

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

From Mack to Folk.

"I think," said Norman E. Mack, chairman of the Democratic committee, in his speech at the Jackson Day banquet in Washington, "it is time we Democrats stopped fighting one another and began a unanimous attack on the common enemy." But who is the common enemy? Is La Follette the type, or Lorimer? And who are the Democrats that must stop fighting one another? Are they Bryan, for instance, and Guffey? Mr. Mack added: "The country is ready to turn its affairs over to the Democratic party if we behave ourselves." But what does this behavior consist in? Must Democrats like Bryan, Wilson, Folk and that class, harmonize with Guffey, Sullivan, Harmon, Underwood and that class, for the purpose of fighting Republicans like La Follette and his class? Is this the good behavior for which the country is ready to turn its affairs over to the Democratic party? We doubt it. Governor Folk's speech at the same banquet struck a better keynote than Mr. Mack's. Governor Folk said: "The present rising tide of democracy is not for the Democratic party, no matter how controlled, but in favor of real democratic principles."



Governor Wilson.

Over the publication of a letter of Governor Wilson's, written before he saw the cross of demo-

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cratic Democracy in the political sky—a letter in which he wished for “something at once dignified and effective to knock Mr. Bryan once and for all into a cocked hat,”—there should be rejoicing in the Wilson camp of President-makers. The plutocratic origin and motive of that exposure of a mistake of Governor Wilson’s before his conversion, go far to prove that *the Interests believe his conversion to be genuine.*



Naturally enough the language of the letter is not soothing to Bryan’s friends. But those who are truly his friends are too robust in their politics to cry for soothing syrup. We shall be surprised if Mr. Bryan himself takes the matter to heart, unless it leads him to better reasons for doubting Governor Wilson’s sincerity than the letter itself. He must realize that the unearthing of this letter by his own unrelenting plutocratic enemies is but part of their warfare upon what he himself represents in American politics. Standing by itself, the publication of that letter is clearly an attempt to obstruct the progressive movement in the Democratic party by discrediting one of its new and effective leaders. As Bryan has been discredited all these years by the Interests, so now the Interests would discredit Wilson. Isn’t that plain upon the face of it?



If discrediting Governor Wilson in public opinion were not the purpose of the publication of that letter, the Interests would be supporting Wilson on the faith of it. They wouldn’t lose such a fine chance to put a man of their own into the White House if they thought him really their own. The letter is of a kind to make friends for Governor Wilson among the very Interests that have dug it up. But manifestly that is neither the effect nor the object of its publication. The object is to arouse enmity against Governor Wilson among Bryan’s friends, and thereby to remove him from the list of Presidential possibilities: the effect is to please the friends of the Interests with Wilson’s discomfiture. What, then, is the inference? What is the inevitable inference when the Interests make themselves so solicitous for Bryan and his friends, that they uncover an old anti-Bryan letter of Wilson’s written when the Interests thought him a friend of theirs—as very likely he was, for he didn’t understand practical politics then,—what in those circumstances is the inevitable inference? Surely no one supposes that this exposure of Wilson’s old letter is to guard Bryan and his friends from a wolf in sheep’s clothing? A disguised wolf

or two in the Bryan sheepfold is precisely what the Interests would like.



It is not in support of Governor Wilson for the Presidential nomination that we discuss the publication of his old letter in this temper. We are not supporting him. Although we have regarded him as in the list of desirables, and as at present heading the list in point of availability, there are other desirables who may become more available than he, a contingency that time and circumstances alone can decide. Meanwhile, it is for the friends of all Democratic candidates of the democratic species to bring them as close to the front as possible; provided, of course, that there be no *confusion of which the Interests may take advantage.* But right at that point is the danger of the publication of the Wilson letter, as it is also its purpose.



There is like danger and purpose in the digging up of Wilson’s scholastic writings, published before his eyes opened to the significance of political alignments. In considering any such basis for discrediting Governor Wilson’s conversion, it must be borne in mind, not only in fairness to him but also in prudence with reference to the period of political turmoil upon which we are entering, that as a leader of men in the open political field this man has lived a whole lifetime in hardly more than a year or two. Prior to that, he was a leader of boys, a moulder of immature minds in scholarly cloister. He kept democratic principles in his study and enjoyed them in his books as he might have kept and enjoyed canary birds—as pets in a cage. But even there he experienced a shock. His first effort at Princeton to let his democratic principles out of their cages, though only in college politics, brought on a chorus of anathemas from the region of the Interests. He fought it out with them, however, and the Interests fought him out. But all this was still scholastic, like a moot court to a law student. It was an affair between a pedagogue on one side and rich young boys at college backed by rich old boys of the alumni on the other. So no doubt it seemed to Big Business and the political partners of Big Business in New Jersey. At all events Big Business picked him up for Governor of New Jersey—their Governor. As a democratic gramophone in a plutocratic caravan, he was moving along finely with them some fifteen months ago, until George L. Record, a democratic Republican, asked him nineteen crucial questions. Then the gramophone came to life. Those ques-

tions forced Wilson to think in terms of progressive practical politics, and his democratic principles forced him to think straight. He was "up against the real thing," as St. Paul was; and like Paul he appears to have yielded himself wholly. Ever since that time, at any rate, Governor Wilson has given the signs of a genuine and vital conversion to fundamental democracy in boots. Nor have such signs come from him alone. The Interests themselves have been giving signs. They have given many, but none more convincing of the genuineness of Governor Wilson's conversion than their resurrection of that old anti-Bryan letter. In judging Wilson's sincerity, the friends his conversion has attracted ought not to be indifferent to the kind of enemies he has thereby made.



By and For Bankers.

Riddle: When is a bank not a bank? Answer by the Aldrich Monetary Commission: When it is a "cooperative union of all the banks."



Roosevelt and Harriman.

Much is made of the recent contention in behalf of Mr. Roosevelt regarding his relations with the late Mr. Harriman in connection with the latter's raising of a Republican slush fund for the campaign of 1904,—of the contention that this fund was for the State campaign and not for the national campaign. On the one hand, as the argument runs, the fund could not have helped Mr. Roosevelt, who was the national and not the State candidate; on the other hand, it is to the effect that the fund was really for national purposes, since the national committee had previously borrowed from the State committee about the amount of the Harriman fund. But what difference does it make whether the fund was spent for the candidate for Governor of New York or for the candidate for President—if President Roosevelt used his influence to have Mr. Harriman raise the fund? Isn't the latter the real question?



Our Criminal Chancery Courts.

A man has been arrested in connection with the railroad strike in Illinois and without criminal procedure sentenced to imprisonment as a criminal in the work house at Peoria. His name is Harry Andrews. The crime charged is intimidating employes of the railroad. He was not indicted by a grand jury, he was not convicted by a petit

jury, he was not tried in any court having jurisdiction of such crimes. So far as due process of law is concerned, no one knows whether he committed the crime or not. Nominally, he is not convicted of crime. Yet he is in the work house under sentence of having committed one; so what's the use of splitting hairs? This is a case of "government by injunction." The judge was Humphrey, of a Federal court. He issued a Chancery order at the request of railroad lawyers, forbidding the crime of intimidating railroad employes. He then issued an order for the arrest of Andrews, upon an affidavit that Andrews had intimidated such employes; and thereupon, without a trial for the crime, without jurisdiction to try anyone for such a crime, without any of the safeguards of criminal trial for the protection of the innocent, Judge Humphrey "convicted" his man and sentenced him to penal servitude. This is one case in thousands of similar judicial usurpations. There is no law for it. The only color of law is a bare pretense. In the name of a Chancery proceeding, judges make criminal statutes and punish as criminals whomsoever they see fit to charge with their violation—punish without law and without trial. Shall this usurpation continue?



Three-Cent Fares in Cleveland.

The New York Times, in its issue of October 25th of last year, stated that Cleveland street car fares would soon be raised from three cents, and indulged in misrepresentations to make its prophecy appear reasonable. A similar statement had been made in the Philadelphia Bulletin of October 11th. Evidently both papers were deceived by some Big Business publicity bureau. We commented upon these misrepresentations at the time, explaining the true situation* and showing the improbability of any greater increase than from 3 cents (plus 1 cent for transfers but repayable upon use) to 3 cents (plus 1 cent for transfers and not repayable). But not even this increase has come at the expected time. Nor is it likely to come. The Cleveland Plain Dealer of December 17, 1911, reported that—

November earnings of the Cleveland Railway Co., made public yesterday, give 3-cent fare, with penny back for transfer, a lease of life well into next year, even if no additional economies are made effective when Street Railroad Commissioner Witt gets into harness. The company yesterday reported that it spent \$18,683 more during November than the Taylor grant allowance contemplated. . . . During November the average fare paid by paying passengers was \$.03158, the amount above 3 cents being con-

*See The Public, vol. xiv, pp. 1002, 1114.

tributed by the people whose smallest coin is a nickel, and those who do not use their transfers. As company employes in uniform and others riding to and from work do not pay, the average of fares figured on a basis of all people who rode is considerably below 3 cents.



ART AND THE PEOPLE.

This is a time in which there is much talk about the improvement of conditions in the common life of the common people. Uplift is one of our great words. There are numerous associations for tenement house improvement, for rural improvement, for various sorts of uplift, and one could spend one's whole time in listening to addresses dealing with the many schemes. Criticize America as we will, there is no doubt that we Americans have a passion for uplifting our brethren who seem to need it. Factory hands, tenement dwellers, Negroes, mountain whites, all come in for our beneficent care.

Some of us know that while all the schemes may be well intended and may do some good there can be no basic or permanent uplift of the masses of any class so long as special privilege, and especially so long as the one great special privilege of the monopoly of land, continues. The abolition of this monopoly of the source of all wealth is the great work, and those who are enlisted in this movement are the true workers in human uplift. Some of us feel that all efforts should have this direction, but we cannot have it so, and therefore we might as well welcome any activity that looks toward betterment, and especially any effort that looks toward better education and wiser use of the conditions as they now exist.



