

# The Public

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

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Vol. XV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1912.

No. 723

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

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

## EDITORIAL

### Investments under the Singletax in Seattle.

The Post-Intelligencer of Seattle, in its issue of January 30th, discloses ideas of the effect of the Singletax on "real estate" investments as mixed as is the term "real estate" itself. Arguing against the Singletax proposal now pending before the people of Seattle, it avers that if it were adopted "real estate investments" would go away from Seattle; and this, the "P.-I." adds, would be "a bad thing for Seattle." But would it be bad for Seattle? That depends upon what is meant by "real estate."

If "real estate" means only the site of Seattle, the mere land, the location, the spot on which to improve Seattle, then it is very likely that investments in "real estate"—that particular kind of real estate—would give Seattle a wide berth. But this wouldn't be bad for Seattle. On the contrary, it would be good for Seattle. It would lessen speculative competition for building sites, which would make them cheaper without making them less desirable for building purposes. It would therefore offer a greater inducement for investments in the kind of "real estate" that consists of buildings and other improvements. But if the "P.-I." includes improvements when it says "real estate," then it is wrong in its notion as to the effect of the Singletax. *The Singletax exempts improvements.* In so far, then, as improvements are con-

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cerned, the Singletax proposal would not turn real estate investments away from Seattle; it would draw investments in real estate improvements to Seattle.



The investment tendency of the Singletax charter amendment, if adopted by the people of Seattle next March, would be to check speculative investments in vacant lots and to invite investments in buildings and other improvements. It would *discourage* the kind of investments in Seattle that would profit nobody but land speculators, that would employ nobody but land brokers, and that would have no public effect but to retard the city's growth; it would *encourage* the kind of investments that profit producers, that employ workers, and that promote the city's growth.



Let the "P.-I." analyze its ambiguous term "real estate" so as to be able to consider the two kinds of "real estate" separately—sites and improvements. Then let it consider the effect of the Singletax upon investments in so much of what that term expresses as is only *mother earth*, and distinctively upon so much as is *improvement*. If, having thoughtfully done that, the "P.-I." continues to think that the Singletax, which exempts improvements from all taxation and places taxes only upon mother earth *ad valorem*, would discourage desirable investments in Seattle, its explanation of why it thinks so would make one of the most illuminating and interesting editorials it has ever printed.



### Congressman George's Land-speculation Bill.

A bill of national importance, though directly applicable only to the District of Columbia, which has been introduced in Congress by Henry George, Jr., the member from New York who, at the elections of 1910, turned a Republican constituency of 7,000 majority into a Democratic one of 2,000 majority, is now under consideration by the committee on the District of Columbia, of which Congressman George is a member. The importance and beneficial purpose of this measure has been explained in a statement by Mr. George which we quote from the Washington press. He says:

I have introduced a bill to check land speculation in the District of Columbia. The circumstances here are different from those existing in any other part of the country. The General Government pays one-half of the expenses of the District government. It has, moreover, erected the most magnificent government buildings here and has projected a group along the Mall that will, when completed, make the most

superb collection of marble structures ever erected outside of ancient Athens and Imperial Rome. These facts have excited very active land speculation. Fortunes have been and are being made merely by buying and selling land in the District of Columbia. The taxation laws have long fostered this speculation. Personal property is assessed annually and at its full value; but land is assessed only every third year and then at two-thirds of its value. The tax rate is on its face but one per cent—one and one-half per cent on a two-thirds valuation. On the very valuable land in the heart of the city and on the large speculative areas where home-building booms are about to develop, the tax rate is much lower. This is not chargeable to the assessing authorities, but to the very bad system under which they have had to work. The miracle is that the assessment and taxation results in respect to land values in the District of Columbia are as good as they are under such a poor system. My bill provides for an annual assessment and the increase of the valuation of land to the full market value. The rate of valuation will be gradually increased and at the same time will entirely exempt all improvements. The bill is intended to encourage improvements and discourage land speculation. It will benefit home owners and cause the owners of valuable land to pay more revenue into the District treasury. I expect it to get the opposition of many of the land speculators in Washington; but, on the other hand, I believe it will get the hearty support in Congress of members who have awakened to the fact that a comparatively few men have been availing themselves of the assessment and taxation laws to exploit the District of Columbia and the treasury of the United States, for their own pockets.



In form the George bill is a revision and codification of the laws now in operation at the site of our national capital for the taxation of real estate. It provides for the assessment of all real estate in the District, except such as is specifically exempt, and upon a sliding scale annually, so that in 1917 and thereafter all the real estate taxation of the District will have been concentrated upon land values. For this purpose the bill is a model for use by State Legislatures and city councils where the policy proposed is not un-Constitutional. It provides that—

the true value of each separate lot or tract of land shall be determined, and the true value of the land shall be shown separately from the true value of the improvements.

This having been done, the scaling process begins in 1913 when—

the land shall be assessed eleven-fifteenths of its true value, and each year thereafter the assessment shall be increased progressively as follows: In the year 1914 the assessment shall be twelve-fifteenths; in the year 1915, thirteen-fifteenths; in the year 1916, fourteen-fifteenths; in the year 1917, and each year thereafter, fifteen-fifteenths, or the true value.

While this progressive increase in the assessment of land values from two-thirds value, as now, to full value, as proposed, is under way, a like progressive decrease will be under way in respect of improvements, thus:

In the year 1912 the improvements on land shall be assessed nine-fifteenths of true value, and each year thereafter the assessment shall be decreased progressively, as follows: In the year 1914 the assessment shall be eight-fifteenths; in the year 1915, seven-fifteenths; in the year 1916, six-fifteenths; in the year 1917 and each year thereafter, improvements shall not be assessed.



This bill runs little or no risk of defeat except from indifference or misunderstanding on the part of members of Congress. That, and that alone, will afford land speculators an opportunity to fool Congress into letting them hold fast to their "graft." They can be deprived of this "graft," and the public service be improved morally and administratively, by getting Congressmen to see the importance of the George taxation bill. We suggest, therefore, that every Congressman be asked for a copy of this bill by his constituents, and that these constituents, if they favor the bill after examining it, thereupon canvass their Congressional districts as fully as they can, to the end that their respective Congressmen may be urgently advised from home of the merits of the bill and its importance.



### Is This a Big Business Pull?

To the Esch bill for putting a prohibitive tax upon the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches,\* queer things have happened. Every motive for obstructing the enactment of this necessary health law would appear to have been removed, but the law hangs fire. Foreign competition might have been urged, poor as that excuse would be, for ignoring the terrible "phossy-jaw" disease which the handling of white phosphorus causes; but the United States is the only important country in the world which has not taken steps to protect its people in that regard. Another basis for opposition to the law at first was the fact that the best and cheapest of the harmless substitutes for phosphorus in match-making was monopolized by the match trust through its patent on "sesqui-sulphide"; but the match trust placed that patent in trust a year ago upon terms designed and with trustees disposed to make its general substitution for phosphorus commercially desirable, and a little later the patent was sur-

rendered altogether. Yet the Esch bill hangs fire, phosphorus is still used in match manufacture, and the horrible "phossyjaw" disease continues to make victims of boys and girls and men and women—of living and breathing human creatures just like the wives and daughters and sons of members of Congress. Why? There seems now to be nothing political in a partisan sense about this secret pull. Last year it was a Republican Congress under the lead of Congressman Dalzell of Pittsburgh that stood for "phossyjaw"; this year the job has apparently been undertaken by a Democratic Congress. What is the meaning of it all? What interests are intervening? Where is the pull?



### In Memory of "a Kindly Country Doctor."

In our news report of the opening of the Ohio Constitutional Convention\* we quoted from the Cleveland Plain Dealer its account of a presentation of flowers to one of the delegates, Thomas Fitzsimons, by the Washington Reform Club of Cleveland, of which he was an original member. Cleveland progressives of nearly twenty years ago will recall the activities of that club with the keenest interest, and remember its founder with much the same affection and honor its surviving members have shown for Mr. Fitzsimons. Its founder died just at the time when Cleveland was passing out of its period of deadly inertia and indifference, which Tom L. Johnson regarded as a greater obstacle than opposition, to overcome in any fight in which fundamental moral issues are involved. Telling of this period Mayor Johnson says in "My Story"† that although the people of Cleveland "were quite contented to let a few agents of special privilege attend to the details of the city government," there were nevertheless "a few agitators who had raised the voice of protest upon occasion." He names Peter Witt, but "before Peter," he adds, was "Dr. Tuckerman, who was responsible for Peter;" and Dr. Tuckerman was the founder of that Washington Reform Club of twenty years ago whereof both Peter Witt, now city supervisor of the traction system, and Thomas Fitzsimons, now a delegate to the Constitutional convention of Ohio, were live-wire members. A splendid tribute to Dr. Tuckerman is this which Johnson pays to his memory in his own posthumous autobiography: "When Cleveland shall ultimately have become a free city, she will trace the beginnings of her struggle against Privilege back to the days when that

\*See vol. xiv, pages 83, 109, 207.

\*Public of January 19, page 58.

†B. W. Huebsch, publisher, 225 Fifth Ave., New York.

kindly country doctor began to wage war on the established order.”



### Father Burtzell.

With the death of Father Burtzell last Sunday there passed out of this world the last of the four Americans who figured most prominently in an ecclesiastical attempt a quarter of a century ago to rule New York politics from the Catholic cathedral. The political figure in the center of it all was Henry George, and the American priest of the Catholic Church whose support of George as the Labor candidate for Mayor of New York was treated as an ecclesiastical offense, was Father McGlynn. Archbishop Corrigan was the American priest of superior degree at the cathedral who drove McGlynn out of his parish and out of the priesthood. All these have long since gone. And now the last to go is Dr. Burtzell, who defended Dr. McGlynn and in consequence was by the same Archbishop transferred from his city parish to a strange parish in the country by way of punishment. Both McGlynn and Burtzell came to their own before they died. McGlynn was restored to his priesthood over the head of the Archbishop who had deposed him, and Burtzell was made a prelate of the Pope's household. These two names are linked affectionately together in the recollections of many Catholic workmen of New York and of many who are not Catholics. Neither can be forgotten while a memory survives of Henry George, to whose teachings both were devoted.



