

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Reason for Recalling Judges.

No better work has been undertaken by any magazine than Everybody's begins in its February number, with the first of a series of articles on "Big Business and the Bench." The author is C. P. Connolly, a lawyer of twenty years' practice. He has won a deservedly high reputation as an investigator and reporter in the seven or eight years since he, with a realization of judicial corruption and the passing of the independent lawyer, withdrew from the legal profession. Mr. Connolly's series in Everybody's will doubtless be called "muckraking" articles; and such they clearly are if the first is a sample of those to follow. But why should anyone object to "muckraking," unless he is so far in or of the muck as to be in danger of getting caught between the teeth of the rake?



The question honest men will ask is not whether Mr. Connolly's exposures are "muckraking," but whether they are true. If true, they are of the utmost importance, for they disclose a degree of judicial corruption which may well appall honest litigants, and a habit of law-making by judges which demands instant and radical correction.



In his first article in Everybody's Mr. Connolly confines his specific disclosures to the States of Montana and Washington. But he offers these

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

Reason for Recalling Judges.....	145
"Trying Out" Governor Wilson.....	146
Singletax Progress in Boston.....	147
A Tendency in Journalism.....	147
Chicago Traction Service.....	147
Alexander Jonas.....	148
James B. Weaver.....	148
The Problem of Making a Living (E. H. Putnam).....	148

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Exposure of an Ohio Reactionary (A. W. R.).....	150
Australasia (Ernest Bray).....	150
Harassing the Railroads (W. G. Eggleston).....	151

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:

Pulling the Supreme Court's Teeth (Louis Mayers and H. J. Chase).....	152
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NEWS NARRATIVE:

The Manchu Dynasty Abdicates the Chinese Throne.....	153
Elections in New Zealand.....	154
Socialism in the German Reichstag.....	154
Home Rule for Ireland.....	154
Taxation in British Columbia.....	155
Labor Strike in Lawrence.....	156
Withdrawal of Folk from the Presidential Candidacy.....	156
Roosevelt for President.....	157
Senator La Follette as a Presidential Candidate.....	157
The Lorimer League of Illinois.....	157
Direct Legislation in Illinois.....	157
Direct Legislation in the Ohio Constitutional Convention.....	157
News Notes.....	159
Press Opinions.....	160

RELATED THINGS:

A Voter's Meditation (Jesse S. Dancy).....	161
The Singletax at Work in Canada.....	161
Some of Dobbs's Thinks (Geo. V. Wells).....	161

BOOKS:

My Neighbor's Landmark.....	162
Diluted Occultism.....	163
Books Received.....	163
Pamphlets.....	163
Periodicals.....	164

instances for more than their local and temporary value. He offers them as typical not only of those localities and of an earlier time than the present, but also of a national condition now. "While we have been giving to judges a reverence that men once gave to kings," says Mr. Connolly, "the forces that corrupt every other branch of public life have been no more reverent to judges than to aldermen," and "while we worshipped they corrupted." Quoting a statesman who died fighting the Interests, he declares that these have "retreated into the courts," where, after defeat "in legislatures, councils and executive offices, they are going to make their last stand." Mr. Connolly might have added in allusion to the nervous opposition of our Roots and our Tafts over the coming system of popular recall for judges, and of the solemn action of our Bar Associations influenced by other allies and Dalghettys of the Interests, that the Interests are already making their last stand in that city of plutocratic refuge—an irresponsible judiciary, a cult of judges beyond the reach of public sentiment.

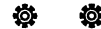


In itself a ruthless drawing of the curtain at the back of our judicial bench, and a limelight exposure of "the man behind the hand that holds the hook" which menaces every independent judge with a corporation recall, Mr. Connolly's first article promises more and worse. It promises to prove that there is a state of affairs which, "unless checked, cannot but be a serious menace to the country." Among the facts to be marshalled in support of this promise, are these: that judges act "like puppets at the end of a string" in response to political bosses; that "the courts have been packed in order to render decisions favorable to certain corporations, not once, but so often that the resulting danger has become too great to ignore;" that oppression "in the private exploitation of public service and in the seizure of privilege" is "in large measure due to the courts' obedience to the will of powerful interests;" that "impeachment is an impotent and hopeless remedy;" and that "judges refusing to obey the mandates of corporations" are "returned to private life" by means of "boss-managed and corporation-owned conventions."



Mr. Connolly's articles ought to be read far and wide. They ought to be discussed in every city and village and school house. They ought to be liberally quoted from and commented upon in every unshackled periodical. No worse power

has ever been faced by the American people than the American judiciary at the present time. With its assumption of the veto on legislation, its custom of manufacturing law through the piling up of precedents, its centralization of authority in a few men on an appellate bench far removed from popular influence, and with our inculcated habits as a people of worshipping judges as sacrosanct, the judiciary of the United States is the most powerful institution since monarchy at the time when the doctrine of divine right was as the breath of its life. And if the judiciary be corruptly or coercively influenced by monopoly interests, then this Republic faces not only a great power but a grave danger. Mr. Connolly avers that the American judiciary is thus influenced. In his first paper he proves his case startlingly as far as he goes, and shows that he is not "talking wild" in the promises he makes of further disclosures. If he is not mistaken, and few persons with knowledge are likely to think him so—probably none in good faith—he is a veritable Paul Revere at a time and under circumstances when such a messenger and a listening people are supremely needed. And let no one be fooled with misleading cries of "muckraker." Let the answer to all such cries of the public enemy be short and sharp: "We care not for your foolish epithets; what we demand to know is whether the story is true!"



"Trying Out" Governor Wilson.

George Fred Williams is right in urging democratic Democrats to inform themselves now, about Governor Wilson's pedagogical utterances of a decade ago or more, and to consider the bearing of those utterances upon what appears to be, but may not be, his radical change of heart. Our reason for regarding Mr. Williams as right is given by himself in his letter to Senator Pettigrew, where he says that those old utterances of Governor Wilson's ought not to be left to the exploitation of headline writers in Republican newspapers after the Governor may have become the Democratic nominee for President. Such surprises are surely to be avoided. Consider the "cocked hat" letter about Bryan as making its first appearance in the autumn of the Presidential year! But inasmuch as everybody knows about it now, it cannot be exploited in the campaign. So with all else that Governor Wilson said or wrote before he realized what democracy really means in the practical politics of the time. To us it seems that every new disclosure so far of Wilson's utterances before his political illumination, has gone to prove the genuineness of his conver-

sion. We incline to believe that any further disclosures will have the same effect, provided they do not come as surprises after the thinking campaign of the spring has given way to the fighting campaign of the fall. Meanwhile let's have them all, whatever they be, so that Governor Wilson's sincerity may be subjected to the severest scrutiny and his availability be put to the fullest and fairest test before his name goes out from the Democratic convention as its candidate.



Singletax Progress in Boston.

Various are the judgments about men in politics who do the unexpected thing. "Is he sincere?" is a question that spontaneously arises and floats about in every such case. But often the question of sincerity is not important. Who cares whether the man that jumped half way over Niagara Falls sincerely wished or intended to go the whole distance? In respect of a public man's influence his motives in proposing a reform are of infinitely less concern than the fact that he proposes it. This ought to answer the objections to Mayor Fitzgerald's fiscal proposals for Boston, in his inaugural address from which we make this quotation: "As the functions of the government expand, more revenue is required. We look for relief in various directions and find that there are as many minds as men. One official body counsels us to reduce expenditures, while other advisers would favor an increase of the tax limit. Methods of scientific assessment upon real estate, such as the Somers plan, which aim at an equalization, if not an increase, of valuation, are discussed by municipal economists. Finally, the more daring thinkers in this field propose a sweeping overturn of established methods through the adoption of the income tax and the tax upon unearned increments, which are in vogue in Germany and England. While the year upon which we embark today will probably not see this question decided, *I have thought it advisable to petition the legislature to investigate the Singletax* and feel sure that at the end of another twelve-month we shall be in the midst of the campaign of education which always precedes radical reforms."



A Tendency in Journalism.

As an example of the kind of local paper every city ought to have—and that every city must have if it is to be saved from that worst of all types of grafter, the business man who in the disguise of progress-promoter seizes upon public property as

if it were his own—we commend Common Cause of Kalamazoo. What The Boston Common has been for Boston, Common Cause has set out to be for Kalamazoo. What The Public has tried to be in the worldwide field of civic activity and common rights, with localities anywhere and everywhere for its examples, Common Cause is attempting for one of the local fields and with an outlook upon the world of which that field is a busy part. If the function of The Public were likened to the telescope, then by associated simile such papers as Common Cause and The Boston Common might be likened to the microscope. While these papers are new in their special characteristics, they have been preceded by others which perform with less specialization yet in like spirit the same functions. The San Francisco Star, a weekly with the scars and medals of some thirty years of valiant service, is an example to be proud of; and the Johnstown Democrat, a daily which has been on the fighting line for twenty years, is another. With a specialty different from all the others, worldwide in some respects, yet in the same spirit and with like local flavor, the St. Louis Mirror must be reckoned as a similar pioneer in public service. Would that every city in the land could be moved by the local patriotism that has given birth to such periodicals, to establish a local Boston Common or Common Cause for precisely such service as theirs. Common Cause is an excellent example for imitation. Its persistent placing of editorial emphasis upon the public interests of its own city in respect of all the subjects it discusses, is distinctive and well calculated to be effective.



Chicago Traction Service.

When the secret bargain with Pierpont Morgan's traction ring had been made in Chicago, a bargain which Mayor Dunne did his utmost to baffle, the people here were buncoed into confirming it by assurances of immediate improvement and thoroughly good service all over the city within three years. Since that triumph of traction graft in Chicago, three full years, plus almost two, have elapsed; and what of those fine assurances? Here is the Chicago Tribune's testimony—the Tribune be it remembered having helped vigorously in the work of turning down Dunne and railroading the treacherous Morgan ordinances through. We quote from its issue of February 9: "If the City Council committee which has been authorized to investigate the conditions of street car service in Chicago will not be deluded by the statements offered in defense of operation and will

discover what that service has been and what it is to the person waiting for a car or trying to ride on one, the result is likely to be a decided improvement in the near future. The alderman who said it is 'the worst in years' may find that he spoke in full accordance with the facts."



Alexander Jonas.