The trend of democracy is to increase the number of people who can enjoy the good and beautiful things of life. The spirit of aristocracy is to be exclusive, except as it may choose to bestow. The spirit of democracy, which is one with the spirit of real Christianity, is to extend and spread among all the children of men fair opportunities for gaining for themselves the good and beauty of life.

We used to think that it made little difference about the good things and the beautiful things of this life, and preachers preached and some still are preaching that the ugliness of this life makes little difference, because our "citizenship is in heaven." But many of us have come to the knowledge that if God is the God of the universe and eternity, He is also the God of this life and this

earth as a part of eternity and the universe. This new thought is beginning to have a powerful influence over the minds of men. Those who may once have been reconciled to waiting for some future reward are asking why there should not be some present reward. Men are beginning to see the just claim for justice and equal opportunities in regard to the things of this world, so that there may be better living for all the people.

Now in regard to this better living, this wider spread of the enjoyments of life, let us say again that even while justice lingers it is the part of wisdom and commonsense to make the best of conditions and opportunities as they are. This is what a large majority of the world's workers fail to do. Even in the common routine of daily life we fail to deport ourselves and to use our opportunities to best advantage. It is the purpose of this paper to point out briefly one way in which we fail.



The way of failure to which I allude refers to the aesthetic, the artistic side of life. How remote this thought, when first presented, seems from any connection with the life of the masses of men! Yet it should not be so.

It is a pity that when we speak of art the thought should be of something quite remote from the life of all the people, that when we speak of art the first thought should probably be of some gallery of pictures which on certain days we may visit without charge. The word art ought to carry as common and universal a meaning as the words life and love. In its widest sense art is simply the way of doing things. There is art in eating, in drinking, in setting a table, in hanging a picture as well as in painting one, in speaking to a man in the street as well as in singing in an opera.

It would add immensely to the happiness and satisfaction of life if all people would take in this thought, and would aim to do as beautifully as we can the common things of life. The workingman and his wife with barely enough to buy the bare necessities of living might smile or sneer at this thought, but they would be wrong, dead wrong. On the contrary there is all the more reason from their pressure of living why they should want to bring into their home, however poor it be, all the comeliness possible. There is much in the way of better living which can be done in many homes without the addition of a penny to expenses. The wife's gown may be cheap, but there is no reason why she may not have it clean and well put on. Her table, however poor the fare,

can be neat, and if she lives in the country can have a bit of flower or some green thing in the center. The man can tidy himself for dinner and speak in gracious tone to wife and children without taking a nickel from his daily wage. All this is art.

Some years ago I was on an early local train going west from Lynchburg. My seat companion was a workman with an uncommonly fine, strong face, and I soon found him to be a man of thought and information. I have rarely enjoyed a more interesting traveling companion. The train stopped ten minutes for breakfast and we went together to the station eating-room. Now the way in which my friend did his eating and drinking brought to mind the thought of the pity that he should spoil any of his fineness by his slovenly ways. He shoveled the food into his mouth, dropping crumbs and gravy on the cloth and on his clothes, and he drank his tea with as much noise as Dr. Johnson.

One trouble is that so many people have never given a thought to the art side, the aesthetic side, of life, and they have no conception how very important this side is both for our own increase of happiness and for the pleasure and satisfaction we can give to others.

Furthermore, that those who have given some thought to the matter should affect to despise and neglect external things is a silly philosophy, because external things, apart from the good in themselves, have an inevitable reaction upon character. Very good and earnest people sometimes cultivate this affectation. I knew a man who had over his desk a sentence from Cicero, *Rerum exterarum despicientia*, the despisal of external things. Had he known Cicero better he would have known that the great orator was only talking, and that nobody cared more than he about the artistic way of doing things and about external things in general.

What I said about picture galleries for the people was without thought of underrating the fine influence of such institutions. Every city should have its municipal gallery of beautiful pictures, free at all times to all the people. There is no doubt that the constant view of beautiful pictures will go a long way toward cultivating the art spirit which we so greatly need in all our doings. We need tremendously in America the spread of this spirit. Art is not something to be preempted by aristocracy. We want democracy to be beautiful.

J. H. DILLARD.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

DEMOCRACY AT THE SEAT OF HARVARD.

Cambridge, Mass.

The story of the proposed new charter for Cambridge has its features of interest for fundamental democrats the country over, for it is the story of a completely modern and completely democratic city charter in one of the oldest and supposedly most conservative communities of this country.



The fact that the charter was defeated by so small a margin on Nov. 7 last, its first submission to the voters (the vote standing 6,073 no to 5,272 yes, with 1,546 blanks and 3,500 stay-at-homes) leads its supporters to hope confidently for its adoption at no distant date. The campaign of education, known to be quite incomplete when the vote was taken, is going right on under circumstances improved by the fact that the election demolished some of the most formidable of the allegations of its opponents.

This charter is of the most up-to-date type of the so-called commission form—involving the Initiative, Referendum and Recall with workable percentages, abolition of the party label, election to specific offices, and particularly the substitution of the Preferential Ballot and single election for the older but probably short-lived system of double elections of Des Moines, Los Angeles and elsewhere.



At the time the charter came full-fledged before the people of Cambridge there was no perceptible public demand whatever for a new charter. There was the customary run of grumbling about inefficiency and high taxes, but no sign whatever of a move for a change in the charter. Individual citizens, however, had become impressed with the value of the commission form of government, and when the Grand Junction Charter appeared with its plan of preferential voting as a substitute for the double-election, it seemed to some of us who read *The Public* and thus get news of such things, that the cap-sheaf had at last been placed on government by commission. We were persuaded that Senator Bucklin and his Grand Junction friends had developed a simple, workable way of attracting and electing the right kind of men to office, with less opportunity for domination by machine or special interests than anything before proposed. The preferential ballot gained friends and admirers as fast as it was explained. The question naturally arose, Why not have it in Cambridge? and—while we are about it—Why not have as much else of the latest and best of the commission form ideas as we can under the limitations of our Massachusetts laws? A small self-appointed committee accordingly took upon itself the work of preparing a model charter for the people to consider, in the faith that the people would take to it as they came to understand it. We realized that the charter would be full of novelties, some of them unheard of in this neighborhood, and that selfish in-

terests of all kinds would be against it. But we thought it worth while to try.

The committee consisted of five citizens, one Harvard instructor in the science of government, a lawyer, a journalist, and two Harvard instructors in civil engineering. Apart from the fact that the journalist was then a representative in the State legislature, the committee had no official, political or organized backing. Three of the committee were without personal experience in public office or aspiration thereto. These men by picking and culling from the latest American practice, and guided by the single aim for simplicity, ease, and certainty of maintaining the supremacy of the public will, prepared the first draft, and submitted it to the State legislature of 1910. It contained a provision that even if the legislature approved it, it should go into effect only upon a petition by 1,000 Cambridge citizens and its adoption by a majority of Cambridge citizens at the polls.

Then the city of Cambridge became aware that a brand new, full-fledged charter was coming their way and was to be had for the mere taking. Its main features were, as expected, unheard of novelties to most citizens and explanations were in demand. We began to receive invitations from all sorts of organizations to come and explain the strange instrument—and the campaign of education was on just as expected and hoped. At each meeting we held a mock election with the preferential ballot as an object lesson, counting the ballots and announcing the results then and there. This feature made a great hit and supporters for the charter accumulated rapidly. The charter was seen to be simple, democratic in the highest degree, and the work of entirely disinterested men.

The legislature of 1910 properly referred it to the 1911 session. In the interim the charter in all its essential features received the endorsement—after full consideration and by practically unanimous votes—of such representative Cambridge bodies as the Cambridge Economy Club—mainly young business and professional men, including some of the liveliest young political leaders in the State—and the Cambridge Board of Trade. Support for it became so strong that a number of such organizations delegated committees to confer with the originators of the instrument and to go over it carefully in detail and secure a more certainly acceptable result. This joint committee included about thirty-five representative citizens—including some of the men most experienced in city affairs. It went over the charter section by section. Many meetings of the joint committee and of its sub-committees were held. Details were finally adjusted to the satisfaction of the majority and the measure was passed by the legislature and signed by the Governor, this bill differing in no essential feature from the original draft. By this time, the City Hall politicians were in full cry—and fighting hard. The city government had unexpectedly fallen completely into the hands of the so-called "Democratic" party and its leaders felt particularly injured to have their control threatened with a nip in the bud by a new charter after only a few months' enjoyment of full power over the city's business. These men and their sympathizers naturally put in their utmost efforts. They were aided vigorously

and effectively, though more quietly, by the Republican machine supporters. These two influences made it very difficult for us to reach a certain large portion of the citizens by so prejudicing them against the charter by the kinds of appeal of which they were masters, that hundreds and probably thousands of citizens and many organizations never gave a hearing to any but opponents of the charter. The advocates of the charter did what they could to meet this situation by mailing to each voter of the city from two to four months before election, the full text of the charter with carefully prepared explanations. Additional matter was mailed to each voter just before the election.

Cambridge, though a city of 105,000 inhabitants and largely industrial, is so near Boston (six to eight minutes' ride by new subway) and so suburban in character that it has only weekly newspapers of limited circulation, unless an anti-charter daily started only a few weeks before election be counted. These papers, though granting us space for our communications, were with only one exception editorially lukewarm or opposed to the charter. The Boston dailies gave it little attention, though the Transcript, for one, gave it some strong editorial support just before election, and the Boston Common (a progressive weekly) of course aided loyally.

The opponents of the charter were helped by the fact that we made no allegations of gross graft or scandal—but contented ourselves with opposition to the spoils system and chronic inefficiency suffered by Cambridge in common with other cities under the generally discredited, two-chamber, party system.

The charter supporters were and are working on the principle that Cambridge will sooner or later get in line with modern methods by sheer preference for obviously better things, even though they are novel. There is every reason to suppose it will soon do so. The defeat of the charter above referred to indicates only that the vote was taken before the campaign of education could be completed.



