare automatically goes up a notch; in the present case, the rate of fare would remain at 3 cents, but there would be a penny charge for a transfer. Conversely, if the Interest Fund is augmented by surpluses above operating and fixed charges, it produces a reduction of the rate of fare to the next lower notch. Finally, the fact that the company has agreed practically to extinguish the bookkeepers' operating "deficit" by utilizing the above-mentioned surplus, shows that there never was a foundation for these arbitrary charges against operation.

Lastly, we come to the so-called "deficit" in the Interest Fund. I have just explained the purpose of this Fund, and this "deficit" of \$78,301.55 represents the alleged amount by which the original sum in the Fund, \$500,000, has been diminished by deductions to meet excessive operating charges, which receipts were unable to take care of. I have just shown, however, that excessive operating charges were made up entirely of reserves which the company arbitrarily and without authority of law had set up and charged against operation. Since the ordinance states that all earnings over and above operating and maintenance allowances and fixed charges shall go into the Interest Fund, and since the above-mentioned reserves are in reality unexpended earnings of precisely the nature the ordinance specifies should go into the Interest Fund, the real condition of the Interest Fund is reflected thus: \$421,708.45 + \$208,544.72 = \$630,253.17.

In a nutshell, then, 3-cent fare had to contend at the beginning of the present franchise, with heavy financial burdens entailed by extraordinary maintenance requirements, due to the fact that the property had run down in part. This period is now over, and the surpluses that are now being shown indicate that the present rate of fare—3 cents and universal transfers—will be maintained. Certainly, the rate of fare in Cleveland will never be more than 3 cents and a penny charge for the first transfer. This the company's officers freely admit.

In the meantime, the fact that the car-riders of Cleveland this year will save \$4,000,000 in reduced fares, while getting transportation facilities and service that is not excelled in all America, ought to be ominous news to the army of mendacious franchise-hogs, and an inspiring message to the struggling citizens of the various municipalities where the fight is now going on against plundering public service corporations.



Since the Cleveland Street Railroad Commissioner's letter just quoted, the following report of the condition of the "Concon," as the Cleveland traction system is often called in Cleveland, appeared in the Cleveland Press of November 16th:

So successful, financially, was the Concon in October that prospect of any raise in fare was shoved into the distant future. An actual surplus of \$28,993.60 and an ordinance surplus of \$11,242.28 piled

up, Concon directors learned Saturday at their monthly meeting. October, 1911, returned an ordinance deficit of \$41,370.65 and an actual deficit of \$27,712.63.

This year's showing was in spite of the fact that more car mileage was added in October than in any previous month under the Tayler grant. The car mileage increase amounted to 5 per cent, or 108,329 miles. Passenger traffic, however, increased 11 per cent and receipts 10 per cent.

Most of the surplus for the month was gained in the maintenance fund over expenditures, over which Tractioner Witt has direct control. In the operating account, over which Witt hasn't direct control, there was a small deficit, the company having spent 11.97 cents a car mile, though allowed only 11.50 cents.

The interest fund is now \$420,887.04. No raise in fare comes until it sinks to \$300,000.

The total passenger revenue of the Concon in October was \$589,238.67. Allowances for maintenance and operating were \$429,195.20, expenditures \$411,443.88.



It has become almost habitual for Big Business organs to make such misrepresentations about the 3-cent fare system of Cleveland as that which we have here refuted. We have run down several of them before.* This is another. Would it be unfair to suggest that all that class of misrepresentations are not only false in fact but false in intention and fraudulent in purpose?

*See Publics of July 2, 1911, page 675; July 21, 1911, pages 697, 747; October 27, 1911, page 1092; November 3, 1911, page 1114; and January 12, 1912, page 27.

CONDENSED EDITORIALS

DEMOCRATS, LOOK TO YOUR ARMOR!

From an Editorial by Samuel Danziger, in the Press Bulletin of The American Economic League, Blymyer Building, Cincinnati.

The victors at the Presidential election will do well to bear the proverb in mind: "Let him not boast who puts his armor on as he who takes his off."

Their hardest fight must still be made.

The Democratic Party must prove itself worthy of the honor conferred upon it. This can not be done by hedging on solemn promises and catering to reactionary sentiment.

There is still a large Tory element within the Party.

If fear of displeasing that element and of driving it into the opposition camp makes the party less progressive than it otherwise would be, it will deserve to lose the confidence and support of every progressive voter.

In all probability the Party will be compelled to choose between Toryism and Progress.

The choice cannot be evaded by attempts at compromise.

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, December 10, 1912.

For a National Referendum.

Senator Bristow of Kansas introduced in the Senate of the United States on the 4th, resolutions proposing two amendments to the Federal Constitution, one providing for a special form of the Initiative, the other for a Recall of judicial decisions. The proposed Initiative would permit the President to submit to popular vote at any Congressional election any measure he had proposed to Congress, and upon which Congress had neglected to act for six months. The proposed Recall provides that if the Supreme Court shall decide a law enacted by Congress to be in violation of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, Congress at a regular session held after such decision may submit the act to the people at a regular Congressional election. But these amendments, as proposed, would require that the affirmative of any question submitted must, as a condition of its adoption, receive a majority of the popular vote in a majority of the States and in a majority of the Congressional districts. The resolutions were referred to the judiciary committee.



President Taft's Messages.

President Taft sent to Congress on the 3rd the first of a series of messages he intends to submit during the present short session. This message deals exclusively with foreign relations, both political and industrial. His second message, submitted on the 6th, deals with the finances of the government, the business conditions of the country including currency reform, and with colonial relations, the army and navy, the Panama Canal, and labor legislation. On the tariff question, President Taft states in his second message that inasmuch as "a new Congress has been elected on a tariff-for-revenue only rather than a protective tariff, and is to revise the tariff on that basis, it is needless for him "to occupy the time of this Congress with arguments or recommendations in favor of a protective tariff."



The Progressive Party.

A post-election national Conference of leaders in the Progressive Party met at Chicago on the 10 for a two days' session. The Conference was

called to order by Joseph M. Dixon, chairman of the national committee, whereupon Mr. Roosevelt made an address. At the afternoon session Miss Jane Addams was chairman, and at a dinner at the Auditorium in the evening, Alfred L. Baker presided. A comprehensive plan of organization, proposed by Miss Jane Addams, was considered at the afternoon session. [See current volume, page 1119.]



