

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

The Heart of Magdalene.

"A small, severe, prim, puritanic-looking woman." So she is described. Not in reports from Jerusalem two thousand years ago, but in dispatches from New York last week. She has "shrewd eyes that are yet kindly, that fill up easily with sympathetic tears, and that are half hidden behind gold eyeglasses." Her "blond hair, braided plainly, is beginning to turn gray at the temples; her chin is soft, cleft with a dimple, but her mouth is the grim, straight mouth of a fighter." And "she dresses quietly," this Magdalene of New York and now, "her only jewelry a wedding ring." For the first time we have here a Magdalene who bares the heart of her sisterhood. Others have spoken for them, in charity or in contempt, to lift them up or to trample them farther down; but in her voice, ringing through the newspapers of a continent, that sisterhood of all the centuries speaks for itself.



Mary Magdalene is not her name. It is Mary Goode. She owns and manages a New York house of prostitution. Her testimony before an aldermanic committee in New York is described as shocking in its revelations "about the amount of money the police wring out of the fallen sisterhood for protection" in their poverty-driven pandering to the vices of men. When asked for a newspaper interview, she sadly replied: "What

more can I say than I said on the witness stand?" But she spoke again, whether to say more or not than on the witness stand; and well would it be if the spirit of what she said were echoed in every sermon at this blessed anniversary season.



Let Magdalene be heard: "Everyone is so hard on us; everyone condemns us utterly. We are all outcasts, from whom good women draw away their skirts; yet we are not wholly bad. There's some little green spot still left in our hearts. I do not boast of what I have done, but I have saved many a girl. I have sent many a poor pretty little fool anxious to see the world back to her home. I never let a good girl come into my house. I have never led any girl into evil. Women—good women—think that women such as I, and resorts such as I keep, are their greatest enemies. They do not know the truth, and that is that *we* are not the home breakers. The girls that wreck families are the pretty flirts. This brings me to what I told the investigating committee, and that is that the social evil can never be regulated until we women of the underworld help you do it. We are the only ones that can cure it. How would we do it? First, by having people recognize a situation that has always existed, and that always will exist, and deal with it honestly instead of hypocritically."



A situation that always will exist? Yes, as long as the necessity for it is tolerated as man's necessity, while the crime of it is denounced as woman's crime. For every female prostitute in human society there must be many who are men; else this age-old profession could not persist. Why then, do we always condemn the woman? segregate the woman? quarantine the woman? sanitize the woman? police-regulate the woman? Our Magdalene answers us. It is because we are hypocrites. She gives an instance, only one, and there are worse ones higher up and nearer to the altar, but here is hers: "I was raised by God-fearing parents, and last Sunday I went to church. I crept in like a thief, and I knelt by the door, so humble I scarce dared raise my eyes to the altar. As I knelt there, a big police official went by with his chest thrown out and marched himself to a front pew. I knew his pockets were lined with the money of women such as I am, and that when they refused to pay tribute he broke down doors and threw unfortunates out half-clad in the cold streets in winter to be picked up by the traders in women."

Is not this woman's plea for her abhorred sisterhood a reasonable as well as plaintive one? Isn't it true that the women of the underworld can help at least to cure the evil of which they themselves are victims more than anyone else? If the social evil is to be dealt with honestly, it must be recognized as a *human* evil and no longer as a *woman* evil. And if it be recognized as a human evil, those who are in it and of it, no less than those who are chiefly responsible for it (whether directly as customers or indirectly as beneficiaries of the economic conditions most at fault for it), should be taken into counsel. Magdalene herself must be allowed to help, if her seven devils are to be cast out and kept out.



Death of Thomas J. Morgan.

For many years after the hard times of the '70s "Tommy" Morgan—as the late Thomas J. Morgan was commonly called, often affectionately, but sometimes not—was a notable man in Chicago. He became a Socialist leader here with the first rumblings of Socialist agitation in the United States, and although his latter-year relations with the Socialist Party were as stormy as his conflicts with "capitalism" always were, his integrity of purpose was evident, however critical of his tactics his adversaries may have been. His loyalty to the straight and narrow path of Socialism, by the test of his own interpretations, gave a fanatical flavor to much of what he said. But all this had its use in the turmoils of our changing social order. Few will be quicker or more cordial in acknowledging Thomas J. Morgan's sincerity than those who with equal sincerity bore his blows and returned them in kind. By all whose memories go back to the early fighting days of progressivism in Chicago—back to the '70s and '80s and '90s—his personality appears in the center of the picture, revealing a man whose death cannot be recorded without a tribute of genuine respect.



The Poverty of Chicago.

Civil service employes in Chicago are taking enforced vacations because the city is short of funds. The city is short of funds, says Frank G. Hoyne of the Real Estate Board, because it doesn't get all the revenue it is entitled to. Mr. Hoyne is right, but not exactly as he probably means. Chicago's growth is such that the spot of prairie upon which she stands goes up in value every year. From its values of seventy-five years ago, the site of Chicago has risen in value to fabulous sums.

Spots worth \$1.25 an acre then, are worth from a million to ten million an acre now. Those values are evoked by the city as a whole. If the city disappeared they would disappear; if the city fell off in population, they would fall off; but as the city grows, they grow. Are not these site values city property? Then why not take them for the city? If the city got them, the city wouldn't be poor. It is as Mr. Hoyne said, the abject poverty of the city of Chicago is because it doesn't get all the revenue to which it is entitled.



An Object Lesson.

An example of the absurdity of our present system of taxation is to be observed in New York. The city is just finishing a large office building for its own use, for the purpose of gathering under one roof many scattered Municipal departments. The building is located at the entrance to the Brooklyn Bridge, Manhattan side, and the site alone has cost the city the vast sum of \$7,000,000. Think of what that means! The city builds the Brooklyn Bridge with public money, thereby making this spot one of the most congested in America, and therefore, for business purposes, one of the most lucrative. Again, with its own funds the city builds a four-track subway at vast expense. This brings additional millions of people to the same center, again enhancing the business desirability of that spot. Then, when the city needs a building of its own in that locality, it finds itself a victim of its own enterprise. It must pay \$7,000,000 for a few square feet of land over its own subways and adjacent to its own bridge. Why? In economics and in morals, why? The question is referred respectfully to those political economists and publicists who proclaim the wisdom and morality of private ownership of publicly produced land values—Professor Plehn, for instance, of the University of California.



Press Censorship.

Official and judicial censorship of the press seemed well enough to good people of the smug variety when *The Public* and a few other publications were denouncing official interferences with it. It was applied in some of the most dangerous and drastic forms in the postal service under President Roosevelt's administration, as well as by municipal authorities under police power, and by courts on pretense of punishing contempts. Those instances of autocracy are bearing their natural fruit now. In Idaho a daily newspaper has suppressed a speech by Mr. Roosevelt in fear

of the Supreme Court of the State which was punishing its managers for contempt for having said editorially what this suppressed speech said. There are few things more dangerous to liberty than ignoring the first assaults upon it. To muzzle a Goldman or a Harman when they would advocate unpopular doctrines, is to lay the foundations for censorship of a Roosevelt when he utters opinions that are popular. To throttle the liberties of speech and press of even the least or the worst among us, is to threaten those liberties for even the biggest or the best.



Mr. Roosevelt and the Progressive Party.

Efforts were not lacking at the Progressive Party conference at Chicago last week to stamp Mr. Roosevelt's proprietary trade mark deeper than ever upon the organization; but they amounted to little outside of newspapers that have tied themselves up to his personal fortunes in politics. This is fortunate. The more distinctly the Progressive Party appears as Mr. Roosevelt's own, the more difficult will it be, in the event of a cleavage in the Democratic Party, for democratic Democrats and progressive Republicans to coalesce in the present Progressive Party. A ready-made party originating in a Republican bolt over Presidential candidates, composed almost exclusively of Republicans, clinging to Protection as a principle, tangled up in the animosities and ambitions of Mr. Roosevelt (formerly a Freetrader but latterly and still a Protectionist), and committed to his candidacy in 1916 and his intermediate leadership, could not make a very strong appeal to democratic Democrats who bolt their own party for playing the Protection game as its reactionaries are scheming to have it do. Inasmuch, however, as the Chicago Conference recommended the Initiative, Referendum and Recall for the government of the Progressive Party, this organization may after all turn out to be an attractive political refuge for democratic Democrats if reactionary Democrats do succeed in controlling the Democratic Party in the interest of the Interests.



Darrow on Trial Again.

It may be that the prosecuting officials at Los Angeles are acting with good faith in bringing Clarence S. Darrow to trial on another accusation, after his acquittal in their strongest case of substantially the same offense. It does not look so, however, at this distance. The circumstances suggest one or both of two inferences: that Dar-

row's case is kept alive in order to furnish news material with a view to influencing the trial of labor union officials now on in Indianapolis, and will be dropped when that case ends; or else that private interests are hounding Darrow for purposes of revenge or coercion. The indications of private detective influences and official bad faith in this case are obtrusive, when the flimsy testimony against Darrow at his former trial is considered.



Secretary of the Interior.

Joseph N. Teal of Portland, Oregon, is an applicant for appointment by the President-elect, to the office of Secretary of the Interior. Mr. Teal was conspicuous, at the Oregon election on the question of land monopoly, in misleading Oregon voters in the interest of Oregon land-monopolists. Doesn't that disqualify him for the office he seeks? As President Wilson's Secretary of the Interior will have great influence in giving color and direction to the policy of the incoming administration with reference to public lands and the relation of land monopolists thereto, the office of Secretary of the Interior is the last office of all for Mr. Teal to be trusted with, whatever his claims to official recognition may be.