Whoever had the good fortune to know that gentle, thoughtful and weariless worker for his cause, Alexander Jonas, the Socialist editor of New York whose death occurred last week, will join in sympathy with the 20,000 people of that city who exalted his memory at his funeral. Mr. Jonas was for many years editor-in-chief of the *Volkszeitung*, the long established and influential German organ of Socialism in the United States. He was devoted to his cause with that all-round devotion which brings into the service of a cause the wisdom of the tactician no less than the sincerity of the evangelist. Unobtrusive but persistent, reserved in manner but aggressive in purpose, intellectual but with no flavor of any aristocracy of intellect, a friendly gentleman with ideals to live for and ideas to feed them with, a leader who dared to follow and an adviser who used his mind, Alexander Jonas richly deserved the confidence of the multitudes whose affection his long life of service with and for them had won him. Among those mourning crowds there must have been some who, though they had worked as citizens in other and possibly divergent ways from his, nevertheless held him in respect and if they knew him personally remembered him also with affection.



JAMES B. WEAVER.

Over the bier of no man of the present day could we bow with more reverence than over James B. Weaver's. In an era of sordid reaction his name was distinguished as that of a leader in the cause of democracy, and there he remained until in the ripeness of his years and service death has relieved him.

General Weaver won his military title in a war involving the issue of a republic all slave or all free, and won it on the side of freedom. But he had both the heart to feel the sanctity of that cause in its later and wider applications and the mind to perceive the marshalling of its newer and more subtle enemies through their most attractive disguises. He was among the first Republican insurgents. While La Follette was yet at school,

General Weaver was turning his back upon the political party of his early manhood, which would have honored him with high office; and was defying its plutocratic captors who would have enriched him had he bargained with them, and who tried to ruin him because he wouldn't bargain.

It was as candidate of the "Greenback" party for President that General Weaver, a Congressman and an able one from Iowa, came into national notice. Whoever imagines that this leadership of his was only as a chip upon the current of political life, argues himself no interpreter of political history. Do they say that General Weaver represented only an ephemeral financial fad? Be it so if they wish to think it so, but that "financial fad" was the first concrete expression in American politics of popular revolt against the plutocracy which had been born of the Civil War.

This revolt was quelled through the ignorance and indifference of a people who were losing their democratic ideals and under the leadership of a gay and bold a set of political and business buccaneers as ever seized upon a ship of state. The people rose again and with another "financial fad," William J. Bryan carrying their banner. And to the eternal honor of General Weaver, let it here be said that he had the acuteness to perceive and the patriotic generosity to acknowledge Bryan as his own true successor. In the desperate struggle to throttle plutocracy and revive democracy wherein the leadership began with Peter Cooper, General Weaver hailed Bryan as the new leader. He was no self-worshipper. Where he saw leadership he followed.

Since Bryan's first battle, the pioneer insurgency of the Coopers and the Weavers has developed the insurgency of the La Follettes, and growing in power has passed into a progressivism which brings accessions from strange camps. It now faces the mammonistic array with an indignant army of discontent that may not be so easily fooled as the earlier ones. When the progressive triumph is recorded, there will be found in the first line of the roll of great leadership no name more worthily distinguished than that of James B. Weaver.



THE PROBLEM OF MAKING A LIVING.

The advance in American wages in the last few years has made possible a general advance in prices of commodities. And since trusts and monopolies are able to fix prices, these are arbitrarily raised, to absorb the increase in wages.

Why not? For what else do trusts and monop-

olies exist—for what else than to wrest from the consumer “all that the traffic will bear”? If the wages of a dozen million workers are raised, then the traffic will bear a higher price, won't it?

But right here schools and colleges fly to the defense of the trusts, by diverting attention from that quarter into a morass of misleading speculation, which begins anywhere and ends nowhere. “There has been, as we know,” said President Taft in his Syracuse speech, “a movement from the farm to the city. . . . How can the movement . . . be stopped? How can proper labor be obtained on the farm? Is there no remedy, or must we change our nature as a people and all become a manufacturing nation, and look for our future supplies to some other source in distant countries while themselves are looking forward to a *limit upon their production?*”

There speaks, precisely, the “economics” of the colleges. Most of our statesmen have imbibed it apparently without a thought of questioning its validity.

Here is the case:

In this, the “most prosperous country on earth,” fully “protected” by a stupendous tariff wall, prices have advanced so greatly that the common people find it as hard to get a living now as it was in past years, when wages were much lower. Whereupon the President, delivering the message of a school of “economics,” reminds us that the area of farm-land in this country is occupied nearly to its limit, that the rest of the world is “looking forward to a limit of their production,” and that our two means of recourse are to “stop the movement from the farm to the city,” and to adopt “some other method than by the mere extension of area. . . . for the increasing of our crop production.”

Behold! We inhabit the youngest (and the last) great territory on earth—a nation born yesterday, and today face to face with the Malthusian problem: “The pressure of population upon subsistence”! “The Malthusian problem,” I say; for no true science of political economy can have any such problem. Yet that “problem” is, to the mind of President Taft, and to the minds of “economics” professors in our colleges, quite as real as were the antagonists of Don Quixote when, lance in rest and spur in Rosinante's flank, he valorously charged the windmills!

There is not, never has been, nor ever can be, any general pressure of population upon the possible means of subsistence. The subsistence supply is today abundant. We have not so enormous a *surplus* of crop products perhaps, but there is

plenty and to spare. If the egg-supply is short of what it was when the packing companies put into cold-storage millions of dollars' worth, and held them there until they rotted, then they will be saved that item of expense in the matter of maintaining the highest possible price to the consumer. If the banana-crop is short, then the lords of that market can maintain prices without the expense of dumping the excess supply into the sea, as they have done in the past. If meats are comparatively scarce, then the packing companies will have less to hold out of the market in cold-storage in order to produce an artificial “shortage,” that the price to the consumer may be “all that the traffic will bear.”

With monopolies, trusts and combines in every great branch of commerce, with statesmen and newspapers assuring us that this form of business “has come to stay,” and with representatives of the trusts going about the country affirming that they fix prices and maintain them “in the interest of market and industrial-stability”—in the presence of all this as matter of common knowledge, the President of the United States warns us that our recourse from the pressure of population on subsistence is the “increasing of our crop-production”!

England and Scotland have the problem of the “pressure of population upon subsistence”—and there (where the “problem” was born) the land is fenced off into deer parks and game preserves (practically untaxed), while the people who ought to have access to the land for the purpose of production starve in the cities.

Here in the United States, where more land than England and Scotland contain has been given outright to great corporations, and where the government has permitted millions and millions of acres to be fraudulently appropriated by land-thieves (some of whom have been Congressmen and Senators), even here, where the conditions of land monopoly are rapidly approaching the conditions that prevail in Europe, individuals high in public esteem turn their backs upon all the obvious conditions that alone cause the general distress, and seriously assure us that our recourse is to increased production!

If, now, after fifty years of rapidly increasing production, by thousands of labor-saving devices; if, after multiplying again and again our production, there is not enough, then how much more must we increase production before the problem will be solved? If the power of private monopoly and special privilege has been sufficient to advance prices to the consumer thus far as fast as produc-

tion has increased, then how much more must production increase before it will pass beyond the power of private monopoly and special privilege, to keep up with it in the matter of advancing prices?

The question presented to intellectual honesty is: Are the proponents of the spurious and absurd "economics," which totally ignores the preponderant factor of the problem (the effective power of private monopoly and special privilege)—are these proponents sincere, and do they speak as they do through ignorance? or are they insincere, and do they utter their absurdities trusting that the general ignorance will shield them from detection?

In either case it is the high duty of every man who understands, to declare the truth, to keep open the way of progress, that the toiling millions may pass on to the plains of plenty.

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

EXPOSURE OF AN OHIO REACTIONARY.

Columbus, Ohio, Feb. 6th.

The use of the Singletax as a scarecrow with which to damage the Initiative and Referendum proposals now before the Ohio Constitutional Convention was amusingly exposed before the taxation committee of that body today.

The gentleman to take a double tilt at the I. and R. was James W. Halfhill, a lawyer of Lima, Ohio, and delegate from the County of Allen in the Convention. The man to expose the double purpose in the attack was the chairman of the committee, Edward W. Doty, a Cleveland delegate for Cuyahoga County.

Mr. Halfhill submitted a proposed amendment to the Constitution which contemplated tying the hands of both the State legislature and the people against taking ground rent by taxation. The proposal read: "The General Assembly may classify all property for the purposes of taxation; but no class of property shall be taxed for the benefit of any other class, no double taxation shall be permitted, no confiscatory rate or levy shall be legal, and the single tax on land or ground rent shall never be established."

In the course of his remarks for this curious proposal, Mr. Halfhill informed the committee that his proposal was submitted purely as a vote-getter, and that he had no intention that it should be written into the State Constitution. The idea, he said, appealed to certain persons in his own constituency and was included in his proposal purely for "local consumption." The frankness of this statement amused the other members of the Convention present, and the Chairman took advantage of the situation to draw some further reactionary teeth.

The Initiative and Referendum is the great question before the Convention. It is the question with

an emphasis on the "the," so that many of the plays by the delegates are intended solely for their reflex influence. For instance, one delegate was heard to remark that he favored the recording and printing of the debates and proceedings of the Convention for the reason that the expense would discredit the whole proceedings in the eyes of the electors. That is why he had voted for the recommendation of the printing committee. With this situation evidently in mind, the Chairman of the taxation committee pointed out to Mr. Halfhill that the Singletax is not an issue before the Convention, and is not now in force in Ohio and not likely to be for some time to come. The Chairman wanted to know of Mr. Halfhill if he could not be equally candid with regard to the Singletax clause in his proposal. Was not that also inserted for an ulterior purpose, for the purpose of heading-off the Initiative and Referendum?

To this Mr. Halfhill, with continued candor, assented.

"What do you mean by Singletax?" asked Mr. Geo. W. Harris, one of the committee men. The question caused some perplexity to the man from Allen, and afforded no little suppressed mirth to the Singletax chairman of the committee.

Mr. Halfhill fell back upon the name of Henry George, and then followed the interesting spectacle of a reactionary and self-confessed political manipulator reading with dramatic emphasis the eloquent statement of Mr. George's proposals, as found in Progress and Poverty.

"Sounds good," commented the Chairman as the reading concluded.

Mr. Halfhill ejaculated contemptuously: "Not to me."

"Don't you like that about abolishing poverty?" asked the Chairman.

"That shows the man was a dreamer," retorted Mr. Halfhill.