On the 9th, the day preceding the national Conference, there was an Illinois conference between the Progressive State committee and the Progressive members of the State legislature. In addressing this meeting Mr. Roosevelt advised against combinations with either of the old parties in the legislature.



Republican Reorganization.

Washington dispatches of the 7th stated that twelve Governors of States were in consultation there on that day over questions of reorganizing the Republican Party. Those who attended were Goldsborough of Maryland, Hadley of Missouri, Oddie of Nevada, Tener of Pennsylvania, Glascock of West Virginia, Eberhart of Minnesota, Carroll of Iowa, Hanna of North Dakota, McGovern of Wisconsin, Spry of Utah, Vessey of South Dakota, and Carey of Wyoming. The principal specific subject discussed is reported to have been the advisability of calling for a meeting of the Republican national committee with a view to holding, immediately prior to the Congressional campaign of 1914, a national convention of the Party for the purpose of agreeing upon a platform on which both the progressives and conservatives in the party can unite.



Campaign Expenses.

Accounts of campaign expenses filed in Congress pursuant to law show the following disbursements, as reported in Washington dispatches of the 8th:

For and by candidates for the Presidency.	\$4,283,645
For and by candidates for the Senate.....	110,000
For and by candidates for the House.....	1,334,955

Total	\$5,728,601
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The total includes everything reported in the primary and election campaigns. During the Presidential pre-convention campaign last Spring the sworn testimony of campaign managers shows that the three Republican candidates, Roosevelt, Taft, and La Follette, engaged in a struggle costing \$791,684, and the four Democratic candidates, Wilson, Harmon, Clark, and Underwood, in a struggle which cost \$441,626, a total of \$1,233,310. The election campaign was more expensive.

The disbursements of the various national committees as reported to the House of Representatives were as follows.

Democratic Party.....	\$1,134,848
Republican Party.....	1,092,699
Progressive Party.....	665,500
Socialist, Prohibition, etc.....	157,288
Total	\$3,050,335

The receipts in all cases were slightly greater than the expenditures. The Democratic committee has a little over \$25,000 remaining in its treasury; the Republican committee about \$5,000; the Progressive committee, \$11,000; and the miscellaneous committees, \$33,000. [See current volume, pages 1043, 1065.]



Election Results—The Presidency.

According to latest reports from California, Mr. Roosevelt will receive 11 out of the 13 Electoral votes of that State, the other two being for Mr. Wilson. The popular plurality for Roosevelt in California, as shown by the highest vote for electors, is now unofficially stated to be 174. [See current volume, page 1138.]



Election Results—Direct Legislation.

No returns are yet at hand on direct legislation results, except as already reported in these columns. Few of a trustworthy character in respect of details are likely to be available until officially published by the respective State authorities. Such as have been reported in the news dispatches cannot be relied upon except as to general results; and even as to general results, some reports prove to be incorrect—the result in Oregon, for instance, on certain anti-Singletax amendments too swiftly reported by their advocates to have been carried, having in fact been defeated. [See current volume, pages 1091, 1115, 1138, 1158.]



The Governors' Conference.

The convention of Governors of States met at Richmond last week. A sensational flavor was given the meeting in the news reports because Governor Blease, of South Carolina, defended the lynching of Negroes accused of assaults upon white women. When questioned as to official obligations in this respect under his State Constitution, he retorted: "To hell with the Constitution." By a vote of 14 to 4 on the 6th a resolution of rebuke, declaring against mob violence and for impartial enforcement of the law, was adopted. The minority vote was cast on the ground, not of approval of Governor Blease's position, but of the incompetency of the Conference to rebuke any Governor. Governor O'Neal, of Oklahoma, made

a strong speech against Governor Blease's position and in support of the obligation of every Governor to enforce the laws of his State. Governor Blease reiterated his former statement. Uniform State legislation with reference to farm bonds for listing on stock exchanges was recommended by the Conference on the 6th. The next Conference is to meet at Colorado Springs. [See current volume, page 1164.]



The Council of Churches.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America closed its second quadrennial meeting on the 9th at Chicago. Various subjects were considered, including questions of evangelism, family life, sanitation, marriage and divorce, and social justice. A platform carefully prepared and on the 7th enthusiastically adopted by a committee of the Council, was adopted by the Council on the 9th with only a few minor alterations. The substance of this platform is as follows:

The churches must stand:

For equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life.

For the protection of the family by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage and proper housing.

For the fullest possible development for every child, especially by the provision of proper education and recreation.

For the abolition of child labor.

For such regulation of the conditions of toll for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.

For the abatement and prevention of poverty.

For the protection of the individual and society from the social, economic and moral waste of the liquor traffic.

For the conservation of health.

For the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases and mortality.

For the right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, for safeguarding this right against encroachments of every kind, and for the protection of workers from the hardships of enforced unemployment.

For suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury.

For the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.

For a release from employment one day in seven.

For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.

For a living wage as a minimum in every industry and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.

For the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised.

In this Council, 32 Protestant denominations were represented. Originally it was confined to Protestant denominations, but at the present quad-

rennial meeting the word "Protestant" was eliminated from its declaration of objects so as to open the way for the co-operation of all churches. Its objects under the amended declaration are:

1. To express the fellowship and catholic unity of the Christian church.
2. To bring the Christian bodies of America into united service for Christ and the world.
3. To encourage devotional fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and religious activities of the churches.
4. To secure a larger combined influence for the churches of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social conditions of the people.

[See current volume, page 1164.]



The Vocational School Question in Illinois.

"Commercial and Industrial Education" was the subject of the Fourth Conference of the Western Economic Society held in Chicago December 6 and 7, and the same subject was prominent in the Chicago Principals' Club also on the 7th. At the Conference—during part of which Charles H. Winslow of the Federal Bureau of Labor presided *pro tem*—several educators spoke on the method of introducing vocational studies into public education. The so-called "Cooley plan"—which in Illinois proposes to establish by legislative enactment separate vocational schools, aided by State funds and administered by a separate vocational Board to be composed of two representatives of skilled labor, two employers of labor, and three educators—was presented and advocated by Edwin G. Cooley, former Superintendent of Schools in Chicago. Emphatically opposed to this plan was William J. Bogan, Principal of the Lane Technical High School of Chicago, who read a paper before the Conference, and Hiram L. Loomis, Principal of the Hyde Park High School, who took part in the discussion. Eugene Davenport, Dean of Agriculture in the University of Illinois, in his address showed himself also a strong opponent of any separation of vocational from other schools, speaking in particular against the Page-Wilson bill—now for twelve years before Congress—which would grant Federal moneys to the States for separate agricultural and industrial schools. Other Illinoisans on the program included Francis G. Blair, Superintendent of Public Instruction of Illinois; William M. Roberts, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Chicago; Jane Addams; and Professors Charles H. Judd and Frank M. Leavitt, of the University of Chicago.