THE CANAL TOLLS AND THE CONSUMER.

It is from the pockets of the consumers of the United States that money is being taken to build the Panama Canal. The great majority of those pockets are overall-pockets, jeans-pockets, and the pockets of cheap clothes, and most of the money is moist with the sweat of toil.



Our recent Congress, considering the matter of tolls, debated at great length England's rights in the premises. There were voices to speak for the great railroads, and potent influences were at work for the shipping interests; but it is a curious fact that, in all this powerful legislature supposed to represent the masses of the people, there should have been wanting one man to rise in his place to demand that the consumers of the United States, who are actually building the Canal, be considered first.

Yes, the people are paying for the Canal. Furthermore, they are paying the salaries of Senators and Congressmen who are supposed to represent them. And yet, when this very vital matter of

tolls was before Congress, the people were left without intelligent and effective representation.

The still more peculiar thing about it is that the people do not yet seem to realize that they have been misrepresented and defrauded. How long will it be before people generally will come to know that the granting of a privilege to any person, corporation, interest, or set of interests, is in truth what it purports to be, a *privilege*, a *gift*, a value that can be capitalized, and that a value passed from giver to recipient means that the giver is just that much poorer and the recipient that much richer?



That vessels engaged in the coast-wise trade are granted the privilege of using the Canal without paying tolls means merely that the individuals, corporations, interest, or set of interests engaged in this trade have been given a handsome present by the people of the United States, and that the people of the United States are poorer by the value of this gift, and the donees richer by just that value.

Does anyone suppose that freight rates will be cheaper on account of this remission of tolls? Is it possible that the interests affected are so stupid as not to have an understanding as to the rates to be charged? Is it conceivable that, having secured a valuable privilege, these interests are voluntarily going to destroy its value?

To open the Canal to the shipping trade of the world on equal terms would secure to the people of the world the benefits of the Canal, as a world shipping trust can hardly be organized in the present state of that business. The time may come when there will be such a trust, and at that time, of course, the freedom of the Canal would become its asset. That is a contingency, however, to be met by the generation which develops that trust. What we, the people of the United States, are concerned with at the present time is the fact that our representatives have made a valuable gift to certain restricted interests which, if not already organized, will certainly be organized so as to make the gift valuable before a ship ever passes through the Canal.



The Canal should not be opened without restriction to the shipping interests of the world. The people of the world are not paying for the Canal; it is the people of the United States who are building it, and it is the people of this nation who should receive the immediate returns, at least to the point of being reimbursed for the actual outlay.

The question is: How can the people of the United States, the tax-payers of this country who wear overalls and jeans, as well as their silk-hatted brethren, be reimbursed each for his proportionate share of the expense of building this canal?

The solution can be stated in a few words.

Let every pound of freight passing through the Canal and destined for United States ports be toll-free.

An effective method of securing this end would be to charge for all freight passing through the Canal, and remit the charge on all freight unloaded in United States ports upon presentation of the receipt for the Canal-toll.

This plan would open the Canal to the shipping interests of the world, and since there is no world's shipping trust, competition would give the consumers of the United States a lower price upon all commodities passing through the Canal, the prices of which are now governed by competition. Operated over a period of years this plan would make a return to the people who had built the Canal of the money expended by them in this enterprise; and that is absolutely the only way in which this just reimbursement can be effected.

Exact justice would demand that no further tolls be charged, except for maintenance and operation, when the people of the United States have thus charged the other peoples of the world, through tolls, their proportionate share of the money required to build the Canal.



In order to get this matter clearly in mind, let us suppose the case of ten neighboring communities of a mountainous country, a group of five being separated from the other group of five by a deep canyon necessitating a circuit of twenty miles for all wagons passing from one group of communities to the other. For convenience in reference, let us call the groups Nos. 1 and 2, and number the communities 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. Suppose that community No. 4 of Group No. 1 is enterprising enough to bond itself for the construction of a bridge across the canyon, thus uniting Group No. 1 with Group No. 2, and cutting out the twenty-mile circuit between the two groups. The first question to settle after the construction was completed would naturally be the matter of tolls.

Special interests would certainly be represented in the council of community No. 4. The smooth, fluent representative of the teaming interests, for example, would say: "We built the bridge and we should be entitled to the benefits. The teaming interests of this community should be allowed to

take wagons across the bridge toll-free." And he would proceed to elaborate this argument. But notice the neat substitution. The "we" in the premise becomes the "teaming interests" or the "teamsters" in the conclusion.

There is a hard-headed councilman, however, who opposes this arrangement. His talk runs something like this: "Fellow members of the Council, the gentleman who has preceded me says the truth in stating that we built the bridge. We did build the bridge. All of us. The taxpayers of the community are furnishing the money to pay the interest and the sinking fund of the bonds we voted. But he slips a cog in arguing from this fact that the teaming interests of this community should be exempt from payment of tolls. The teamsters did not build the bridge any more than the brick masons, the carpenters, the merchants and the lawyers. We all built the bridge. We should, therefore, all participate in the benefits of it. Our trade is large with the other communities across the canyon, and unless this trade can be cheapened, our enterprise will fail of its purpose. To grant our teaming interests free use of the bridge would certainly not secure this end. They are fairly well organized now, and this arrangement would surely invite them to have an understanding as to the prices to be charged. This being true, under the arrangement the gentleman suggests, we would merely make the teaming interests a present of the bridge. How much more reasonable it would be, how much less liable to create monopoly, and how much more likely to encourage healthful competition, to simply stipulate that all goods hauled into this community over the bridge shall come in toll-free! This would leave the teamsters of other communities free to compete, and it would insure that the people of this community who built the bridge would not pay any toll on the goods we buy from across the bridge. In charging toll on goods hauled into other communities, we are compelling them to put up their just share of the expense of building the bridge. There being ten communities participating equally in the benefits of this enterprise, when we have paid off nine-tenths of the bonds and interest with toll-money, it will be a sign that the other communities have put up each its proportionate share, and then the toll should be reduced to an amount which will cover the up-keep of the bridge. This, it seems to me, is dealing exact justice in the matter."

Apply this example, step by step, to the building of the Panama Canal, and it will be seen to be a parallel case.

Every pound of freight unloaded in United States ports and destined for the American consumer, should pass through the Canal toll-free.

R. BEDICHEK.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE TAX QUESTION IN LOUISIANA.*

New Iberia, La.

Louisiana has just passed through a campaign which for a time gave promise of placing it among the more progressive States in the Union as regards taxation. But the special interests became active and defeated the proposition by a large majority.



More than six years ago, at the request of Governor Blanchard, the legislature authorized the appointment of a tax commission of fifteen members to suggest an improved system of taxation. The chairman was Edgar H. Farrar, recently President of the American Bar Association, a man with Freetrade tendencies and a personal friend of Thomas G. Shearman. The Secretary, David Blackshear, is a Single-taxer and did much to incline the work of the commission towards more modern lines. Among the members were two strong and forceful Singletaxers, namely, Hampton Carver of Natchitoches, and Solomon Wolf of New Orleans. Mr. Carver is doubtless the best authority on taxation in this State. These two being the best posted members of the Commission, were able largely to direct its proceedings. They finally wrote most of the report to the legislature.

The report was immediately recognized as an able presentation of the subject.

Among other changes, it recommended the segregation of State from local sources of taxation, and a large measure of home rule in taxation for the various localities.

Governor Sanders, whose term began with the filing of the tax report, gave reason to hope that a special session of the legislature would be called to act upon it. Little was accomplished, however, during his administration, save agitation.



In Louisiana the Democratic nomination is equivalent to election; and in 1911, during the campaign to elect Governor Sanders' successor, the three candidates for the Democratic nomination, including the successful one, Judge Hall, openly pledged themselves to tax reform. Accordingly, before the convening of the legislature last May, Governor Hall urged the question. As a result, a second Commission was appointed to prepare amendments to the Constitution and to report them to a special session of the legislature for submission to a vote of the people at the election of November 5.

Among the thirty-two members composing the second Commission, which met late in July, was Mr. Hampton Carver, above mentioned; also Mr. Edgar H. Farrar, who again became chairman, and Mr. David Blackshear, again secretary. Another member

was Dr. Morton Aldrich, a professor at Tulane University, who has also given considerable study to the problem. These became the leaders in the work of the second Commission.

At present our State derives its revenue chiefly from the general property tax, with the requirement that taxation be equal and uniform, and a system of occupation or license taxes; there being also some minor sources of revenue.

When the second Commission assembled last July, Mr. Carver proposed that it simply suggest the expunging from the Constitution of its many restraints upon the legislature in reference to tax matters, he contending that it is within the province of the people, through their representatives, to adopt and modify their tax laws at pleasure, without the hindrance of Constitutional prohibition. The majority, however, were opposed to this. Several amendments were therefore prepared, embodying in detail the proposed system of taxation. After much discussion and many changes, all these amendments were reported to the legislature by the unanimous vote of the Commission.

The legislature, in special session, after some further minor changes, submitted the propositions to a vote of the people at the November election.