A long and animated discussion on the definition of Singletax followed, in which it was demonstrated by Mr. Harris, of Cincinnati, that the idea as drawn from the writings of Henry George is very different indeed from that in the minds of some people who oppose it.

A. W. R.



AUSTRALASIA.

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia, January 12.

The State elections held in Victoria in November made practically no alteration in the position of parties.

This was the first time that women in Victoria could vote at State elections.



In South Australia, owing to a disagreement between the State Houses of Parliament, the lower House has been dissolved, and general elections will be held.



General elections were held in New Zealand last month, and resulted in a great change in the state of parties.

The Liberal party, which has been in power for 20 years, under Mr. Ballance, Sir Richard Seddon, and Sir Joseph Ward, has lost its majority, for the new House is composed of 37 Liberals, 37 Conservatives, 3 Labor members, 1 Socialist, and 2 Independents.

Mr. George Fowlds,* who recently resigned his position as Minister for Education, etc., has lost his seat as member for Auckland. The law provides that where no candidate has a majority at an election, a second ballot shall be taken to decide between the two highest candidates. Mr. Fowlds was at the head of the first poll, but not having a majority, a second ballot was necessary, at which he was defeated.

The local option (liquor) vote taken on election day made no alteration to the existing no-license areas.

A vote was also taken on the question of national prohibition of liquor. Fifty-six per cent of the votes were in favor of prohibition, but this was not sufficient to carry it. The law provides that prohibition shall not be carried unless at least 60 per cent of the votes cast are in favor of it.



The triennial conference of the Commonwealth Labor party, at which all the States of Australia are represented, is sitting at Hobart, Tasmania.

ERNEST BRAY.



"HARASSING THE RAILROADS."

Portland, Ore.

"The basis of the general outcry from various railroad commissions against Judge Hook is that he rendered a decision restraining Oklahoma from putting in force the 2-cent-per-mile passenger rate law on the ground that it was unreasonable," says the Portland Oregonian. Yes, some State railroad commissions have "gone over to the mob," and there's no telling when half a dozen more will join the dynamite brigade. And what will become of this country if the Federal Bench is filled with men who write decisions otherwise than in the cold glow of the "light of reason"? Let the agitators beware.



Judge Hook took a judicially reasonable view of the Oklahoma 2-cent law and said it was judicially unreasonable. He said it before there was any opportunity to see whether it was reasonable or unreasonable. But it wasn't necessary for him to demand facts when he had all the fiction that a high-priced railroad legal department could give him. Years ago, when Willie Hook was laboring in the little red schoolhouse and learning how to be a Federal judge, he wrote in his copybook: "Truth is stranger than fiction," and "Be not intimate with strangers."

Of course the Oklahoma 2-cent law was unreasonable, because it interfered with passenger-rate laws enacted from time to time by the railroads. It isn't reasonable to have two or a dozen legis-

lative bodies making laws about the same thing, and the railroads can enact all the passenger-rate legislation necessary for the safety of the public and the profit of the roads. What's the use of having Federal courts if they don't protect the rate-making legislative bodies of the railroads?

Who says the railroads don't legislate and have no right to make laws? Their rates, fares and charges are taxes, aren't they? Then they have the power to tax the people, and do tax them. But the taxing power belongs exclusively to sovereignty, doesn't it? Well, hasn't a sovereign power the right to legislate? You may draw diagrams on a blackboard as big as a ten-acre lot, but you can't make a diagram of a sovereign power, with the right to levy taxes, that has not the power and legal right to legislate.

For years and years the railroad rate-making legislators have been enacting rate laws fixing certain passenger rates at less than 2 cents a mile, and as low as a cent and a quarter a mile. They do that a dozen times a year, every time they make and abrogate "special rates." But when a State tries to fix the maximum passenger rate at 2 cents a mile, then the railroad rate-makers send their attorneys into court to prove that no railroad can keep out of the junk pile unless it charges more than 2 cents a mile.

That is all the more impressive when we remember that the expensive "legal departments" of the railroads are maintained by the excessive freight and passenger rates paid by the public. The people pay the court costs and attorneys' fees of both sides.



Just to show that railroads do carry passengers at less than 2 cents a mile—and therefore can't afford to do so—hearken to this tale of the rail:

Last September I went from Portland to San Francisco, 772 miles, on a Southern Pacific train. After dinner such male passengers as were addicted to the burning of tobacco assembled in the smoking tunnel of the observation car. We had a few rounds of talk about hops, labor unions, lumber and Taft, then the conversation veered around to railroads, to the Spokane rate case and naturally to railroad rates.

Eight of us were bunched as closely as we could get together at one end of the tunnel, and for some minutes we listened in respectful silence to a pompous man who was in an active state of eruption. His fuse had been lighted by a traveling man who ventured to suggest that a passenger rate greater than 2 cents a mile was robbery. Mr. Pompous Man asserted that no railroad can pay expenses unless it charges 3 cents a mile, and that the railroads are "hunted and hounded like criminals by anarchistic, socialistic legislators who are egged on by low, lying yellow newspapers that are trying to destroy the government."

"Do you mean the Government, or railroad government?" asked a Chicago traveling man.

Fearing bloodshed, I asked Mr. Pompous Man whence he came. "N'York," he replied. "And how far are you going on your ticket?" I asked. "Back to N'York." I took a similar census of the others

*See The Public of January 26, page 84.

in that end of the tunnel. Going into particulars, I made notes of the cost of each ticket, the routes, number of stop-overs and baggage. Then I made what a certain Contributing Editor would call an "important announcement."

"You assert," I said to Mr. Pompous Man, "that railroads can't afford to carry passengers at less than 3 cents a mile."

"And I know what I'm talking about," he yelled.

"Of course you do, or you wouldn't say it. Now, there are eight of us here, and all will want breakfast on the train tomorrow morning. You say you are taking a spin around the country looking for investments, and I'll offer you one. We will calculate our total mileage on the tickets we have, and the average cost per mile or per 1,000 miles for us all. If the average cost for all of us is as much as 2 cents a mile, or \$20 per 1,000 miles, I'll buy the breakfasts for us all; but if we are paying less than \$20 a thousand miles, you pay for the breakfasts. Do you agree?"

"No, sir; I never gamble."

"But where's the gamble?" I asked. "You say the roads can't and don't carry passengers at 2 cents a mile, and say you know what you are talking about. So it looks like a sure thing for you. But if you won't take that, I'll offer you another investment. If three of us eight are paying as much as 2½ cents a mile, I'll buy the breakfasts; if three of us are paying as much as 3 cents a mile, I'll pay for the breakfasts and lunches. But if less than three are paying as much as 2½ cents, then you buy the breakfasts, and if less than three are paying 3 cents a mile, you buy the breakfasts and lunches. Is it a go?"

No, he wouldn't invest. A sporty-looking young traveling man thought he wanted something like that, but I winked him out of it. I wasn't fishing for him. Anyway, just out of curiosity, we figured it out, and here you see the mileage and the rate per 1,000 miles for each of the eight:

Mileage.	Per 1,000 Miles.
6,846.....	\$16.43
6,492.....	17.82
4,864.....	16.55
3,975.....	17.09
3,578.....	18.23
2,496.....	19.50
1,152.....	26.90
772.....	25.91

Mr. Pompous Man had the lowest rate. The two of us who had the highest rate had no trunks; the others had trunks. The six with the lowest rates were entitled to have their trunks taken off trains 91 times and put back on trains 91 times.

And yet some State railroad commissions say Judge Hook was—well, discourteous—when he smothered the Oklahoma law with an injunction.



For the convenience of Business, the "mob" and the ears-to-the-groundlings, the Federal courts should codify their judicial legislation under three grand, sinaitic divisions: 1. You Must. 2. You may. 3. You shant. This is necessary to shoo away the horrid specter of socialism, which is disturbing the

sleep of Taft, and to preserve the present glories of corporation-judge government, because:

1. In view of the strictly fresh, fresh, and cold-storage decisions of the Federal courts; "Business" doesn't know how many felonies it may commit before having a \$2.65 fine slapped on it.

2. The mob is getting too frisky, and must be taught its place.

3. The ears-to-the-groundlings are "out on a limb" more than half the time, guessing at the next guess of a court, and wondering how the next higher court will guess on the lower court's guess. It's almost as hard a game as trying to find some wool in a protected all-wool undershirt.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

PULLING THE SUPREME COURT'S TEETH.

Madison, Wis.

Mr. Leubuscher's proposal* for "pulling the Supreme Court's teeth" by depriving it of all appellate jurisdiction is, while perfectly practicable, so heroic a remedy as to be almost worse than the disease. As Mr. Leubuscher points out, such an innovation would result in conflicting decisions on questions of constitutionality by the numerous inferior courts (or rather, under the present judicial organization, by the nine Circuit Courts of Appeals); but it would also result in conflicting decisions on other substantive points of Federal law on which it is essential that there be one settled law. No one who is familiar to any extent with the legal history of this country can deny that the Supreme Court, whatever may be one's opinion as to the propriety of its exercise of the veto on "unconstitutional" laws, has played an important and beneficent role in unifying the law, and particularly the Federal law, of the country. The advantage, in any judicial system, of a single supreme appellate tribunal is too obvious to require further comment; and this advantage Mr. Leubuscher's plan would destroy.

The power of Congress to strip the Supreme Court of all its appellate jurisdiction, and to create appellate courts other than the Supreme Court, contains, however, possibilities of another kind. There is nothing in the Constitution to prevent Congress from stripping the Supreme Court of all appellate jurisdiction and then setting up another tribunal, to be called let us say, the Court of Appeals, and vesting all the appellate jurisdiction now exercised by the Supreme Court in this Court of Appeals. Of course such a Court of Appeals, like any court, would have power to declare any law unconstitutional; but inasmuch as its existence would be dependent solely on statute, so that its judges could at any time be removed merely by an act abolishing the court, and other ones appointed, by virtue of another act recreating the court (as was done with all the Federal courts in 1801), this court would occupy a much less independent position, and would be much more careful of running counter to the pronounced current of

*See The Public of November 24, 1911, page 1193.

public opinion, than is the Supreme Court. Congress, as is well known, possesses one instrument of control over the Supreme Court—its power to increase the number of judges in that court to any extent and thereby “pack” the bench; and, as is also well known, there is good ground for believing that the act of 1870, increasing the number of judges from eight to nine, was passed for that purpose. The suggestion I here make is along the same line, but offers immeasurably greater possibilities of control.