Peace in Santo Domingo.

The little Negro-Spanish West Indian Republic of Santo Domingo, apparently under some fear of more intervention on the part of the United States, has succeeded in establishing a compromise gov-

ernment under which she hopes to work out her revolutionary and financial problems. Eladio Victoria, elected President a year ago for the usual term of six years, resigned his office to the Dominican Congress on November 28th. All political prisoners were immediately released from confinement and hostilities were suspended. Archbishop Nouel was elected as Provisional President on the 1st, on a basis acceptable to both parties. Elections will be held within two years for the re-establishment of the regular government. [See current volume, page 1094.]



Armistice Closes the First Chapter of the Balkan War.

An armistice suspending hostilities was signed on the 3rd by Turkish and Bulgarian plenipotentiaries, the latter also representing Serbia and Montenegro. The absence of a formal assent to the armistice on the part of Greece gave rise at first to rumors of dissensions between the allies. It was said later, however, that Greece delayed, hoping to gain more territory in Epirus and to complete the capture of the island of Chios, also with intention of preventing Turkish reinforcements from reaching Thrace by sea, and that she either has since signed, or will practically observe the armistice. [See current volume, page 1159.]



The British government, through its foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, has invited the nations party to the war, and the great Powers having interests involved, to hold a peace conference in London for the settlement of the war and its related problems. The invitation has been accepted and the conference is set for Friday, the 13th, at the historic palace of St. James. The contesting nations will be represented by plenipotentiaries, and the ambassadors of the great Powers accredited at London will be charged with protecting the interests of their respective nations, and will also act as a sort of court of appeals, to watch, advise, and admonish the peace envoys.



One of the most difficult points at issue in the negotiations is Serbia's unquenchable determination to acquire an Adriatic seaport, as opposed to Austria's absolute resolve that she shall not obtain such a port. Austria is said to have 300,000 troops within striking distance of the Servian frontier, ready for a war over this seaport question. It was reported on the 9th that Austro-Hungarian authorities had stopped at Fiume (a Hungarian port on the Adriatic) 800 tons of flour destined for the Servian army at Durazzo, and would confiscate it for the Austrian army, though there is at present no declared war between the two nations.

Aeroplane experience on the part of the Bulgarians in the war just closing is to the effect that bombs dropped from aeroplanes readily set fire to a city or to large inflammable buildings, but can not be dropped with accuracy enough, keeping at safe heights from infantry fire, to hit battery positions or small bodies of troops. One French aviator, Dr. Jules Constantin, flew over the Turkish lines at the Tchatalja forts, with the object of dropping bombs on the Turkish troops. His biplane disappeared rapidly and some hours later was seen to descend near the Bulgarian camp. The aviator was found lying on the ground dead, with a wound in his chest. The wings of the biplane had also been pierced by bullets. The instruments showed that he had reached a height of nearly 4,000 feet. He had photographed the Turkish lines and evidently had been shot, but had strength to guide the machine back before he expired. [See current volume, page 1159.]

NEWS NOTES

—Over 10,000 women voted at the school board election in Fall River, Mass., on the 3rd.

—In Los Angeles the proposed charter providing a commission form of government was defeated. [See current volume, page 1043.]

—The proposed commission government charter for Duluth was adopted by the people at the election on the 3rd. [See current volume, pages 969, 1135.]

—The impeachment trial of Judge Archbald of the Commerce Court began last week before the Senate of the United States. [See current volume, page 706.]

—The Chicago Evening World, successor to the Daily Socialist, suspended publication on the 4th. Its affairs have gone into the hands of a receiver in bankruptcy. [See current volume, pages 488, 512.]

—Brand Whitlock, Mayor of Toledo, returned on the 6th from a European trip for a study of municipal systems to aid in framing a charter for Toledo under the home-rule provisions of the new Constitution of Ohio. He pursued these civic studies in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium and Germany.

—Edward McHugh of Birkenhead, England, passed through Chicago on the 7th on his way around the world after working a year for the Joseph Fels Fund in Australia and New Zealand. He sails from New York for Liverpool on the 17th. Australasian Singletax papers are enthusiastic over Mr. McHugh's speaking campaigns in that part of the world.

—The government of Great Britain presented on the 9th to the American Secretary of State a formal note of protest against that section of the Panama Canal Act of the Congress of the United States, which exempts American coastwise shipping from tolls for passage through the Panama Canal. This note is an elaboration of the objections outlined in a less formal note presented to the State Department

in July last. [See current volume, pages 802, 818, 827, 841.]

—Dr. William Demos Crum, United States Minister to Liberia, died at Charleston, S. C., on the 7th, of African fever, in his 54th year. Dr. Crum was a well educated and accomplished Negro who was born in Charleston and practiced medicine there for nearly thirty years. He held the position of Collector of the Port of Charleston from 1904 to 1910, under appointment by President Roosevelt. He was appointed American Minister resident and Consul-general to Liberia in 1910 by President Taft.

—At the National Housing Conference at Philadelphia on the 4th, 5th and 6th, fifty-three cities and towns of the United States and Canada were represented with a view to the improvement of living conditions in the homes of both poor and rich. The great obstacle to good housing, as the work of the Conference proceeded, appeared to be heavy taxation on buildings and building materials and the higher prices of building lots which improved housing stimulates. The next Conference is to be held in Boston.

—In a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the 9th the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission over the Union Stock Yards and Transit Company of Chicago was upheld. Under this decision the Commerce Court is required to issue an injunction against the above named company's contract with Pfaelzer & Sons, packers, by which the company was to pay that firm \$50,000 as a bonus for locating along the company's tracks. The Supreme Court interprets this contract as an agreement for rebating and as therefore in violation of the Elkins law.