We believe that the votes against the charter on account of any or all of its more novel features were of minor importance. Talk was made against some of them, but rarely by any who were not bitterly opposed at present to the destruction of party rule in Cambridge. This threatened destruction, unwelcome to many in any case, was the more distasteful because the dominant party was the only one with any prestige left to lose by the change. To the party-minded member of the dominant party, of course, this seemed intolerable.

The charter had the support, however, of practically all the non-politician leaders of local public sentiment, and the open opposition of none whose standpoint or doctrinaire bias had not been previously well established. The officers and teachers of Harvard University gradually lined up behind it, so far as is known, in entire unanimity, though of course with different degrees of enthusiasm. So also did the overwhelming majority of leading merchants, manufacturers, and professional men—so much so in fact that the politicians made a handle of the fact to excite prejudice among a certain portion of their following. They used it to give color to their claim

that the charter was a "high-brow" affair and hostile to the "poor man." Appeals of this kind to blind class and party feeling undoubtedly had great effect and no doubt deterred hundreds of voters of the type customarily imposed on by the politicians, from giving the charter any open-minded consideration whatever. These voters are now beginning to see their mistake and when the tide turns we believe it will run far and fast our way. The support for the charter by Ex-President Eliot of Harvard is worth noting and, needless to say, was most gratifying to its framers.

The fortunate acceptance of commission charters by voters of Lowell and Lawrence on the same day of the narrow defeat of the Cambridge charter, should not be considered as in any way reflecting on the relative merits of the latter. The far more glaring evils in those two cities—they had become a notorious State-wide scandal in Lawrence—had demonstrated the need of a radical change, while in Cambridge conditions were still such that the cry of "Let well enough alone" could be used effectively. This alone would account for the more prompt acceptance of commission government in those cities than in Cambridge.

Observant Progressives find great encouragement in the fact that a charter of such an advanced democratic type could in the course of nineteen months be brought in a city like Cambridge to a point where a change of 400 votes in a total of over 11,000 cast, would have caused its adoption. The encouragement increases steadily when one considers the line-up of the local press, politicians, and stand-patters the charter had to face; the ease with which the charter could be misrepresented and ridiculed among the uninformed; the fact that there was no public demand whatever for a new charter when it appeared; the fact that the summer vacation habit kept the bulk of the charter support out of town for a large portion of the most valuable part of the campaign season; the fact that all the work of drafting the charter, arranging and addressing meetings, of conducting the campaign, the preparation and issuance of campaign literature, the getting of 1,000 signatures to get the measure on the ballot was entirely the work of a few unpaid unofficial volunteers. The funds for the campaign, some \$2,700, were raised by private subscription in response mainly to solicitations by mail, about one hundred and fifty citizens contributing. On the whole, the result for the cause of progress in Cambridge must be regarded as wonderfully good. It means to many of us that Massachusetts is really as "insurgent" as California or Wisconsin—that Massachusetts only awaits the appearance of a leader appealing to the old Massachusetts love of candor, public spirit, dignity and ability, to resume her former place of leadership for freedom and democracy.



Here should be recorded a recognition of the fine public-spirited work for Cambridge of Ex-City Solicitor Nichols of Haverhill, Messrs. James A. O'Keefe, R. F. Bergengren, Charles T. Murray and L. M. Ranger of Lynn, all leaders in the work which established similar new charters in their home cities. These men gave most cheerfully and generously of

their time and fine abilities to help us here—in speaking and otherwise—as willing volunteers in support of the common good. Without their help we should have made no such progress.

Other non-residents who rendered us strikingly valuable help are ex-Senator J. W. Bucklin of Grand Junction, Colo., Mayor (then City Solicitor) N. D. Baker of Cleveland, Prof. A. R. Hatton of Western Reserve University (Lecturer on Municipal Government at Harvard last semester), Ex-Mayor Head of Nashville, Tenn., U. S. Senator Owen of Oklahoma, George Fred Williams of Boston, U. S. Senator La Follette, and last but by no means least, Mr. John E. Blair and Commissioners Coates and Fasset of Spokane.

In closing it should, in justice to Senator Bucklin's brilliant work in Grand Junction, be repeated that his preferential system of voting has been a main cause for the enthusiasm and devotion of the most influential leaders and workers for the Cambridge charter—including some of the most experienced political leaders of the State and city,—and interest in it is rapidly developing in neighboring cities and throughout Massachusetts. It appeals at once to the disinterested voter as a simple and attractive means of escape not only in city elections, but in direct primaries and elsewhere, from the distressing choice between the raw plurality system, or the crude and clumsy plan of double elections.

LEWIS J. JOHNSON.



THE SINGLETAX IN SOUTH AFRICA.*

Johannesburg, So. Africa.

Young Lucas, the lawyer, set it going. He is a Singletaxer. Some of his Singletax friends advised him against joining the Labor party here, so far as Singletax is concerned. But he doesn't carry his brains in his boots.

Before Lucas joined the local Labor party, they were bitterly opposed to Singletax. After he joined, his enthusiasm conquered them and they took it as part of their program. The municipal election followed. It came off last October.

As soon as the canvass began, the Singletax part of the Labor party program was seized upon by the Opposition as a vulnerable point for attack. They worked it for all they thought it worth, and so forced it to the front as practically the one issue of the election. Lucas was in his element, and the Labor party, nothing loth, backed him to the finish. The whole town rang with Singletax.

Then the gods helped us further. They tempted the directors of land companies here into making speeches against the Singletax. This was the one thing needed to "tip the beam," and it tipped. When these land monopolists entered the field against us our battle was won.

The result at the election was wonderful. There were 15 Labor party candidates for the City Council and 11 were elected. Of those who lost, one failed by only 4 votes and another by only 14.

As several independents in the Council are pledged to Singletax, there is a clear Singletax majority in that body, and the Council will petition the legislature for powers to put the Singletax in force for

*See The Public of November 17, 1911, page 1170.

municipal purposes. Their petition will probably be granted, and then you will see in Johannesburg another Vancouver.

It seems funny to me to be writing in this strain, for I am a Socialist, and the Singletax was to me only a year ago a harmless and perfectly useless fad. But there must be some virus in the idea, for I feel quite enthusiastic about it now.

GEORGE C. MOSSES.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

LOS ANGELES AND THE McNAMARAS.

In the California Mountains.

It may be interesting to have a few of the comments of the Sierra mountaineers on this remarkable affair. They are very plain, hard-working, out-spoken men and women. Many are Socialists, Singletaxers, supporters of trade unions, believers in La Follette and Woodrow Wilson, in Governor Johnson and in Right Things.

Until the McNamara confession there was a general disbelief that any man or men, in any union, would commit such atrocious crimes. There was a universal desire to see fair play, and to have the McNamaras clearly proven guiltless. The subject was very widely discussed, and quite generally with regret over the historic attitude of Los Angeles and especially of the Los Angeles Times toward organized labor.

Then came what seems to most of us one of the most surprising events of the century, and we could not but feel profoundly grateful to Lincoln Steffens, and to all who supported his suggestions. Nor could we fail to note the opportunity offered for the amelioration of class-feeling in Los Angeles and elsewhere.

I have never yet found a Socialist, a union man, an insurgent or any sort of reformer in these mountains who believes in dynamite or assassination. Plain, honest Americans will not stand for crime, nor for that ancient doctrine of evil—that "the end justifies the means." Perhaps, however, it is time for some re-reading of "Put Yourself in His Place," that great novel of 40 years ago, in which Charles Reade sets forth the blind and wicked terrorism which some trade union men have sometimes practiced.

That was a terrible book, but in its time it helped to clarify men's thoughts. Reade saw, as we are seeing to-day, that only by the words of education, argument and the ballot-box, can labor organizations come to their own.

It is gratifying to observe how general and widespread is the comment: "I am mighty sorry for the thousands of honorable union men who put up so much money and so much devotion for those fellows. Now let them weed that element out of all their organizations." Further, one finds among our more thoughtful citizens a very earnest hope that the people of Los Angeles will not fail to seize the psychological moment to grant to organized labor its rights, and so unite all classes in a common civic patriotism. For to us in the mountains it appears that Los Angeles has been as far wrong in one direction as San Francisco has been in another. Especially do we wish to have an end to class-feeling of the bitter sort

which has prevailed in Los Angeles, and we want more of the Golden Rule.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



DYNAMITE VS. REASON.

Whitefish, Mont.

Labor is guilty. Yes, certainly. But do not think for a moment that Capital does not have to shoulder a share of the responsibility.

We read about the conflict between Labor and Capital. I prefer to consider it as a conflict between Labor and Dividends. The percentage of accidents in our industrial establishments is appalling; and a very large proportion of them are avoidable by the use of proper safety appliances. Unfortunately the furnishing of proper safety appliances cuts into Dividends.

Again and again we read of Labor stepping into the cage and going down into the mine where with light hearts and willing hands they dig the dusky diamonds which furnish the power to turn the wheels of our industrial system and warm our homes. Boom! Crash! and scores of them are dead in the dark depths of the mine. Their wives and children, mothers and sweethearts gathering in weeping groups around the mouth of the mine, know full well that proper safety appliances were not provided by the owners of the mine because they cost money; know that their loved ones are dead and that they must face the cold world as widows and orphans, in order that the stockholders of the mine may receive dividends.

We shudder at the enormity of the McNamaras' crime—we could not believe it until they confessed—but we shudder again when we read of scores of funerals occurring at one time in some little mining camp, the result of some clearly avoidable accident.

Labor spends its youth, manhood and womanhood laboring in the cotton mills. Old age, ill health and many other causes, avoidable and otherwise, impair their earning capacity, and to keep the wolf from the door the little innocent children are taken from play and school and put to work in the mill. Day by day their tender lungs are filled with the lint of the mill, their cheeks grow pale, their bodies thin. The helpless parents see these conditions and they know that the bone and sinew, the brain and nerve of the young and growing generation are being ground into factory of Dividends.

I might write of the avoidable railroad accidents, the sweat shops of the great cities, the fire traps of the big factories,—but our whole industrial system tells the same story of human sacrifice in the interest of Dividends.