### Another Reason for the Recall for Judges.

Washington dispatches of last week indicate that the railroads are to get another Supreme Court judge at the hands of President Taft. The particular individual this time is Judge Hook, whose strong-arm judicial work for corporation interests in the lower courts naturally enough commends him to a corporation President for promotion. From different directions come testimonials to Judge Hook's fitness, from the corporation point of view. One of his exploits was in the Oklahoma railroad-rate case, in which as a Federal judge he granted an injunction against the State in behalf of railroads. In order to arrive at a conclusion as to the reasonableness of rates, he took the average assessed valuation per mile, and, without proof, added 25 per cent in order to show a capital value large enough to explain his injunction against the reduction of rates required by the State law. The value of one railroad which without proof he fixed at \$64,000 a mile, has since

been reported by the road itself to have cost only \$31,000. Other roads costing less than \$30,000 a mile, rolling stock included, were valued by Judge Hook at approximately \$50,000 a mile. Still another performance of this interesting Federal judge in the Oklahoma cases was the bundling together of the earnings of two roads, one of which was making between 3 and 4 per cent on his valuation, and the other between 7 and 8. As the owners of the less profitable road owned the corporation that owned the more profitable one, and as the aggregate net earnings of the two were less than 6 per cent under the rate law, Judge Hook granted an injunction against the enforcement of that law in respect of both roads; this notwithstanding that they were operated as well as owned by separate companies distinctly officered, and that each had brought its own suit for the injunction separately from the other. Isn't Judge Hook truly a dainty judicial dish for the railroads to hand up to President Taft?



### “Tepid Teddy.”

Dr. Blount, the woman suffragist of Illinois, who practices her profession in Chicago but is honorably famous throughout the State, might be suspected of never having heard of “Terrible Teddy.” She criticizes him as “tepid.” But when you come to think about it, perhaps she did not choose her adjective lightly. For “Terrible Teddy” is a bit like the cold mince-pie at the county fair, which the hawker sold for “hot,” not because it was hot, for, of course, it wasn't, but because, as he explained to disappointed customers, “Hot” was the trade name of the goods. “Tepid” is truly a more faithful epithet for Theodore than “terrible.” He did not terrorize the Wall-street gang who ran off with the Tennessee coal and iron plunder, even if he did make terrible faces at everybody who shouted at him to stop them. A little boy once went hunting with his father's shot gun. When he came home to dinner he told his mother in great excitement how he had seen an awful animal sitting upon its haunches on a rock in the woods; how this animal had long teeth, a pointed nose, and great big staring eyes; how its ears stood up straight and stiff, and how big black-and-yellow stripes ran along its lithe body to a tail that “stood up immense”; and how it looked fiercely at him, the boy himself, as if getting ready for a terrible spring. But the boy wasn't scared. Not a bit. He raised his father's gun and blazed away at the awful animal, and he “fetched the beast, sure enough,” and now its mangled body lay out on the stoop. The mother went to look at her

son's "terrible beast" and it was a chipmunk. The "Terrible Teddy" is a good deal of a chipmunk, after all. Dr. Blount's adjective fits him best. He is "Tepid Teddy" when you look him in the eye.



**Politics and the Aldrich Bill.**

In commending the Aldrich currency bill, President Taft says he has no fear that anybody can play "politics" with it. Whenever it is proposed to keep politics out of public measures, we are reminded of the white man's story about the trustee of a colored church in "the poultry belt," who hinted to the minister that he had better preach "religion pure and undefiled" and "let this 'ere chicken-coop business alone." What the people want most to know about the Aldrich bill is its "chicken-coop" features. Its omission of "politics" won't excuse the "poultry" opportunities it seems to offer to the privilege-hunting banker crowd.



**THE RECALL OF JUDGES.**

By overwhelmingly adopting the judicial Recall, California reiterated the opinion of Oregon and Arizona, that judges should be popular representatives, Mr. Taft's assertion to the contrary notwithstanding. The people of those States feel that the independence of the judiciary has absorbed so much attention that now it may not be impertinent to devote some to the independence of the electorate. There truly appears to be more or less justification for such a change when it is remembered that during the seven years from 1902 to 1908 the respective supreme courts of the different States declared not less than 468 statutes unconstitutional.

Most of those decisions were in States having progressive legislatures. The respective supreme courts of the six New England States in that seven years invalidated only 16 laws. Certainly, the fewness of the laws there declared unconstitutional cannot be attributed to the radicalness of the courts. It can be explained only on the ground that the legislatures were extremely conservative. In the same seven years the courts of six States of the Middle West—Missouri, Nebraska, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Minnesota—invalidated 131 laws; more than eight times as many as were nullified in New England. It is hardly to be supposed that Western judges are more presumptuous than Eastern ones. The explanation must lie in the more liberal legislation of those Western States. Governors like Folk, Deneen, and Johnson pushed

through the legislatures laws that were not tolerated by the courts. In Illinois alone 33 were proscribed—the highest number in any State of the Union in those seven years.

In two States, Big Business did not have to resort to the judiciary. The legislatures of Rhode Island and Delaware have been so completely dominated by the "machine" that no recourse to judges was necessary.

The number of laws declared unconstitutional in Oregon stands in marked contrast with the number so disposed of in California and Washington. The last two States had respectively 26 and 27 laws annulled by judges, whereas but 7 have so fared in Oregon. Yet Oregon for the past decade has been adopting more and more radical laws. Evidently the temper of the Oregon people has strongly influenced the judicial mind in that State. Big Business, in order to protect its vested rights in Oregon, will have to carry its cases to national tribunals.



The accompanying table, which has been compiled from bulletins issued by the New York State Library, shows the number of laws declared unconstitutional for a period of seven years by the respective courts of the different States. But it does not show the equally tremendous, if not superior, influence wielded by the judiciary on the character of our institutions by paralyzing legislation. The many laws that would have been enacted, the laws, so to speak, atrophied in the germ because of a probability of judicial veto, and the innumerable laws distorted and emasculated in the framing so as to meet judicial approval, do not lend themselves to statistical tabulation. The table as it is, however, is a commentary upon judge-made law. It indicates the impotency of popular government under such a system. Read it and think about it:

Number of Statutes Declared Unconstitutional by the Highest Courts of the Respective States in Seven Years.

	1902..	1903..	1904..	1905..	1906..	1907..	1908..	Total
Alabama .....	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2
Arkansas .....	2	..	1	2	3	1	..	9
California .....	5	3	3	1	8	4	2	26
Colorado .....	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	4
Connecticut .....	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Delaware .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0
Florida .....	..	2	..	..	2	2	..	6
Georgia .....	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	4
Idaho .....	..	..	3	..	2	..	..	5
Illinois .....	6	2	5	2	6	6	6	33
Carried over.....	15	7	12	6	24	16	10	90

Brought over....	15	7	12	6	24	16	10	90
Indiana .....	4	5	4	2	..	4	2	21
Iowa .....	1	..	3	..	..	1	..	5
Kansas .....	2	2	6	2	2	1	..	15
Kentucky .....	5	..	..	1	2	5	..	13
Louisiana .....	3	..	2	3	1	2	2	13
Maryland .....	1	..	1	1	2	1	..	6
Massachusetts .....	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	4
Michigan .....	3	1	..	3	4	4	1	16
Minnesota .....	1	1	3	4	1	2	3	15
Mississippi .....	..	2	..	..	2	3	..	7
Maine .....	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	2
Missouri .....	2	5	2	2	5	2	5	23
Montana .....	1	2	2	..	6	1	1	13
Nebraska .....	2	2	4	5	7	2	1	23
Nevada .....	1	..	..	..	1	1	1	4
New Hampshire....	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
New Jersey.....	2	1	1	3	2	4	..	13
New York.....	2	2	1	2	4	5	1	17
North Carolina.....	..	..	3	2	1	..	..	6
North Dakota.....	2	1	..	..	2	4	2	11
Ohio .....	3	3	1	2	3	1	1	14
Oklahoma .....	..	..	..	1	..	2	1	4
Oregon .....	..	..	2	..	3	2	..	7
Pennsylvania .....	1	1	1	1	2	..	2	8
Rhode Island .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0
South Carolina.....	2	1	1	1	1	3	..	9
South Dakota.....	..	1	1	2	3	..	3	10
Tennessee .....	2	1	2	..	3	2	2	12
Texas .....	4	1	..	2	3	5	2	17
Utah .....	2	..	2	..	..	3	1	8
Vermont .....	1	1	1	..	3	1	..	7
Virginia .....	..	1	..	..	2	3	..	6
Washington .....	3	..	1	6	8	6	3	27
Wisconsin .....	5	2	1	..	2	2	2	14
Wyoming .....	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
West Virginia.....	..	1	1	..	..	1	2	5
Total .....	71	45	58	52	101	93	48	468



What those who believe in a more responsible judiciary most desire is a complete redefinition of the powers of the judicial department, taking away its prerogative to declare statutes unconstitutional and remanding it to the simple administration of purely judicial functions.

This would leave the legislature the supreme arbiter in all political questions, just as it was previous to the development of the judicial veto, and just as it is in Great Britain yet.

The power of declaring statutes unconstitutional was not granted by the early State Constitutions to the judiciary. This prerogative was first exercised by the Rhode Island court in the case of *Trevett v. Weeden*, in 1786. That it was usurped is plainly proved by the fact that the Governor speedily convened the General Assembly in extraordinary session to impeach the judges. Although impeached, the judges were not removed, the legislature graciously permitting them to hold office until the end of the year, when their term

expired. At the expiration of the year, however, they were not re-elected.

In defending the court's decision, one of the judges, Justice Tillinghast, said: "The opinion I gave upon the trial was dictated by the energy of truth: I thought it right—I still think so. Be it as it may, we derived our understanding from the Almighty, and to Him only are we accountable for our judgment." Here we have the old doctrine of "divine right" of kings reasserted in behalf of judges.

And upon that doctrine the defense of judges against the Recall rests today. Since the Rhode Island case, the American judiciary, it would seem, has held itself responsible to the Almighty alone, and responsibility to Him has been construed against electorates. This condition finds a defender in President Lowell, who in his "Essays on Government" at page 124 says: "If it were the duty of the courts to give effect to the wishes of the people upon Constitutional questions, our government would be a truly absurd one." But is it the duty of the courts in a democratic government to thwart the law-making power of the people?