While the proposed system contained many features justly open to criticism, as a whole it was a great improvement over what we now have. The amendments proposed the segregation of sources of State revenue from those of local taxation, the State drawing its support chiefly from taxes upon public service corporations, banks, mines, oil wells, and some other subjects designated, and from an inheritance tax. All subjects not thus segregated were reserved to the local authorities, including lands, improvements and personality. On these, the State could impose no tax. The State was also prohibited from imposing license taxes, save on the liquor business and occupations particularly requiring police regulations. The local authorities could impose licenses on these, and also on some other occupations, but only under such restraints that it would be impracticable in most cases for them to attempt to impose licenses on occupations other than those permitted by the State. The amendments also provided for geographical arrangements of assessments, to be published in pamphlets; that improvements should be assessed separately from the land; and that improvements and personality might, at the option of the taxing body, be assessed on a lower basis than land values. To this last clause there was no limitation, so that improvements and personality might have been relieved almost wholly of taxation, and the burden thrown on land values, as soon as the people were brought to a realization of the advantages of this system. The amendments also proposed the exemption from taxation of all money; also, of improvements to be erected by immigrants on their homesteads; and, by vote of the people of any community, the exemption of improvements to the amount of \$2,000 on any property actually occupied by the owner as a home.

The foregoing provisions were great improvements over our present tax system, and justified hearty support of the measure by tax reformers. However, the proposed system contained many objectionable

*See Public of November 29, page 1138.

features which were not defensible, and which aroused much opposition.



During the early stages of the campaign, the prospects of carrying the amendments were excellent. The Governor and the State administration as a whole were earnestly in their favor, and actively advocated their adoption. The leading papers throughout the State were either outspoken in favor of the amendments, including the New Orleans Times-Democrat and Daily Item, or were silent concerning it. The supporters of the movement were organized to some extent, while, at first, there seemed to be no inclination to organize in opposition. But during the last three weeks of the campaign, special interests took alarm, gathered about them the "ring" influences, and were joined by the Bishop and Archbishop of the Catholic Church in this State. It then became evident that the amendments would not carry.

The opposition urged that the plan meant increased taxation; and once the voter is led to the belief that new taxes are to be imposed on him, it requires a long and persistent campaign to remove this impression. They were well supplied with money, and were furnished with arguments by attorneys of various special interests, including the railroads, the banks and the Catholic clergy. The campaign therefore ended in the defeat of the proposition by a large majority.



Just what the future will bring forth it is as yet too early to say. The people have been awakened to the injustice of our present tax laws, and it is probable that they will insist on relief in some form. But how and when this will come, no one can say.

To those of us, however, who have long favored tax reform, the situation is encouraging. Heretofore it was difficult to obtain a consideration for tax problems, for the reason that it is impossible to obtain any relief under our Constitution; but the campaign has made tax reform a live issue in Louisiana. The leaders in the recent movement are largely men who have heretofore been most conservative, and were against any alteration in taxation. They now fully realize the necessity for a change and have worked earnestly to accomplish it.

Much credit should be given to Mr. Hampton Carver for his good work as a member of the two Commissions. He openly declared himself a Singletaxer before each Commission, and made his fight for improved taxation entirely from that standpoint. To him is largely due the credit of obtaining the provisions permitting the assessment of lands and improvements on a lower basis than land values, and also for the many exemptions on improvements and personalty which the proposed amendments permit. Had his counsel been followed many of the errors in the work would have been avoided.



It might be of interest to know why the Archbishop of the Catholic Church should have cast the influence, of himself and, so far as he could, of his clergy, against the tax amendments. The reason

given by him is that the inheritance tax provided for would fall on donations to churches and educational bodies, when the amount of the bequest or donation exceeded one-half of the disposable property of the donor. For this reason he claimed that the Church had a special interest in defeating the amendments.

Special interests urged on behalf of ecclesiastical corporations have been even more disastrous to governments than those urged on behalf of political corporations. Such claims peculiarly lead to deplorable divisions and discord among the people of a country, and therefore, from either a religious or political standpoint, should not be attempted. There is a strong sentiment to this effect in the State among the intelligent voters of all creeds.



The City of New Iberia and the Parish of Iberia were both carried for the amendments, though only in the face of a stubborn fight.

EDWARD T. WEEKS.



ADVANCE IN CHINA.

From a Private Letter from the Missionary Physician, Dr. Macklin.

Nanking, China.

I am busy translating Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade." It is one of the most important things now to get before the Chinese. I don't plan to make a word-for-word translation, but to translate the idea into good, clear Chinese. I am also translating the "Life of Thomas Jefferson." I have also just finished translating that fine article in one of the late Scribner's on Garden Cities in England, by Frederic C. Howe. It shows these garden cities run on a Singletax basis.

Our Singletax colonization scheme has taken on national proportions. The government has authorized all the governors to foster it.

I am making a strong effort now to get the government to adopt a heavy tax on waste land; since there is no tax at all on waste land, owners can hold the land idle indefinitely.

Nearly all my missionary friends are entirely sympathetic with me in my propaganda, and the missionary society has never made any objection to it; it is an essential part of my Christian platform.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen is very enthusiastic about Singletax, but I don't know how much headway he has made in arguing the matter with President Yuan Shih Kai and the Assembly. He has done a great and noble work in unifying the parties and bridging over the differences between the North and the South. He has done in a way what Bryan did in America, eliminated himself for the good of the cause. By so doing he is really a bigger man than the President.

I have been taking extra good care of my health for the past year by the advice of physicians. I take an immense amount of exercise—horseback riding, farming, gardening, walking, and shooting, and am feeling a good deal better, but I cannot longer stand the strain of caring for the sick and dying, so I am trying to get rid of this work. We are selling the hospital to a union of eight missions, and I

hope to be largely free, but still to do some teaching and lecturing. I shall also preach, translate books, and tracts (largely economic and politico-religious) aiming to help bring the kingdom of God on earth. Of course, the kingdom of God, with monopoly of natural wealth, is unthinkable.

The most likely way to bring in the Singletax in China is to convert the missionaries, and there are quite a number of missionaries who are enthusiastically in favor of this movement. We want to organize all those in favor, and do something effectual. Mr. Strumenski and a number of others in Shanghai are working up a Singletax club among foreigners. The Chinese also have a society among the Socialists for studying Singletax. I lectured for them in the early summer, and am keeping in touch with them.

W. E. MACKLIN.

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 17, 1912.

Progressive Party Organization.

The Conference of leaders in the Progressive Party, in session at Chicago last week, adjourned on the 11th. [See current volume, page 1184.]

In executive session the national committee made certain decisions and referred others to the executive committee. As reported by the Chicago Tribune of the 12th, the minutes of this session were in substance as follows:

Permanent headquarters established in New York with a branch in Washington.

Legislative reference bureau created. To be directed by three experts who will work for uniform social justice laws in all States and in the national Congress.

Money pledged by national committeemen for maintenance of bureau, and guarantee of annual support made.

Committee of seven authorized to go to Europe to study operations of social justice laws in force there. Prof. Walter Weyl and Medill McCormick named as two of committee by Chairman Dixon.

Initiative, Referendum and Recall applied to national committee membership and recommended to State, district, and county organizations of Party.

In the same report it is stated that—
announcement also was made that the committee had approved the organization of a Progressive editorial association and a syndicate news bureau, both suggested by Progressive editors at a special conference.

A plan of organization proposed by Miss Jane

Addams and others, was referred to the executive committee.

The Illinois Legislature.

As a result of the final decision of the State canvassing board of Illinois, announced on the 12th, the next legislature of Illinois will be constituted as follows:

Senate.

Republicans	25
Democrats	24
Progressives	2

House.

Republicans	51
Democrats	73
Progressives	25
Socialists	4

It will be observed that no party has a majority in either chamber. Also that there are 4 instead of 3 Socialists in the House. The strength of the parties respectively may be still further altered by House decisions on some 25 contests.

Official Returns on Direct Voting in Louisiana.

Since the premature reports on the vote in Louisiana upon taxation questions, official returns promulgated by the Secretary of State of Louisiana have disclosed the following figures:

Amendments Lost:

Segregating the sources of State and local revenue. Lost by 18,324 to 40,422.

Authorizing self-taxing municipalities to exempt new industrial enterprises and improvement values for ten years. Lost by 16,132 to 35,095.

Exempting all money on hand or deposit. Lost by 15,536 to 34,097.

Exempting homes to the value of \$2,000. Lost by 16,237 to 34,327.

Referendum to determine whether or not cities, towns and villages shall be released from parochial taxation and licenses. Lost by 15,676 to 33,024.

Exempting for ten years new canals for irrigation, navigation and power purposes, costing not less than \$5,000,000. Lost by 24,031 to 24,269.

Providing for refunding and a sinking fund for State debt. Lost by 14,874 to 34,005.

To allow women to serve on school boards in any part of the State, also on boards governing institutions of charity and correction. Lost by 18,746 to 31,367.

Exempting for a period of ten years all railroads or parts of railroads constructed to January 1, 1913. Lost by 17,808 to 28,983.

Recall of all officers elected by the people, with the exception of judges of courts throughout the State, judges of municipalities and justices of the peace. Lost by 22,655 to 29,915.

Amendments Carried.

Exempting for twenty years corporations organized for the sole purpose of lending money on coun-

try real estate in Louisiana at not more than 6 per cent. Carried by 29,579 to 21,963.

Exempting the legal reserve of life insurance companies organized under the laws of Louisiana. Carried by 28,145 to 21,301.

Levying a special tax of one mill for Confederate veterans' pensions. Carried by 43,815 to 12,995.

The grandfather clause of the Constitution, new registration to close Aug. 31, 1913. Carried by 33,922 to 18,006.