I need hardly add, perhaps, that, in consideration of the existing situation, my suggestion is to be regarded rather as an interesting wrinkle in our Constitutional system than as a practical proposal.

LOUIS MAYERS.



Newport, R. I.

I have been much interested in what has been said from time to time in *The Public* under the head of “Pulling the Teeth of the Supreme Court.”

The question of whether or not the Constitution gives judges the power to set aside laws might be argued forever. It might be urged that if the framers intended that judges should have the power it would have been conferred in express terms, rather than by implication. To this it may be replied that the framers did not dare to confer the power in that manner, but that they meant that the judges should have it, just the same.

But what real difference does it make to us what the framers intended? The fact remains that judges are setting aside laws and have been doing so for a good many years. Do we want the practice to continue? If we do not, what is the best way to put an end to it?

By amendment of the Constitution, would be the obvious answer but for the fact that amendment is so extremely difficult. By appending to acts a clause forbidding judicial annulment has been suggested; by electing Executives who will enforce the laws despite their being pronounced unconstitutional, etc.

I should like to have the following proposition criticised: Let Congress pass a joint resolution to the effect that its Acts and Resolves shall stand until repeal or expiration. If it be necessary, let successive Congresses pursue this course until it becomes thoroughly established that judges are to confine themselves to trying cases under the laws.

It should be remembered that the Legislative Department is fundamental; that Executive and Judicial functions are, or at any rate should be, entirely derivative. Why should it be necessary for us to go round and round Robin Hood's barn, so to speak, in order to put an end to a practice that prevails nowhere else in the civilized world, unless it be in Australia? I have heard that the courts of that country pass upon the constitutionality of laws. Is it true?

H. J. CHASE.



Mrs. Grogan: “Ol hear Kelly was in an automobeel accident.”

Mrs. Dooley: “Yis. Little Timmy Riley across th' way threw a brick at wan, and it landed on Kelly's face!”—Puck.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, February 13, 1912.

The Manchu Dynasty Abdicates the Chinese Throne.

Three edicts were issued from the Chinese Throne on the 12th. The first proclaimed abdication, the second dealt with the establishment of the Republic, and the third urged the maintenance of peace, and approved of the conditions mutually agreed upon during the late weeks of negotiation by the Imperial Premier, Yuan Shi Kai, and the Republicans. The first edict, whereby the Manchus abdicate a throne they have occupied since 1644, is issued in the names of the little Emperor, P'u-yi, whose “reign title” is Hsuan-fung, and who was just six years and one day old on the date of his abdication, and of the Empress Dowager who is his aunt. It runs as follows:

We, the Emperor of China, have respectfully received today the following edict from the hands of her Majesty, the Dowager Empress: In consequence of the uprising of the Republican army to which the people of the Provinces of China have responded, the Empire is seething like a boiling caldron and the people are plunged into misery. Yuan Shi Kai was therefore commanded to dispatch commissioners in order to confer with the Republicans with a view to the calling of a National Assembly to decide on the future form of government. Months have elapsed and no settlement is now evident. The majority of the people are in favor of a republic. From the preference of the people's hearts the will of heaven is discernible. How could we oppose the desires of millions for the glory of one family? Therefore we, the Dowager Empress and the Emperor, hereby vest the sovereignty of the Chinese Empire in the people. Let Yuan Shi Kai organize to the full the powers of the Provisional Republican government and confer with the Republicans as to the methods of union, assuring peace in the Empire, and forming a great Republic with the union of Manchus, Chinese, Mongols, Mohammedans and Tibetans. We, the Empress Dowager and the Emperor, will thus be enabled to live in retirement, free of responsibilities and cares, and enjoying without interruption the nation's courteous treatment.

In return for his abdication the Republicans make the following pledges to the Emperor:

First—The Emperor shall retain his title and shall be respected as a foreign monarch.

Second—The Emperor shall receive an annual grant of 4,000,000 taels until the currency is reformed, after which he shall receive \$4,000,000 Mexican.

Third—A temporary residence shall be provided

in the Forbidden City, and later the Imperial family shall reside in the summer palace, ten miles outside of Peking.

Fourth—The Emperor may observe the sacrifices at his ancestral tombs and temples, which will be protected by Republican soldiers.

Fifth—The great tomb of the late Emperor, Kwang-Su, will be completed and the funeral ceremony fittingly observed at the Republic's expense.

Sixth—The palace attendants may be retained, but the number of eunuchs cannot be increased.

Seventh—The Emperor's property will be protected by the Republic.

Eighth—The imperial guards will be governed by the army board, the Republic paying their salaries.

A point of contention, as to whether the Throne shall be perpetuated or will terminate with the death of the present Emperor, is not mentioned. Pledges are given by the Republicans for the protection of the nobility. Mongols, Manchus, Mohammedans and Tibetans are promised by the Republicans that they shall have rights and privileges similar to the Chinese. The Manchus' pensions are to continue until the state finds employment for them. Restrictions of occupations and dwelling locations will be abolished, and religious liberty is to be accorded.



The Throne's final edicts were signed by only one cabinet minister besides Yuan Shi Kai, which indicated that five cabinet places were vacant. It is expected that several, if not all of these places will be filled by leading Republican officials, thus creating a coalition government from the late Imperial group at Peking, led by Yuan Shi Kai, and the Republican group at Nanking, led by President Sun Yat Sen. [See current volume, page 132.]



Elections in New Zealand.

The "second ballots" in the New Zealand elections have left the Liberal ministry, which has been in power nearly twenty years, with an almost vanished majority. The figures as reported by New Zealand papers are:

Government31	Independent 5
Opposition37	Labor 4

On a vote of "no confidence" most of the Labor and Independent members will, it is expected, support the Liberals; but it is generally admitted that no ministry will be able to command a working majority.



One of the big surprises of the elections was the defeat of the Hon. George Fowlds, in Grey Lynn, by a Socialist candidate who was second at the first ballot. With the help of the Opposition, he was elected at the second ballot by a margin of 31 votes in a poll of over 6,000. The absolute ma-

majority system of voting, which made second ballots necessary in 30 constituencies, seems to have caused a good deal of dissatisfaction on both sides. Speaking after the elections, Mr. Fowlds said: "If the new parliament could only unite to pass into law a proportional system of representation, and then dissolve, it would make itself memorable in the history of New Zealand." In a more general discussion of the political situation, Mr. Fowlds is reported as saying:

The condition of parties gives one no hope of a stable government, except by means of political deals and intrigues which would be dangerous to the country. Personally, I am neither sad nor downhearted at the result of my own election contest, nor at the result of the elections generally. I intend to join at once with others in organizing a real Labour-Liberal party on the democratic basis.



On the question of national prohibition 255,262 votes were polled in the affirmative and 203,201 in the negative. At the first elections more interest was taken in the prohibition issue than in the election of members of the House of Representatives. One of our correspondents reports that an increase in the tax on land values was advocated by a larger number of candidates than ever before.



Socialism in the German Reichstag.

A trial of Socialist strength occurred on the 9th in the German Reichstag at Berlin over the election of the president of that body. August Bebel, Socialist leader, received 175 votes—65 more than the strength of his party, and was defeated by only 21 votes, his successful adversary being Dr. Peter Spahn, leader of the Centrists (Catholic). The first vice-presidency actually went to a Socialist, Philipp Scheideman, who received 188 to only 174 for the Conservative candidate, Christian Dietrich. Dr. Hermann S. Paasche, National Liberal leader, was elected second vice-president. It was reported on the 9th that the president had said he would resign in consequence of the election of a Socialist as vice-president, but this report has not been verified.



Home Rule for Ireland.

At a large public meeting in Belfast, Ireland, on the 8th, Winston Churchill, of the British ministry, outlined the Ministerial plans for home rule in Ireland. Belfast is a city in Ulster, the heart of that Conservative Ireland where old religious and Orange animosities survive with bitterness; and it was currently reported that Mr. Churchill would be mobbed if he appeared. A spectacular touch was given the affair by quotations from Churchill's father, who in a speech in Belfast against the Gladstone home rule measure of a

quarter of a century ago, said: "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right." [See vol. xiv, pp. 396, 418, 866.]



Mr. Churchill was equal to the occasion. With his wife he appeared in Belfast at the appointed time, and in spite of disorderly manifestations and bad weather he delivered his message effectively to a mass of people, 6,000 in estimated number, in a large and crowded tent on the foot-ball grounds. Mr. Churchill began with a declaration that the Ministry intend to pass a home-rule bill for Ireland "of a character to be harmonious with Imperial interests, to smooth the path of the British Empire, to liberate new forces for its service, and forever to do away with the machinery by which hatred has been manufactured in the past." This bill, he explained, "will fit into a general scheme of Parliamentary devolution leading ultimately to the federation of the Empire," which, he added, is "the only way to free the House of Commons from its present congestion." He said he considered it vitally necessary for England to learn how to combine the fullest expressions of national and local aspirations and activities with the strongest frame-work of Imperial unity. Home rule for Ireland, he regarded as the first milestone along the road to the eventual unity of the English-speaking races.



As the cable reports Mr. Churchill as outlining the intended home rule bill on Ireland, it is to present these features: (1) The Privy Council will be able to declare void any local law which goes beyond the limits of the home rule bill; (2) financial clauses will give a fair start to the local Irish government, and no insidious taxes can be placed upon Ulster; (3) the Irish parliament will have real control of local finances, but the system used must be consistent with the financial system of the United Kingdom; (4) the Imperial government will continue to carry out the land purchase and old-age pensions schemes, and (5) Irish representation in the Imperial parliament will be reduced, religious freedom will be secured, and the military will be controlled by the Imperial government. Mr. Churchill assured his audience that the Ministry is prepared to fight the bill through Parliament, and concluded with a plea for fair play from the Conservatives. When interrupted in his speech with the question, "What about votes for Irish women?" Mr. Churchill replied: "That question will have to be settled by the new Irish parliament."



John Redmond, who followed Mr. Churchill in a brief speech, is reported to have said that after thirty years' service in the home-rule cause he would not have been absent from the meeting for

any earthly reason. He added that on behalf of the Irish Nationalist party he accepted the proposals of the Ministry as voiced by Mr. Churchill, an announcement that was greeted by a tremendous outburst of cheering.



Taxation in British Columbia.

An examination of the report of the Royal Commission of British Columbia on taxation in that Province of Canada, shows it to be an unusually important public document on fiscal affairs. [See current volume, pages 109, 161.]