—A reprieve of five men convicted of murder and awaiting execution in Oregon, whose execution had been postponed by Governor West until the Referendum vote on capital punishment at the recent election, was asked at a mass meeting in Portland on the 8th on the ground that the vote in favor of continuing capital punishment was by men only. The reprieve asked for is for the purpose of delaying execution until a Referendum may be had in which women may participate, woman suffrage having been adopted at the same election at which capital punishment was retained.

—The Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association in session at Omaha on the 6th decided to use the newly adopted Initiative by securing the necessary petition of 38,000 signatures for submitting a woman suffrage amendment to the people in 1913. They will also try to secure from the legislature this winter an amendment to be submitted in 1914. As the Nebraska Initiative prohibits its use for the same purpose oftener than once in three years, this policy will enable the suffragists to secure, if necessary, a popular vote in 1913 by popular initiative, in 1914 by legislative initiative and in 1916 by popular initiative. The Association has divided the State into eleven working districts, with a central headquarters in each. It excludes all other questions than woman suffrage from its campaigning.

—An extensive system of Federal supervision of wireless telegraphy becomes effective this week in the United States under an act of Congress of the

last session. Plans have been made to carry out the new system as to shore stations and steamships operated by commercial companies, and army and navy stations. Government licenses will be required for all shore stations and for steamers leaving American ports. There are several hundred shore stations along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, the Gulf and the Great Lakes, and Porto Rico. The number of steamships required to carry wireless under the new law is estimated at 1,000. Every steamer with a carrying capacity of fifty passengers on trips exceeding 200 miles is required to have two operators for its wireless equipment in order to provide continuous watchfulness for signals of distress.

—Hundreds of organized students of Glasgow University attacked the headquarters of the Woman's Social and Political Union on the 5th and completely wrecked the offices. Their attack is reported by the news dispatches to have been an outcome of suffraget interruptions during the installation of Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, as Lord Rector of their University. The police arrested a student, and his comrades immediately fell upon the police in an effort to rescue him. They held their prisoner and captured one of the rescuing party. Later two other students were taken into custody. The installation ceremonies at the university were carried out, but ten women were ejected during their progress. Previous dispatches reported destructive methods in London with reference to mail boxes and their contents, these activities being confined to the branch of the suffrage movement which is led by Mrs. Pankhurst. Other dispatches report the disturbance by suffragists of this group of a Redmond meeting in Ireland. [See current volume, page 1024.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Worse Even Than War.

G. K. Chesterton in London Daily News and Leader of October 26.—You can write poems in praise of war; but no one has ever written a poem in praise of oppression.



The Winning Way.

Chicago Record-Herald, December 9.—The same number of "Votes for Women" which defends the "acid campaign" contains an exultant article on the winning of woman suffrage in Arizona, Kansas and Oregon at the recent elections. We do not recall that women have smashed windows or destroyed valuable mail matter to obtain the ballot in any American State. The suffragettes should study American methods and learn thereby.



The Physical Force Suffragists of Great Britain.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (ind.), Dec. 5.—It is only fair to the cause of suffrage to consider that such mean and despicable outrages as the destruction of the contents of letter boxes are perpetrated and sanctioned by only a small and decreasing minority of petroleuses whom in such a case

as this it would be absurd to call militants. How far they have set back the suffrage movement time will have to show; certainly their crazy antics have disgusted many sensible people who had not been hostile to the cause. Such an exhibition of random malice as this, striking at men and women alike, damaging the public at large as a protest against a postmaster-general, will gratify nobody except extreme opponents to suffrage who see in it a fresh blow to the movement. It should be neutralized as far as possible by the vigorous disapprobation of rational supporters of woman suffrage.



Eternal Vigilance.

The Commoner (W. J. Bryan), Dec. 6.—We have a Democratic Senate and a Democratic House, as well as a Democratic President, but let no one think it safe to go to sleep. Our majority in the Senate is very small—a few reactionaries may obstruct legislation or insist on concessions as the price of support. There are reactionaries in the House also, and an eye must be kept on them. It behooves every Democrat to be on the alert and to warn his Senators and his Member of Congress against any backward step. The Baltimore platform says: "Our pledges are made to be kept when in office as well as relied upon during the campaign." Every official should be held to the letter and spirit of the platform. Ten cents spent by each voter for postal cards, and cards used to indorse faithful Representatives and to admonish unfaithful ones would work wonders in securing progressive measures. The officials at Washington should be informed that the rank and file of the Democratic Party insists on the carrying out of the platform. The first work to be done is to secure legislation which will give an immediate reduction of the high tariff, make a private monopoly impossible and reform the currency in the interest of the whole people with protection against Wall-street control.



One little suffrage State, lonely to the view,
Didn't go and bust the home; then there were two.

Two little suffrage States, where the sex was free,
Didn't take men's jobs away; then there were three.

Three little suffrage States, hollerin' for more,
Didn't seem to blight the crops; then there were four.

Four little suffrage States, helping men to strive,
Didn't go and put on "pants"; then there were five.

Five little suffrage States, deep in politics,
Didn't scorn the frying pan; then there were six.

Six little suffrage States, voting just like men,
Didn't lack for chivalry; then there were ten.

Ten little suffrage States where the Right is great,
Heaven speed the happy day there'll be forty-eight.

—McLanburgh Wilson in New York Sun.



How much would you be worth if you lost all your money?—Life.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

NOVA MATER.

A Ballad of Immigration.

For The Public.

Our Mothers were the old lands,
Unto pain and toll they bore us;
Ah, cruel were our Mothers,
But we loved them, love them still.
Our kinsblood dyed to crimson
Their stained flags that darkened o'er us,
But we loved them while we suffered,
And we bowed us to their will.

Our Mothers were the old lands,
And we labored for their glory;
Our sweat and tears were mingled
In libation to their might;
Our young men and our maidens
Died upon their altars gory,
But we dared not stay our giving
When our Mothers claimed their right.

O Mother, fair new Mother,
From the West we heard you calling
With a pregnant voice of promise,
Like a trumpet o'er the sea;
And we thought us of the old lands,
But thy word was all enthralling,
So we brake our ancient fetters
And in hope we came to thee.

O Mother, rich new Mother,
We have ventured all to gain thee—
Mistress of uncounted treasure—
Hath our striving been in vain?
Tolling, shall we be requited,
Sowing, shall we reap a measure
Of thy boasted golden bounty
As a guerdon for our pain?