Since the judiciary, as it is now constituted, is in actual effect a political body, and, moreover, a political body which sympathetically is not in agreement with the vast majority of electors, there seems to be no logical reason whatever why the Recall should not be applied to judges as well as to legislators and executive officials. All policy-making officials must in a democracy be directly responsible to the people. Policy-executing or administrative officers, if amenable to the policy-making ones, need not be made liable to Recall. They are responsible to the people through the legislature. If judges, then, were to be deprived of the prerogative of passing upon the Constitutionality of laws, there would no longer be any valid argument favoring even their popular election, much less their Recall.

HERBERT S. SWAN.

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

### "STATE O' MAINE."

Skowhegan, Me.

Substantial achievements in line with Singletax are much nearer in Maine than the casual observer might suspect. The political landslide of 1910 has forced even the Standpatters to admit that something in the economic situation is wrong, and the disciples of Henry George who are upon the ground are seeing

to it that the agitation does not cease until the voters know about what that something is.



Maine is naturally an agricultural State, with the added advantage of great water powers and tide-water transportation; but hitherto the speculative holding of the latter resources has interfered greatly with development. Such manufacturing and transportation projects as have been carried out have usually demanded and received substantial concessions in the shape of tax rebates. Under the general property tax this has left agriculture more heavily burdened than any other industry, with the inevitable consequences. Both capital and population have been driven from the farming towns, and but for the growth of Aroostook county and the few manufacturing centers, the entire State would have gone backwards in population during the past decade. But the very hardships of the Maine farmers were probably blessings in disguise.

Indirectly they were a tremendous stimulus in the organization of the Grange, which is now represented in nearly every hamlet of the State by from 1 to 100 of its 60,000 members.

Years ago these hard-headed farmers, in talking things over in their halls, came to the conclusion that something was wrong. The politicians became scared and resolved to do something. They did, and succeeded in making a bad matter worse.



Maine politicians are probably more highly skilled in manipulating that political football known as "the rum question" than any others in the world. While the game was young, they divided an empire of virgin timberlands among themselves without let or hindrance, and in more recent years have brazenly maintained a powerful lobby to protect their privileges.

While these timberlands were paying a 3-mill State tax on nominal valuations, property in the incorporated towns and cities had to pay the State tax, with county and municipal rates added. This comparison was all but meat and drink to the demagogues.

The State Constitution specifies that "all taxes upon real and personal estate, assessed by authority of the State, shall be assessed and apportioned equally, according to the just value thereof." To tax the wild lands, therefore, it was necessary to tax all other real estate at the same time; but one ingenious politician discovered what he thought was a way out of the difficulty. He suggested a State-wide tax for school purposes, with the proceeds re-allotted to the towns and cities according to their valuation. As finally passed by the legislature, the act apportioned part of the money according to school enumeration and part by valuations, but the immediate result was to make the farmers and property owners dig up more money for taxes than they had ever paid out before. Hence the landslide.



But while the old Grange leaders and the politicians were wrestling with the tax question, a few far-sighted men were "sawing wood" in another corner.

By some exceedingly shrewd and clever political maneuvering, they secured a good and workable Initiative and Referendum, applying to legislation but not to Constitutional amendments. The omission was a necessary concession to the prohibitory law imbedded in the Constitution. Two years ago the progressive crowd followed up their advantage with an Initiated direct primary law that is a "corker." The legislature turned it down cold, but the people passed it 65,000 to 21,000, and we are just entering our first campaign under it.

The next step in line with true progress is to secure an amendment to the Constitution permitting the classification of property for the purpose of taxation. This will require a two-thirds vote in both branches of the legislature, and ratification by the people at the polls. But the outlook for its passage is bright. All that is necessary is to insert the phrase "any given class," so that the Constitution shall read: "All taxes upon any given class of real or personal estate, assessed by authority of the State, shall be assessed and apportioned equally, according to the just value thereof."

This change is one of the letter rather than the spirit, and meets with favor wherever proposed. The Governor has called a special session of the legislature beginning March 20th, and a resolution passed at that time can be submitted to the people at the regular September election at only nominal expense. If passed by a regular session it would have to go to the people at a special election.



Nearly everybody is by this time ready to admit that the tax system needs an overhauling, and candidates before the primaries next June are already declaring themselves for tax reform.

Meanwhile, on the first of January the law for separating land values and improvement values went into effect, so that the data for a real Singletax campaign should be at hand as soon as we are ready to make use of it. Progressives throughout the State are responding well to the requests of the Maine Tax Reform League for support, and numerically we are already in a position to make uncomfortable all politicians of reactionary tendencies.

The best and most unanswerable arguments for our immediate program, are the enumeration of the glaring inequalities that under the present law exist on every hand.

CHRISTOPHER M. GALLUP.



## SIGNIFICANCE OF MAYOR TAYLOR'S DEFEAT IN VANCOUVER.

Winnipeg, Feb. 2.

We must not be too sure that Vancouver will not revert to the old system of taxation. This was not an issue at the recent municipal election in Vancouver. Mayor Taylor stated that it was, but his opponent disclaimed any intention of touching the taxation question.

However, it is quite possible that the present mayor, who, I believe, represents all the plutocratic interests may, in spite of his word to the contrary, do something to upset the present status. The peo-

ple of Vancouver themselves approve the present system; but the example of Vancouver is being cited far and wide throughout the country, and a good many of the landlord class are beginning to fear that the municipal Singletax is but "the thin end of the wedge." Therefore, they are taking counsel together as to what may be done to stop the present trend of affairs, which is really going against them faster than any of us a couple of years ago dared hope.

The Interests do not object to superficial applications of the singletax principle; but now that the people in large numbers are beginning to apprehend its logical conclusion, we may look for a big fight.

I am certain that the progress which we have made so far cannot easily be lost. Indeed, I believe that nothing can stop our onward march. But rest assured we are going to have a bigger fight in this country within the next five years to retain what we have, and get more of what we want, than we have had in the past. The Interests are beginning to think they have been acquiescent too long, and I believe from present indications that they will soon be thoroughly well aroused. They are importing professors of political economy of the old school to stem the tide.

ROBERT L. SCOTT.



## THE MELTING POT IN PITTSBURGH.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Feb. 5.

The report of the Pittsburg Civic Commission on Taxation\* is not the only indication that the civic conscience of the Smoky City is aroused.



The Men and Religion Forward Movement closed an eight-day campaign in this city last night. Although not noticed by the city press, the most sensational and significant incident of the week's campaign was the denunciation of Congressman Dalzell by Raymond Robins from the pulpit of the First Presbyterian church for his efforts towards defeating the Esch bill.

It is a significant fact that Robins was permitted to deliver from this pulpit his eloquent and logical plea for the right of labor to organize. Of all the churches in Pittsburgh, it is the last in which one acquainted with conditions here would expect to hear from its pulpit a defense and eulogy of organized labor. It is doubtful if there is an influential member of this congregation who is not a thorough believer in an ultra protective tariff and a staunch defender of plutocracy and imperialism. For nearly forty years the maternal grandfather of the late Justice Shiras was its pastor, and from its organization it has been chiefly supported by beneficiaries of unearned wealth.

So far as Pittsburgh is concerned in the Men and Religion Forward Movement Robins was the stellar attraction. The opening meeting on Sunday afternoon, January 28, was held in the Exposition Auditorium, which seats between three and four thousand. Over four thousand men were crowded into the auditorium and several hundred were turned away. More than two-thirds of this vast audience

was of men past forty years of age. The entire audience was made up of male adults.

In its report of the opening meeting the Gazette Times said: "When the speaker first graphically dwelt on the evil days that threaten the country, it seemed to many that his words savored of Socialism. They allowed this thought to be dispelled when he, in a cogent appeal, sought the awakening of the Christian Church from its state of dormancy and its entry into the fight for the nation's welfare armed with the Gospel of Jesus Christ."



On Monday forenoon Robins addressed several hundred ministers in the First Presbyterian church. During this address he said: "There are now voices speaking in this country—speaking the doctrine of division, of class struggle, of the materialistic conception of history—with proposals to remedy present social ills, 97 per cent of which is indictment and three per cent constructive." At the conclusion of this address the Chairman announced that an opportunity would be given for asking questions. A clergyman asked if the speaker referred to Socialism when speaking of those whose remedy was 97 per cent indictment and three per cent constructive. Upon receiving an affirmative reply, the questioner challenged Robins to a debate on Socialism and a spirited colloquy then ensued for several minutes.

The significance of this episode and other similar ones at meetings held by Robins here, is the evidence of the strong foothold Socialism has taken among evangelical ministers in this section of the State.



Robins' final talk here was made Friday evening in the Fourth United Presbyterian church, at the conclusion of which he hurried to catch a train to carry him west to Wichita, Kan., where he was to open a meeting of the Men and Religion Forward Movement on Sunday, the 4th.



The week preceding Robins' visit to Pittsburgh, Peter Witt, Street Railway Commissioner of Cleveland under Mayor Baker, addressed the Young Men's Democratic Club of Pittsburgh. He scored revenue tariffs as well as protective tariffs. In introducing Mr. Witt the toastmaster, Mr. B. B. McGinnis, said: "We have with us tonight the Railway Commissioner of Cleveland. He is a Democrat, and one who does not hesitate to say just what he thinks regardless of the consequences. He is big intellectually, but what endears him to those who know him is that his heart is as big as his head. He is known in his home city as the diamond in the rough, but we who have learned of his real worth regard him as a diamond well cut and polished. There is not a newsboy, not a slum dweller, not an honest toiler in Cleveland but loves him, and on the other hand there is not a greedy corporation or selfish plutocrat in that same city but hates him and fears him."

Witt spoke with unusual force and from start to finish carried the audience with him. When he mentioned the name of his departed leader, Tom Johnson, the audience of over two hundred rose to its feet

\*See current volume, page 105.



and gave three rousing cheers to the memory of Cleveland's dead mayor.

Witt was followed by Hon. W. H. Berry, ex-State Treasurer and candidate for Governor on the Keystone ticket in 1910, and H. H. Wilson, of Beaver, Democratic candidate for Congress in the district comprising the counties of Beaver, Lawrence and Washington.