Providing one additional district judge. Carried by 33,014 to 16,460.

A per capita tax and a vehicle license for construction and repair of public roads, bridges, etc. Carried by 32,670 to 17,075.

To allow cities and towns to issue refunding bonds for sewerage and drainage purposes and to levy special taxes to pay interest thereon. Carried by 29,594 to 18,472.

Extending time of exemption from taxation of the Pan-American Steamship Company from Jan. 1, 1913, to Jan. 1, 1916. Carried by 27,510 to 20,335.

Relative to filling vacancies in any of the judicial offices in the parish of Orleans. Carried by 22,658 to 29,915.

The total official vote for President was 79,315. [See current volume, page 1138.]



Negro Business Enterprise.

In Mound Bayou, Mississippi, the famous Negro town, there has just been completed a \$100,000 cotton-seed oil mill, said by experts to be the finest in the State. The opening of this mill on December 6 was a great event, as a dispatch to the Chicago Inter Ocean relates. To the ceremonies 10,000 visitors, white and black, came from as far south as New Orleans and as far north as Nashville. Booker Washington made the address for the Negroes; C. P. J. Mooney, editor of the Memphis Commercial Appeal, spoke for the white people; and together the great crowd sang plantation and religious songs. Entirely a Negro project, planned, financed and erected by Negroes, the mill was suitably located in Mound Bayou—a place about which all Americans should know. Founded by a Negro, Isaiah T. Montgomery—now an old man and once a slave of Jefferson Davis—this town of 700 inhabitants down in the Mississippi "swamps," where are thousands of Negro farmers, "is owned acre for acre by colored people and controlled in every branch by colored men."



Irish Home Rule.

Amid great tumult in the British Commons on the 12th the home rule bill for Ireland came out of committee of the whole by a majority of 138, in form for adoption by the House. Having passed first reading by 94 majority on the 16th of April, 1912, and second reading by 101 majority on

May 9th, it was delayed 10 days in passage through committee of the whole by means of a hostile amendment temporarily adopted by a trick, and will probably go to the House of Lords in January. If the Lords reject the bill or amend it so as to make it unacceptable to the Commons, it will not be a law unless the Commons readopt it at the next session. If again rejected or emasculated by the Lords, its passage by the Commons at the following session will make it law without approval by the Lords. [See current volume, page 1140.]



The Peace Conference at London.

Representatives from Turkey and from the Balkan states, including Greece, though Greece has not as yet signed the armistice, began arriving at London by the 12th, but the peace conference was not formally opened until the 16th. Sir Edward Grey, British foreign minister, who was elected honorary president of the conference, made a speech of welcome to the delegates which seemed to recognize the growing values of the Balkan nationalities. The Greeks and the Turks have continued their naval warfare before the Dardanelles. [See current volume, page 1186.]



Trusts in Australia.

By a vote of 41 to 26 the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Australia passed a bill on the 10th under which the Commonwealth may suppress trusts and other monopolies. Australian dispatches state that the government has found itself at the mercy of the international steel trust in purchasing rails for government railways, and that there have been rumors of an invasion by the American beef trust. The Commonwealth of Australia maintains the Protection policy, having upon its organization followed the example of its protective-tariff State, Victoria, instead of that of its tariff-for-revenue State, New South Wales. [See current volume, pages 726, 1017, 1067.]



China.

The vast and somewhat indefinite country called Mongolia, lying between China proper and Asiatic Russia, which has long been a dependency of China, is now demanded for a dependency by Russia, and the new Republic of China finds itself hampered in trying to enforce its claims by the fact that the Powers have not as yet officially recognized the Republic. For example, in November the Novoe Vremya recommended that no notice be taken of the Chinese proposals to adjust the Mongolian question until the Peking government shall be recognized by the Powers. The Chinese have been collecting a war fund, both in China and from the Chinese in the United States,

to use for the defense of Mongolia, and they have occupied points in Mongolia to the apparent satisfaction of the tribesmen of the localities, although the Mongolians early in the history of the new Republic, under Russian instigation, had proclaimed their independence and had admitted the suzerainty of the Czar. It was announced from Peking on November 8 that Mongolian envoys to St. Petersburg had just closed a treaty with Russia further acknowledging a Russian protectorate over Mongolia as an autonomous state. As Mongolia is regarded as one of the great markets of the future, its control is a matter of much moment to both nations. [See current volume, pages 15, 921, 976.]



The success of the London bankers' loan (called the Crisp loan) in tiding the Republic over immediate financial difficulties last autumn—successful in spite of reports to the contrary—obviated the need of accepting the onerous terms which accompanied the larger loan offered by the six Powers. The larger loan is once again being considered under more favorable conditions. [See current volume, page 921.]



The provisional assembly or National Council is to be superseded by a regular parliament in January. It has been announced from Paris that a special delegation of French deputies and senators is to go from France to China to attend as guests the opening of the parliament.



The following discussion in the National Council in regard to franchise restrictions in parliamentary elections, based on the fact of continuance in the habit of queue wearing, includes the argument of an unenlightened self-disenfranchisement used in the United States in connection with direct legislation. We quote from the China Republican of Shanghai of October 30:

In the National Council today the bill for the cutting of queues was brought up. The bill provides that only queueless men will be eligible for a vote from the date of its promulgation, but as regards the Mongolians, Tibetans and the people of Chinghai, the loss of the franchise will be fixed by a Government order. Considerable discussion ensued. Hou Yuan-hsun agreed with the principle but thought it best not to make it immediately operative lest it should create disorders among the lower classes. Ting Shih-yi thought that it was too late to take up the matter when the elections were practically arranged and that it was better to let it stand over. He also thought that if exceptions were to be made with regard to the people of the frontier provinces, it was tantamount to admitting that they did not belong to the Republic. Chang shu-tung said he was a Mongolian and that he wore a queue, which he was

willing to cut off, but he thought it unwise to make a distinction which might be misconstrued. Wang Shu-sheng contended that it was only the ignorant who wore queues and that the loss of the franchise was the best means of enforcing the new and desirable custom. The discussion became most heated before the House adjourned.

According to the Outlook the suffrage act passed by the Council last July, to be used in the election of the coming parliament, "made no provision for women's votes. Even the vote to male citizens was granted only under strict limitations. Any male citizen of the Chinese Republic over twenty-one years old may vote if he has resided two years in his election district and has paid a direct tax exceeding two silver dollars, or owns real estate valued at more than five hundred silver dollars, or is the graduate of a primary school. But no citizen may vote if the Government had suspended his citizenship, or if he is an illiterate, a bankrupt, an insane person, or—last but not least—an opium-smoker."



The Young Men's Christian Association opened its sixth triennial world's convention at Peking on the 12th. Yuan Shi Kai, President of the Chinese Republic, received on that day 340 Chinese delegates, representing the most important cities, universities and colleges of the fourteen Chinese Provinces, and he also received thirty American and European secretaries of Chinese branches of the Association. Addressing the delegates, Yuan Shi Kai spoke appreciatively of the work of the Association in China. The energies of the Association's branches, he said, were peculiarly acceptable at the present time, when Chinese citizens generally were realizing that with the inauguration of the Republic the greatest responsibilities and higher moral obligations devolved on the people. The Chinese government would therefore give every encouragement to the Young Men's Christian Association in its inculcation of discipline and obedience to authority, thus increasing the harmony between the government and the people.

NEWS NOTES

—Edward Muller was elected President of Switzerland on the 12th. [See current volume, page 684.]

—The newly elected Mayor of Moose Jaw, Assiniboia (Canada), James Pasco, made his campaign on the Singletax issue as a champion of the Singletax.

—Lethbridge, Alberta (Canada), which has just adopted the commission form of government with the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, has elected a Singletaxer for Mayor.

—Governor Donaghey of Arkansas pardoned 316 State convicts and 44 county convicts on the 16th. his reason being that under the system of leasing

convicts the convict camps are filled, by judicial abuses, with long-term convicts accused of trivial offenses.

—A measure proposing to abolish the commission form of government in Spokane and to return to the ward system was defeated at the election on November 5th by 5,777—Yes, 9,448; No, 15,225.

—Woodrow Wilson, President-elect of the United States, returned with his family on the 16th from Bermuda, where he has been resting since the Presidential election. [See current volume, page 1115.]

—George Burnham, until his retirement a few years ago the president of the Baldwin Locomotive works at Philadelphia, died on the 10th at the age of 63. Mr. Burnham was identified with civil service reform, and had been for many years the treasurer of the National Municipal League.

—The taking of testimony before the United States Senate sitting as a Court of Impeachment for the trial of Robert W. Archbald as a judge of the Commerce Court was concluded in that case on the 14th, on the part of the impeachment managers. [See current volume, page 1187.]

—By an act of the British Parliament, reported on the 14th as having been approved by the King, sentences to flogging are authorized upon conviction of "white slaving"—the business of procuring girls for prostitutional purposes. Flogging is permissive on first convictions and mandatory on subsequent convictions.

—The world's altitude record for aeroplanes was broken on the 11th by Roland G. Garros, a French aviator who ascended from Tunis, Africa, 5,861 meters, approximately 19,032 feet. Mr. Garros also broke the record last year, at that time ascending nearly 14,000 feet. [See volume xiv, p. 934; current volume, page 1187.]

—Luitpold, Prince Regent of Bavaria, died at Munich on the 12th, at the advanced age of 91. The regency has existed since 1886 and is demanded by the hopelessly demented condition of the reigning King, Otto, who succeeded his more or less insane brother Ludwig II in that year. Luitpold is succeeded as Regent by his son Ludwig.