Do these conditions warrant Labor in the use of dynamite to destroy the life and property of their so-called enemies? Certainly not.

The noble army of patriots under Washington were nearly all from the ranks of the working classes. In the face of untold suffering and hardships they fought and won for themselves and future generations a measure of liberty and freedom hitherto unknown in the annals of history. They placed in the hands of every freeborn American the all powerful, universal and unlimited ballot. The world at large will yield a certain amount of excuse for the serfs of Russia in the use of force and bombs to in-

duce their autocratic government to recognize their rights. But there is no excuse for the American who, refusing to make intelligent use of the liberties he possesses to right his wrongs, resorts to dynamite. If Labor is ever to remedy the evils under which we live and toil, it must do so by intelligent reasoning. It can never succeed by brute force. The little paper ballot falls as noiselessly as snowflakes on a grassy lawn, but it expresses the will of a freeman more eloquently than the roar of cannon. The intelligent use of it is Labor's only hope. In the proper use of the ballot the workers are invincible.

G. W. AVERY.



'WITHOUT ANY VERY GREAT CONSCIOUS MORAL TURPITUDE.'

Denver, Colo.

The above phrase is quoted from this apology by Mr. Roosevelt in his "Murder Is Murder" article, an apology for men engaged in Big Business:

We are not here dealing with any of the kinds of offenses incidental to the sudden and sweeping changes brought about by modern industrial conditions into which capitalists and labor men are sometimes drawn without any very great conscious moral turpitude on their part.

Observe how carefully modified is "moral turpitude."

To see the "offenses into which capitalists are drawn" without any very great "conscious" moral turpitude on their part is easy. Doubtless the tragedy of the Triangle Shirt-waist factory in New York is one of these "offenses." The bursting of a dam in Pennsylvania, the explosion of a mine in Tennessee, the numerous railroad accidents all over the country, the frequent disasters in Colorado mines where men perish by scores—were these in Mr. Roosevelt's mind when he wrote of "offenses without any very great conscious moral turpitude" on the part of the offenders?

Such offenses are capitalistic, but what offenses are "the labor men" guilty of that can be excused on the ground that they lack consciousness of moral turpitude?

Legally considered, to destroy human lives without "conscious moral turpitude" is not murder; but for Mr. Roosevelt to touch the matter so jauntily in one sentence and in the next froth at the mouth over the McNamara case is one of the signs of the times that he who runs may read. What else can we expect of one who has lauded and magnified the "Captains of Industry" so persistently and vociferously? Material progress has been glorified to the setting aside of all that makes for human brotherhood, and by none more than the writer of "Murder Is Murder." If class hatred is the result who is to blame?

CELIA BALDWIN WHITEHEAD.



CLEVELAND TRACTION.

New York City.

As a stockholder in the Cleveland Railway Company I have received a proxy to be made out in favor of "John J. Stanley, L. C. Hanna or _____." I find myself in doubt as to what to do about this, and there must be others of your readers who are

in the same predicament. I do not know whether by signing this proxy I shall be strengthening the hands of those in sympathy with Tom L. Johnson's ideas or those opposed to them. Could you not in time (the meeting takes place January 30th) give us a pointer?

FRED J. MILLER.

[The persons named above as proxies will be opposed to Tom L. Johnson's ideas if a question arises at the meeting. Proxies to Charles W. Stage (Cleveland, Ohio) would be used in support of those ideas.—Editors of The Public.]

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, January 9, 1912.

Senator La Follette's Speaking Tour.

Senator La Follette spoke at Chicago on the 3d. Here he was questioned, in the midst of his speech, about ex-President Roosevelt. He replied that in the last four years of the Roosevelt administration more trusts were formed than under all preceding administrations, a total of 10,020 plants having been merged in trusts, with a total capitalization of \$31,672,180,754; but that more legal proceedings had been instituted against trusts in the same period. Senator La Follette also criticized the Aldrich central reserve scheme. [See The Public, vol. xiv, p. 1169.]



In speaking at Joliet, Illinois, on the 4th, he directed attention to the difference in the judicial application of the Sherman anti-trust law to commercial trusts and to labor organizations, and made this a basis in part for an argument for the recall of judges. His words on this point were:

There is one class of so-called restraints of trade that was not intended, or at least not understood, to come under the prohibition of the Sherman anti-trust law. These are labor organizations. It is a curious fact about the enforcement of the law that, while the courts have carefully protected investors in trusts against loss of values, the only instance where the extreme penalty of three-fold damages has been imposed is in the case of a labor organization. A law which treats investors as innocent if they form a trust, and guilty if they form a labor union, does not command the respect, nor appeal to the sense of justice, of the American people.



Senator La Follette's speeches on the 5th were at Springfield and East St. Louis, with short ones at many intermediate points. In Springfield, demanding that "corrupt leadership" be driven out

of the Republican party, he spoke in this fashion of Senator Aldrich, the principal sponsor for the central reserve banking scheme:

Nelson W. Aldrich in all the years of his service in the United States Senate has never served the people, and never has he failed to represent the special interests. He does not represent the Republican party in the nation any more than does Senator Lorimer represent the Republican party in Illinois.



In his speech at Danville, Illinois, on the 6th, Senator La Follette described the panic of 1907 as having been manufactured by Big Business leaders, and in reply to a question, admitted that President Roosevelt, under the scare of this panic, helped put through the Tennessee coal and iron deal. As reported in the Chicago Inter-Ocean by Charles N. Wheeler, the circumstances were as follows:

Senator La Follette had been flaying the "money trust" for half an hour. He had been telling how, in his opinion, the Morgan and Standard Oil groups had been using the money in their banks to corner the industries of the nation. He had been giving his version of what Mr. Morgan and his friends had done to Banker Morse and Mr. Heinze in the copper deals in the effort to smash them and put them out of business. Then he stopped, looked at his audience for a short time, as if weighing carefully each word he was about to utter, and began: "Then there was the Tennessee Coal & Iron case." "Didn't Teddy help, too?" interrupted a gray-haired man in the front seat. La Follette stopped as if hit in the face. He hesitated only a moment. Then he walked to the front of the stage, placed one foot on the outer rail in front of the footlights, struck a dramatic pose, shot his right arm out and said deliberately in a sort of conversational tone: "Yes, Teddy did. But," he shouted, throwing both arms above his head, "I know what they told Teddy." This startling declaration not only caused a sensation out in the large crowd, but precipitated a commotion among the newspaper men. A dozen interpretations were volunteered. To some it meant a declaration of war between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. La Follette. But the truth is that so far as La Follette is concerned no affront was intended for Colonel Roosevelt. It was just the emotional outburst of the moment, although let out with a full realization, apparently, of the importance of the words. It amounted, no doubt, to the inference that Roosevelt was a fool when he agreed to the absorption of the big Tennessee company by the United States Steel Corporation, and undoubtedly there will be some gnashing of teeth at Oyster Bay when the full significance of the words are carried to the former President's retreat. After the demonstration had died down Senator La Follette . . . proceeded to give an array of figures to prove, according to his logic, that there was no legitimate reason for the depression of 1907. . . . "No, my countrymen, there was no legitimate panic in 1907. It was manufactured and used for the very pur-

poses to which it was put, and as soon as they gobbled up the properties they were after they called it off."



Senator La Follette's tour came to an end at Richmond, Indiana, on the 6th, whence he returned to Washington.



Progressive Republicans of Illinois.

The State conference of the Progressive Republicans of Illinois at Springfield on the 5th, over which Fred S. Wilbur of East St. Louis presided, pledged support to Robert M. La Follette for President, Walter Clyde Jones for Governor, and Hugh S. Magill for United States Senator. [See The Public, vol. xiv, p. 1147.]



Presidential Preparations by the Democratic Party.

At Washington, on the 8th, the Democratic National Committee met for the purpose of deciding upon the time and place for the Presidential nominating convention. Early in the proceedings, William J. Bryan, holding the proxy of P. L. Hall of Nebraska, moved acceptance of the credentials of James Weatherby as a member upon appointment by the State committee of Alabama to fill the Alabama vacancy caused by death. Roger Sullivan of Illinois and others raised the point of order that no motion was necessary, the power to fill a vacancy lying with the State committee, and Chairman Mack sustained it. Upon this ruling Mr. Bryan said: "Recognizing that this particular case does not amount to anything but that it will affect a later case, I appeal from the decision of the chair and ask permission to make a statement." Thereupon J. W. Coughlin moved a secret session and the subsequent proceedings were behind closed doors. The statement is understood, however, to have related to James M. Guffey, the Pennsylvania "boss" who had been appointed by a State committee to fill the Pennsylvania vacancy and whose seat was contested by A. Mitchell Palmer, on the basis of the recent turnover in the Democratic politics of Pennsylvania.* Mr. Bryan's efforts to exclude Mr. Guffey were defeated by a vote variously reported as 30 to 13, 34 to 13 and 30 to 18. On the following day, the 9th, Baltimore was chosen by the committee as the place and June 25 as the date for holding the national convention.



In the evening of the day on which the National Committee met, a Democratic demonstration of national interest was made, also at Washington, in celebration of Jackson's birthday. There

*See The Public, volume xiv, page 775.

had been great expectations of serious controversy, but none appeared upon the surface. Bryan, Wilson, Folk and Clark were among the principal speakers. Hearst also spoke and Underwood staid away. Bryan's reception of Governor Wilson's speech is thus described by Sumner Curtis, Washington correspondent of the Chicago Record-Herald: "Evidence of Mr. Bryan's leaning toward Wilson was given at the Jackson day dinner to-night, when the Nebraskan applauded with vigor that attracted attention almost every utterance of the New Jerseyite."



Progressive Democracy in Ohio.

The Progressive Democratic League of Ohio was organized at Columbus on the 2d, with ex-Congressman John J. Lentz as president. Newspaper dispatches make a point of their statement, that Mr. Lentz, when elected temporary chairman of the conference, preliminary to organization of the League, named William J. Bryan as candidate for the Democratic nomination for President, and that this was received with great applause. The resolutions of the League declare for the Democracy of Ohio—

That to protect the Progressive Democrats of Ohio against the possibility of any traitor among their 48 delegates to the national convention, it is imperative that no advocate, associate, protector, ally, agent, counsel, attorney, receiver, champion, or hireling of Wall street or other predatory interest be chosen as a delegate.