A conference of Singletaxers of Western Pennsylvania was held in the assembly rooms of Jenkins Arcade on January 23. Chas. R. Eckert of Beaver, presiding. Robert L. Devine of Erie made a stirring address on the progress of the Singletax in the United States. L. S. Dickey of Chicago spoke of the movement in Canada. Other addresses were made by C. B. Power of Fayette City and Hon. W. H. Berry.



John Z. White addressed the Hungry Club of Pittsburgh at noon, Monday, February 5th, his subject being Free Trade.



James R. Brown of New York will debate with Mr. Merrick, Editor of Justice, a Pittsburgh Socialist Weekly paper, at the Lyceum Theater on Sunday afternoon, February 19. Subject: Resolved, That Socialism is the only economic policy that will give to the laborer the full product of his toil.

D. S. LUTHER.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### ART.

New York, Jan. 16.

I was interested in Mr. Dillard's article on "Art and the People."\* It has not been my experience to find that people working for economic change have convictions about aesthetics or vice versa. If the economist and the artist were really clear-sighted, they could see that they, each in their way, could be working for the greatest art, the greatest economy of all, "the art of living." As it is now, they are like workmen who, having made a wonderful tool, have forgotten what they meant to do with it.

The exclusive view of the artist, as well as that of the economist, has separated them into classes of thinkers, each with a different purpose for life. I think, though I am an artist myself, that the artists as a class are responsible for this aloofness of feeling. They have made somewhat of a mystery of their profession. Like the priests among the old Egyptians, and elsewhere, they have kept their religion to themselves, and given out a mythology to the people.

But ideals are changing. We have realized that religion is common to all, we can realize that the feeling for aesthetics is not the possession of the exclusive few. We shall soon know that every normal man or woman is an artist, that he or she must be subnormal who is not. For to be an artist simply means that one must have the power to express one's

feelings, in a manner, of course, to make them understood. The medium of expression or the kind of feeling expressed, is not limited. Art should not be exclusively associated with any special medium or kind of feeling. Beauty may be expressed in paint or word, anger in gesture or word. Tolstoy tells in his book on "What is Art?" of the boy who, coming from the forest, tells of how he was afraid of a wolf. He makes his listeners realize the fear he himself has felt. Tolstoy calls this boy an artist, and he was one because he made his fear understood. The feeling of fear so really possessed him that for that moment it subordinated all other feelings, and he expressed it simply and directly. What one really feels one can express simply and directly.

There can never be a true revival of art, until art is grounded in the feelings of us all. Then it will not be necessary to keep it in cold storage in our museums. I do not say do away with them; they are the most democratic phase of it that we have. But I do say that when art becomes associated with life in every way and in all forms, it will not be necessary to make such academic effort to preserve it. In the good times to come our museums will be valuable for historical reference, and I believe that is all. But until those good days come I think with Mr. Dillard we could hold on to more beauty than we now do, even under our present state of muddled economics. We might keep the fires alive and even warm up by them occasionally while we are reorganizing on a sound economic basis. It is cold and hard work sometimes.

Perhaps if we as individuals appreciated aesthetic pleasures more keenly, we would become more sensitive to the appropriate vulgarity of our present mode of living. We might then push on all the harder the relatively more fundamental work on the economic side. If we could realize what life might be when harmony exists in its structure as well as in its surface ornament, we would make haste even if slowly.

AMY MALI HICKS.



### THE ALDRICH SCHEME.

Indianapolis, Ind.

What purports to be an interview of Mr. Aldrich by Mr. Babson appears in the Saturday Evening Post of December 23, 1911. Except in a few particulars, it is substantially a repetition of what Mr. Aldrich had said in speeches in Indianapolis and a score or more of other places and in periodicals. There are a few statements, however, which I have not before observed, that make a rift in the cloud of confusion and let in a glimmer of light worth considering.



Mr. Aldrich realizes that there will be a widespread fear that his proposed National Reserve Association will be controlled by selfish interests inimical to the welfare of the government and the people. It is very important that any such fear should be allayed, so, after outlining the proposed organization, he is made to say: "I defy any man, however wealthy he may be, or any association of men, ever to get control of this organization, with its three

\*See The Public of January 12, page 28.

divisions, against the will of the people of our country. Moreover, with the management here outlined, what would any man or group of men do with it, even if they controlled the stock?"

That may sound very conclusive to the person who knows little about the power of combined wealth. The inference suggested is that the size of the organization proposed is such that it would be impossible for it to be controlled and converted into an instrument of oppression and robbery. It sounds well to say that such control can not be secured "against the will of the people." But is it true?

If this organization should be put into operation, how could the people prevent its being controlled by a combination of wealth, domestic and foreign?

The people are not disposed to accept any such statement from Mr. Aldrich. His reputation as a public servant is not such as to justify him in expecting that they will. All talk about impossibilities is only throwing dust. The organization will be large, but if it could be handled by one set of men for good, why not by another set for evil? The man who concludes that this can not be done, or that it will not be done, has no knowledge of present financial conditions nor of the power of combinations.



Mr. Aldrich was asked about his proposed "Reserve Association" being a central bank under another name, and about it being controlled by Mr. Morgan or some other man. To which he answered: "This is not a central bank. The central banks of Europe are competitors of other banks. In France, Germany and England the central banks have assumed great functions. They take care of the banks in their respective countries, and maintain the credit of their respective nations. The financial conditions of those countries have more to do with the preservation of peace than all other influences."

If this statement is not a manifestation of the grossest ignorance, it is something worse. But it is so incorrect and so absurd that it is ridiculous as an attempt to deceive.

After quoting the above as coming from Mr. Aldrich, Mr. Babson proceeds to say: "Thereupon he explained his plan for local organizations or banks, and pointed out that in these local associations three-fifths of the directors would be elected by the banks voting as units, without regard to the size of the banks. He said this plan would give the smaller banks the advantage. The large banks might choose two-fifths of the control."

To rest any hope on the unit vote is little short of nonsense. It is even questionable whether this unit vote urged as evidence of extreme fairness does not furnish the very opportunity that would be desired by a combination desiring to control the "Reserve Association," and enable them to do it with less money.



There is particular significance in one admission which Mr. Babson got from Mr. Aldrich. "He admitted," says Mr. Babson, "that, if some 'enterprising gentleman' desired to do so, he might invest enough to control fifty per cent of twenty-five thousand banks of the country, and so control the big Association."

It is well to think about this admission, and the manifest exaggeration coupled with it. The assumption that it would require the control of fifty per cent of twenty-five thousand banks justifies the suspicion that Mr. Aldrich was not ignorant of the danger, and that he was trying to cover it up by making such an undertaking so large that it would not probably be attempted.

Mr. Aldrich is not such a fool as not to know that there would not be twenty-five thousand banks in the Association. The membership would not, in all probability, be so great as to require the control of even half so many banks. The entire aggregate of national banks is less than 7,500. It is not likely that all of them would become members; some would stay out from choice, and some could not get in. How many other banks would become members can not be predicted. The entire capital stock and surplus of all national banks is less than 1,750 millions. It can be safely predicted, then, that at no time within two or three years after the National Reserve Association was organized, would it require more than 900 millions to control this big Association in the way Mr. Aldrich has suggested.

Mr. Aldrich's "enterprising gentleman" would turn out to be a huge combination. It is altogether likely that, by the aid of the unit vote so much vaunted, a much smaller amount would be sufficient. If there was not money enough in New York, London would furnish it. Could it not be done? Of course it could. Would it not be done? Of course it would. We would be under the control not only of American, but of European financiers as certain as fate.



Here again I would like to repeat the inquiry which I have been making for several years, but without answer: How much of our national bank stock is now held by alien financiers? Congress ought to see to it that, in some way, this question is answered. It might disclose something that would throw a flood of light upon the subject, and upon Mr. Aldrich's visit to London last year.

FLAVIUS J. VAN VORHIS.



## THE PROPOSED BANKERS' TRUST.

Toledo, Ohio.

Legal money is a receipt for service or property sold, and also an order for the same or other things of equal value. It is a medium of exchange, and is as essential to the exchanging of useful service or commodities as are highways, bridges, boats, rail-cars or wagons. Seldom does the employer of labor or the purchaser of goods have the desired commodities or service to give in exchange for these things. So he gives money for them. The money is his receipt for them, and is also an order upon any other people who have such desired commodities to sell. Without this agent of exchange but few things of equal value could be exchanged. The use of money is as essential to the productive and exchange industries as is the use of tools and machinery.

Most productive and exchange industries are prosecuted with the use of borrowed money. This is because but few men who prosecute these enterprises, whatever their other possessions may be,

usually own money enough to prosecute them. They need money to pay the expense of their business until they get a return from the products of their enterprise. They can either sell their possessions for money to use in this business or borrow it. Usually they look to the banks for this borrowed money. Few others have money to lend. Indeed, the banks have the monopoly of the money lending business.

At present there is some competition among the bankers, but they are now seeking to combine in a great banking trust and are asking for a franchise to issue all money as well as to receive on deposit and lend all government money.

Now if they succeed in this movement they will have absolute control of all great money using enterprises, except such as are conducted by a few individual money owners. If a man or a company owned a valuable mine, or farm, or railroad, or factory, and had not cash enough to run it, he would have to depend upon this trust for the use of its money and would have to pay the trust's own demand for its use. With no competition the trust could demand what it pleased. And having the monopoly of the lending business it would be pleased to demand "all that the traffic would bear." If a community should want to build up a city or town and furnish it with public buildings and other necessary public equipment, it would have to depend upon this enfranchised money lending trust for the use of its money. This would put all these enterprises under the absolute control of the trust. It, the trust, could promote or destroy any of these enterprises at will. It could boycott any man or company or town in the interest of a competing enterprise. It could and would promote only such as contributed to the interests of the trust or to its individual members or others whom they might wish to favor.

It follows that it would be quite as absurd, as unjust, as wicked, for the Government to enfranchise or protect such a banking trust as it would be to enfranchise a tool trust to make and own and lend all the tools of production and distribution and charge for the use of them what they please.

It seems incredible that any such crazy demand should be made of the United States Congress and President!

Is it not a slander against the intelligence and honor of both that anybody should presume that the President and Congress are so degenerate as not to regard such a demand as an insult?

GEO. CANDEE.