Following is the personnel of the Commission: Hon. Price Ellison (minister of finance), chairman; Hon. A. E. McPhillips, K. C. (president of the Council); C. H. Lugin, Esq., of the city of Victoria, and W. H. Malkin, Esq., of the city of Vancouver. They were assisted by Dr. H. B. Gray (M. A., Oxon) who acted as secretary, and by Mr. F. M. Ward as stenographer. The Commission sat four days in Victoria, four days in Vancouver, and one day each in eighteen other places. Sworn testimony was given by 164 witnesses, and the Commissioners gained information also from government officials and incidentally from other individuals during their travels.



In their report the Commission consider extensively, both in theory and as to practical operation, a variety of taxes in use in British Columbia, and make recommendations regarding them. Reviewing the *poll tax* historically and economically, they recommend its abolition. They make the same recommendation regarding the *personal property tax*. Of the *income tax*, they report that it is generally regarded as the fairest; but they recommend (1) the raising of exemptions from \$1,000 incomes to \$1,500, (2) the abolition of exemptions between \$11,500 and \$50,000, (3) abolition of exemptions above \$50,000 and imposition of a super-tax of 5 per cent on the excess above that income, and (4) exemptions on \$200 of certain classes of income for each child under 18 in families. Regarding *bank taxes* the Commission recommend an additional tax of 1-15 of 1 per cent; and with reference to *succession and probate taxes*, they suggest a graduated increase on estates of more than \$100,000. It is to *land taxes* that the report is chiefly devoted and most important.



Land taxes are classified by the Commission with reference to the kinds of taxation recommended. Of *land taxes generally* the report examines them at length in their historic and economic aspects, and sets forth the arguments for

exemption of improvements, defining in that connection what is meant by the term "improvements." Following this discussion the report takes up the subject with reference to ordinary *real estate*, recommending (1) periodical reassessments according to actual value, (2) *abolition of taxation on improvements*, (3) legislation enforcing registration of real estate on affidavits setting forth the true consideration for purchase, and that (4) the present registration fee of 1-5 of 1 per cent on the value of real estate up to \$5,000 be extended to all real estate irrespective of value. *Wild land* is considered apart from ordinary real estate and with reference to local peculiarities. So also is *timber land*. On *coal land* the Commission recommend a tax of 1 per cent on worked mines and 2 per cent on unworked mines.



Labor Strike in Lawrence.

For several weeks a strike has been in progress in Lawrence, Massachusetts, over the question of a living wage. The State of Massachusetts having in the interest of the public health fixed 54 hours a week as the maximum for mill operatives, the American Woolen Company reduced wages proportionally to the reduction of hours, arguing that as the time of work was shorter this reduction in wages was not a reduction. But the new wages perpetuated in another way the very public evils the reduction of hours had been intended to remove. They drove the incomes of the poorer-paid operatives below the subsistence line of a decent American life. Hence the strike. Very soon after it began, the American Woolen Company called for troops, and since that time Lawrence has been under military control, with a large population in great suffering without work as the alternative of an inadequate livelihood with work for a large class. [See current volume, page 63.]



In this situation, Victor L. Berger, the Socialist Congressman, introduced in the lower House of Congress on the 8th a resolution for a Congressional investigation. Describing the American Woolen Company as "a corporation engaged in inter-State commerce and practically controlling the worsted woolen mills of the country," Mr. Berger's resolution declares that this corporation "has for years been the recipient of a government subsidy in the form of an exceptionally high tariff," and then proceeds:

This tariff has in recent years been raised to a point which has caused even the President of the United States, who was elected on a Protectionist platform, to declare that it is indefensible. In spite of this government subsidy, by which enormous profits have been taken from the American people, this corporation has steadily decreased the wages of its operatives until they are now conceded to be

the lowest paid in any of the important industries of America and has forced these operatives from employment and imported to take their places thousands of men, women and children from the sections of Europe where the standard of living is lowest.

Further in his resolution Mr. Berger points out that the Lawrence operatives have been goaded into revolt by a long series of oppressive acts and abuses, ending in a reduction of wages of 50 cents a week out of an already miserable wage averaging less than \$6 a week; that in the disturbances growing out of this strike lives have been lost and persons injured, property has been destroyed, trade and industry have been paralyzed, and armed force has been brought to the scene, and yet that "this corporation, in spite of the disasters to an entire community which have been caused by its policy, has steadfastly refused to treat with its operatives." Accordingly the resolution calls for a Congressional committee of seven to "investigate all of the facts regarding the strike and the relations thereto of the American Woolen Company, and to report their findings at the earliest practicable time" to the House.



On the 10th 119 children whose parents are suffering from the industrial situation in Lawrence were brought to New York city and distributed for temporary refuge among families with whom arrangements had been made for that purpose by Socialists.



Withdrawal of Folk from the Presidential Candidacy

Mr. Bryan having proposed with reference to the conflicting Presidential candidacies of ex-Gov. Folk and Speaker Clark, both of Missouri, that they agree to division of the delegates between them, and Speaker Clark having in a letter to Governor Folk acquiesced in this arrangement, Governor Folk issued the following statement on the 10th:

I have read Mr. Clark's statement with pleasure, and sincerely appreciate the spirit manifested therein. I heartily concur in the sentiments that personal ambition should be subordinated to the interest of our party in Missouri, and now that Mr. Clark has expressed a willingness to have the delegation divided between him and myself, as suggested recently by Mr. Bryan, I shall request my friends to make no further effort in my behalf. I believe, from reports received from other States, that Mr. Clark, owing to his prominence in Washington at this time and his long and honorable service there, has perhaps better chances for the nomination than any other Missourian, and I shall therefore release all claims I may have on the delegation and request my friends to join with me in giving Mr. Clark the united support of Missouri in this contest.

[See current volume, page 25.]

Roosevelt for the Presidential Candidacy.

Eight Republican Governors and 70 other Republican leaders from 24 States met in secret conference at the Congress hotel, Chicago, on the 10th to plan a campaign for the nomination of ex-President Theodore Roosevelt for President of the United States by the Republican convention at Chicago next June. The Governors in attendance were Stubbs of Kansas, Osborn of Michigan, Hadley of Missouri, Aldrich of Nebraska, Bass of New Hampshire, Glasscock of West-Virginia, Carey of Wyoming and Vessey of South Dakota. In their formal address to the public the conference say:

Momentous questions are pressing for solution, questions which touch every phase of human life and industry. On the one hand they relate to the effective maintenance of the rights of men in the interest of all, and on the other to the effective control of capital in the interest of all. What the country is seeking is justice as between man and man. It wants equality of opportunity safeguarded by adequate law. It demands this justice and this equality of opportunity that the nation may live and, under God, endure.

A principle is of no avail without a man; a cause is lost without a leader. In Theodore Roosevelt we believe that principle has the man, the cause the leader. It is our opinion that this is the sentiment of the majority of the people of the United States.

Notwithstanding the fact that Theodore Roosevelt is not a candidate, we believe the people have decided to make him their candidate. It is for the people to determine who shall be their President, irrespective of the wishes of the citizen selected. . . .

We express our firm conviction that he will accept the nomination as a duty he owes to his country, and we wish to present his name in this united manner and urge that all who desire prosperity with progress shall join in the demand for his nomination and election.

**Senator La Follette as a Presidential Candidate.**

At a meeting of the executive committee of the Minnesota Progressive Republican League on the 10th, resolutions were adopted denouncing the attempts to have Senator La Follette withdraw as a Presidential candidate and pledging him the support of the League. The chairman of the committee, George S. Loftus, having telegraphed this action to Senator La Follette, who is ill at Washington, he received the following telegraphic reply:

Out of a full heart I thank you for your good telegram, which bespeaks, as always, your unwavering fidelity to the cause. I became a candidate when no one else would lead the Progressive movement. Though urged to do so, I have refused to make any combination or compromise that might confuse the issue or mislead the people. I ask only delegates who stand steadfast to principle. Your unswerving constancy in maintaining advanced ground will be an inspiration to all real Progressives in every State.

The Lorimer League of Illinois.

The Lincoln Protective League of Illinois, which is the organization of the Lorimer faction in Illinois politics, met in State convention at Springfield on the 12th. While it indorsed the administration of President Taft, it did not declare for his renomination. It did, however, declare for the re-election of United States Senator Cullom. No State ticket was indorsed. The resolutions adopted urge that "each of the three divisions of the government provided by our Constitution should be left untrammelled," and record "strongest disapprobation of the socialistic doctrine of the Initiative and Referendum." They denounce Gov. Deneen, and declaring in favor of a protective tariff indorse the record in public life of Senator Lorimer. Speeches were made by Charles Burris, Harry Atwood, William Hale Thompson, Dr. A. J. Carey, B. M. Davidson, Walter Kinzie, Len Small and Senator Lorimer. Cicero J. Lindley of Chicago called the convention to order. John L. Flannigan of East St. Louis was made temporary chairman and Ralph B. Holmes of Danville, permanent chairman. The secretaries were V. C. Rohm, Captain P. B. Coffin, Z. A. Landers and E. L. Lowenthal. [See current volume, page 133.]

**Direct Legislation in Illinois.**

Active work is now in progress in the State of Illinois by the Initiative and Referendum League for defeating for re-election members of the legislature who violated their pledges and instructions relative to this reform. The details of the work are under the management of George E. Lee of Springfield. All who voted against the resolution for an Initiative and Referendum amendment to the Constitution will be fought by the League without regard to politics. As upon the "little ballot" vote each of the 51 Senatorial districts of the State voted for the adoption of the resolution, the League assumes that all the members were instructed to vote that way; and the League holds that those who were absent or who declined to vote when the resolution was up are just as guilty as were those who voted against the resolution. The League has prepared the list of those who voted against the resolution, those who were absent or refused to vote, and those who violated their personal pledges. It will be distributed broadcast throughout the State. The defeat of all such men will be urged in the primaries, but if any escape there, then the fight will be continued, and the League will urge their defeat at the election next November.

**Direct Legislation in the Ohio Constitutional Convention.**

A sharp contest with a significant result regard-

ing the Initiative and Referendum occurred in the Constitutional Convention of Ohio on the 8th. [See current volume, pages 80, 150.]