Governor Foss to the Massachusetts Legislature.

In his official message of the 4th, Governor Eugene N. Foss of Massachusetts made the following Progressive recommendations:

To strengthen the direct primary law enacted last year the fixed party enrollment should be done away with, as the voter is entitled to the same secrecy at the primaries which is now accorded him at the polls.

The Initiative and the Referendum and the Recall, advocated in inaugural address last year and reaffirmed at the recent election, where the popular verdict was an approval of this position.

Direct election of United States Senators, and a law enabling the voters to express their choice of candidates for nomination for President and Vice-President.

Distribution by the State, at the expense of the State, of an election pamphlet in which each candidate shall be allowed space to state his claims, to the end that opportunity to attain public office may be equalized.

Submission to popular vote of the question of extending the franchise to women.

Submission to popular vote of a provision to prohibit by Constitutional amendment all special and local legislation, in order that the principle of mu-

nicipal self-government may be given full operation.

Public ownership of docks and water terminals; also public ownership of railroad terminals if necessary for securing the entrance of the great trunk lines of Canada into Boston.

Reciprocity with Canada and reciprocal trade relations with other countries, not only on the North and South American continents, but also throughout the rest of the world.

On the subject of taxation Governor Foss says:

The tax laws of the Commonwealth ought to be thoroughly revised. The Tax Commissioner says that our present system has broken down, and that "we are now imposing the heaviest burdens upon the poor, the helpless and the ignorant." The immediate reform of the tax system is, therefore, the most urgent need of the Commonwealth. I shall later communicate to you a tentative plan to which I shall ask your consideration.



The Arbitration Treaties.

A new line of attack upon the Taft arbitration treaties with France and Great Britain was made in the United States Senate on the 3rd by Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska. It was, in effect, that the treaties would operate to check the treaty-making power of the Senate and leave this power where it rests in monarchical countries—wholly with the Executive. [See current volume, page 12.]



On the following day, the 4th, the majority report of the Senate committee on foreign relations was filed, through Senator Raymer (Democrat). It favors ratification of the arbitration treaties, unamended. The Root amendment, favored by ex-President Roosevelt, specifies the Monroe doctrine, control of immigration and indebtedness of States as not arbitrable.



Report of the Monetary Commission.

The report of the National Monetary Commission, of which ex-Senator Nelson W. Aldrich is chairman, was made to Congress on the 8th. This Commission was created by an act of Congress of May 30, 1908, for amending the national banking laws; and its report is made pursuant to section 18 of that Act, which requires the Commission to report "what changes are necessary or desirable in the monetary system of the United States or in the laws relating to banking and currency." The members of the Commission, besides Chairman Aldrich, are Edward B. Vreeland, Julius C. Burrows, Eugene Hale, Henry M. Teller, Hernando D. Money, Theodore E. Burton, James P. Taliaferro, Boies Penrose, John W. Weeks, Robert W. Bonyng, Lemuel P. Padgett, George F. Burgess, Arsene P. Pujol, George W. Prince, and James McLachlan. Their report sub-

mits a proposed Act of Congress for the national incorporation of "The National Reserve Association of the United States," substantially as heretofore described in these columns. [See *The Public*, vol. xiv, p. 1169.]



The Beef-Trust Trial.

In ruling on a question of evidence at the Beef-Trust trial in Chicago on the 6th, Judge Carpenter outlined as follows the principle upon which he intends the case shall be decided:

The government will have to show in this case a combination or effort on the part of some of the defendants or all of them before they succeed, and unless they do, that is an end to this case. And if they show the concerted action, or individual action if you please, of each party and then show a general situation toward which each one of these parties has been working, it is for the jury to say whether, considering the result obtained and considering what individuals did, there was an unlawful combination.

[See current volume, page 13.]



Echoes of the McNamara Case.

For an important piece of news of general interest, which developed at the close of the year, we are indebted to *The Survey* of December 30. It was an address to President Taft on the McNamara case, signed by 28 men of prominence in New York and delivered to the President in person by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Edward T. Devine. Among the signers are the Rev. J. Howard Melish, Rabbi Wise, John M. Glenn (of the Russell Sage Foundation, and not the "professional secretary" of the same name who is better known in Chicago), Florence Kelly, Prof. Seligman of Columbia University, Paul U. Kellogg (editor of *The Survey*), George Foster Peabody, Louis D. Brandeis, and Lyman Abbott. From *The Survey's* reproduction of this address we make the following excerpts to indicate its spirit:

What happens from now on to the McNamaras in San Quentin prison does not concern the American people so profoundly as what happened, is happening, and may happen to workmen who did not and would not use dynamite as a method to secure their ends. Their case has not been before the tribunal of the law. It comes before a larger tribunal—the social conscience of the nation, of which the law is only a partial expression.

In order to arrive at the worker's point of view, it is necessary only to review the long list of occupational diseases, the failure of both employers and the state to prevent them or mitigate their effects, the lack of employers' liability laws, the failure to provide adequate safeguards against accidents in dangerous vocations, the attacks upon the Constitutionality of laws to shorten the hours of women and of workers in certain trades, the reluctance of

legislatures to abolish child labor—it is necessary only to contrast this dead center of the social machinery with the speed at which it acts to prevent picketing and rioting during strikes. The workingman sees the club of the officer, the bayonet of the militia directed against him in the defense of property, and he believes that the hand of the law, strong in the protection of property, often drops listless whenever measures are proposed to lighten labor's heavy burden. Occasional and imperfect expressions of this underlying feeling reach the surface. Those who dismiss them as sporadic assaults upon the judiciary have no appreciation of the depth and breadth of the social situation.

Federal grand juries may well concern themselves with those who have carried dynamite across State boundaries. We want light along a more crucial boundary line—the borderland between industry and democracy. We want light on that larger lawlessness which is beyond the view of the criminal court. This is a matter of public defense in which we, as a people, should if necessary invest as much money as we put into a battleship.

This remarkable address to the President closes with an appeal for a Federal commission "with as great scientific competence, staff, resources, and power to compel testimony as the Interstate Commerce Commission":

(1) To investigate (and on this point make a preliminary report within six months) conditions of labor during the last six years in the structural iron trade, including in the study the organizations of employers and employes, the methods and purposes of each, and the relations of each to the other.

(2) To gauge the break-down of our machinery of industrial government by tracing the trend of law and judicial decision through State and Federal courts with respect to labor causes (the boycott, the picket, the injunction, the strike); and to examine the exact economic and legal status of the union, the union member, the non-union man, the strike-breaker, the tenant of a company house.

(3) To investigate the economic and social cost of strikes to employers, to workmen, and to the public.

(4) To examine and review the rules and records of trade unions and employers' associations in their relations to each other; the conditions of the trades in which unions are strong and those in which no unions exist.

(5) To study and make report on the scope and methods and resources of Federal and State bureaus of labor to the end that they may meet permanently those responsibilities which through the work of such a Commission would be more adequately defined.

(6) To make special and exhaustive study into the practicability and working principles of schemes of economic government such as the trade legislature in the cloak, suit and skirt industry, the joint arbitration board which for seven years controlled the New York building trades, the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, the Canadian Industrial disputes acts, the minimum wage boards long established in Australia and recently introduced in England.

[See current volume, page 14.]

Joseph Fels in Boston.

As reported by the Boston Globe of the 4th, Joseph Fels, founder of the Joseph Fels Fund (Daniel Kiefer, chairman, Cincinnati), when he addressed the Boston Chamber of Commerce on the 3rd, laid before that body the following, among other suggestions:

The best place for Boston docks is in the Lynn marshes—where a proper raising of the assessed valuation would build the docks without a cent of expense to Boston.

The Joseph Fels Fund Commission is to distribute 1,000,000 copies of Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade." When he urged his hearers to read it his advice was received with silence, whereupon he remarked dryly, "I didn't expect vociferous applause in Boston." (Laughter.)

Mr. Fels declared that Canada turned out the Liberals last Fall merely to show that the mass of people are in control, "as the people of Boston are not."

The Boston Journal of the same date gave this account of the speech:

Mr. Fels spoke all around his hobby, the so-called Singletax, or land taxation, and by his blunt criticism of even the pet projects of the Chamber of Commerce and his spontaneous wit would first send a series of frowns across the face of his audience and then send them into outbursts of laughter. "I do not know just how many bricks are lying around among you, gentlemen," he said, "but I am going to say it just the same. I would recommend that all of you read Henry George's book, 'Protection or Free Trade.' It is a wonderful writing by a wonderful man." Then he paused and, not hearing a sound, he said in a dry manner, "I expected this outburst of applause." He was immediately accorded one, not for suggesting free trade, but for his wit. Mr. Fels handled the \$9,000,000 dock scheme without gloves and promptly dropped the subject with the remark that the men who own land in the vicinity of the contemplated docks, and who will grow wealthy from the increased land value, furnished ideal examples of what he meant by Singletax or, as he called it, "the untaxing of communities."

**Russian Reprisals in Persia.**

The Russians continue to exact heavy toll from the Persians for the natural resistance they offered last month to the Russian advance. Court-martials have been held, and leading Persians have been tried in batches, and then exiled or shot or hanged. Among those hanged at Tabriz on the 2nd was Shehat ul Islam, head of one of the religious sects in a position equivalent to that of archbishop. Others hanged in the same city were three leading divines, and all the principal members of the local Assembly. The Russians are destroying the walls of the citadel of Tabriz, which is centuries old. A modern note in this tale of atrocity comes from news in the English

papers of December 6, to the effect that in face of the Russian advance then threatening, the Persian Women's Society had wired to the Suffragists' Committee in London, stating that the ears of European males were deaf to the Persian tragedy, and calling upon the English women to help them. [See vol. xiv, page 1312.]