O Mother, strong new Mother,
We have bought thy love with sorrow;
We have sought thy smile in mill-fires,
And thy voice in crashing pines.
For thy yesterday's desire
Must we pay with death tomorrow,
In thy caissons and thy quarries,
In thy furnaces and mines?

O Mother, stern new Mother,
Is thy heart still great and tender?
Is thine arm still strong in justice?
Is thy love unspotted and free?
Wilt thou crush the meek and lowly
'Neath thy charlots of splendor?
Wilt thou mock thy far-called children
When in faith they come to thee?

Art thou also cruel, Mother,
Like the ancient lands that bore us,
Where our hearts cried out for freedom,
And our starving mouths for bread?

Was thy voice a siren's calling?
Was thy torch that flamed before us
But the blay witch-fire, drifting
Round a temple of the dead?

Foster Mother, sibyl Mother,
Hear thy later children crying
For a guide among the mountains,
For a beacon on the sea,
For a love-sign in the battle
Where our broken folk are dying,
For a new-bent bow of promise,
For a voice of prophecy!

GEORGE M. P. BAIRD.



LIBERTY, NOT RELIGION, THE CAUSE OF THE BALKAN WAR.

Professor Michael I. Pupin in the New York Press
of October 27, 1912.*

The Turks of old waged war like the Normans. They fought for the land itself rather than mere political dominion. As the fruit of their conquests they took the land and everything that pertained to it which they distributed among Turkish warriors who thereby became the lords of the conquered lands. The original owners—the Christians—who survived, became serfs, slaves, tenant tillers of the soil for the benefit of their masters. Thus, in European Turkey especially, since the Moslem invasion some five centuries ago, there have been two great classes of people, the Begs and the Kmetts. The Begs are the lords and the Kmetts the peasant serfs.

The Kmet is a tiller of the soil. Always from one-third to one-half of the products of the land go to the Beg. Out of the remainder which the Kmet nominally has for himself one-tenth is the tithe that goes to the Sultan, the chief owner of the land which is occupied by his vassals, the Begs.

Now the Sultans, from the old days to the present, have realized that the value of the Begs to the Turkish Empire had its real foundation upon the peasant serfs, the Kmetts. Therefore the Sultans have made it very difficult for the Begs to get rid of such Kmetts as did not please them. On the other hand, the Begs own the courts of justice so that, although it was theoretically difficult to get rid of the Kmetts who were undesirable, the control of the courts made this easy.

Now, the Beg, the noble, despises manual labor

*Professor Michael Idvorsky Pupin of Columbia University, is the leading Serb in America, and one of the foremost scientists in the world. He is an American in thought and feeling, yet he is no less ardently devoted to the land of his ancestors. He is taking a leading part in America aiding the Allies of the Balkans in their war against the Turk. At Columbia Professor Pupin holds the chair of Electro-Magnetics, and is a director of the Phoenix research laboratories. He received his A. B. degree at Columbia in 1883 and that of Sc. D. in 1904. At Berlin he was made a Ph. D. in 1889. He is a member of the National Academy of Sciences.

of any and every sort. His entire intelligence and physical strength is devoted to the art of war. This he has to know. It was because of their warlike prowess that his ancestors received the land which he now rules. It is his martial skill, also, that makes him of value to the state.

The Kmet, on the other hand, never has had any rights whatever. It is true he has a claim upon that portion of the products of the land that the law prescribes to him, but the Beg was always the final judge as to what constituted one-third or one-half of the crop—and the Beg always takes the lion's share.

The Beg had another advantage. Being the owner of the land under the Sultan, he could mortgage his property and borrow whatever money he could on it. In no case, however, has the Beg ever been known to spend any money in the improvement of agricultural methods, through the use of modern farm machinery or in anything else. The Kmet, having no collateral, cannot borrow any money except under such peculiar circumstances as I will explain presently.

The relative position of the Beg and the Kmet—the noble and the serf—is the fundamental difficulty in the whole organization of the Ottoman Empire. The Moslem lord and the Christian serf and the glorified feudal system under which they have lived for centuries have brought about the most awful abuses.

When a Beg wants to get rid of an undesirable Kmet usually he murders him. When there are a large number of undesirable Kmets in any province or district there ensue such terrible massacres and atrocities as we have had now and again in Turkey.

When a Beg sells a portion or all of his land, the serfs are included in the sale. They are really chattels. Even in mediæval Europe the feudal system never reached such perfection as exists in the Turkey of today. The Kmet has been barred from every avenue of progress. Even should he, in the face of the most adverse circumstances, be in any degree successful, he risks being stripped of every shred of his possessions at any moment by the vilest means at the command of the Beg, aided by the trickery of the courts.



Now as to the Turkish Empire itself: Its finances have been growing worse and worse, and it has been more and more expensive each year to maintain the army. The serfs and their lords have made no progress, and the income of the state from the soil has stood still for many years. The national debt has grown until it has become an enormous burden, resting in the end heavier and heavier on the serfs.

That is the situation that has brought about the present war, and the same thing that caused the conflicts of the past, which resulted in one

territory after another throwing off the yoke of the Turk. This is not an ordinary war for political reasons or for conquest. Nothing of the sort. It is a rebellion of these oppressed races in a struggle to obtain their natural rights—the rights to own land. They do not think of freedom at all. They do not know what freedom is. It is far beyond them. What these millions want is a chance to own the land they live on and to carve out their own destinies and their own salvation. They are simply fighting for ordinary human inalienable rights—to seek happiness in their own way—the things that were set forth in the American Declaration of Independence. They are like children, in a way. They do not yet know the full meaning of the words freedom and liberty, as they are understood here in this great Republic. This they will be quick to learn, however, after they have thrown off the feudal yoke of the Turk.



The same state of things existed in the other provinces of the Turkish Empire that are now separate kingdoms. Take Servia, for instance. The first rising of Servia was in 1804, under Black George, the ancestor of the present King. The rising was started by the misery of the Kmets. They were oppressed to a point where they could endure it no longer. Death was preferable. It was no sentiment or religious fervor that brought about that war any more than the present one. The cause of the uprising was simply an economic one. The end of it was the Kmets drove the Begs out.