—A procession of women set out from New York on the 16th for a two weeks' walk to the capitol at Albany. Their purpose is to deliver to Governor Sulzer at his inauguration a petition for votes for women. At suffrage headquarters in New York each applicant received a knapsack for suffrage literature. In every town by the way a reception is planned.

—Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson of Denver, book reviewer of the Rocky Mountain News and the wife of a Denver lawyer, was elected to the Colorado Senate at the election of November 5th. She is the first woman Senator in Colorado; the second in the United States, the first having been Mrs. Martha H. Cannon, who sat in the Senate of Utah. Mrs. Robinson was elected as a Democrat, but she ran far ahead of her ticket.

—The new provisional government in Santo Domingo is facing a fresh revolt, led by Horaccio Vasquez and Julian Arias. The provisional President, Archbishop Nouel, is unofficially supported by the United States, and the transport Prairie having

returned from Dominican waters to this country, the battleship New Hampshire sailed for the troubled island, from Norfolk, Va., on the 11th. [See current volume, page 1186.]

—By order of County Judge John E. Owens of Chicago, the Election Commissioners were directed on the 16th to recognize the Progressive Party instead of the Republican Party as the minority party for purposes of appointing election judges for Chicago and Cicero. Judge Owens holds that the vote for President of the United States determines the minority standing of political parties under the bi-partisan appointment laws of Illinois.

—A general strike of the whole working population of France was ordered by the General Federation of Labor to be carried out for the one day of December 16th as a protest against war and to demonstrate their power of paralyzing the government in the event of a declaration of war. In Paris workmen are reported to have obeyed the order in many instances, but if the dispatches are truthful the strike is regarded in France as a failure.

—The Supreme Court of the United States on the 16th decided that under the Sherman anti-trust law certain contracts (known as "the 65 per cent contracts") whereby independent coal producers in the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania bound themselves to deliver the output of their mines or any other mines which they might acquire, to the railroad companies for 65 per cent of the average market price at tidewater, are void as unreasonable restraints upon inter-State commerce.

—The official returns of Ohio on the Presidency, made public on the 7th, are as follows: Wilson (Dem.), 423,152; Taft (Rep.), 277,066; Roosevelt (Prog.), 229,327; Debs (Soc.), 89,930; Chafin (Proh.), 11,459; Reimer (Soc. Lab.), 2,623. Although Mr. Wilson's vote is 79,569 smaller than Bryan's in 1908, Wilson's plurality is greater in this State than that of any other Presidential candidate except Theodore Roosevelt in 1904; yet Bryan was defeated by 69,591. The total vote in 1912 was 86,673 less than in 1908. [See current volume, page 1138.]

—Dispatches of the 10th from Arizona told of the death in a train wreck near Williams, Ariz., of Thomas J. Morgan, the old-time Socialist of Chicago, and his son-in-law, Allen T. Courser. Mr. Morgan was born in Birmingham, England, in 1847. He came to the United States in 1869, was a printer and brass worker by trade and a lawyer by profession. Since 1876 he had been active as a Socialist. He is credited with having organized the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly which developed into the present Federation of Labor of Chicago.

—Whitelaw Reid, American ambassador to Great Britain since 1905, died in London on the 15th. Mr. Reid was a newspaper correspondent in the Civil War, was invited by Horace Greeley to take an editorial position on the New York Tribune, became managing editor, substituted for Mr. Greeley when the latter was a Presidential candidate, displaced him as editor, married a daughter of D. O. Mills (one of the early American millionaires), was allied politically with the Blaine faction of the Republican Party, became the Party candidate for Vice-President in 1892, and was minister to France by appoint-

ment of President Harrison. His appointment as ambassador to Great Britain was by President Roosevelt. Mr. Reid died at the age of 75 years.

—General Louis Botha on the 14th resigned the premiership of the Union of South Africa, which he has held since May, 1910. The dispatches state that the old Boer leader took this step in consequence of dissensions in the cabinet led by Dutch extremists, whose attitude on naval and other Imperial questions tended to revive the old race feud between the Dutch and the English. Viscount Gladstone, Governor General of the Union of South Africa, accepted General Botha's resignation, but immediately asked him to form another cabinet. [See vol. xiii, p. 541; current volume, page 182.]

—A widespread movement in Georgia for the expulsion of Negroes from the northern counties was reported on the 16th from Atlanta as having led to an appeal to the Governor, by leading white citizens of the counties affected, for troops to maintain order. Hundreds of Negroes have been driven away, according to the Atlanta dispatches, and "all over the section notices are being posted warning Negroes they must leave or be killed." "Similar notices," say these dispatches, "are being posted on the premises of the white employers of Negroes, notifying them that if they do not assist in getting rid of the Negroes they will also be made to suffer."

—Sidna Allen, sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for the killing of Judge Massie at Hillsville, Va., last March, was sentenced on the 11th to 5 years additional for killing State's Attorney Foster and 15 more for killing Sheriff Webb, a total of 35 years. All these homicides were committed at the same time in the court house by the so-called "Allen gang." Allen's nephew, Wesley Edwards, was sentenced on the 11th to imprisonment for 9 years on each of three indictments for the same three homicides, making a total of 27 years. The execution of Floyd Allen and Claude Allen, sentenced to death by electricity for the same homicides, has been postponed by the Governor of Virginia from December 13th to January 17th. [See current volume, page 1142.]

—Four men were hanged officially in the penitentiary at Salem, Oregon, on the 13th, in consequence of the defeat, at the recent election, of an Initiative measure abolishing capital punishment. Governor West had reprieved these four and one other, pending a popular vote on that measure; when the measure was defeated, he commuted the sentence of one of the five to imprisonment for life and fixed the date of execution for the other four. They were hanged in pairs, half an hour apart. On the gallows, two confessed their guilt of murder (one of the two attributing the act to "hounding" by crime officers, he having been several times a convict), one admitted the homicide for which he was paying this penalty but pleaded its necessity in self defense, the fourth protested his innocence to the last. On the day of these hangings the Anti-capital Punishment League of California held a 24-hour street meeting in San Francisco at which capital penalties were denounced in a succession of many speeches filling out the entire day and night. [See current volume, page 1187.]

PRESS OPINIONS

The Lynch Governor.

Chicago Inter Ocean, December 12.—It's a long time between impeachments, as the other Governors said to the Governor of South Carolina.



From Effects to Causes.

The (London) Nation (Lib.), November 9.—When men and women grow moral enough and refined enough to realize a tenth part of what their creed and their civilization demand of them, prostitution and procurers will alike vanish into the night of a horrible past. But that hour will never strike so long as a cruel sentimentalism does duty for honest thought, and for that effort of reformation which turns men's eyes from the effect and the appearance of ill to its causes and remedies.



A Great Woman's Great Work.

The (Chicago) Inter Ocean (Rep.), Dec. 14.—Mrs. Ella Flagg Young has been re-elected Superintendent of Schools of Chicago. She assumed the post after there had been much controversy over school management, which made the outlook rather dubious. By tact, common sense and earnest industry she has succeeded in keeping the city's school system up to a high standard and in administering affairs to the general satisfaction of the people of Chicago. It is one case where a woman has emphatically "made good."



Henry Knew How.

Woman's Journal (suf.) (Boston), Nov. 23.—Henry was very proud of the new kittens, and fetched them to show to the visitors. His mother heard them coming along the hall, and, alarmed at the noise of the procession, called out, "Don't hurt the kittens, Henry." "No, mother," came the reassuring answer, "I'm carrying them very carefully by the stems." This incident is commended to those cities and towns which think that a school board made up wholly of men is likely to know exactly how to deal with little children.



Farm Credits.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Wm. Marion Reedy), Dec. 12.—Great scheme of President Taft's for a system of loans to farmers. Just like Taft, though. Loans to farmers, when the small farm owner is falling into tenancy, and the big capitalized farm is swallowing up all the good land! What farming needs is farms, with the results of farm labor untaxed, with unused farm lands taxed at their full value. The farm loan system will only serve to burden the small farmer, to concentrate land holdings, to put the small farmer at a disadvantage. The way to relieve the farmer is to put an end to speculative values in farm lands.

Arguing for the Singletax in China.

China Press, (editorial paragraphs).—Believers in the Singletax seldom miss an opportunity to say a word for the plan. Dr. W. E. Macklin* got his chance at the meeting of the Kuling landrenters' meeting. A speaker had advocated that the council should sell lots according to value, instead of at a flat rate of \$350, and had pointed out that he had bought a lot privately for \$950. "Yes," said Dr. Macklin, "the state should have got that \$950. Then we could have had a water service throughout the state."

**The Republic of China.**

The Chicago Tribune (Prog.), December 16.—The failure of the administration to recognize the republican government of China has aroused the surprise of a good many of our people. In his statement of Dec. 3 President Taft expressed sympathy with the effort of the Chinese people to establish a republic, but explains the failure to recognize the new government by saying that he prefers to await the results of the election to be held in January. This is cold comfort. The government is established, it has been working since last February, and the elections of next January are not to determine whether the government is to be continued republican, but who shall operate its machinery in behalf of the people. The explanation seems hardly sufficient. The refusal to recognize the republican government is virtually to co-operate with its opponents. Russia is acting more or less openly against it, and would undoubtedly like to see it fail. Our position strengthens her efforts. Moreover, we have thrown in our lot in the matter of loans with the so-called "financial group" of Powers. That is to say, we have taken the same view as they do, that our people should not lend money to China unless the Chinese government will turn over to foreigners revenues and their expenditure. This would be to abrogate its functions, and such a demand is unworthy of the United States. Its effect is to weaken and not to strengthen the spread of democratic government.