The subdued cabinet notified W. Morgan Shuster, the ex-Treasurer-General, on the 6th, of the appointment of a commission composed of four Persians and Mr. Mornard, the Belgian ex-director of customs in Persia, to take over Mr. Shuster's duties. Mr. Mornard to act as provisional Treasurer-General. That Persia under Russian and British control becomes prey for syndicates is indicated in a dispatch from London on the 2nd, according to which British, French and Russian bankers were to hold a meeting in Paris last week to organize a syndicate, with a capital of \$500,000, to carry out a survey of a proposed trans-Persian railroad. The dispatch continues: "Great Britain and Russia have both already approved the scheme. The proposal contemplates the construction of a line touching the seaport of Baku in Russian Transcaucasia, Astara on the Caspian sea, Teheran, the capital of Persia, and Gwettar on the Arabian sea. It will continue through Baluchistan and connect with the Indian railroads going to Kurrachee. No difficulty is expected in raising the capital, or in obtaining necessary concessions in Persia."

**The Republican Struggle in China.**

At his inauguration at Nanking on the 1st, as President of the Chinese Republic, Dr. Sun Yat Sen promised to disenthroned the Manchus, to re-establish peace, to promote trade and to devote his entire energy to the Chinese nation and aid the Chinese people to realize their aspirations. When the Manchus had finally abdicated and peace was restored to the nation, he would, he said, resign his provisional office. He announced that a strong central government would be organized, the entire administrative system remodeled and modernized, and a Parliament representative of the people be elected. The Provinces, he said, would be autonomous as regards local affairs, and each would select its own Governor. The army and navy would be made national institutions and be under the control of the central Parliament, which would also deal with the finances of the country. The whole fiscal system would be readjusted, but he was sure that the income of the country was sufficient to discharge its liabilities and to defray ordinary expenses. President Sun issued a manifesto to the foreign Powers on the 5th, in which he explained the aims and policies of the new Republic of China; set forth the wrongs

of the Chinese people, and promised strict adherence to all treaties, obligations and concessions undertaken by the Manchu government. The manifesto declares that the Republic will abolish all restrictions on trade, and that it will undertake the revision of all laws, and will insure religious toleration. The President's cabinet was announced on the 6th. It is regarded as a strong combination. Dr. Wu Tingfang becomes Attorney General, and Wang Chung-Wei minister of foreign affairs. The cabinet has announced the terms it will offer to the Manchus on their submission. The dispatches state that these terms are more generous than it was at first expected. They include the free grant of the Forbidden City and summer palace in Peking, which are worth hundreds of millions of dollars. In addition they will be accorded life pensions and other concessions, together with equality in citizenship and in the holding of offices under the state. The good faith of the Republicans is shown by the fact that the Manchus in the southern provinces are now being supported, fed and clothed by the revolutionaries, and any abuse of them is severely punished by the Republican government. On the 8th the Republican Assembly in session at Nanking voted the introduction of a gold monetary standard modeled on that of Japan. It also approved a bond issue of 100,000,000 taels (approximately \$70,000,000), secured on the internal revenue for five years, with interest at the rate of 8 per cent per annum. [See current volume, page 15.]



Hostilities recommenced on the 6th between the Imperialist and Republican armies after an imperfectly observed armistice for the peace negotiations at Shanghai. Republican transports loaded with soldiers were reported as being at Chin-Wang-Tao, a port on the Gulf of Pe-Chi-Li about 150 miles east of Peking, on the 7th. If the report is true Peking is seriously threatened.



Recognition by the United States "of the Republic of China as a member of the family of nations" was called for by a resolution introduced in Congress on the 3rd by Representative William Sulzer of New York. The resolution was referred to the committee on foreign relations. It congratulates the "patriotic people of China" for "reclaiming their inherent rights to self-government." The Chinese Minister at Washington, Chang Yin Tang, has resigned his position and is leaving this week for China, where, it is said, he will retire to private life. He leaves Yung Kwai, the first secretary, in charge of the legation.



The change wrought in Chinese aspirations by

the revolution was dramatically indicated by the character of a celebration in San Francisco on the 7th, participated in by nearly every person in San Francisco's famous Chinatown. Says the dispatch of the Chicago Inter Ocean:

San Francisco has been the scene of many celebrations by its Chinese population, but today's bore none of the characteristics of those of former times. No man of the more than 3,000 persons in the parade that wound its way through the city's business district wore a queue and the gayly hued silk robes of other days were replaced by the garb of the Occident. The famous dragon had been relegated to seclusion, and the tomtoms and other music-making instruments of old China were replaced by the strident brasses of American bands. Chinese women shared with the men positions of prominence, and in the majority of cases, their gowns were as much American as the clothing of the men. More than 100 automobiles conveyed participants in the parade, and the banners that snapped in the breeze were of the red, white and blue of the new Republic.

NEWS NOTES

—Harriet L. Keeler was elected superintendent of public schools for Cleveland on the 5th.

—Rear Admiral Robley D. Evans of the United States Navy died at Washington on the 3d.

—President Taft signed the proclamation for the Statehood of New Mexico on the 6th. [See vol. xiv, p. 1168.]

—Alfred Tennyson Dickens, son of Charles Dickens the novelist, died at New York on the 2d while on a lecture tour in the United States.

—Mrs. John Sherwin Crosby and Miss Cornelia Swinnerton were appointed deputy sheriffs on the 2d by Sheriff Harburger of New York County.

—Bishop Charles D. Williams of Detroit is to deliver a free lecture on the Singletax at Newark, Ohio, on the 24th, under the auspices of the Men's Club of Trinity Episcopal Church.

—The Republic of Liberia inaugurated as President on the 1st Daniel Howard. His predecessor, Arthur Barclay, was elected in 1903, and again in 1907. [See volume xiii, page 1138.]

—A contract for a prize fight between "Jack" Johnson (the Negro who holds the championship) and "Jim" Flynn, to come off in July at Windward, Nevada, was signed on the 6th. [See vol. xiii, pp. 637, 656.]

—Richard T. Crane, head of the Crane Elevator Co., died at Chicago on the 8th at the age of 80. Besides his widow he is survived by four daughters, Mrs. Gartz, Mrs. Russell, Mrs. Lillie and Mrs. Chadbourne, and by three sons, of whom Charles R. Crane is one.

—Professor Frederick Starr of the University of Chicago has returned to the United States from Korea with photographic negatives and moving picture films to illustrate his scientific investigations, together with the material for a working theory that the prehistoric temples of Mexico and Yucatan were

built by Mongolians of the same stock that laid the foundations of the Korean Empire.

—Prolonged cold through a large part of the United States for several days beginning about the 4th, has caused widespread suffering and much unemployment. Below zero weather lasted in Chicago for 72 hours, from the 4th to the 7th.

—Three-cent fares from 5:30 to 7:30 a. m. and from 4:30 to 6:30 p. m., with six tickets for 25 cents and universal transfers the rest of the day, were agreed upon the 4th in Toledo pending negotiations for the extension of street car franchises. [See current volume, page 15.]

—Elections for 100 Senators were held in France on the 7th—96 for new terms and 4 for vacancies. As reported in the dispatches of the 7th, the Left and Republicans gain 8 seats, the Radicals and Socialist-Radicals lose 3, the Socialist-Republicans gain 1, the Opposition groups of reactionaries lose 2, and the Progressists lose 4.

—The City Club of Chicago has opened its new club house, 315 Plymouth court, with a week of exhibits and dinners, beginning on the 8th and ending on the 13th. The 8th was "presidents' night," and the 9th "government night." The 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th will be respectively "education," "nationalities," "civic associations," and "labor" nights.

—Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, editor of the New York Evening Post, is speaking in Handel Hall, 27 East Randolph street, Chicago, this week Thursday, at 8 p. m., on "Political and Legal Discrimination Against the Colored People."

—A petition under the Nebraska primary law was filed on the 5th naming William J. Bryan as candidate for the Democratic nomination for President. Mr. Bryan's brother, Charles W. Bryan, states that it was against Mr. Bryan's wishes and without his knowledge and Mr. Bryan has confirmed this protest, adding: "They have no business to put a man in as a candidate unless he wishes to be one."

—The efforts of the Republican government of Portugal to effect separation between church and state brought about on December 28 a decree of exile for two years of the head of the Portuguese church, the Catholic Patriarch of Lisbon, Monsignor Anthony Mendes Bello. As a result the Portuguese bishops on the 4th proclaimed their independence of the government. Clashes between clericals and republicans were incident to the departure of the Patriarch. A further cause of disaffection, as reported on the 8th from Lisbon, suggests some agrarian program on the part of the government. According to the cable dispatch of the Chicago Inter Ocean, "the peasants in the district of Azambuja, on the river Tagus, are greatly excited over the decision of the government, that the land and woods in the vicinity belongs to the state, and that the inhabitants must pay rent or abandon the territory."



Teacher: "Now, little Tommy, give us an example of the double negative."

Little Tommy: "I don't know none."

—New York Globe.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Fate of Persia.

The (London) Daily News (Lib.), December 5.—Day by day we see the shadow of Russia advancing unchallenged over Northern Persia. An ancient civilization is being blotted out and a country whose integrity we have solemnly guaranteed and whose independence is of vital importance to our Indian Empire, is passing under the iron heel of Russian despotism. There is a report that the Persians will resist the invading Russian army; but of what avail can such resistance be? It can only add carnage to the tale of doom. . . . Mr. Shuster, as all the world knows, is the last symbol of Persian independence. He was appointed to help the Persian Government to reorganize its finances. He has bravely attempted the task in the face of the open hostility of Russia and he is sacrificed because of his loyalty to Persian interests.



Roosevelt in the Running.