Although the struggle began in 1804, it did not end until 1815. It continued with slight interruptions for eleven years. The conclusion was the destruction of the Begs in that particular territory. Then the Servian Principality was formed and the land was distributed among the peasants. In 1878, when the Kingdom of Servia received four vilayets from Turkey, it bought out the Begs and distributed the land among the Kmets, who became the owners, repaying the Government by installments. Within the last year or two these former Kmets have finished paying their entire indebtedness to the state. Austria did not succeed in doing so in Bosnia and Hercegovina; hence the dissatisfaction that has existed there; but it was done in Bulgaria and it was done in Greece, and the feudal system was abolished.



It will be seen, therefore, that there were only two ways of settling this difficulty that the feudal system has brought about in the Christian provinces of the Ottoman Empire: by a great financial operation—the buying of the land—or by the sharper and quicker adjustment of the sword. . . .

Thus it has come about that the peoples of Servia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece have taken up arms against Turkey in order to win for their

brethren in the Ottoman Empire the inalienable rights of man. In the Ottoman provinces there is a population of Serbs, the same as live in Montenegro and in the kingdom of Serbia, and of Greeks, the same as live in the kingdom of Greece. Now, speaking for the Serbs, there is a wonderful bond of union between all Serbs, not only in the kingdom of Serbia and of Montenegro, but also among those Serbs who live in Macedonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia and the southern part of Hungary. This extraordinary vital bond of union has been kept alive for 500 years simply by their wonderful national songs.

When the Turks conquered the Balkan peninsula churches and schools and other educational institutions ceased to exist. The people were reduced to a condition of abject slavery. But the national bard, with his one-stringed musical instrument called the gusle, survived. He traveled from village to village, from home to home, and recited and sang the ancient glory of the Serbs, their heroism and of the great historical events in their annals. To this day every one who hears these ballads learns them by heart. It is well known that an illiterate, oppressed people have a more tenacious verbal memory than an educated free people. So it was that these ballads were sung everywhere, throughout the centuries, and have preserved the wonderful union among the Serb people.

Goethe loved these songs so much that he actually learned the language of the Serbs in order to study them. He said they were the greatest literary productions the world ever saw, with possibly the exception of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey. The Serb has a great deal of artistic temperament, and loves music and song. That was the only thing the Turk could not steal away from him.

From one end to the other of the countries where dwell the Serbs you will find blind men, beggars, wandering minstrels singing these songs and reciting them to the people. You encounter them everywhere, along the highways, sitting at the bridges, in the market places. These minstrels make a comfortable living from alms which they get from their recitations, and no one begrudges them. If it were not for them and their ancestors through five centuries this national spirit would not be flaming up as it is today and as it has in the past.

Now these Serbs feel strongly for their brethren in Macedonia and in old Serbia. The reports of massacres and of outrages so gross that they cannot be spoken of in print, or horrible sufferings that have been endured by Serbs who are Ottoman subjects, have appeared from time to time in the Servian and Montenegrin newspapers, and have stirred the people of Serbia and of Montenegro profoundly. Now the chance and the time has come for them to do something for their brethren in Turkey. The people of Serbia and Montenegro

became so insistent that their governments had to yield to their desires. A wave of warlike enthusiasm swept over these countries, as well as over Bulgaria and Greece. The cry everywhere is to "Smash the Turk" and to drive him from Europe, liberating the Serbs and Bulgars and Greeks from Turkish rule and oppression.



In other words, this war is not the result of some political scheme on the part of some great Power, like Russia, for instance. Russia has been accused of fomenting dissatisfaction and inciting these peoples to the struggle with the Turks for the purpose of carrying out some of her secret political designs. The state of affairs in Turkey furnished a good and sufficient reason for the war. There was no necessity for England or Russia or any other Power to egg on Serbia or Bulgaria or Greece or Montenegro to fight the Turk. The enslavement of the Serbs, the Bulgars and Greeks on Turkish soil is sufficient reason for their declaring war. . . .

Bosnia and Herzegovina rebelled in 1876. Every one knows about the modern exploits of Montenegro, Tennyson told about them in a beautiful ode. The Serbs in Serbia were the first to free themselves from the Turks and to establish their independence, the present kingdom of Serbia. Despite their oppression, the Serbs never have lost their warlike character. They are still fighting men, and have been for centuries, just as the Turks have been, too, although the latter have made a profession of arms and have studied practically nothing else.



"THERE RESTETH TO SERVIA A GLORY."

From Owen Meredith's Free Translation of "The Battle of Kossovo,"* a Famous National Heroic Poem of Servia.

There resteth to Servia a glory,
 A glory that shall not grow old;
 There remaineth to Servia a story,
 A tale to be chanted and told!
 They are gone to their graves grim and gory,
 The beautiful, brave and bold;
 But out of the darkness and desolation,
 Of the mourning heart of a widow'd nation,
 Their memory waketh an exultation!
 Yea, so long as a babe shall be born.
 Or there resteth a man in the land—
 So long as a blade of corn
 Shall be reapt by a human hand—
 So long as the grass shall grow
 On the mighty plain of Kossovo—
 So long, so long, even so,
 Shall the glory of those remain
 Who this day in battle were slain.

*The Battle of Kossovo—the Servian Hastings—fought June 15, 1389, lost that nation its independence for 400 years.

BOOKS

THE MAN FARTHEST DOWN.

The Man Farthest Down: A Record of Observation and Study in Europe. By Booker T. Washington. Doubleday, Page & Company, Garden City and New York.

No one has ever satisfactorily defined style. Perhaps the best definition is that it is the absence of style. I feel the force of this negative definition whenever I read one of Dr. Booker T. Washington's books. He just says things. Anyone who has heard him speak must feel the same way, that there is no effort, no striving after effect, that he is just saying the simplest sort of things. He can tell a story which throws his audience into laughter, and you laugh and wonder why. I recall his telling a pig story. All there is to it is that your pig is safer if your neighbors also have pigs, and yet I have seen an audience convulsed with laughter at his telling of it.

Nowhere more than in this latest book is this artless art apparent. The author was several months in Europe; he wanted to see how the poor folks were living; he especially wanted to compare their chances with those of his own people at home, and he tells us in a most interesting way what he saw and what his conclusions are. He had an able companion with him in Dr. Robert E. Park, to whom he makes grateful acknowledgment, and the reader will many times be reminded that the traveler was fortunate in having such an associate.