Nothing but the most horrible perversion of humanity and moral justice, under the specious name of political economy, could have blinded men to this truth as to the possession of land—the law of God having connected indissolubly the cultivation of every rood of earth with the maintenance and watchful labor of man. But money, stock, riches by credit, transferable and convertible at will, are under no such obligations, and, unhappily, it is from the selfish, autocratic possession of such property, that our landholders have learned their present theory of trading with that which was never meant to

be an object of commerce.—Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of *The Public* for earlier information on the same subject.

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Week ending Tuesday, February 6, 1912.

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### Sensation in the Lorimer Investigation.

At the Lorimer hearing in Washington on the 3rd, the official stenographer, Milton W. Blumenberg, denounced as a "fake" the stenographic notes of a conversation which had been furnished by William J. Burns, through his stenographic secretary, a young man of the name of Sheridan. Mr. Sheridan had read from these notes as the original memoranda he had made by means of a dictagraph of a confession of one McGowan as taken by a Burns "operative," the confession being in effect that McGowan had committed perjury in behalf of Lorimer. Asked by Senator Lea what he meant, Mr. Blumenberg replied: "I think they were written afterward, written from some other communication, copied. They are an absolute fake. I know enough about shorthand writing to know that they are not original notes." It developed that Mr. Blumenberg had expressed himself in this way to several on the Lorimer side but had said nothing to the investigating committee or any of them. He appears, however, to have made no secret about the matter, the affair before the committee having been precipitated by his indignant outbreak denouncing the notes as manufactured. Mr. Blumenberg has for twenty years been one of the Senate stenographers. In the course of the resulting controversy he advised the stenographers working for him before the committee to stop work, which they did; and immediately thereafter he was placed in custody by the committee for contempt. The committee on the 5th discharged Mr. Blumenberg as its stenographer on the ground that his statement had made it necessary for him to become a witness. As he refused to make any statement in extenuation of his action, the committee ordered proceedings to bring him to the bar of the Senate for contempt. Meanwhile, Mr. Sheridan had testified absolutely that his notes were not a "fake," and offered a test of his ability to take notes as he testified to having taken these. When Mr. Blumenberg testified on the 5th he named eleven expert Washington stenographers, and said that if any of the eleven would say that Sheridan's notes were genuine he would make no more charges. Those examined by the committee on the 5th bore out Blumenberg's contention. [See vol. xiv, p. 681.]

**"Phossyjaw" Legislation Again Delayed.**

After more than a year's futile effort to secure enactment of the Esch bill in Congress for preventing by a prohibitive tax the use of white phosphorus in match manufacture, as the cause of a fearful disease known as "phossyjaw," the American Association for Labor Legislation found its efforts further obstructed last week. The committee on ways and means of the lower House which has the bill in charge, referred it to a secret sub-committee. This was done after the fact had appeared that 10 of the 21 members of the full committee were under promise to vote for the bill. At least 4 out of the 5 members of the secret sub-committee are said to be not of the ten who have so promised. Last year the bill was referred to a sub-committee of which John Dalzell (Republican) of Pittsburgh was chairman, and nothing came of it. The above circumstances of its reference to another sub-committee this year (Democratic) are disquieting to the promoters of the bill whose object is to eradicate the "phossyjaw" malady from American industry. [See vol. xii, pages 83, 109, 207.]

**In Honor of the Late Judge Steele.**

The "Robert W. Steele Memorial Association" has been incorporated for the purpose of honoring the memory of this able and courageous judge. As described in the charter, the particular object of the Association is—

to arrange for the solicitation, collection and expenditure of such moneys as may be necessary to the establishment of a memorial that will stand as Colorado's tribute to our late Chief Justice, Robert W. Steele, that great and well beloved jurist whose incorruptible devotion to the people, abiding belief in democratic institutions, and passionate love of equal and exact justice, gave new hope to an oppressed State and reared standards of judicial conduct by which judges may be measured.

[See volume xiii, page 988.]

**China.**

Abdication of the Throne by the Manchu dynasty seems to be under way, being delayed only for the taking of necessary precautions of safety for the retiring Manchus, and for the establishment of a working program of co-operation between the moderates of the north, championed by the Imperial Premier, Yuan Shi Kai, and the radicals of the south, already organized into a Republic under President Sun Yat Sen. [See current volume, page 110.]



President Sun has appointed Wong Ching Ting special representative of the Republic of China to the United States, and Lim Wuen Hing special representative to England.

The destruction of a twenty-mile wall partly surrounding the city of Canton has been begun by Republican soldiers, according to a dispatch of the 1st. The wall is 75 feet wide and 30 feet high, and was built about 200 B. C. A boulevard is to be built of the stone and mortar.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Joseph W. Folk of Missouri formerly opened his campaign on the 2nd at Joplin, Mo., for the Democratic nomination for President of the United States.

—The Czar has granted a pension to the widow of Leo Tolstoy, according to a dispatch of the 30th from St. Petersburg. She will receive 10,000 roubles [\$5,000] annually. [See volume xiii, pages 1113, 1141.]

—King George and Queen Mary of England arrived in London on the 5th after an absence of three months spent in a journey to India, where they were crowned Emperor and Empress. [See volume xiv, pages 1172, 1268.]

—On account of a general strike ordered by the Federation of Labor of Portugal on the 29th, Lisbon has been put under martial law and the constitutional guarantees have been suspended. [See current volume, page 39.]

—On his way eastward, Charles Frederick Adams is to lecture at Colorado Springs on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th; at Pueblo on the 14th; at Wichita, Kansas, on the 19th, 20th and 21st; at Kansas City, Mo., on the 23rd to the 29th; and at Lincoln, Nebr., on March 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th.

—Mgr. Giovanni Bonzano, named as Papal delegate to the United States, succeeds Diomedea Falconio, recently elevated to the office of cardinal. Official dispatches announcing Mgr. Bonzano's appointment were received at the Papal legation at Washington on the 1st. [See vol. xiv, p. 1245.]

—Continuation of the Zapata revolt against the government of President Madero in Mexico is reported from the States of Morelos, Mexico and Guerrero. On the 31st the garrison at the city of Juarez mutinied, but they were reduced to order again by the 4th. [See current volume, page 1313.]

—John Z. White is announced by the Henry George Lecture Association of Chicago to speak at Grand Rapids, Mich., on the 10th; Detroit on the 11th and 12th; Hamilton, Ohio, on the 14th; Westby, Wis., on the 16th; Pittsburgh, Pa., from the 19th to the 25th inclusive, and at Lancaster, Pa., on the 26th.

—Governor Deneen was nominated on the 3rd for the Republican nomination for Governor at the forthcoming direct primaries in Illinois, the nomination being made by the county convention of Cook County. This convention endorsed the Taft administration and declared in favor of a preferential primary vote for President.

—At the request of William J. Bryan his name has been withdrawn from the Nebraska primaries by the proposer, A. A. Arter, who makes the following explanation: "Learning that it is not the desire of William J. Bryan that his name appear on

the Democratic ticket as a Presidential candidate and learning that he desires to go to the Democratic national convention as a delegate at large from the State of Nebraska, I hereby withdraw the petition filed by me."

—After amendment so as to prohibit the invasion of private residences in quest of information, the child labor bill was passed on the 31st in the United States Senate by a vote of 54 to 20. This bill authorizes the creation of a bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor for the collection of information pertaining to the welfare of children and child life. Special authority is given to investigate questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, diseases, accidents, occupations, legislation and kindred subjects. [See current volume, page 111.]

—By action on the 5th by the committee on harbors, wharves and bridges of the City Council of Chicago, the proposed bargain with the Illinois Central Railroad whereby the railroad would release its claims to riparian rights on the Lake front in exchange for city land, is reported to have been indefinitely postponed. This committee voted by 8 to 3 to advise the Council to request the Governor to include in his call for a special session of the legislature a law providing for the condemnation of riparian rights to city uses. [See current volume, page 108.]

—A State convention of the Lincoln Protective League of Illinois (the Lorimer organization) has been called to meet at Springfield, February 12, 1912, "for the purpose of framing positive declarations upon questions of public policy, State and national, and embodying them in a formal platform, and for the further purpose of making arrangements for a State-wide campaign upon behalf of the platform so announced, and to endorse a candidate for United States Senator, a candidate for Governor, two candidates for Congressmen-at-Large, and candidates for such other State offices as the convention in its wisdom may determine."

—The legal representatives of John Dubinski, who was killed by Chicago detectives in May, 1910, recovered a verdict on the 3rd for \$6,000 against the detectives who killed him. Dubinski and two friends were going to their lodgings early in the morning when they saw the detectives standing in a shadow. Dubinski had considerable money with him and fearing the detectives were "hold-up" men tried to avoid them. To the detectives this seemed suspicious and they stepped out into the street, ordering Dubinski and his associates to stop. Dubinski ran, and the detectives, obeying the police orders of the time to "shoot and shoot to kill," shot Dubinski and killed him. [See vol. xiii, p. 795.]

—General James B. Weaver, Greenback candidate for President in 1880, and Populist candidate for President in 1892, died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Harry C. Evans, in Des Moines, on the 6th. James Baird Weaver was born in Dayton, Ohio, in 1833. He graduated from the law school of the Ohio University in 1854, and then returned to Iowa, where his parents had gone in 1843. He served with distinction in the Union army throughout the Civil War and was brevetted brigadier general in 1865. He

returned again to Iowa and was active in law, politics and journalism during a long and busy life. He possessed great strength of conviction and unusual probity of character, to which were added oratorical ability and personal charm.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### "T. R." on Suffrage.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Feb. 6.—Woman suffrage? Certainly. Why not? As I was saying, I raised my rifle, took careful aim, etc.



### The Recall.

(Kalamazoo, Mich.) Common Cause (ind.), Jan. 27.—Some men in Kalamazoo contend that no self-respecting man would accept an office with a Recall to it. They might as logically argue that no self-respecting man would offer himself as a candidate and depend on the votes of the mob for his election. Ultimately, both arguments end in the same place.