Delegate Halfhill, who has taken leadership against the Initiative and Referendum, basing his opposition principally upon its possible uses to let the people of Ohio vote on the Singletax, offered a resolution censuring caucus methods. The point of his resolution was the fact that President Bigelow had secured concerted action by a majority of the delegates in support of their pledges to their constituencies to vote for an Initiative and Referendum clause in the Constitution they were elected to frame. Judge Peck of Cincinnati moved to lay Halfhill's resolution on the table, and it was upon this motion that what now appears to have been a decisive vote with reference to the Initiative and Referendum was subsequently taken by the Convention.



Just before the motion to table Halfhill's "anti-I-and-R" resolution, Governor Harmon appeared before the convention to advise against the Initiative and Referendum policy. In the course of his speech to the convention, as reported by the Cleveland Plain Dealer of the 9th, Governor Harmon said:

I am not convinced that the Initiative and Referendum, applied generally to subjects of legislation, would be an improvement on our system of government by representatives, which, while it has shortcomings like all human institutions, I do not believe has proved a failure. My attitude is like that of "the man from Missouri."

I believe that, in actual practice, this change would not fully justify either the fears of its opponents or the hopes of its advocates. If it will work well anywhere it ought to do so in our municipalities. So, to add to discussion of it, the argument of a test by our own citizens, I approved a bill at the last session to authorize it in them, though, I am told, it has not yet been resorted to anywhere. For myself, I think we should await the result of a fair trial in our cities and villages, before making Statewide the operation of so radical a change in our methods. But if the Convention should decide to submit the question to the people, as I understand many members wish to do, it should be done separately. The provision should be guarded so as to prevent its being lightly invoked. The very heavy expense of special elections should be avoided, except in cases of unusual and widespread and general demand. And, in view of its experimental character, resubmission to the people should be provided for, at the end of a reasonable period, without the formalities and delay generally required for amendments of the Constitution.



Governor Harmon's speech was followed by Delegate Halfhill's "anti-I-and-R" resolution, upon

which an acrimonious debate was closed by Judge Peck's motion to lay the resolution on the table. In this contest, says McKee's report for the Plain Dealer, "President Bigelow personally took charge of his forces and led them to victory." McKee's account of this battle and Bigelow's leadership speech, in the same Plain Dealer report, follows:

It was no boys' battle. Men who had been in many a bruising skirmish were there, standing shoulder to shoulder, giving and taking, for the battle was fought out in the open, with packed galleries. Started yesterday, the decisive engagement was delayed until today so the forces behind the Initiative and Referendum might reform their lines, take a careful poll of their number and know in advance the final test that the roll call would make public.

"The scenes on the floor today remind me of those the second day of the convention," President Bigelow said as he began to speak. "What has occurred since that time to arouse suspicion that I cannot handle this fairly? What it is these men have signed and who has signed, are secrets I decline to divulge. I do not intend any delegate should be intimidated from coming freely to my office for consultation at any time. Are we here open minded? No, I was sent here on a mission to obtain for the people of the State the Initiative and Referendum, and I will listen to no man or argument against it. Others who care to may do so. I will not. Over one-half of the delegates here have no moral right to listen to any arguments against that principle. They all made pledges, just as I did, to secure the new principle in law. Next week it is my intention to begin a campaign for completing the work and start it on its way through the Convention. I have the signed pledges of more than one-half of the delegates to abide by the caucus draft of the measure. We are going to hold these conferences and work out the idea and bring our conclusion before the convention. It is going to be a fight and I give notice that we are not going into the contest unprepared. We are not going to try conclusions with a trained opposition, skillfully managed and fully armed, and hope to beat them with untrained recruits. We have foreseen the contest and have prepared for it."



On Judge Peck's motion to table the Halfhill resolution against the Initiative and Referendum, Delegates Doty and Lampson demanded a roll call. The resolution was tabled by 60 to 45. Commenting upon the result, the Plain Dealer's report describes the supporters of the Initiative and Referendum as in high glee, and adds: "They are in control of the majority of the votes; they believe the principle for which they fought has been made certain of adoption; for the first time the convention appears to be under control."



Won't it be terrible if all those constituent Standard Oil companies get to indulging in ruinous competition with one another?—Chicago Record-Herald.

NEWS NOTES

—Charles W. Morse, the New York banker convicted of offenses under the national banking law, has been pardoned by the President. [See vol. xiv, p. 301.]

—Hearings in the United States Senate committee investigating the Lorimer Senatorship came to an end on the 9th, and the committee is now engaged in the preparation of its report. [See current volume, page 131.]

—Joseph Lister, famous for discovering the antiseptic system of treatment in surgery, died in London on the 11th, in the 85th year of his age. He was created 1st Baron Lister in 1897, in recognition of his services to the welfare of humanity.

—Dorothy Coates, a Negro woman of property in Spokane, Washington, is reported to have been summoned for jury duty in the Superior Court at Spokane on the 7th—the first woman of her race in the United States, it is supposed, to have been drawn as a juror.

—The Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Philander C. Knox, is about to make a five weeks' trip to the republics of Central America and the northern part of South America, for the purpose of solving some diplomatic problems, and obtaining information.

—According to Turkish reports the Italian losses in Tripoli during the latter part of January have far exceeded the Turkish casualties, and the Italians, moreover, have been obliged to abandon a considerable quantity of provisions and mules. [See current volume, page 111.]

—The wreck of the *Maine*, after lying for 14 years in the harbor of Havana, was floated by means of buoyant bulkheads, on the 11th. The ship will remain within the cofferdam which has been built around it, until orders are received from Washington to float it out to sea, [See vol. xiv, page 1269.]

—Plans for forming a territorial organization of railroad shop employes, including every railroad west of the Mississippi, are reported to be under way, a meeting for organizing purposes having been called for Kansas City on the 4th of March. It was refusal to recognize this kind of labor organization that caused the present strike on the Illinois Central. [See vol. xiv, p. 1077.]

—President Gomez, of Cuba, has yielded still further to the demands of the Veterans' Association in the way of dismissing government employes against whom there is evidence of former hostility to the cause of "Cuba Libre." According to a dispatch of the 7th, Mr. Machado, secretary of the interior, had announced his intention to disregard the order. [See current volume, page 82.]

—The Abbé Charles Loysen, widely known as Père Hyacinthe, died on the 9th, at Paris, in his 85th year. Father Hyacinthe was one of the most prominent pulpit orators of the Catholic Church in France until 1869, when he renounced the Roman Catholic faith. He married an American lady, Mrs. Emily J. Merriman, in London, in 1872, and after-

ward became curate of the congregation of Liberal Catholics at Geneva, later founding a "Gallican" congregation at Paris. He visited America in 1869.

—At the election in New York last November the two Constitutional amendments designed respectively to facilitate proceedings to condemn private property for public use, and to permit of condemnations in excess of the public need in order to give to the public, instead of to abutting owners, the unearned increment consequent upon the public use, were defeated. [See vol. xiv, p. 854.]

—The first proposed section for the new Constitution of Ohio was adopted by the Constitutional Convention on the 6th by a vote of 93 to 11. It is a provision which while retaining the right of trial by jury as inviolate, empowers the legislature to enable juries to render verdicts in civil cases upon the concurrence of three-fourths of the jury, instead of unanimously as the present Constitution requires. [See current volume, page 80.]

—Chicago Local No. 1 of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America adopted resolutions on the 11th demanding that "the telegraph and telephone be made a public convenience instead of a private graft, by incorporating them into the Postoffice Department—of which they should have been a component from their first coming into use," and asking that "each subordinate union of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, and all other enlightened persons and organizations, join in this demand," by advising "Congressmen from their respective districts and States, of their adherence to the principle of public ownership of the telegraphs and telephones."

—Disorder in Mexico, reported last week, continues to show itself. A body of 1000 adherents of Zapata were defeated near Cuernavaca on the 9th, according to the government reports. Chihuahua province and the neighborhood of the City of Juarez are the northern centers of trouble. Preparations for another mobilization of United States troops on the Mexican border have been announced in the American newspapers during the past week, but the Department of State asserts emphatically that there will be no intervention on the part of the United States, and that this government has no interest in Mexico other than safeguarding American lives and interests. [See current volume, page 132.]

—By a vote of 8 to 5 the United States Senate committee on privileges and elections adopted on the 10th the report of the subcommittee which investigated the charges of fraud and corruption in the election of Senator Isaac Stephenson of Wisconsin. Those voting to approve the report were Senators Dillingham of Vermont, Gamble of South Dakota, Heyburn of Idaho, Sutherland of Utah, and Bradley of Kentucky, Republicans, and Johnston of Alabama, Fletcher of Florida, and Pomerene of Ohio, Democrats. Senators Jones of Washington, Clapp of Minnesota and Kenyon of Iowa, Republicans, and Kern of Indiana and Lea of Tennessee, Democrats, who voted in the negative, take the ground that the burden of proof is upon Senator Stephenson to show that none of the large amount of money spent in his campaign was used for fraud and corruption. Senator Pomerene and Senator Sutherland, two

members of the majority, while voting the charges "not proven," strongly criticise and condemn the methods which were used in the Stephenson campaign. [See vol. xii, p. 253.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Herbert S. Bigelow.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem.-Dem.) Feb. 9.—Herbert S. Bigelow is the bete noir of Big Business. He has got on the nerves of the stand-patters of high and low degree, and in every move he makes they see portents of a Dark and Deadly Plot. Thus the press dispatch tells us that "delegates to the constitutional convention manifest a determination to defeat the proposition of President Bigelow to shorten the convention's work by limiting it to certain specific proposals" named in a resolution about to be brought in. . . . If the gentlemen fighting President Bigelow so savagely have any faith in their own estimate of public opinion they should welcome any plan which would bring the tax business to a final issue. But they show conclusively that they have no confidence in that estimate, and they mean in the Constitution so to throttle public opinion in regard to taxation that an expression in favor of the Singletax will be practically impossible. As far as President Bigelow is concerned it may be said confidently that he has no intention of writing the Singletax or perhaps any other tax into the fundamental law of the State. But that he will seek to embody in that law provisions whereunder the people may alter, amend or abolish present methods of taxation at pleasure and in the light of larger experience, may be taken for granted. The Singletax issue is sprung at this stage of Constitution making, not because it has any proper place there and not because those who raise it have any fear that it will be written into the organic law, but because they hope to excite irrational prejudices and defeat the whole propaganda of the People's Power. It is of this that they are in greatest dread.

"Excess Condemnation."