The Commoner (Bryan), Dec. 22.—We do not say that Mr. Roosevelt's nomination next year is inevitable, but it is probable. Luck is running with him and the advantage of position is on his side, thanks to Taft's mistakes and Roosevelt's adroit disloyalty. . . . Big business is against Taft, but Roosevelt offers a haven and a refuge, with the White House doors wide open. His attack upon the Sherman law in last week's Outlook is Wall street's attack. He offers Big Business the kind of Federal "supervision" that it is begging for, but chiefly he offers the destruction of the Sherman Anti-trust law. It is to the destruction of the Sherman act that Wall street is concentrating all its political power. If Big Business could be sure that his election would mean the repeal or amendment of that statute, all of its money and influence and authority would be instantly arrayed on the side of his candidacy. In any event Wall street would accept him rather than Taft or La Follette. It has bargained with him in the past and knows how to bargain with him in the future. . . . Democrats in Congress and out of Congress cannot ignore this situation. They are no longer dealing with a frank, good-natured, tactless Taft. They are dealing with the most daring, audacious and practical political manipulator of his generation. They must prepare to beat Roosevelt.



Congressman Henry George, Jr., was the speaker of the evening at a big doings in a Canadian city some time ago.

The chairman of the gathering, in his speech of introduction, lauded both Henry George and Lloyd George, and said that the name of George was great throughout the land.

"It now gives me great pleasure," he added, "to present to you the speaker of the evening, Mr. Lloyd George."

The audience, knowing that it wasn't Lloyd George at all, laughed uproariously, and the chairman

looked worried throughout the rest of the evening, trying to think what he'd said.—Fred C. Kelly in Cleveland Plain Dealer.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

AMERICA, 1912.

For The Public.

O thou that hast so long forgot
 The nobler war, the peace without decay,
 And sittest in thy money-mart,
 Bloated too young, sleeping thy soul way,—
 Turn to the West thy dream-dulled eyes!
 Down on thy knees! Thence comes new life to
 thee,
 To fire thy hybrid-blooded veins,
 And make thee worthy of thine ancestry!

MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD.



TRUE LITTLE TALES OF MINOR REFORMERS.

2. The Patriarch of His Tribe.

For The Public.

Many years ago a young school teacher in California decided to spend his vacation in taking orders for fruit trees. He saddled a great brown colt, and rode into the valleys of the northern Coast Range, having all sorts of good times.

One afternoon he came upon a wonderfully fair and prosperous group of farms which occupied a little crescent-shaped valley. "Everybody is related here," some one told him, "but Old Man Newson who lives at the head of the valley is the pioneer, and usually settles things. Six sons with families ranch it near him."

So the young school teacher, naming Newson in his thoughts as a biblical patriarch and father of the valley, rode up an avenue of live oaks towards the great house of the elder Newson, set on a hill-top in the midst of barns, sheds and corrals. It was growing late; the nearest village was ten miles away; he meant to invoke the never-failing mountaineer hospitality, and besides, he wanted to meet the patriarch.

Men were riding in from the broad pastures with bands of cattle, under the sunset's scarlet banners. One of the younger horsemen galloped up and greeted the school teacher cheerfully, and still with a question in his voice.

But the school teacher asked the first question: "And whose is this fine ranch?"

"B'longs to my grandfather, Jeremiah Newson. He settled here in 1852. Everybody is related. Folks say we look alike, an' act alike."

"Bully," said the school teacher, who was young

and at times slang-spoken. "I sure like that. Now I hope I can stay here tonight, and meet your grandfather."

The young cattle man looked at him in an appraising way. Others rode up, cheerful and yet somewhat aloof. "It's a tribe, sure enough, like half-reformed Doones," thought the delighted school teacher. Slowly the first young man replied, "I hope you can stay, and I hope that grandfather will like you. We have a cabin where strangers sleep, but maybe he'll want you in the house. Come in and meet him."

The massive gates of the inner yards swung open; those walls only needed loop-holes to become a fortress. The old man stood by the house door, massive and stern as one of his own storm-abiding oaks. He greeted the school teacher with the faultless but reserved courtesy of an old time Highland chieftain.

"We welcome strangers," he said, "and we have at least meals and a cabin room for them. But we always ask them a question. Tell me, if you are willing, do you, sir, belong to any secret society? Above all else, are you a Mason? If so, I can be hospitable, but I cannot have a Mason under my roof."

Surprised, the young school teacher laughed outright. "Why, no!" he replied. "I have been much too busy, and have never joined anything except debating clubs and literary societies."

Over the stern and strong old face there swept a look of relief, a flash of welcome and happiness.

"Heaven bless you," he said. "Dismount, young man, and come right in. Boys, take his horse; send word around that we have found a new friend who is free from the biggest evil of the age. Let everyone who can, come in after supper."

Some thirty men, women and children sat down to that meal in the great living room, with its immense fireplace, in which a four-foot oak log blazed, for it was now early winter. They were waited on by tall, handsome daughters and granddaughters of the family.

The old man spoke with simple pride to the school teacher: "All these are of my own household; we have never had a hired servant in house or on farm."

An hour or so later everybody in the valley who was related to the patriarch came in; the great room was full of pleasant-spoken men and women, youths and maidens. It made the school teacher think of the gatherings in the House of the Face, in William Morris's story of "The Roots of the Mountains." Such good cheer, such friendly old-fashioned greetings, even his happy life of many fellowships had seldom known. He was treated as if he were indeed a long-absent, much-loved son of the tribe, returned from many wanderings. It surprised him to find that he was telling the elders about his own father and mother and was talking

to these tall mountain girls about his own sisters in a far-off valley by the ocean.

"Stay with us," young people and elders said to him that evening. "Stay and teach our little school; we will be good to you. Help to get up our celebrations; go bear-hunting with our young men, and ride some of our wild horses. Be one of us for keeps."

At last they departed and left him with the old man alone by the fire. Then the patriarch put his hand on the school teacher's knee, and began to tell him the story of his life, leading gradually up to its crisis:

"And so," he said, "I read that old brown paper-covered book which told how the wicked Masons murdered Morgan at midnight and shoved his body through a hole in the ice. And I thought about it until I saw that all secret societies are evil, and that Masonry in particular is Anti-Christ. Therefore I have stood for that doctrine these sixty years, and most of my people have stood by the faith. But secret societies grow, and unless destroyed they will some day subvert the American Republic."

The young school teacher was too wise to attempt an argument with this old pioneer. All he said was: "Mr. Newson, the Republic of Washington and Lincoln, and of every plain, honest man and woman in this land, seems to me able to conquer every social, political and religious difficulty. If secret societies injure the nation, they must finally cease to exist. If I were you I would not try to pledge those splendid young people of yours against anything."

"And what would you do?"

"It is a hard saying, but I would only educate them to become broadly intelligent and high-minded men and women and I would leave everything else to their own future decisions.

The old man clenched his hands. "I would rather see a son of mine in his coffin than to have him join the Masons. It's enough to condemn the order that they claim George Washington as a member—as the Master of a lodge!"

He pulled himself slowly together. "I can't really expect anyone else to see these things as I do. But I hope that you will yet bear witness openly and completely against all secret societies. We like you here; we hope you will come back and stay with us."

"And I like all of you," said the school teacher, "especially do I respect *you*, though I cannot at present accept your doctrine."

The next day as he rode about the valley, and for weeks after, the school teacher thought with surprise of the old brown Anti-Mason pamphlet (which he had also seen), and of its influence upon a sturdy honorable life.

"Every good man," he said to himself, "seems to hook on to some reform, and whether it is reasonable or not, it none the less gives him force. That

forgotten old pamphlet certainly made a magnificent fighter out of the patriarch of the Newson tribe. It does seem waste. But some of his great grandchildren may get into the really big and inter-related social reforms of the future, then they will be lighting the fires of their devotion to those ideas with living coals from that stubborn pioneer's altar."

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.

BOOKS

THE BOYS' BOOK OF CONSERVATION.

The Land We Live In. By Overton W. Price. Published by Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. Price; \$1.50 net, postage 30 cents.

Gifford Pinchot speaks in his "Foreword" of the eminent fitness of Mr. Price to be the author of such a book as "The Land We Live In." Besides possessing a long and "intimate knowledge of the whole country through his Forestry service," and a "scientific accuracy which is the guarantee for the accuracy of the book," he is Vice-President of the National Conservation Association.

One's enthusiasm over this book is hard to compress to the point of greatest persuasive power. For from the beautiful frontispiece through the 150 photographs illustrating 230 pages of fascinating descriptive narrative, on to the "Inventory of Natural Resources" and the index, the reader is only interrupted by the thought of all the boys and girls and men and women to whom he wishes he could give the book, and all the school libraries which should have it on their shelves. The chapters on Forests and their care and use, on Farms and the possibilities of irrigation, on Mines and the mineral supply, on Wild Life, on Rivers and water power, all together compose one wide-horizoned, inspiring view of our great country in its noble beauty and glorious wealth—a vivid picture calculated to rouse its future owners' love, and their pride in keeping it from theft and waste.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.



GLIMPSES AT LIFE.

The Great Problem. By Ivan Howland Benedict, M. A. Published by Sherman, French & Company, Boston, 1911. Price \$1, net.

Each of the twelve essays is a little side light on life. Mr. Benedict recognizes that the right solution of the land question will go far to democratize our institutions, but he insists on the great need of individual development. Speaking of the part the Church will play in the progressive move-

ment, he quotes the satirist who said the work of the Church in the future would be very similar to that of the Church in the feudal age—to keep the proletariat quiet under the yoke of the Oil-lords, the Coal-kings, the Land-lords, and the Steel-kings, being itself well cared for by the moneyed aristocracy of Privilege.

STANLEY BOWMAR

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Moving the Mountain. By Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Published by the Charlton Co., 67 Wall St., New York. 1911. Price, \$1.00 net, postage 10 cents.

—Attitude of American Courts in Labor Cases. By George Gorham Groat. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Whole Number 108. Published by Columbia University. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1911. Price, \$2.50.

PAMPHLETS

Propaganda Postals in Spain.

The Singletax League of Spain (Mendez Nunez, 21, Ronda, Spain) publishes a series of Henry George postal cards. Each has upon it a picture of Henry George, with a brief quotation from his writings, or a statement about his doctrine. "The fulfilment of Henry George's message," says one, "will be the grandest advance of our times and will cure a greater number of evils than any other reform in the history of the world." "George's doctrine," another quotes from Tolstoy, "convinces irresistibly by its clearness and simplicity."