### Government Ownership in Great Britain.

The Sacramento Bee (ind.), January 10.—Government ownership and operation of the telephone, as a branch of the postal service, has just begun in England, in harmony with the general policy of that country with relation to public utilities. As a private monopoly the telephone service has not been satisfactory in England, but it is believed the government will improve the service while making it self-supporting on a moderate scale of charges. Under the old conditions the telephone was little used, compared with its general employment in the United States, but with better service it should grow in popularity among the British. It is to be remembered, however, that one reason for the relatively small use of the telephone in England is the low cost of the government telegraph service, the charges averaging not more than half those prevailing in the United States. It being cheap and convenient to telegraph, the long distance 'phone is sparingly used.



### Make Congress Responsive.

The Commoner (Bryan), Dec. 22.—The Henry bill providing that the first session of Congress shall be held soon after election instead of thirteen months later, and providing also for the change in the date of Inauguration, ought to be passed. Now the Congressman elected in November does not begin his Congressional work until December, thirteen months later, and the Congressman who may have been repudiated in November goes to Washington in December following the election and has the opportunity of again misrepresenting the people. The Congressman chosen in November should begin his work as soon after the election as possible, and the second session of Congress ought to close before the succeeding election in order that the people may have a chance to pass upon its work. The Henry bill will have the effect of abolishing the "job ses-

sion," as the session of Congress in December following the election has come to be known.



#### Government by the Minority.

La Follette's (Pro. Rep.) Feb. 3.—Here is one man's view of self-government. Addressing the New York lawyers, this man said with great earnestness: "We don't believe that all people are fitted for popular government. Some of us don't dare say so, but I do; and the question whether a people is fitted for popular self-government depends upon the restraint that the minority can place upon the majority to see that justice is done." That is explicit, is it not? The minority must restrain the majority; that is, the minority must rule the majority. We are all familiar with this. When this minority is made up of the nobles in purple and fine linen, we call it an aristocracy. When it is composed of the rich and powerful, we call it a plutocracy. And when judges, selected from the aristocratic and plutocratic minority, reflect in their decisions the economic views of the minority class from which they come, then we have what has come to be called a judicial oligarchy. In each case a minority restrains and rules the majority. Who is the man that thus champions a ruling minority? It is the President of the United States.



#### A Word to the—Well, to the Seattle "P.-I."

The Toronto (Ont.) Star (ind.), Jan. 27.—The jokers of the press, says the Ottawa Citizen, are making no end of fun of Montreal's tax on bath tubs. Yet, funny as this bathtub tax is, it is not half so funny as are many of the people who laugh at it. For this tax, though it looks like a freak, is the legitimate outcome of the very system which many of these humorists support. Our whole system of taxation is on the bath tub basis. We tax not only the bath tub, but the floor, the walls, and the roof of the house in which the bath tub stands. There used to be a tax on windows. This enlightened generation smiles at the manifest lack of wisdom. What, discourage the means of admitting light and air? Encourage darkness, dirt and disease? The state should rather pay a premium to those who put in windows. Put in as many as you can, and keep them open. But we have no right to laugh at our ancestors. We tax not only the windows and the bath tubs, but every brick, board and nail in the house, every appliance for comfort, warmth, air, and cleanliness. We discourage the building of houses. We encourage the man who leaves a lot vacant, an eyesore to the neighborhood, growing thistles and burdocks. Let him build a house and surround it with a nice lawn, and down comes the assessor with a demand for more taxes. . . . We cannot afford to laugh at the tax on bath tubs.



#### The Singletax in California.

Los Angeles Tribune, Dec. 17.—When a large, representative organization like the City Club listens for the second time in a year, and with deep respect and interest, to the expounding of the Singletax theory, it may be said that the once despised political

economy of Henry George is making headway on this side of the line, as it has in Canada. Time was when a Singletaxer was merely looked on as a harmless crank. He could generally floor other disputants in debate, but the final answer to him was that George's plan might be unanswerable but was "utopian." Of such dreamers are some of the world's great movements born. The presence of Charles Frederick Adams of New York before the City Club on Saturday shows that the utopian now appeals as practical to some hard-headed men. Of itself this meeting would not have been very significant. But it was a part of a series of events whose meaning will not be overlooked by any student of affairs. At the recent meeting of the assessors of California counties in San Francisco, the Singletax was discussed with deep interest, and Assessor Dodge of the Bay city was openly in favor of "taxing land values only, exempting improvements." At the recent convention of the League of California Municipalities at Santa Barbara, Mayor J. Stitt Wilson of Berkeley advocated "an assessment regulated by the unearned increment of site values." His address was followed by a unanimous resolution favoring home rule in taxation, so that any community could adopt the Singletax or whatever else seemed best. . . . Seven Canadian cities are now under the modified single tax, and there can be no doubt that the seed is germinating all down the Pacific coast.



#### The Singletax in Canada.

The (Ottawa, Ont.) Citizen (Conservative daily), Jan. 20.—Not satisfied with a system under which the concentration of municipal taxes upon land values is left to the option of the municipalities themselves, the legislature of Alberta proposes to make this reform mandatory throughout the Province, the new system to come into effect seven years from this time. This is mainly the result of the trial of the Singletax in Edmonton, the capital and chief city of Alberta. . . . When Alberta, after successful local experiment decides to take the further step of establishing the Singletax for the whole Province, it is not easy to understand why Ontario should be condemned to a continuance of the present outworn system. It is well enough, perhaps, to let these go-ahead people of the west lead us in the race for improved municipal government, but surely it is not reasonable to allow them to distance us altogether.



The Christian Science Monitor (religious), Jan. 24.—Edmonton has been experimenting along Singletax lines for some time past, and apparently to its entire satisfaction. Like Victoria, Vancouver and other western Canadian cities, however, the system has been somewhat handicapped by the Provincial laws. The Singletaxers have had to make some sacrifices in many instances in order to prove the worth of the principle they advocate. But in Alberta now there is a strong movement toward bringing the legislature around to the point of making the Singletax system general rather than local. The success achieved by the municipality of Edmonton has had much to do with this. The fixing of taxes, the concentration of taxation on land alone has worked out

so well that thousands of new converts have been won over to the Henry George theory recently.

## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

### THE UNINVITED GUEST.

For The Public.

("Washington, D. C., Feb. 2.—[Special.]—The \$30,000 dinner and reception given by Mr. and Mrs. Edward McLean in the old Thomas F. Walsh mansion, in Massachusetts avenue tonight was one of the most elaborate social functions Washington has seen in many seasons. With the palatial rooms of the house decorated with 4000 lilies brought from England at a cost of \$3000, with two stars from the Metropolitan Opera company to furnish entertainment, and with Mrs. McLean wearing, for the first time, the famous \$130,000 Hope diamond, the guests were astonished at the lavishness. Mr. McLean is the son of John R. McLean, the newspaper proprietor and financier, who is many times a millionaire. Mr. McLean's wife is the daughter of the late Thomas F. Walsh, multimillionaire mine owner. . . . Mrs. McLean wore a gown of white satin with overdress of silver net, gracefully draped, and a broad border of white roses about the satin skirt. Her only jewels were two diamonds of world wide fame, the precious Hope stone being arranged tastefully in her hair, just over her forehead, and a still larger one suspended from a platinum chain about her neck."—The Chicago Tribune, Feb. 3, 1912.)



I fancied, while the feast was at its height,  
To sudden silence fell the laugh and jest,—  
The feasters saw before them, robed in light,  
The Son of Man—an uninvited guest.  
He moved among them to a vacant place,  
Slowly and thoughtfully, with downcast head;  
Then gazing full upon them for a space  
In mournful wonderment, He spake and said:  
"Are ye My followers, who renounce Me thus,  
Who flaunt this loud denial of My word,—  
Who sumptuously fare, while Lazarus  
Pleads at your gate for succor, all unheard?  
Above your feasting hear ye not the cry  
Of those, My children, who are sick for bread?  
Me do ye starve, and Me do ye deny,  
While yet the least of these is left unfed.  
"Fair are your lilies from across the seas,  
Purchased to lend their beauty for a night;  
But there are lilies precious more than these,  
Nearer at hand, and fairer in My sight,—  
Frail human lilies of young maidenhood,  
Trampled beneath the careless feet of men,  
Which with your squandered treasure, if ye would,  
Ye could lift up and make to bloom again.  
"Sweet is the costly music at your feast;  
But sweeter in My ear would be the song  
That all might sing, from greatest to the least,  
If man would end the sway of Greed and Wrong:  
The song of happy labor through the land,—  
Labor that travails now to earn what ye  
And others like ye spend with heedless hand  
To feed your pride, your ravenous vanity.

"Bright is the jewel fastened in your hair,  
And radiant is the jewel on your breast;  
But gems of greater price, more strangely rare,  
Not to be purchased, would become ye best:  
The jewels that I set upon the brow  
Of those who from My mandates never turn,—  
The pearls of Justice and of Truth, which now  
Ye spurn and mock, as Me ye mock and spurn."

WALDO R. BROWNE.



### THE DAWN OF OPTIMISM.

For The Public.

As a very small boy, I distinctly remember that stories of discovery and invention made a deep impression on my childish mind; and I shall never forget going one day to my mother and saying:

"Oh, dear, I wish I had been born before everything was discovered and invented. Now, there is nothing left for me to do."

Brooding over it, and wondering why it should be so, my boyish soul felt deeply the tragedy of being born into an uneventful age. Picture then my joy when, in the course of my later studies, it slowly dawned upon me that the age in which I lived was, after all, an age of unparalleled activity. I saw the much vaunted discoveries and inventions of by-gone days in their true proportions. They no longer pre-empted the whole world,—present and future, as well as past; but freed from romance, the successive steps in human achievement, from the use of fire to the harnessing of electricity, ranged themselves in the form of a foundation upon which the structure of civilization is building. The discoveries and inventions of the past need not, and would not prevent me from achieving in the present—nay, they might make a resting-place, if I could but find it, for my feet; they might hold up my hands; and place within my grasp the keen tools with which I should do my work.

The school boy, passing from an attitude of contemplation and wonder before the things of the past, into an attitude of active recognition of the necessities of the present, experiences the evolutionary development of the race. The savage, Sir Henry Maine tells us, lives in a state of abject fear, bound hand and foot by the sayings and doings of his ancestors and blinded by the terrors of nature. The Lightning flashes, and the untutored mind, trembling, bows before the wrath of a jealous God; the Harvest fails, and the savage humbly submits to the vengeance of an incensed deity; Pestilence destroys the people, and the primitive man sees, in this catastrophe, a punishment inflicted on him for his failure to propitiate an exacting spirit—in these and a thousand other ways uncivilized peoples accept the phenomena in which Nature displays her power, as the expressed will of an omnipotent being. One course alone is open to them—they must bow down before the unknown,

accepting as inevitable those forces which they can neither understand nor conquer.