The (Ottawa, Ont., daily) Citizen (conservative), Feb. 6.—And now the newspapers are talking of a scheme which has been carried out in Toronto, to the advantage of the city and the delight of certain believers in reform. Needing to open a new street, the city of Toronto gained control of the property immediately affected, and then when the street was made, behold, the increased value of the land paid for the expense of opening the street. Now, isn't that just as reasonable an idea as anybody ever heard of? Why, in the name of common sense and business judgment, should a city spend its money on public improvements, and then let a lot of speculators run away with nearly all the financial benefit resulting from those improvements? Good for Toronto! This plan that she has devised is certain to be used in every growing city in Canada. And, as it is more extensively used, it will be improved. [A Constitutional amendment permitting this prac-

tice in the cities of New York was defeated at the election in that State last November by the people on a small vote.—Editors of the Public.]

Boston and the Singletax.

Christian Science Monitor (religious), Feb. 7.—In discussing the point of new sources of revenue for the municipality, Mayor Fitzgerald, in his address to the City Council, has brought forward a matter that seems certain to become a subject of serious comment among observant and thinking people in this community at an early day. The Mayor may doubtless be considered in this instance as the spokesman of a large class of people just beginning to feel that there must be some good in the Henry George system of taxation and yet uncertain whether anything so generally untried, so seemingly revolutionary in an economic sense, even though successfully experimented with elsewhere, may be safely adopted by themselves. In his apparent open-mindedness on the subject the Mayor is also fairly representative of this class. We believe he is right in asking that the Singletax be investigated by the legislature and that he is right in predicting that the eastern United States is on the eve of a campaign of education in relation to the Singletax system.

The Boston Common (ind.), Feb. 10.—So cautiously phrased is the Mayor's inaugural reference to the taxing of land values, popularly known as the Singletax, that it has taken time to recognize how really startling the proposal is. That it should actually be admitted, by the Mayor of a city east of Cleveland, that the taxation of land values might become an issue within a twelve-month, may, to some people, make the millennium appear delusively near. A word of warning, however, to the over-enthusiastic. Two years ago, Mayor Gaynor appointed a Commission on Congestion, made up of men and women of pronounced radical views. They recommended a gradual increase of the tax rate on land; and for a while the press, the politicians and even the Mayor spoke with some enthusiasm of this novel legislative remedy. Recent reports from New York show that the land owners are bestirring themselves mightily in defense of their privileges. They have determined that the people must come to their senses; and that, if they will not, the politicians who rule them must. Mayor Gaynor is consequently reported as belittling the report and personnel of the committee, and there are evidences of a vigorous press campaign from a source well financed. The chances that the legislature will stand out against the land owners are becoming fainter. The lesson, which here in Massachusetts, with our polite traditions and able lobbyists, must be rammed down, is that when a strong, wealthy, privileged class determines to withstand the common welfare, its evil influence upon the legislature is almost certain to overstrain representative principles; and that direct legislation, used intelligently by the people for the public welfare, is an effective and perhaps essential tool of social progress.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A VOTER'S MEDITATION.

For The Public.

When I rose up from the eternal sleep
To travel Time's tollsome sand,
I found myself in a good broad place
With a ballot in my hand.

For some who had been in the way before
And had toiled for eternity,
As their sun set, all blood and sweat
The ballot they handed me.

And by the dread of the martyr race,
As I kneel on the bloody sand,
I'm sworn to use the ballot right
And to wield it for the land.

It's to breathe my prayer for the common good,
It's to fight the fight of the clan,
It's not to voice my special plea,
It's to speak my word for man.

Men might from off the holy shrine
Steal the tapers while they pray;
Watchers might slyly take the coin
That on a dead man's eyelids lay.

A guardsman placed at the city gates
Might open the gates for pay;
And a man might use the social vote
In a faithless private way.

Oh, when I fall on eternal sleep,
And am called to the judgment space,
May I be able to tell to heaven and hell
That I used my vote for the race.

JESSE S. DANCEY.



THE SINGLETAX AT WORK IN CANADA.

Speech of C. H. Lugin, of the Royal Tax Commission of British Columbia, at the Annual Banquet of the Henry George Association of Victoria, B. C., February 3, 1912.
Report of the Victoria Daily Colonist of February 4, 1912.*

Mr. Lugin stated that he would endeavor to say in a few words what they had been doing in the city and in the Province. He said that when the four members of the Tax Commission left Victoria they went to work with absolutely open minds, without any preconceived ideas at all as to what they were going to do, and the conclusions they reached were forced upon them by the knowledge of the conditions of the country, and by the knowledge of the evils and the injustice of the incidence of taxation.

*See page 155 of this Public.

"I will confess," he proceeded, "that I was an advocate of the poll tax until I took occasion to learn how it worked, and to discuss its features. I am now absolutely in favor of its abolition—as indeed are all my colleagues."

"The same thing applies to the taxes upon improvements and personal property. We felt from our investigation of the Province that they were unjust, that they could not be fairly levied, and that it was only right that they should be removed from the statute book. And we believe this will be done by the legislature.

"In certain municipalities of the Province the idea of Singletax has prevailed. The taxes are solely upon land values. The municipalities which I have in mind are Chilliwack, Summerland, Penticton and Kelowna.

"We will take Kelowna as an example. In Kelowna the area of assessable land is about twelve square miles. It has a system that is purely and simply Singletax. There are no other taxes. That community owns its own electric light plant, and through that municipality wherever you go among the fruit farms you will find sidewalks laid down to the very doors of the farms. The country roads are lighted about as well as the city streets were before we had the cluster lights, and in every house they have electric light, while the water is laid on by a splendid system, and all these things are furnished to the people of this municipality at par cost. You will find the school houses well equipped, with their carriages in summer and the sleighs in winter, to bring the children who have to come from a distance. That is one of the municipalities in the Province that has adopted Singletax and intends to stand by it. Some others have not gone so far.

"And who are the people who live in Kelowna? They are nearly all men who have made a success of their business affairs and have gone there to live. They are not radicals or faddists. They are plain, hard-headed, business, sensible men. Whenever the question was asked: 'Do you think you will ever depart from the principles of Singletax?' the invariable reply was: 'We will never depart from it.'

"In the rural municipalities that have adopted this system of Singletax there is no influence that can be brought to bear that could lead them to depart from it."



SOME OF DOBBS'S THINKS.

Reported by Jackson Biggus.

For The Public.

Dobbs came over to my flat last Sunday. Suspicion suggests that the reason he came was because my radiator was doing better work than his own. But I soon forgot the suspicion in listening to his assault on our esteemed judiciary system.

"Biggles!" he said with much asperity in his voice, "I'm stirred to the depths."

"What's done it?" I inquired as warmly as possible in the low temperature.

"It's that man Root," he replied.

"The shoemaker?" I queried.

"Shoemaker! Nothin'," he said spitefully. "It's the Senator. Didn't you see what he said about the Recall?"

I replied mildly, not seeking controversy at the moment. "No! I didn't see it. There was so much sporting news, I didn't get around to the police court reports yet."

"It's just what I expected of you," said he with much heat. "You ought to have an expurgated newspaper to read all the time. Here's Root predicting the fall of the Republic and the extermination of liberty, and you go on contentedly reading about Jack Johnson's new car and the hope of the white race. If people were all like you Root wouldn't have anything to talk about, and we'd carry the elections by passing round cheap cigars and bribing the nickel shows."

I tried to get excited about this remark, but the temperature prevented. "Why shouldn't Root talk about the Recall?" I queried. "It's human nature to hanker after soft jobs and stability in the same."

"Sure 'nuff," said Dobbs. "I'm not kicking about that. I'm objecting to what he said and the way he said it. Jest listen. 'The safety of American institutions depends on the independence of the judiciary. Decisions should be in accord with the laws as they are.' As Captain Cuttle remarked, 'The p'int o' that observation lies in the application on't.' What institutions does he mean? and what shall the judiciary be independent of? Shall they be independent of the people that place them in power and pay their salaries? What institutions are in danger from the Recall? Is it the institution of tariff protection? Does he mean that the institution of government by party bosses and big campaign funds and jackpots is threatened? Is it possible that the sugar trust, the Standard Oil and the Steel Corporation will lose their harbor of safety if judges are subject to Recall? I'd like to know just what was in his mind then. I'd like to have him explain how decisions can be made in accord with the laws as they are, when nobody knows what these laws are until the odd judge at the top has made the last guess at it—and then a later guess coming to change it perhaps. It's asking too much of the judges, this is. That observation isn't so wise as it looks on the surface. Then he wants us to preserve law as it is in its course of continuous change and development. How we goin' to preserve anything that is continually changing? If we can it and seal it up, development will stop."

"Sure thing!" I ventured to say. "But what's to be done about it?"

"And then," continued Dobbs, "Root insists that the preservation of order, the prevention of anarchy, and the continuance of liberty and justice depend upon us doing what can't be done, preserving a thing that is continually changing and won't be preserved."

"Well, Dobbs," I interrupted, "I'm a little in the dark about these things. The lawyers are presumed to know the law—"

"So are all the people," replied Dobbs with great heat, "and it's a rank presumption in both cases. If he knows the law, why does he say the respect for judicial decisions is based upon the idea that such decisions are different from political opinions, when nearly every court in the land has its finger in the political pie to such an extent that the people never know whether a law is valid or not, until some political judge has said that it is Constitutional or otherwise. If he knows what the law and the practice is he must have observed that a large proportion of cases before the courts, especially important cases, necessarily involve political questions, and that the demand from the people for the Recall has come from the fact that the courts have assumed legislative power, and also executive power in ordering municipalities and States to obey their injunctions and suspend the action of laws passed by the people's lawmakers."

"What are you going to do about it?" I asked in my very mildest manner.

"I'm not going to do anything about it," he replied fiercely, "except to keep on talking about it and stirring the readers of the sporting news up, until some judge puts me in jail for contempt of court."

I'm truly sorry for Dobbs. He gets het up so about things.

GEORGE V. WELLS.

BOOKS

"MY NEIGHBOR'S LANDMARK."

My Neighbor's Landmark. By Frederick Verinder. Published by Andrew Melrose, London, 3 York street.

There was urgent need that what Mr. Verinder has done in this little volume should be done, namely, that the Old Testament words on the land question should be brought together and intelligently edited. Let us hope that the book will have a wide reading, not only in England but in this country, and especially among clergymen.