As might be expected, the investigator of the condition of the poor in any country could not escape the land question. Speaking of an interview with a Sicilian peasant, the author tells us that on asking the man what he would do if he had some money, "the old man's face lighted up and he said promptly, 'Get some land and have a little home of my own.'" "Many times since then," he adds, "I have asked the same or similar questions of some man I met working on the soil. Everywhere I received the same answer." And again he says: "Upon inquiring I found it to be generally admitted that the condition of the population was due to the fact that the larger part of the land was in the hands of large landowners." Yet, incidentally, the author seems to show that he has not seen the way of preventing this continuation of the curse of the "larger part of the land" being "in the hands of large landowners." Is it not as true of Sicily and Hungary as it is of Alabama, that if the large holdings, generally held by absentee landlords, were properly assessed and taxed, the owners would be willing to sell to those who do the toiling? And is it not as true there as here that such a tax would not only relieve the poor from

the taxes directly or indirectly imposed upon them, but would provide ample means for various public needs?

Two conclusions of the book are of great interest and importance. One of these is that where improvement is found, it has come from improving at the bottom. This is a lesson which we have hardly begun to learn in America. We think we have learned it, but we have not. One has only to see the slums of cities and the schools of rural districts to become convinced that we are not emphasizing improvement at the bottom. So far we have done more talking than acting in this line. Speaking of the marvelous advance in Denmark, the author says: "While other nations have begun the work of education and, I was going to say, civilization, at the top, Denmark has begun at the bottom. In doing this Denmark has demonstrated that it pays to educate the man farthest down." Again he says: "Where the Poles are advancing, progress has begun at the bottom, among the peasants; where they have remained stationary the Polish nobility still rules."

Another conclusion of interest and importance is that on the whole the Negro is better off in our Southern States than is the peasant in most parts of the continent of Europe. "The condition of the colored farmer," says the author, "in the most backward parts of the Southern States in America, even where he has the least education and the least encouragement, is incomparably better than the condition and opportunities of the agricultural population in Sicily. And as to city conditions, he says: "I have been more than once through the slums and poorer quarters of the colored people of New Orleans, Atlanta, Philadelphia and New York, and my personal observation convinces me that the colored population of these cities is in every way many per cent better off than the corresponding classes in Naples and other Italian cities I have named." When we read such testimony as this and know the condition of many of the rural Negroes and poor whites in this country, and know the awfulness of our city slums, we can only exclaim, God help the likes of these across the sea! And yet, it is well for us to know, and not without encouragement, that our problems are no harder than those in other regions. For the author shows furthermore that in some parts of Europe the race question is as constant and insistent as it is with us, and he adds, for example, that "Apparently it is just as easy in Hungary as in America for selfish persons to take advantage of racial prejudice and sentiment in order to use it for their own ends."

The temptation to quote from the book is too strong. It is full of pithy sentences as well as of wise counsel. I have not in this review mentioned half of the subjects and passages which I had marked for notice. I can only express the hope that the book will be widely read, especially in

the South, where the comparisons of conditions most naturally apply.

J. H. DILLARD.



DEMOCRATIC VISION.

The Vaunt of Man, and Other Poems. By William Ellery Leonard. B. W. Huebsch. \$1.25 net.

William Ellery Leonard has hitherto been known to readers of scholarly works as a sensitive writer on literature, the translator of Empedocles, and, to a wider public, as the author of an interpretation of the character of Jesus, which is written from the standpoint of literary—and therefore human—appreciation. All lovers of literature will surely unite in hoping that this first volume of his collected verses will introduce Mr. Leonard to a wider and ever-widening public as a poet who is typical at once of the aristocracy of universal culture, and of the democracy of American life.

This combination of sensitive fineness of perception and spirit with a sturdiness which is typically American, or even Lincolnian, is the most significant thing about "The Vaunt of Man." It is a combination which gives the book especial value for those of us who are preoccupied with public affairs, with the chores of our social life—as so many among the serious readers of the day are occupied. For we have, in that very seriousness and social conscience, a point of entry into the spirit of these poems; and we shall find in them the corrective to that stunting of the aesthetic sense which is so apt to come from social preoccupations and which leads a man like George Bernard Shaw into a Philistine attitude toward form and beauty in art as distinguished from its didactic and will-exciting "purpose."

Mr. Leonard is not afraid to use his art for ethical purposes. He is prophet as well as poet, as the following "Remarks" written upon reading of the intended sale of the White Mountains to a lumber company, may testify:

The nations have rebuked us: "Greed for gold
Costs ye voice, vision; costs ye faith and fame."
Is this their envy? Shall we gloss our shame
Writing it "Progress," "enterprise"? Behold
Our civic life a trade, our rich men old
Bribing opinion for an honest name,
And art and letters counted jest or blame,
When (but how seldom!) they will not be sold.

We traffic with our birthright; our domain
Of torrents thundering inland shall be dumb—
We have sold our cataracts to turn our mills;
And having lifted up our eyes in vain,
Whence our help cometh, but no more may come,
Now we would sell the everlasting hills.

"Now we would sell the everlasting hills"—what a fine contempt and anger is compressed into those seven words, and how deserved must the finer spirits among us feel it to be!

But Mr. Leonard has higher work than social criticism. Passing such poems, as the above, and such national poems as his dedication ode to Lincoln, read at the unveiling of the statue in Madison, with its "dear random memories of a father dead," let us glance at his poems of the inner personal life. These are of a peculiarly intimate nature. One feels in reading them that the poet has faced those aspects of nature and life which we may call God, and is impelled to communicate the sense of vocation, calm, and certainty which he has won in his wrestle with the Infinite.

Lo, I own the dream

Of Plato and the hardiness of Kant.

I have all wealth within me; I will look—

—he tells us; but this world within is not an isolated thing, for our will, our "unconquered will," is "part of the epic of the universe."

The largeness and sanity of the communicant with nature inform all these poems, and a like large temper is apparent in those of them which deal with love. Those and other poems of personalities and of nature have been slighted here, for lack of space; and at the risk of giving a one-sided impression of the book, the reviewer cannot refrain from ending these remarks by quoting a sonnet of ethical—or rather religious—import, entitled, "The Test":

Still at the wheel to labor down the sea
With battered funnels and with riven flags,
To overcome the mountain on bare crags
Above the thunder and the farthest tree,
To face a flaring city—the mad glee
And ululations of her reeling masques
And human drift—are self-sustaining tasks,
Because they challenge by their majesty.