I refuse to kill your father. I refuse to slay your mother's son. I refuse to plunge a bayonet into the breast of your sister's brother. I refuse to slaughter your sweetheart's lover. I refuse to murder your wife's husband. I refuse to butcher your little child's father. I refuse to wet the earth with blood and blind kind eyes with tears. I refuse to assassinate you and then hide my stained fists in the folds of any flag.—From George R. Kirkpatrick's "War—What For?"



Emma Ginter, a little girl who goes to the Park avenue school, in a story about the harvest supper served many, many years ago by the lord of the manor, in merrie England, tells of how this supper ended in drunkenness. "The harvest supper began in the right way," writes little Miss Emma, "but it ended in disrespect to God. This we regret, but we cannot change the customs of our forefathers."—Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat.

*See letter from Dr. Macklin on page 1207.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

"ON EARTH PEACE."

For The Public.

Three mighty evils hold the world to-day
Close-bound within their devastating sway,—
Three hellish spirits that so long have grown
And battened in our midst they scarce are known
For what they are, and their true loathsome mien
By many—nay, by most—is never seen.

Chief spirit of this black abhorrent three
Is that which preys on woman's chastity,—
Which feeds with human souls the fires of lust,
And turns God's boon of love to poisoned dust.

Next is the coward spirit that doth wreak
Its hate against the luckless and the weak
In Justice' name,—which snares and cages men,
And murders manhood in the prison pen.

Last is the spirit that, for schemes of state,
Transmutes the bond of brotherhood to hate,—
Which sends man forth, in cool deliberate plan,
To slay, like Cain of old, his brother man.

With eyes close-sealed we dream of earthly peace,—
Vain is the dream until these wrongs shall cease!
Peace shall but mock us, till the righteous stand,
Fronting these monsters, in embattled band,—
Until at last our wrathful arrows fly
In whelming clouds against them, and they die.

WALDO R. BROWNE.

**THE GROWING DEMOCRACY OF THE CHURCH.**

Many a man, remembering the faith of his mother, has a certain sense of disappointment upon entering the average city church. He cannot but feel that there is something lacking. But, remembering the faith of his mother, he looks hopefully for signs of change.

The title of this sketch might be construed as a reproach: Why should the early "cradle of democracy" be only growing into democracy, instead of being the leader of democracy? Tracing its lineage to the Great Democrat, why should it not be still the cradle of democracy?

Defendingly, we may say that the Church has a special function to perform, the "spiritual" function, but can we say it with a straight face? In our hearts we know that the real function of the Church is to lighten the burden of those "who labor and are heavy laden"—lighten it not at one particular point, nor even where it bears heaviest, but lighten it. Is it doing so?

Why not? Why is the Church only growing into democracy? The reason is essentially the

same reason that the world at large is only growing into democracy. It is that democracy has been dwarfed at the roots, and the rule of a limited few established; it is, tritely, the lack of democracy. The general conferences of the Protestant Churches, and the like, have been dominated by the clergy, a self-chosen clergy; for, while individual church organizations have chosen their own pastors, they have been limited in their choice to a self-chosen group of ministers. In the Roman Catholic Church, authority has been much more highly centralized. There can be no doubt that these men, in entering the ministry, have been animated by high ideals of service to humanity, but they have been preachers of The Truth, rather than seekers after the truth. Like the "bench and bar," like men in all walks of life, they have been bound down by accepted beliefs that have been pronounced Truth. Thousands of men and women of character and of interest in the public welfare, feeling the inadequacy of the Church, and seeing no way themselves to better conditions, have drifted away from these organizations.

Now, however, the "rising sun of democracy is rising in the west," and, just as it is shedding its light on bench and bar, and into every corner of the earth, so also is the Church becoming illuminated.

And Lo! the Hunter of the East has caught
The Sultan's Turret in a Noose of Light.

Here and there a Crapsey or a Bigelow springs up; everywhere the Churches are adopting new lines of activity, widening their sphere of service to mankind. Only recently, upon the occasion of a civic uprising, I heard the minister of one of our city churches arguing valiantly that "it is perfectly proper for Christian men and women to vote," for, said he, "if you will go to the voting places, the polls where they vote, there you will see every bum and promoter of vice voting whenever they get the chance." Smile if you will, but these are signs of change, and change in the right direction.

There is another reason why the Church will again become an active factor of democracy, namely, the character of the church buildings—neighborhood auditoriums, ideally adapted to democratic gatherings and discussions. When the Church has again entered into the life of the *whole* people, by adapting itself to their needs and aspirations, the churches will become the gathering-places, cradles of democracy.

HARRY W. OLNEY.



THE MEETING.

Rose E. Sharland in *The Labour Leader*.

His tool-bag was slung on his shoulder,
He hummed a sweet song as he stepped,
And looked up the hillside as moulder,
With bracken by autumn's brush swept.

The flame-yellow gorse-bushes burning,
To him were the candles of God
Before some great altar, where, yearning,
The spirit walked humbly, unshod.

"Get out of the way, you!" came, heated,
A voice from the depths of a car,
Wherein a great Bishop was seated,
Aloof in his splendor, and far.
He passed: and the fair roadside under
Was foul as the powdered dust spun,
Where, lost in a sad smile of wonder,
Was standing the Carpenter's Son.



WHAT THE BRAKEMAN OVER-HEARD.

By the Rev. Robert A. Bakeman. This Parable
Was Sent Out from the Baptist Parsonage
at East Jaffrey, N. H., Christmas, 1911.

It was flashed by the Associated Press to all the great dailies of the world that Jesus would spend Christmas day in Jaffrey, New Hampshire. And it was further reported that Jaffrey was the only place where he could be seen. Naturally, there arise two questions of absorbing interest—What happened in Jaffrey? and how did the people outside of Jaffrey receive this remarkable announcement? In the first place, just as soon as the news reached town there was a meeting of all the ministers. This sounds dignified, but accuracy really demands the statement that the ministers met without appointment almost in the center of the village while each was hurrying to the home of one of the others. And they tell us that at that meeting the older brethren seemed to have forgotten entirely that there was one among them who was shaky on Regeneration and had publicly admitted his inability to associate the idea of Eternal Torment with his Heavenly Father. So much of a bombshell at the very start did the Associated Press hurl into the midst of a little village nestling peacefully at the foot of Monadnock. And then a mass meeting of all the people in all the churches was held, for the Bishop had telephoned permission to the good Father of the Roman Catholic parish that his people might unite on this occasion with the other churches in the village. Committees were formed to look after every detail. A great chorus choir from all the churches held rehearsals every night, and it is only fair to say that a kind of lofty, holy enthusiasm ran contagiously through the community; the censorious harshness that makes so many lives rasp and scrape, almost entirely vanished and many people took advantage of the few days of grace before the coming of the Master and made a bee-line for the homes of those whom they had wronged and whom they passed each day with lip of scorn and eyes from which the lightning flashed. And outside of Jaffrey, as the news was re-

ceived in city and town, pilgrimages were arranged from every section of the country and from every country in the world. And their objective point was Jaffrey, New Hampshire. The telephone and telegraph wires were buried with messages. The Ark and the Inn were deluged with orders for accommodations. Unheard-of prices were offered for every inch of space that could by the most extravagant use of the imagination be considered a possibility as a place to lodge. Everybody who had a relative that lived within striking distance of Jaffrey was suddenly seized with an overwhelming affection for him—"they had planned to write him for a long time, anyway." And from the outside the movement had taken larger form, for there had come in from other towns and cities and from the kings of finance tremendous contributions, with orders to spare nothing to make the background worthy of the event.

Skilled decorators were sent from the large cities and every house was decked with gorgeous colors and striking inscriptions of welcome to the King of kings. The suggestion was made and received immediate indorsement, that in this triumphal procession, instead of the palm branches, there be spread the whole distance of the line of march the finest of velvet carpeting, and so for days the main street of the village had been closed to travel and now for more than half a mile from church to church there was one vast expanse of rich softness. Christmas Sunday came, and the atmosphere of the crowded village was charged with an intensity that could scarcely be suppressed. The churches did not begin to be large enough to hold those who wished to come, and many a man who had been one of the emigrants from the churches five, ten or twenty years before for one or another of the reasons that have made so many emigrants in those twenty years, made his way back into his old pew. The evening services were not dismissed till midnight, and in the remaining hours a tired but expectant community tried in vain to sleep.