Civilization has meant enlightenment and achievement. In Lightning, Franklin saw a potent giant, which he enslaved for the service of man; in Famine, Burbank discovered a lack of proper adjustment between the soil and the crops—thereupon he produced a wheat or a vetch that would thrive on an annual rainfall of twelve inches; in Pestilence, Pasteur recognized the ravages of an organism which he prepared to study and destroy. Lightning, Famine and Pestilence are, to the primitive man, the threatening of a wrathful God; to the progressive thinker they are merely forces which must be utilized or counteracted in the work of human achievement.

As a boy I believed my opportunities to be limited by the achievements of the past. As a man I see in these past achievements not hindrances, but foundation stones laid by the past, and builded upon by the present, in order that the future may erect the perfected structure of a higher civilization. I see all of this clearly, and I see one thing more. In the old days which I had erstwhile envied, one event of world import might have been chronicled for each decade, but in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such an event may be chronicled for each year, or month or even for each day. The past was an age of uncertain, hesitating advance; the present is an age of dynamic achievement, leading on into the future of human development. Because the past has built, the present is building—building in order that the future may stand higher in its realization of potential life.

SCOTT NEARING.



## TRUE LITTLE TALES OF MINOR REFORMERS.

6th and Last. The Librarian.

For The Public.

The young school-teacher seemed to himself a failure that Winter. He had been taking too many things for granted; there were many, too many, people, also, who knew about his foolish little affairs. His formerly delightful school had somehow ceased to be very interesting. Chiefly, he was much in debt, because he had gone in partnership with a poor neighbor (who was a much poorer farmer) and the badly put in wheat crop had only given half a yield which the school-teacher had turned over to the poor farmer's large family—he was not a pig, he thought, even if he was a stick-in-the-mud, and a draggled-winged gander.

"Bread and butter, butter and bread," he thought to himself, "and stupid, small falsehoods

all about a fellow, in an atmosphere of total depression."

Some neighbors in the valley, who cared for the young man, and the old Catholic priest (who never remembered that he was a heretic), and several mothers of children he taught, watched him that Winter with growing anxiety. It was commonly (and untruthfully) reported that a girl in Los Angeles had handed him a large-sized mitten.

"There is something in Carlyle," said the teacher to himself one Friday afternoon: "'Reduce thy desires to zero.' I'll saddle up tomorrow at daybreak and ride over the ridge to the nearest library, and read old grumblers like Carlyle."

So, on Saturday afternoon, he was in a little, old-fashioned town library, built and kept up by local subscriptions. He found an atmosphere of peace, and of something more that he could not just then define.

The Librarian was a small, slender woman, very plainly dressed, and no longer young. She was lame and frail, and he had understood that she supported herself and an invalid husband. She had a very sweet voice and cheerful, far-seeing, motherly eyes, and beautiful, work-worn, transparent hands.

Open to everyone were the book-shelves, which the teacher liked. He took out a volume of Carlyle, and Alton Locke, and Felix Holt. Then he read a little while, but the gray-haired Librarian drew his thoughts. She was writing something, with a troubled and indignant look, but he felt dimly that it was not for herself that she struggled towards expression.

"Perhaps," he guessed, "she is writing a poem for a magazine or a letter to Jim Barry's 'Star'."

The Librarian slipped what she had written under the pad, and began to move around the room. The school-teacher perceived an astonishing and all-including fellowship. In fact, he felt that he was a part of it. In the first place, the Librarian seemed to know every book on the



Charles Howard Shinn.



shelves, and when one was missing she knew who was reading it. In the second place, she made the library seem like her own sitting room, and the books appeared as if they were her own, and she knew all the people there, the children, the teamsters, an old Spaniard, a young Japanese, a crippled section-hand from the railroad, an Irish washerwoman from the other side of the town, the spectacled editor who ran the weekly newspaper. In the third place, she evidently gave of her abundance to each and every one of them—the needed suggestion or line of thought, drawing them towards it so deftly that they supposed it was mainly their own achievement. To some of them she brought more books, and from some she smilingly took away a few of those they had. The editor, with redoubled energy, began to bulwark himself around with reference books and jeered gently at her across the barrier after the manner of tried friends.

The school-teacher appreciated these things. He felt that he was in the presence of a rare and fine personality, tuned to harmonies of which he knew nothing except in rare moments. And then she came to his table, bringing good-will and knowledge with her, and he was greatly surprised to hear her address him by name.

"We know of you over here," she said. "Come to our cottage tomorrow before you leave, and meet my husband, and see some first editions which have come to me."

Then they talked of books; she seemed to know every paragraph that he had been reading since he came in. And somehow he felt as if she was not quite satisfied with his lines of reading. This did not make him angry, but it troubled him more and more that evening and still stirred within him when he went to the Librarian's tiny cottage.

"Yes!" she said to him, as friendship ripened further. "All of those things which have charmed you for many bright years were very much worth while. You have given help and comprehension to others. But now, Friend of a single day, where do you belong, and where are you going?"

The young man, pierced by that keen and refreshing wisdom of insight, cried out in sudden agony of soul: "I do not know. Tell me, dear Librarian; show me the path, for I feel that you are walking there. Help me to relate myself to things which are greater than I am. Once, I thought it was teaching as a life-work, and now I am not sure. Nor does it seem enough to say with that fierce Scotchman: 'Child of Adam, reduce thy desires to zero!' Something cries to me unceasingly: 'Live not in any cave on water-crest; hammer no worth-while desires down to zero; illuminate them all, not from within, but from some great, outside, eternal flame.' But where does one start?"

Divinely shone upon him the face of the small, lame, gray-haired woman. She spoke in that pel-

lucid impersonal way, as if she leaned out of another atmosphere.

"You care for your fellow-men; you are able to make sacrifices, and you can understand them in others. Therefore you are one of those who find it easy to become devoted to Ideas, to Causes, —to Reforms, in short. You cannot measure the greatness of the gift you have if you keep it clean and free. It will feed you when hungry, and warm you when cold, and carry you through all the deep waters of weariness. But hitherto, as I think, you have but loved in an undirected way, art, beauty, literature, splendid phrases, sudden inspirations, and haphazard devotions. You might go on thus to degenerate at last into a devotee of some isolated man-made and hideous heathen idol of a narrow, unrelated reform. Then the real you would harden, shrivel, perish and blow away!"

"Yes; it is so," the young teacher answered the Librarian.

"Now, there are many great Causes," she went on. "It is everywhere so, in this awakening world. The books inspire, but do not depend on them; do not put the new wine of living and creative ideas into those stiff old goat-skins. Do not quote Latin in your argument—but the vernacular. Look towards New Zealand; study Switzerland; sit in spirit in every assembly of toiling men all over the earth. Carry as your own the daily difficulties of those common folk whom Lincoln loved. Above everything else, get out into the battle. Help to storm some one of those age-enduring Castles of Privilege which still dominate the mountain passes. Find out for yourself, somehow—if it takes fifty years—one or more of the all-essential and foundational Reforms which heroes, saints and martyrs must bring to pass for all the children of earth."

She paused, and her look swept more than one cobweb from his brain.

"Tell me," he cried, "what are these great Reforms? what are yours?"

How young she suddenly looked—this gray-haired Librarian—as she changed her tone, and laughed in his face.

"If I were your fairy godmother," she said, "I should call you a babe in your cradle. Bore through your own mountain to your own river, and water your own field with that. If it should happen to be my own river, there's water enough for the whole earth. But I will admit," she added, "that I like to coördinate all sorts of minor reforms—there are twenty in this one little town."

The teacher shook hands with the Librarian, and told her good-bye. She had a last word for him. "Here's a list of books for you to really study hard. And here's a list of people all over the world who know much more than books, and are right down in the fighting—in what the knights used to call the 'mellay.' You might want to write letters to them now and then. It needs

no introductions; they will answer you. 'And"—she blushed very prettily, this gray-haired Librarian—"here's one of my own books of verses about some of these things, and your name is on the fly-leaf. Now ride off, for it's a long trail over the ridge, eight hours at least, and you will teach but a sleepy school tomorrow."

So the school-teacher left the tiny cottage, under the vines, at ten o'clock that Sunday night, and rode on and up through the pine forest, down into the valley, and to the schoolhouse. But he was not sleepy, and the children said to each other: "Our real teacher who tells us stories and plays with us has come back again."

All that, and more besides, for the unselfish life of the small, lame Librarian reformer long shone around him, long steadied his course, long directed his more definite studies.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



### THE FENCE OR THE AMBULANCE.

'Twas a dangerous cliff, as they freely confessed,

Though to walk near its crest was so pleasant;  
But over its terrible edge there had slipped

A duke and full many a peasant.

So the people said something would have to be done,  
But their projects did not at all tally.

Some, "Put a fence around the edge of the cliff,"  
Some, "An ambulance down in the valley."

But the cry for the ambulance carried the day,  
And it spread through the neighboring city;

A fence may be useful or not, it is true,  
But each heart became brimful of pity

For those who slipped over that dangerous cliff.

And the dwellers in highway and alley  
Gave pounds or gave pence, not to put up a fence,  
But an ambulance down in the valley.

Then an old sage remarked: "It's a marvel to me  
That people give far more attention  
To repairing results than to stopping the cause,  
When they'd better aim at prevention.

Let us stop at its source all this mischief," cried he,  
"Come, neighbors and friends, let us rally;  
If the cliff we will fence, we might almost dispense  
With the ambulance down in the valley."

"Oh, he's a fanatic," the other rejoined;

"Dispense with the ambulance? Never!  
He'd dispense with all charities, too; if he could.  
No, no, we'll support them forever!

Aren't we picking up folks just as fast as they fall?  
And shall this man dictate to us? Shall he?  
Why should people of sense stop to put up a fence,  
While the ambulance works in the valley?"

—Joseph Malins.



The people cannot be politically equal with those upon whom they are economically dependent. ▲ single privilege like a single leak will founder the ship.—Henry D. Lloyd in "Mazzini, and Other Essays."