Mr. Verinder has brought out admirably how modern are the essential principles involved in the ancient teachings, however antiquated may be the special details. As Dean Kitchin says in the preface, "he has shown that the most modern aspirations breathe in the oldest scriptures." "So,"

says the author, "when Henry George, in drafting the first manifesto of the first National Society for the propagation of his teachings, wrote that 'no number of individuals can justly grant away the equal rights of other individuals to land, and no generation can grant away the rights of future generations,' he was merely re-echoing, as he would have been the first to admit, some of the most primitive doctrines on the land question." Those who have read Henry George's wonderful lecture on Moses know what eloquent tribute he paid to the great Hebrew lawgiver.

All students of the Old Testament should be grateful to Mr. Verinder for the clearness with which he shows the meaning of the word Landmark and the great significance of the Year of Jubilee. "The problem," he says, "which the Mosaic law set itself to solve was: How to secure, at least within the limits of the Hebrew commonwealth, to each family and to every generation, the equal right to the use of 'the land which the Lord their God had given them.'" The ancient method of divisions by Landmarks is out of date, but it is still true that all men have equal rights in the land, and the infringement of the principle is as grave today as would have been the disregard of Landmarks in those ancient days. "The exact modern equivalent," says the author, "of the sin of 'setting-back' one's neighbors' landmarks is a more subtle and therefore a more dangerous, because a less disgusting, thing. It is the private appropriation of the land value which the community creates. It is a sin of which all of us, and not merely the landlords, need to be called upon to repent."

"A large and increasing body of students of social questions," says Mr. Verinder, "are urging that the true key to social reform, the surest and safest foundation for social justice, lies in the application of the principles of the Old Testament to the Modern Land Question, by the method advocated by Henry George; and that, under modern conditions, the first step towards reasserting the ancient and eternal truths which informed the Mosaic Land Laws must be the taxation of land values."

The book is supplemented by a useful appendix, a full list of Jewish authorities quoted, and by a complete index of names and subjects.

J. H. DILLARD.



DILUTED OCCUTISM.

Puppets. A Work-a-Day Philosophy. By George Forbes, F. R. S., New York. The Macmillan Co. Price \$1.50.

The motive of the author of this unique book (which is both a romance and a metaphysical treatise) appears to be the presentation of certain principles of the theosophical system of philosophy in a light social way that wins the unfamiliar

reader to a thoughtful consideration of the theory involved.

In a pleasant house party that lasted for a memorable month in Knock Castle there occurred a series of conversations led by James Gordon, in whom "there was nothing that savored of the harshness of pedantry or the petty vanities of dogmatism." Touching on some of the deepest problems of life these talks bring out quite clear and convincing explanations in answer to the eager questioning of the young people who are seeking to solve the mystery of being. That our bodies are merely "puppets," that our "real selves" are burdened with the task of running in a wise and orderly way, and that, in our engrossment with the "machine" we forget the largeness and sublimity of the "thinking universe" from which we originate, is a truth that, in whatever language taught, we are free to acknowledge. James Gordon presents his fair arguments in proof of reincarnation in a world partly of our own creation, and his plausible theory is generally accepted by his small audience of happy lovers who are in that delightful frame of mind in which any system of philosophy may be converted into a new revelation of eternal love and the felicity of a Paradise regained.

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Lincoln and Ann Rutledge. By Denton J. Snider. Published by the Sigma Publishing Co., 210 Pine St., St. Louis. 1912.

—History of Money in the British Empire and the United States. By Agnes F. Dodd. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., London & New York. 1911. Price, \$1.60 net.

—The Ricardian Socialists. By Esther Lowenthal. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Whole Number 114. Published by Columbia University, Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1911. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Ibrahim Pasha, Grand Vizier of Suleiman the Magnificent. By Hester Donaldson Jenkins. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Whole Number 115. Published by Columbia University, Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1911.

PAMPHLETS

"Condition of Labor" in Spanish.

Mr. Antonio Albéndin sends a Spanish Compendium in pamphlet form, of "The Condition of Labor"—his own translation. It is published by Imprenta Rodena, Plaza del Ayuntamiento, Ronda, Andalucia, Spain. Price 50 centimos (10 cents). The translation is made with intelligence. The booklet announces that there is now in preparation a Spanish

translation of extracts from Henry George's "Science of Political Economy."

C. L. LOGAN.

PERIODICALS

"After Twenty Years."

With the issue of Bodenreform for January 5, 1912, Adolf Damaschke completes his twentieth year of editorial work for land reform in Germany, and he philosophizes as he reviews the history of the movement. "The principle," he writes in speaking of "The League of German Land Reformers," "which . . . has made ever new battles possible, is our religious, political and business neutrality on all subjects which do not directly concern the land question. . . . It has meant much to prove that something actually could be accomplished by an organization independent of party shibboleths; to show that a league could maintain itself in which honorable men clasped hands across all former differences. . . . The long history of our Association is best evidence for the necessity of its singleness of purpose. Assuredly, however—and we say it often—land reform is not the final solution of the social problem in the sense that after its fulfillment there will be nothing more to improve, to hope for or struggle toward. . . . But land reform is the prerequisite for all peaceful, organic progress of the whole working class of our nation, and in that sense is it the social question of our age."

A. L. G.



Life and Labor.

Life and Labor for February contains a symposium on the McNamara case, in which Frances Squire Potter, Louis F. Post and Margaret Dreier Robins speak to the social causes of the dynamiters' crime. "So long," writes Mr. Post, "as want or fear of want persists in great degree where plenty abounds and multiplies, so long as 'vested rights' lift up idle thousands with great wealth upon the shoulders of working millions in great poverty, all the rest of it will come—all of it, from beggar to dynamiter. But is dynamiting a remedy for that disease? No. I haven't said that it is. I say it is an effect and a symptom and . . . he who honestly wishes to argue must argue not with symptoms or effects but with causes." Mrs. Robins asks some wise and searching questions about the events of the trial—and lack of trial—at Los Angeles, and concludes that we can never understand the real meaning of the McNamara case "unless we realize that we are living today in one of the mighty world struggles for justice. Industrial democracy is to be established. . . . Will we win industrial liberty? . . . The hour has come, we must choose this day whom we will serve." In this same forceful February number Miss Henry speaks out against the undemocratic election machinery in the National Woman's Suffrage Association; and John C. Kennedy writes of the thorough organization and the campaign of education in the labor movement of Germany.

A. L. G.

Good bye, little Pu-Yi,

They have driven you from your throne;
But you need not weep and you need not sigh,
It was not for faults of your own.

They have ended a shame that was deep and old
And a fester upon the earth;
But you, ere your story shall all be told,
May teach them a good man's worth.

—S. E. Kiser in Chicago Record-Herald of Feb. 14.

LOUIS F. POST will speak before the Young People's Socialist League, 205 Washington Street, Chicago, Sunday, February 18, at 8 p. m., on "The Tap-Root of Capitalism."

THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB, 47 West 42nd street, N. Y. City, welcomes all Single Taxers. Next Club Dinner, Washington's Birthday, Feb. 22nd, at Pabst's Restaurant, Columbus Circle. Joseph Fels will speak.

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 every Friday at 8:00 P. M., at 508 Schiller Building.
Feb. 16th: Speaker, Carl M. Koedt—"The Duties of Criminal Juries."
Feb. 23rd: Speaker, Wiley W. Mills—"Direct Legislation and the Singletax."
All are welcome. Ladies invited. Become a member and assist in the work.
JAMES B. ELLERY, Sec.

An Ad About Ads

¶ The live Single Tax Clubs are advertising in The Public.

¶ These notices are worth reading if you are interested in any phase of the Progressive movement.

¶ This week, for instance, you will see that Joseph Fels is to speak at the next dinner of the Manhattan Single Tax Club. Clevelanders and Chicagoans will find something with a special appeal to them.

¶ Even if you don't live in Chicago, Cleveland or New York, maybe these little notices will show you what could be done in your city if the other local fellows (not you) woke up.

Stanley Bowmar, Mgr.

When Grant was President a delegation went to Washington to see about getting an appropriation for dredging a certain stream. They called on the President and tried to interest him in the plan.

"Let's see," said Grant, reflectively, "didn't I cross that stream in such and such a campaign just before we fought such and such a battle?"

"You certainly did, Mr. President," said the spokesman of the delegation, hopefully.

The President was silent for a moment. Then he said:

"I remember that stream; but I think you're going the wrong way about to improve it. Why don't you macadamize it?"—Youth's Companion.



The late Sylvanus Miller, civil engineer, who was engaged in railroad enterprise in Central America,

was seeking local support for a road and was attempting to give the matter point. He asked a native:

"How long does it take you to carry your goods to market by muleback?"

"Three days," was the reply.

"There's the point," said Miller. "With our road in operation you could take your goods to market and be back home in one day."

"Very good, senior," answered the native. "But what would we do with the other two days?"—Boston Record.



"On yonder hill," cried the general, scanning the battle field with his glasses, "I see a black mass of men. What are they?"

"Camera fiends," replied the second in command.

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SWEDENBORG A COLOSSUS

Edwin Markham, the poet, says in the New York American: "As the genial ocean streams imperceptibly warm and invigorate our shores, so the mighty current of Swedenborg's thought has for a hundred years been thawing and warming the bleak theology of the Middle Ages, and his writings are today the prime influence beating down the wall of irrationality, making way for a faith that appeals at once to the reason and to the heart—Swedenborg was one of the colossi of all ages, one of the three or four greatest intellects that have appeared upon the planet."

I will furnish any one of the following works of Swedenborg in stiff paper cover for twenty cents each:

"DIVINE LOVE AND WISDOM"
"DIVINE PROVIDENCE" "HEAVEN AND HELL"
Stamps Taken

PASTOR LANDEBERGER, Windsor Place, St. Louis, Mo.

READY!

Volume XIV of The Public—Louis F. Post's Political and Social History of 1911 is now ready for delivery.

The volume is handsomely bound in half leather, uniform with the preceding volumes. Price \$2.25; by express prepaid in the United States, Canada, Cuba or Mexico, \$2.75. Shall we hold one for you?

There is already a premium of \$20.00 on Vol. I, which is out of print. But we can supply all the others at \$2.25 per volume, expressage collect. If everyone else got your presents recently, here's an opportunity to treat yourself right royally.

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"And who are occupying that field to the southwest?"
 "Those," answered the S. I. C., "are operators for the biograph."
 "I see a battalion with curious shaped guns."
 "They are not guns; they are gramophones and phonographs, in which are to be recorded the roar of the cannon and the cries of the wounded."
 "'Tis well!" exclaimed the general, stroking his beard complacently. "Let the battle begin."—New York Mail.

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