When the first tinges of gold shot through the eastern sky on Christmas morning, from every turnpike and crossroad they came—the winding procession of travelers on foot and in teams. And before the sun had really had time to adjust himself once more to the sight of his western constituents the shriek of the special trains was heard as they pulled up to the depot and emptied themselves of the swarms from the cities. With amazing quickness they lined up many deep along the whole half-mile of carpeted way. The sight was splendid. It could not have failed to have drawn forth a response of appreciation from even a luxury-sated Emperor of the Romans. Close by the station was gathered the committee that was to receive Jesus. They were easily picked out because their breasts were lighted up with badges of solid gold. There

were two Cardinals of the Catholic Church who were allowed on this occasion to wear their red hats, and they held in their hands a memorial to be placed in the hands of Jesus, written by the Pope himself. There were a dozen or more of the uncrowned Bishops of the Protestant Church. The Governor and his staff and the President and his guard represented the State and the Nation. The men of science, too, had their quota with their doctors' robes adorned with red and blue and green and their Phi Beta Kappa keys sufficiently in evidence. And the fraternal orders had brought their grandest potentates, who added their share to the brilliance of the scene with their plumes and uniforms. And so on down the line the great and mighty were given a place on this committee which was to receive with the honor due him, Jesus. Was it any wonder that fevered intensity was everybody's mood when the event that the world had expected from generation to generation for almost two thousand years was about to take place? Even the pure, white beast, with his trappings of beaten gold, who was to bear the Master along the carpeted way, pawed the ground with restlessness. But suddenly every form grew rigid with expectancy. From the distance the clear air brought the sound of a shrill whistle, and around the curve the train came speeding. The signal was given and heads were bared all down the line, the militia came to present, and for a moment nothing was heard but the heart-beats of men. It was as though all nature joined with every creature spontaneously in an invocation upon the scene that was about to be enacted.

And then upon the platform of the car there appeared the form of a man. A hand was raised and immediately every church bell rang out its song of frenzied joy; the thousand voices banked upon the side burst forth with "Joy to the world, the Lord has come: Let earth receive her King." A mighty cheer swept down the line like a wind-storm, but the cheer was frozen in the throats of those who stood near enough to see, for the man who stood upon the platform of the car had bleary eyes and dishevelled hair and the face of the drunken sot, and as they looked he staggered down into their midst, and his feet were just about to touch the carpet of velvet when he was seized by the strong-armed guards and hurled out into the midst of the crowd, which pushed him from side to side and mocked at his embarrassment. And those who had seen it all shuddered as they realized how near the drunkard had come to stepping upon the carpet of velvet "kept for the Master's use."

But now there appeared a foreigner—a weaver in the mill—and when those who lived in the village saw him they jeered again, but the leaders allowed him in silence to make his way through the crowd, taking care only that his feet did not touch the sacred carpet. And following him in quick

succession came a woman from the next town, notorious the country wide as a public property, a woman whose name was handled as carelessly as one would brush the dirt from his coat, whose face bore the unmistakable signs of her trade; and after her a convict just released, with hair still cropped close and wearing the prison-made suit and shoes to remind him of what he was—and is; and last of all there came out through the door a man with ragged clothes and face unshaven and shoes worn to the uppers. And this trio were taken in hand almost before their feet touched the ground and carried toward the little white jail—the only place the hungry man can go; for 'tis against the law for him to ask for bread. Here they could be kept safely until after Jesus had come and gone. For the shock that had come to the crowd at first had given place to wise looks and words. It was easy to see why they were there. They had come to take advantage of the crowd and ply their trade—the harlot to capitalize the passions of men; the convict to steal their possessions, and the tramp in his poverty and rags to excite their sympathy.

The officers had forced their way through the sea of scornful and indifferent faces when a little woman plainly dressed, flushed with excitement, grasped the hand of the harlot, drew her face to hers and whispered in her ear. What she said no one knows save those two and the Father who has the time and the thought to watch even the sparrow as he falls. But as she was dragged away there came over the harlot's face a smile that was not the smile of a harlot—and the same moment from the lips of the little woman came a shout, "There he is!" For as she took her place again in the crowd, in one of the windows of the car she had seen looking at her the radiant face of Jesus! But as she cried out the crowd, startled at first, quickly remembered that she was the woman who had spoken to the harlot, and they smiled the long-suffering smile that the wise and great ones have for those whose minds are feeble, and charitably concluded that the excitement of the day had left her unbalanced.

The bell clanged and the train pulled out with one passenger left on board. And the brakeman who was passing through heard him say: "They didn't want to see me after all. They expected some one else."

The next morning the newspapers of the world came out in black headlines:

**Tremendous Crowds Disappointed!
Thousands Stand All Christmas Day
at Jaffrey, New Hampshire, But
Jesus Fails to Appear!**

But the woman who had pressed the harlot's hand knew that the newspapers of the world were wrong.

A PARABLE.

By James Russell Lowell.

Said Christ our Lord, "I will go and see
How the men, my brethren, believe in me."
He passed not again through the gate of birth,
But made Himself known to the children of earth.

Then said the chief priests and rulers, and kings,
"Behold, now, the Giver of all good things;
Go to, let us welcome with pomp and state
Him who alone is mighty and great."

With carpets of gold the ground they spread
Wherever the Son of Man should tread,
And in palace-chambers lofty and rare
They lodged him, and served him with kingly fare.

Great organs surged through arches dim
Their jubilant floods in praise of him;
And in church, and palace, and judgment-hall,
He saw his image high over all.

But still, wherever his steps they led,
The Lord in sorrow bent down his head,
And from under the heavy foundation-stones,
The son of Mary heard bitter groans.

And in church, and palace, and judgment-hall,
He marked great fissures that rent the wall,
And opened wider and yet more wide
As the living foundation heaved and sighed.

"Have ye founded your thrones, and altars, then,
On the bodies and souls of living men?
And think ye that building shall endure
Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor?"

"With gates of silver and bars of gold
Ye have fenced my sheep from their Father's fold;
I have heard the dropping of their tears
In heaven these eighteen hundred years."

"O Lord and Master, not ours the guilt,
We build but as our fathers built;
Behold thine images, how they stand,
Sovereign and sole, through all our land.

"Our task is hard,—with sword and flame
To hold thy earth forever the same,
And with sharp crooks of steel to keep
Still, as thou leftest them, thy sheep."

Then Christ sought out an artisan,
A low-browed, stunted, laggard man,
And a motherless girl, whose fingers thin
Pushed from her faintly want and sin.

These set He in the midst of them,
And as they drew back their garment-hem,
For fear of defilement, "Lo, here," said he,
"The images ye have made of me!"



In the city where the wall is jasper and the gates
are twelve pearls, will there be any villeins to labor
while other men feast?—"Long Will," by Florence
Converse.



"Quit cher bellerin'! Look what I gotta carry!
Look what we all gotta carry!"

From *The Masses* (150 Nassau St., New York) for December, 1912.

BOOKS

MONEY AND MEN.

Natural Money: The Peaceful Solution. By John Raymond Cummings. The Bankers' Publishing Co., New York. 1912. Price, cloth, \$1.50 postpaid.

A succession of carnally-minded generations necessitates the continued rediscovery and elaboration of truths which are but sub-titles of the fundamental law, so that we learn from De Tocqueville that there is a natural system of political action, from Henry George that there is a natural source of public revenue, and from the present author that there is a natural medium of exchange. Practically all the factors of the book have been discussed elsewhere, as the factors of "Progress and Poverty" had been before George wrote, but the relationship remained to be delineated and the delineation is a genuine service.

Mediums of exchange consisting of labor time-checks, inconvertible and standardized by reference to no unit of measure but that of the clock, have heretofore been proposed. Only careless

thinking could cause anyone to identify with that the proposal made in this book. The proposal here is that a natural money be created by having the government employ at common labor all those who can not be employed privately to better advantage for themselves, at say \$2 per day, issuing in payment certificates in convenient denominations which shall be receivable for taxes due the government; and finally making the whole disbursement of the government in "natural money," standardized by reference to a day's common labor at \$2.

The fluctuations in the number of people publicly or privately employed are relied upon to regulate the supply of money; the excess of expenditure over income, now reflected in the national debt, and further excesses due to a plausible plan for the termination of private land monopoly set forth in the book, create and maintain a sufficient volume of currency for the demands of trade. Savings would be in money instead of in property, so that interest as we know it would cease and be had in the increased purchasing power of a day's labor ten years hence over that of today; money having no intrinsic value would rise or fall in value in proportion to its purchasing power, which would be measured by the effective worth of a day's common labor and skilled labor in proportion—hence labor would be not only the measure but the beneficiary of social progress. This is the promise and the vision which make the book more a contribution to social ideals than to the prosaic science of finance.

The author assumes that but one species of property is, for the present, a suitable subject for taxation—the social- or people-value of land; though even this might disappear when the increased effectiveness of labor in both measuring and receiving the benefit of its own progress had rendered the quasi-socialization of industry, with its inevitable exploitation of labor and land values, impossible.

The author has forgotten that great thoughts like those of the "Sermon on the Mount," of the "Social Contract" and of the "Declaration of Independence" are usually compressed into a small compass. Though not large, the volume contains matter dealing with remote applications of the proposed system which may give reason for criticism unconnected with the real and vital issues of the book.

"Natural Money" as a book has an important place in the economic and sociological literature of the time. Only the judgment of many minds can determine its ultimate worth. That it is a book of vital importance is possible, that it will have a considerable place in the thought of the coming years is probable, that it, now, is a book worth while is certain.

THORWALD SIEGFRIED.

SOME AMERICAN LYRICS.

The Golden Treasury of American Songs and Lyrics. Edited by Frederic Lawrence Knowles. Published by L. C. Page and Co., Boston. 1901.

To cavil at any selective collection of poems is very easy. Take any point of view not given by the editor as his in the preface, and from it draw a line of criticism toward the selection of poems from any of your best-loved poets. The resultant will be—at right angles from the truth. But there is another, a simple-minded reader's way, pleasant and at least as near paralleling the truth. Take Mr. Knowles' collection, for example. If you do not find here your favorite American poem, think, first, whether it is a lyric, next whether your fancy for it is singular, third—and last resort—whether another's preferences might not be as pleasant reading.