## BOOKS

### THE HUMAN MACHINE.

The Human Machine. By Arnold Bennett. Published by Geo. H. Doran Company, New York.

It is a delightful art to be able to deny stoutly that you are preaching, and yet to preach, and to preach in such a way as to hold the listener. Mr. Bennett has this art. "I am not preaching," he says, "and, even if I were, I think you would have it. I think I can anyhow keep hold of your button for a while, though you pull hard. I am not preaching. I am simply bent on calling your attention," etc. And so he keeps hold of the button, and preaches hard at us through the 120 pages of this little book.

The Human Machine is the brain and the body—chiefly the brain. The author's text is the management of the brain, and he asserts that the first great principle underlying the efficiency of the human machine is that the brain is an instrument, a servant. "The indispensable preparation for brain-discipline," he says, "is to form the habit of regarding one's brain as an instrument exterior to one's self, like a tongue or a foot." Then as to the discipline, there is no dodge about it. It is simply a question of sheer force of will-power. "The beginning of wise living," he says, "lies in the control of the brain by the will."

Sidney Lanier made his violins sing, "We are all for heart." Mr. Bennett is all for brain. "The student of himself," he says, "must necessarily conduct his existence more and more according to the views of his brain. . . . You object. You say it will be a pity when mankind refers everything to reason. You talk about the heart. . . . When the reason and the heart come into conflict the heart is invariably wrong. I do not say that the reason is entirely right, but I do say that it is always less wrong than the heart." Again he says, "The heart hates progress, because the dear old thing always wants to do as has always been done. . . . The brain alone is the enemy of prejudice and precedent." He even claims that the brain is more kind than the heart, that the brain does the difficult, unselfish thing, while the heart does the facile, showy thing. Of course Mr. Bennett professes here to be talking about the results of the "intensive culture" of the brain, and we understand in general what he means, but he does not keep his psychology very clear when he talks of "brain," "reason," "heart," "will," and the "central force of the ego." It may be that the Hebrew philosopher was aiming at the same point which Mr. Bennett is aiming at, when he said, "Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life."

But let us not get away from the tremendous

lesson of brain discipline which this little book fairly shouts at us. "You exclaim that I exaggerate. I do," the author says. "To force into prominence an aspect of affairs usually overlooked, it is absolutely necessary to exaggerate." I think the reader will confess that Mr. Bennett does force into prominence an aspect of affairs usually overlooked. In spite of all we say about mental discipline, in spite of the apparent triteness of the principle that the brain must be put into training, and made subject to the will, this little book will convict us of our daily and constant disregard and neglect in respect to the management of our brains. Any one of us who reads it will at least thank Mr. Bennett for the stimulant.

J. H. DILLARD.



### CO-OPERATIVE FINANCE.

**Building, Loan and Savings Associations.** By Henry S. Rosenthal, American Bldg. Ass'n Co., Cincinnati, O. Price \$3.00.

The great growth in recent years in the number and membership of co-operative savings and building and loan associations appears to be a justification for a new edition of the book by Henry S. Rosenthal about these institutions.

The statistics collected by the United States League of Co-operative Building and Loan Associations show a membership exceeding two million persons, who through systematic saving have accumulated assets exceeding nine hundred million dollars, chiefly consisting of small mortgages upon small dwelling houses.

These associations are variously known as building and loan associations, savings and loan associations, and homestead aid associations, according to the laws which govern them in different States. In Massachusetts they are classified as co-operative banks. The latter designation seems most appropriate, since in recent years the tendency of development and practice in these associations has been toward the savings bank ideal more than anything else. In Ohio, where these institutions are having a marvelous growth, many of the features, such as the serial issue of shares, fines, fees and premiums, which characterize the orthodox building and loan association, have been eliminated, and the association has become a sort of people's savings bank, managed democratically, where a man may invest his savings without compulsion as to regularity of deposits, and upon the understanding that the officers elected by the depositors shall invest the money in first mortgages upon small dwelling houses and in nothing else. In most of the States there are now stringent laws for the regulation and supervision of these associations, and in some places they give promise of driving the old-fashioned savings bank out of business.

Mr. Rosenthal's book contains much useful and

interesting information about these associations, past and present. It would be improved by the elimination of some chapters dealing with facts and phases of the building association movement that are no longer of interest nor related to existing conditions.



### HIS OWN THINKING.

**The New Theology.** By R. J. Campbell, M. A., Minister of the City Temple, London. The Macmillan Company, New York. Price \$1.50.

The recent appearance of this author on American soil invites a fresh review of his book, issued in 1908, but still as deeply interesting in its frank, outspoken views on vital themes as when it first came across the sea. And yet, in a way, the "New Theology" is no longer new, since the world of thinking men and women is coming into the conception of a religion founded, not on the time-worn creeds of the churches, but on the higher understanding of the Gospel teachings which throughout inculcate the truth of a spiritual life to be lived in the midst of today's activities.

The author of "The New Theology" is perfectly free in his criticism of the inconsistencies of the old theology, regardless of the shock he is giving to minds that have placidly accepted an ungodlike plan of atonement and salvation without daring to question the external authorities in religion that have placed a ban on liberty of thought. But a mental shock is often a necessary prelude to the awakening of a living interest in the deeper issues of life, and the more bigoted and intolerant the individual the more need of the shock that may arouse the inert and stultified powers of his mind.

At the same time there is no effort on the part of the new theologian to impose his own conceptions of truth upon others. The freedom which he himself exercises in the statement of his beliefs is equally the privilege of all who read and reject those statements. Every human being is constituted to do his own thinking on all vital subjects, and if he fails to avail himself of this God-given right he becomes a mere automatic echo of traditions handed down and adopted without test of their truth.

A. L. M.

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### PAMPHLETS

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#### Plumbism.

Dr. Alice Hamilton of Chicago reports in Bulletin 95 of the Bureau of Labor (Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington, D. C.) upon the American manufacture of white-lead. The writer personally inspected 22 of the 25 known white-lead factories in the United States. She first explains briefly the processes and conditions of manufacture,

remarking the greater or less danger of lead-poisoning at each step; then gives 16 recorded individual cases of plumbism, or lead-poisoning; next describes each factory; and the conclusion is the usual one: The United States is far behind Europe in regulations for the safe-guarding of employees. Illinois is the only State which has passed special legislation regulating the white-lead industry. "Intelligent legislative control," writes Dr. Hamilton, "control based upon knowledge of the dangers inherent in handling white lead" is an industrial need.

A. L. G.

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## PERIODICALS

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### Women Prepare for the Ballot.

The Woman Voter for January (212 Metropolitan Tower, New York City), besides several suffrage articles, prints the first of a series of discussions of proposed social reforms, this one a very brief statement of "The Social Philosophy of Henry George" by Frederic C. Howe.

A. L. G.

### The Journal of Sociology.

"Democracy in the Household" by Lucy M. Salmon, is the first article in the January number of the American Journal of Sociology (Chicago). Professor Salmon considers chiefly the relation of employer to employed in the household, and finds therein an instinctive fear of democracy usually on the employer's part, sometimes on the employes' side—a fear which comes from the false identification of democracy with uniformity. Because of this fear, artificial obstacles in the way of democracy have been set up, obstacles such as tips, the use of the Christian name for the employe and not the employer, the use of the word "servant." But "the most fundamental and therefore the most serious barrier" to the advance of democracy in the household, writes Prof. Salmon, is "the prevailing attitude of both men and women toward the whole subject of work for remuneration as it concerns women. . . .

Democracy in the household must mean the opportunity of all members of it to work for remuneration, and the privilege of all members of it to work without remuneration."

A. L. G.

### A Canadian Icelandic Monthly.

Fródi (pronounced Froathee) is an Icelandic monthly published in Winnipeg, Canada, of which I have just received the fifth issue—it being in its first year. Its intention, so it declares, is to entertain as well as instruct its readers. That it is instructive no less than entertaining is fully shown in the current issue, which contains articles on such subjects as Suggestion, China, the Creation story according to Icelandic legends contained in the Edda, and last but not least, a translation of Henry George's "Road to Freedom." The previous issues of this little magazine, of only fifty pages, have contained Henry George's explanation of "The Singletax, What it is and Why we urge it," together with a brief biography and portrait of Henry George. Fródi is the only Icelandic journal which advocates the Singletax editorially. The editor, Magnus J. Skaptason, is a learned theologian of radical tendencies. Whether on account of his radicalism or merely some ipsi dixit of the Canadian postoffice, Mr. Skaptason has been refused second rate postal privileges, and so threatened with the necessity of giving up his highly useful publication. He has argued that other journals of similar nature enjoy those privileges. But the postal authorities always have some excuse. The latest is that it is neither a political paper nor a newspaper, one or the other of which they say it must be in order to get second class rates. Of course, many other journals not answering to either description are carried second class. So that looks like an evasion of the real answer. Mr. Skaptason has produced a list of the proper number of bona fide subscribers, which he thought all that was necessary; but proofs, arguments and common sense are equally ineffective in overcoming the irresistible stubbornness of the postal authorities, which is comparable only to that of the Russian bureaucracy.

PAUL M. CLEMENS.

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THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago.

THOSE who wish to become members of THE CLEVELAND SINGLE TAX CLUB are invited to send their names and addresses to the Sec'y.-Treas., MARTIN F. McCARTHY, 1464 E. 111th Street, CLEVELAND, OHIO. There are no dues or other obligations. The Club has luncheon every Thursday, 12 to 2, at Weber's, opposite Post Office.

THE CHICAGO SINGLE TAX CLUB meets on the 9th at 8:00 P. M., at 508 Schiller Building.  
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There's a grocer out Elkins way who is notorious for his wretched horseflesh. The grocer's boy is rather a reckless driver. He drove one of his

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**The Public, Book Dept, Ellsworth Bldg, Chicago**

master's worst nags a little too hard one day and the animal fell ill and died.

"You've killed my horse, curse you," the grocer said to the boy next morning.

"I'm sorry, boss," the lad faltered.

"Sorry be durned!" shouted the grocer. "Who's going to pay me for my horse?"

"I'll make it all right, boss," said the boy, soothingly. "You can take it out of my next Saturday's wages."—New York Tribune.

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Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

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