Pamphlets Received.

Among the pamphlets recently received are the following:

Henry George and Private Property. By John A. Ryan. Published by The Columbus Press, 120 W. 60th St., New York. 1910.

A Program of Social Reform by Legislation. By John A. Ryan. Published by The Columbus Press, 120 W. 60th St., New York. 1911.

Ten Points of Objection to Women Suffrage, by A. B. Smith (Topeka, Kan. Price, 10 cents) is a pamphlet solemn of purpose but comic in effect.

Financial Statement of the Treasurer of South Australia. By Crawford Vaughan. Made September 21, 1911. Printed by R. E. E. Rogers, Government Printer, North Terrace, Adelaide, South Australia.

Russian Cereal Crops, Area and Production, by Governments and Provinces. By Edward T. Peters. United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Statistics, Bulletin 84. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1911.

Report of the Education Department of New Zealand for the Year 1910. By George Fowlds, Minister of Education. Part 1, General Report; Part 2, Primary Education; Part 6, Secondary Education; Part 7, Higher Education; Part 8, Annual Examinations; Part 9, Teachers' Superannuation Fund; Part 10, Subsidies to Public Libraries; Part 11, Junior Cadets. Published, by Authority, by John Mackay, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand. 1911.

PERIODICALS

The Pacific Monthly.

It is with sincere regret that we note the suspension of The Pacific Monthly, of Portland, Oregon. Not only was it an ably edited magazine, but it was also edited worthily. Both qualities are not always united in the same periodical, but they were in The Pacific. Whether its mergence in The Sunset means submergence and death, or resurrection with greater patronage and power, is one of the secrets of the future; but The Pacific sang true to the democratic keynote, and that is difficult magazine music for readers accustomed to having the cost of their reading paid for by others than themselves.



Harper's Magazine.

The January Harper has the first installment of what the author, Mr. H. G. Wells, calls "essentially an exercise in restatement." The subject is Socialism, and the paper is well worth reading, especially by all who, in Mr. Wells's words, "look for new ways of living and new methods of human association with a certain adventurous hopefulness." Mr. Wells writes here with much clearness and frankness. Speaking of the Socialist idea he says: "Never at any time has it succeeded in separating out a statement of itself that was at once simple, concrete, and acceptable to any large proportion of those who call themselves Socialists." No one who reads this first paper will be willing to miss the second and concluding one which is to appear in the February number of the magazine.

J. H. D.



The Survey.

Very largely The Survey (New York) for December 30, 1911, is given over to the significance of the McNamara case. The address to President Taft which is reported in our News Narrative occupies two of its pages; illuminating editorial comment upon it, with similar comment on kindred facts, six more; and to this valuable material for reflection, there is added a symposium of sixteen pages on "Larger Bearings of the McNamara Case." Among the participants in this symposium are Congressman Berger, Anita McCormick Blaine, Louis D. Brandeis, Edward A. Filene, Prof. Hoxie of Chicago University, Florence Kelley, Mary E. McDowell, Rev. J. Howard Melish, Prof. Ross, Profs. Seager and Seligman of Columbia University, Rev. Charles Stelzle, Bouck White, Brand Whitlock, John H. Wigmore and Robert A. Woods. Persons whose flip judgments of the McNamara case may be attributed to newspaperitis will find remedial thoughts in this symposium.



The Consistency of Jesus.

We have advised the reading of Lincoln Steffens' Christian philosophy as indicated in his thrilling spiritual article in the December Everybody's. We ad-



"You Are Going on a Long, Long Journey."

J. W. Donahay in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of December 31, 1911. Reproduced in The Public by courteous permission of the Editor of the Plain Dealer.

wise it again, and with special reference to his part in the McNamara case since writing it; it will enable you to understand him better in that part. We advise it for still another purpose—preparation for the magnificent reply of Hugh Black, the Scotch preacher and professor at Union Theological Seminary. What Mr. Steffens lacks, Mr. Black gives; where Mr. Steffens "sees men as trees walking," Mr. Black sees them with clear vision. If paganistic Christians would bathe their souls to fullest warmth in the Steffens article of Everybody's December number, and then cool off calmly in Black's of the January number, Christianity would be more prophetic of the state of society they both want and all of us should pray for—pray for in the spirit of that definition of prayer which takes it out of the category of paganistic beggary and puts it into the category of Christian work.



Anna Maria Wilhelmina Pickering, in her "Memoirs," edited by her son, tells a Yorkshire incident which contains a great deal of human nature. Variety spices life; the plain is monotonous, until

its extent entitles it to the name of prairie or desert, and it gains interest through vastness.

There was an old couple in the village whom I used often to go to see. One day, when I found

NOTICE OF MEETINGS

A small advertisement in The Public is the most inexpensive and effective way of reaching the members of Single Tax Clubs and of democratic organizations generally. Notices of meetings for insertion can be received up to noon on Monday preceding day of issue (Friday).

THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago.

"They learn while they laugh."

J. W. BENGOUGH The Unique Platform Cartoonist and Humorous entertainer available for "Chalk Talks" on the Single Tax in Southern California. Jan., Feb., Mar., 1912. Address Care 1st Nat'l Bank, Los Angeles, Cal.

PAUL M. CLEMENS

Architect

Winnipeg, Man.

them sitting, one on each side of the fire, the old man said to me:

"Well, t'missis and me, we've been married nigh on fifty years, and we've never had one quarrel."

The old woman looked at me with a twinkle in her eye and said:

"It war verie conscientious, but varie dool."—Youth's Companion.



"Now, I'll tell you what I'd do with that boy if

I were in your place. I'd make him start tomorrow to _____"

"You haven't any boys of your own, have you?"

"No."

"But you have about \$1,000,000?"

"Well, something like that."

"Now, I'll tell you what I'd do with that million if I were in your place. I'd start out tomorrow to _____"

"Oh, pshaw, what's the use talking to a man who won't listen to reason!"—Chicago Record-Herald.

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Election of Officers—Polls open from 1 to 4 p. m.

Speaking begins at 4 o'clock.

Mrs. Frances Squire Potter on "Moses, a Leader in Democracy."
Songs by Miss McKenzie Byrne of New York, accompanied by
Miss Emma Siegmund.

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Emma Steghagen, Sec'y

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Mrs. Raymond Robins, Pres.

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YOU—at all events a great number of our readers—are constantly being asked for information on subjects dealt with in The Public. Our correspondence proves this. Every twenty-four hour day some reader writes for numbers containing articles that hit him hard sometime way back. Maybe a student has buttonholed him for debating points on Direct Legislation, or the Judiciary Recall, or Municipal Ownership. Or some editor or public man has asked for certain statistics.

THE PUBLIC'S editorials and special articles are wanted continually. That's why such infinite care is taken with the index. You can usually get back numbers from the office but think of the trouble of writing, the delay, and the danger of 90% of your enthusiasm leaking away before you have the lost number!

Why not file each copy as it comes in? Why not have the satisfaction of "turning it up" when you want the information? A Special Filing Binder costs only 75c.

It's the best ever, and when you get the filing habit you will want your year's file bound, or to send for a bound volume. Which reminds us to say that Volume XIV—a history of 1911—will be ready early next month. It's handsomely bound in half leather. Price, \$2.25. Shall we hold one for you?

THE PUBLIC Ellsworth Building CHICAGO

Yes, some people there are,
Here and there, even yet,
Who are prone to pronounce
His name thus: La Follette.

You safely may wager,
Though, all in your wallet,
That up in Wisconsin
They call him La Follette.

—Chicago Tribune.

CANADA DIVIDES UP HER WEALTH

The Great Northwest Shows Golden Favors Alike to Rich and Poor.

Although under the rule of a monarchy, Canada is in effect one of the most democratic countries under the sun. Merit counts. Work brings its just reward, and those with either little or much capital can invest in real estate with the safe assurance that they will get full benefit of the big rise in values which is sure to come.

And where in the world are such opportunities to make money as in lots in the railroad towns of Canada? For example, the money made in Calgary, Alta., real estate sounds like a tale of magic. It is common knowledge that Calgary lots which started at \$200 went up to \$1,000 almost at the moment that the new railroad came in, and now many of them are worth all the way from \$10,000 to \$30,000. Investors in Edmonton, Prince Rupert and Ft. George will tell you the same kind of an experience.

It is the railroad which is the wonder-worker in Canada. The Canadian Pacific brought a boom to the tune of tens of millions of dollars, and now the greater new Grand Trunk Pacific is opening up a territory richer by far in prospects.

Directly on the main line of the registered right of way of this new road is the town site of Ft. Fraser, which has been an important trading post for more than a century and is now to reap the golden harvest which the railroad will bring to it. Those who know predict a repetition of the boom in Calgary and the demand for Ft. Fraser lots is growing lively.

Choice lots in Ft. Fraser, if taken now, may be bought for \$150 to \$200 and up, on the easy terms of 10 per cent down and 5 per cent per month. No interest or taxes until fully paid. The British Columbia government itself guarantees the titles. A small saving will take care of the payments.

Write to Spence, Jordan & Co., Dept. G, 312 Marquette Bldg., Chicago, for official plat and accurate information about Ft. Fraser. They will tell you how to get quick action on this money-making opportunity.

Human Interest Books

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A Great Iniquity

By Leo Tolstoy. The famous letter to the London Times on the iniquity of private property in land. In red paper, with notable illustrations, postpaid. 10

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By Joseph Fels. Our old wise printer friend, Benjamin Franklin, on the land question. In buff paper, with portrait of Franklin, postpaid. 05

Thomas Jefferson

By Sterling E. Edmunds. What Jefferson's pen did and attempted in vain to do, in the formation of our Constitution. In grey paper postpaid..... 05

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By Edward Homer Bailey. A gay little story, well told. White paper leaflet, postpaid..... 05

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THE PUBLIC

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