To tell the truth, however, you probably will find your first choice, and your second and third in this unpretentious, somewhat small collection. One hundred and sixty poems is not many out of even so short a literary history as that of America; but "Bedouin Song" and "The Haunted Palace" are here, and "Dutch Lullaby" and "O, Captain! My Captain!" Moreover, place has been found for some poets not so well known as they deserve, Henry Timrod for instance, and George Henry Boker.

The book is handy, is agreeably bound and printed in not too fine a type. One could wish that the poems had been grouped by authors, or put into precise chronological order, or at least dated. There are, however, adequate indexes to first lines and to authors.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.



THE REIGN OF LAW.

The Winning of the Best. By Ralph Waldo Trine. New York. Dodge Publishing Co., 220 East 23rd Street, New York.

By one who believes in "the absolute reign of law," though unable often to see causes back of effects, this book offers some of the loftiest lessons of life in pleasing phase and convincing form. They are lessons, too, which apply no less to community than to individual obligations.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Hygiene for the Worker. By William H. Tolman and Adelaide Wood Guthrie. Edited by C. Ward Crampton, M. D. Published by the American Book Co., Chicago.

—Official Congressional Directory. Sixty-second Congress, Third Session, beginning Dec. 2, 1912. First edition, December, 1912. Kindness of the Hon. William Sulzer.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

The Reign of Reason: A Treatise on Political Economy. By I. F. Bradley. Published by the Author, Kansas City, Kan. 1912.

Equal Suffrage Song Sheaf. By Eugénie M. Rayé-Smith. Published by the Author, 519 Garfield Ave., Richmond Hill, N. Y. Second Edition. 1912.

The Social and Civic Center. General Series No. 63, Bulletin of the University of Washington. Leaflet No. 1, Bureau of Civic Development. Published by the University, Seattle, Wash., September, 1912.

Supplemental Report on Comprehensive System of Passenger Subways for the City of Chicago by the Harbor and Subway Commission: Reply to Criticisms. October 30, 1912. William J. Shanks, Secretary.

Some Thoughts on Agricultural Education. By Edward A. Rumely, La Porte, Indiana. Address delivered at the Second Annual Conference of the Bankers' Committees on Agricultural Development and Education, Minneapolis, August 7, 1912.

A Study of Trolley Light Freight Service and Philadelphia Markets in their Bearing on the Cost of Farm Produce. By Clyde Lyndon King, University of Pennsylvania. Made under direction of Rudolph Blankenburg, Mayor. Philadelphia, October, 1912.

PERIODICALS

Arden Leaves.

"Arden stands forth as an attempt to demonstrate the truth" of its founders' belief that just social conditions "can never be brought about until the fundamental injustice of private ownership of land is done away with." And "Arden Leaves" is the medium through which believers and doubters both may learn how this co-operative experiment progresses "under the strain of 'practical' everyday tests." A personal editorial, reminiscent and cheerful, is not the only intimate page in the December issue of this pretty monthly.

A. L. G.



The Twentieth Century Magazine.

The next step towards democracy after the Initiative and Referendum shall be gained, will be public ownership of public utilities. With such a prophesy, the new editors of the Twentieth Century Magazine—successors to Mr. Zueblin who has recently withdrawn—announce the next task of their magazine to be "the forwarding of the right administration of public property." The November issue, beginning a new volume, is reduced in size but not in vim.

A. L. G.



Case and Comment.

The December issue of the lawyers' magazine, "Case and Comment" (Rochester, N. Y.), is a Taxation Number, and land value taxation is very prominent therein. Short chapters well-chosen from Louis F. Post's book, "The Taxation of Land Values," make an exposition of the nature of the Singletax

which is simple and brief enough for a casual inquirer, yet precisely phrased enough for the thoughtful investigator. L. B. Schwartz, in an excellent article on the "Singletax as a Fiscal Policy," uses the sky-scraper-tenant analogy to very good effect; and in the course of proving that the Singletax answers to the accepted canons for a just tax, brings to light at every opportunity the nature of property in land.

A. L. G.



"HOUSELESS BY NIGHT."

S. Gertrude Ford, in *The London Daily News*.

A recent inquiry revealed the fact that, for thirteen "rescue homes" in one area, not one shelter was provided for the "respectable" and destitute.



The woman wept; she had not slept,
But all night long had borne her part—
The grim "Move on," the rest unwon,
Cold stone and colder heart.

Her weary feet, through street on street,
Wandered, or in dim corners stayed.
The Thames' chill call to rest was all
That wooed her where she strayed.

She glanced within the doors where sin
A friend might find and almoner—
None housed that night the flower yet white,
None opened unto her.

And if she heard the Dawn's great word,
Or met, instead, the Night's dark prince,
Or heard what Death to Sorrow saith,
I saw not, then or since;

But 'neath the cloud a lily bowed—
Broke—and a storm grew up afar;
And men might see, ere night could flee,
The falling of a star.



As for me, no Jew—not even the poorest shambling clothes dealer in Harrison street—but startles me effectually out of this work-a-day world. When I look upon the face of a Jew, I seem to feel a little wind fresh from off the Sea of Tiberius. I seem to receive a message which has come under the whole sea of time, from the further shores of it. This wandering person, who without a home in any nation, has yet made a literature which is at home in every nation, carries me in one direction to my mysterious brethren, the cave-men, and the lake dwellers; in the other direction to the masterful Carpenter of Bethlehem, climax of our race. Until you can bring me a statesman more comprehensive in view, and more diligent in detail than Moses; until you can bring me poets more spiritual than David and him who wrote Job, until you can bring me a lover more pure or a mystic more wrapped than John; until you can bring me a man more dear and friendly and helpful and strong and human and Christly than Jesus—do not speak to me slightly of the Jew.—From Sidney Lanier's Review of "Daniel Deronda."

An Arab went to a neighbor and said, "Lend me your rope."

"I can't," said the neighbor.

"Why can't you?"

"Because I want to use the rope myself."

"For what purpose?" the other persisted.

"I want to tie up five cubic feet of water with it."

"How on earth," sneered the would-be borrower, "can you tie up water with a rope?"

"My friend," said the neighbor, "Allah is great and he permits us to do strange things with a rope when we don't want to lend it."—Boston Transcript.



When the breed of poultry had been so far improved that a hen would lay an egg stamped with

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BROOKLYN, N. Y.

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM DEBATES

Masonic Temple, Lafayette and Clermont Aves.

Dec. 22, "Socialism vs. Singletax."

Socialism: George H. Goebel. Singletax: Ex-Judge Jno. S. Crosby

THE CLEVELAND SINGLE TAX CLUB

began its weekly luncheons at Weber's, opposite the Post Office, sometime ago. Luncheon every Thursday at noon; notice will be sent members of Club monthly of formal meeting.

M. F. McCARTHY, Secy.-Treas.

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Annual meeting and dinner of the Public Policy League of Illinois will be held at the main dining room of the City Club, No. 315 Plymouth Place, Chicago, Friday, December 20, 1912.

¶ Meet 6:30 p. m. sharp: Dinner 7:00 p. m. sharp. ¶ Hon. Edward F. Dunne, Governor-elect of the State of Illinois will speak.

¶ All members and friends are invited to be present. ¶ Table d'Hôte Dinner, 75c a person. Reserve plates by notifying Sec.-Treas. by letter or telephone. All plates will be allotted in order of reservation. John J. Sonstebly, Sec.-Treas., 605-19 So. LaSalle St. Cent. 7026

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he date, it was thought by many that no further advance was possible.

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"If automobiles, why not eggs?" reasoned the

trade, and by that stilled whatever qualms its science might raise.—Puck.



"Your lecture is charming! Will you give it again at my house on Thursday? It will suffice to change

During my long sickness and confinement in the hospital I lost the addresses of many of my old-time correspondents, both international and domestic. I wish to advise them that I have now left the St. Francis Hospital, Evanston, Ill., and am at 4736 North Spaulding Avenue, Chicago—still very sick, but mentally able, I hope, to do some correspondence work for the cause.

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Harry W. Olney, of Spokane, Wash., has found a new way to get small d democrats and small p progressives in touch with The Public.

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On December 3, he sent a list of new subscriptions and wrote: "These are the first results of a letter to a local paper, in which I mentioned The Public, and I hope to have the pleasure of sending in another goodly bunch, as I had fifteen or twenty replies."

If you ever write letters to the press, maybe there's a hint in this for you.

Stanley Bowmar, Mgr.

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J. R. Herman 515 III. AVE. St. Joseph, Mo.

the title as, after all is said, you know, one listens so little."—Le Rire.



The story is told of Judge McCanless of Wichita, who has the distinction of being the leanest man in the State, that he was one day walking along a street in Kansas City when he noticed that a hound dog was following him.

After he had gone a block and the dog was still

trailing him, he turned to a street gamin and asked: "Boy, what do you suppose that dog is following me for?"

"Well, mister," said the boy, as he looked the judge over from head to foot, "I dunno exactly, but my idee is that he takes you for a bone."—Topeka Capital.



It took a Boston woman to explain that a suffra-

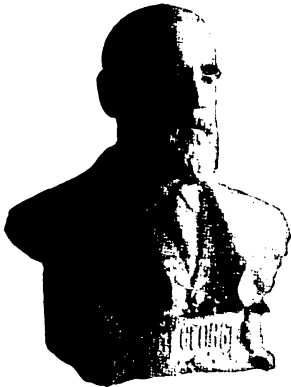
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