But in these swamps, behind the hovel yard
To make my obscene way through stench and flies
And oozy fibers, and refuse glass and shard,
And still to keep some token in my eyes
Of inward dignity and God's good skies,
This, this is manhood, this is truly hard.

But that it is not impossible, is the burden of the poetry of William Ellery Leonard.

LLEWELLYN JONES.



BOOK OF ESSAYS.

Humanly Speaking. By Samuel McChord Crothers.
Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1912.
Price, \$1.25 net.

Through Dr. Crothers' latest book with its glancing humor and knightly tolerance, there blows again his free optimism that dispels all fog and freshens the spirit. To be sure, the longer essays—especially those on his travels in Europe—with their too lengthy examples, sometimes trail off down anti-climaxes; and occasionally his favorite translation of financial terms into ethical or aesthetic concepts is over-worked. The essay em-

bodging the real estate dealer's advice to the real-ist writer, for instance, is very good counsel, but too painstakingly clever. Parts of "In the Hands of a Receiver," however, show the author at his best:

We are accustomed to grumble over the increase in the cost of living. But the enhancement of price in the necessities of physical life is nothing compared to the increase in the cost of the higher life.

There are those now living who can remember when almost any one could have the satisfaction of being considered a good citizen and neighbor. All one had to do was to attend to one's own business and keep within the law. He would then be respected by all, and would deserve the most eulogistic epitaph when he came to die. By working for private profit he could have the satisfaction of knowing that all sorts of public benefits came as by-products of his activity. But now all such satisfactions are denied. To be a good citizen you must put your mind on the job, and it is no easy one. . . .

What we call the awakening of the social conscience marks an important step in progress. But, like all progress, it involves hardship to individuals. For the higher moral classes, the saints and reformers, it is the occasion of whole-hearted rejoicing. It is just what they have all the while been trying to bring about. But I confess to a sympathy for the middle class, morally considered, the plain people, who feel the pinch. They have invested their little all in the old-fashioned securities, and when these are depreciated they feel that there is nothing to keep the wolf from the door. . . . The old-fashioned private virtues which used to be exhibited with such innocent pride as family heirlooms are now scrutinized with suspicion. They are subjected to rigid tests to determine their value as public utilities.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Restriction of Immigration. Extension Division Bulletin, No. 360, Published by the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. Second Revised Edition, November, 1912. Price, 5 cents.

Popular Election of United States Senators. Extension Division Bulletin, General Series No. 359, Published by the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. Second Revised Edition, November, 1912. Price, 5 cents.

The Political Situation in a Nutshell: Some Uncolored Truths for Colored Voters. By Dr. J. Milton Waldron and Lieutenant J. D. Harkless. Issued by the National Independent Political League, 6th St. and La. Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.

The Canadian Pacific Railway and Its Capitalization: A Sequel to "The Burden of Railway Rates." Pamphlet Number 3. Compiled from a Series of Articles Published in The Free Press, Winnipeg, 1912. Reproduced by The Free Press for Gratuitous Distribution, Winnipeg, Canada.



"I ken, Donald, we've had twa fine days the month."
"Aye, mon, and one was snappet up by the Saw-bath!"—The Tatler.

PERIODICALS

The French Singletax Review.

Mr. Georges Darien, editor of "La Revue de L'Impot Unique," represented the French Singletaxers at the Land Values Conference in London early in October, a report of which holds the place of honor in the November issue of the French review. This conference not only marked a step towards the triumph in England of political economy, rescued from contempt and vitalized by the genius of Henry George, but emphasized the international character of the struggle for economic freedom. The revival of economic discussion in France and the popularization of the Singletax doctrine in the Spanish-speaking countries, one of the most remarkable signs of the times, indicate the vitality of the movement towards democracy at a time when many discouraging reactions are in evidence. If it were not for this world movement reformers might well despair in face of the gross materialism paraded by the eugenists in the fair name of science, the savage justification of cruelty by the Governor of a great State, and the universal expansion of armaments, which make frequent wars inevitable and neutralize the advance in wealth production. "In the 20th century it is easier to learn to kill than to learn to live." France offers a striking refutation of the dismal science of Malthus. Its shrinking population continues to exhibit the very miseries supposed to be the penalty of overcrowding. Having exchanged the ideas of its sages for those of Napoleon, it has encouraged monopoly to such an extent that individuals and corporations depend upon public assistance and struggle to shift public burdens upon the shoulders of others. "France has become a nation of soldiers and beggars. . . . And industry and commerce fail to perceive that they will have to fill and refill the public coffers into which the government must dip for the alms it gives them." Instructive to the foreigner, to whose superficial observation the French people appear to be a temperate race, is the verdict of the doctors that alcoholism accounts for two-thirds of the tuberculosis in France. Unfortunately the doctors do not seek the origin of alcoholism. If one-half the time and money spent in medical research and the black art of animal experimentation were devoted to a study of the cause and cure of poverty the devastating diseases of our time might be swept away as effectually as the superstitions of the dark ages. "Men deprived of their natural right to life, of access to the earth, the source of all production, are condemned to all the horrors of material and moral pauperism. They are exposed to exploitation, unemployment, vice, alcohol—to all the monsters of distress. They are thus subjected to tuberculosis—one of the many maladies which our grotesque social system manufactures with such care. Abolish land monopoly, and you will abolish at the same time not only tuberculosis and alcoholism, but the pauperism from which they spring."

F. W. GARRISON.



A little girl was playing at the table with her cup of water. Her father took the cup from her, and

in so doing accidentally spilt some of the water on her.

"There," she cried, as she left the table indignantly, "you wet me clear to my feelings!"—Everybody's.



Mr. Walbur Wilburton (who draws one hundred thousand dollars a year from steel mills whose em-

ployes work twelve-hour shifts) has just given fifty dollars to provide cheery Christmas cards for the down-and-outs on the Bowery.

Mrs. Lorgnette (whose income is derived from the rent of houses devoted to immoral purposes) has just given a thousand dollars to buy pocket-handkerchiefs for fallen women.

Mr. Goodheart (whose department store pays its girl help five dollars a week) has just set aside a

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"Why is it," asked the curious guest, "that poor men usually give larger tips than rich men?"

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man don't want nobody to find out he's po', and de rich man don't want nobody to find out he's rich."—Youth's Companion.



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