

The Public

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EDITORIAL

Advisory Recall for Federal Judges.

When President Taft compelled the people of the Territory of Arizona to strike the judicial Recall out of their proposed Constitution as a condition to their admission to Statehood, he set them a-thinking further. The result is that the Arizona legislature has not only placed before the people of their State a proposal to re-insert the judicial Recall for State judges but has enacted an Advisory Recall for Federal judges. The latter is unique. Yet the people of other States may find it worth adopting as a check upon the Presidential creation of judicial gymnasts like Judge Hanford.



The Arizona bill provides that—
a popular petition of 15 per cent shall require the submission to popular vote of the question of requesting the resignation of a District Judge of the United States for the District of Arizona, the petition to set forth the reasons in not more than 200 words; that on the same ballot, but separate from the question, there shall be placed the names of as many candidates for successor to such judge as shall have been proposed by 5 per cent petitions; that if the Recall of the sitting judge is favored by a majority vote, the result shall be officially transmitted to the President and the Senate of the United States, along with the name of the candidate receiving a majority of the votes as that of the person recommended in case the office becomes vacant by resignation or otherwise.

The same law provides that—
in case of vacancy on the United States District

Court bench for Arizona, otherwise than in consequence of the Advisory Recall, a direct primary election may be held for the purpose of recommending a successor by popular vote; that for this primary, nominations may be made by 5 per cent petitions; that candidates may file statements prior to the primary to the effect that if appointed they (1) will resign whenever so requested by the people under the Advisory Recall, or (2) will not resign if so requested, such statement to be officially published and to appear upon the ballots under the names of the candidates respectively; and that the voting shall be by a preferential system insuring majority nominations.



This unique measure appears to derive its popularity in Arizona immediately from the fact that President Taft, in the interest of the Interests, has nominated ex-Governor Sloan for United States District Judge. Should Mr. Sloan be confirmed by the Senate at the present Congressional session, an Advisory Recall will be a feature at the November election; should he not be confirmed, a recommendatory primary will be substituted with reference to the vacancy; should he get a recess appointment, his name will go on the primary ballot with those of other candidates. So a practical use of this Arizona novelty for throttling the Interests that swarm about the Presidential chair when "good" judges are wanted, is pretty certain to be tried practically, one way or another, in a few months. Advices from Arizona are to the effect that if Mr. Sloan is confirmed, the popular request for his Recall (strictly for his resignation) will be carried by 10 to 1, and that if he has a recess appointment he will be at the bottom of the primary poll. The questions thus sought to be raised may be directed at a sitting judge: "Will you continue to judge the people after they vote that they have no confidence in you?" or at the President of the United States: "Will you ignore the wishes of the people of a whole State by appointing over them a judge in whom they declare that they have no confidence?"



The Judiciary.

In the June number of that excellent publication, the Illinois Law Review, Albert M. Kales makes a convincing argument for a reformed judicial system. In most respects his suggestions are manifestly good ones. The whole plan would be good, in its general features at any rate, if it were not that one of these might fasten a judicial oligarchy upon the State or the nation adopting it. Escape from the despotism of absolute monarchy would in contrast be child's play. Concentration

of authority is good when coupled with powers of popular Recall or other popular control; without those powers it is reactionary. This reactionary mistake is one that advocates of "the short ballot" often make. The people are not disposed, and they are right in this, to substitute appointments for election, if thereby they may lose control. In the readiness with which the "short ballot" idea is accepted in municipal charters providing for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and the infrequency with which those powers are invoked, there should be instruction to "short ballot" advocates and to all other protagonists of concentration of official responsibility.



"Kissing the Bible."

Ridicule of the Canadian courts for rejecting the testimony of a witness who refused to "kiss the Bible" but offered to testify on his word of honor, may be misplaced. Paganistic as are "kiss the Bible" formalities in courts of justice, and out of date though it is to depend upon superstitions of witnesses as guarantees of their veracity, the Canadian courts may be in the right with reference to modern theories. If we no longer depend upon superstitious fears to prevent false witness, we do depend upon fears of temporal punishment for perjury. But in order to punish perjury there must be some formality to distinguish perjury (which is lying as a witness in legal proceedings) from lying of the "common garden variety." The mere fact that the liar is on a witness stand ought to be formality enough, of course; but under existing laws, those of Canada for instance, that may not be enough. If witnesses are still required to "kiss the Bible," and if this is the only formality to lay the basis for temporal punishment for perjury, then there is nothing ridiculous in a judge's refusing to allow a witness to testify without "kissing the Bible." Under those circumstances, to accept a witness on his word of honor would be to license him to lie at will and yet escape conviction for perjury. Judges have sins enough of their own to bear without being saddled with those of legislators.



Impeaching Judge Hanford.

What the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives will do with Congressman Berger's charges against Judge Hanford of Seattle we shall know after a while. It may whitewash that judge at the start, or it may impeach him, which, tested by past cases, would mean sending his case up to the Senate for a whitewash. Mean-

while Judge Hanford's defense is being newspaperized industriously, his reported explanation of his cancellation of a Socialist's citizenship papers being as follows:

The naturalization law confers upon the court power to cancel citizenship papers when obtained by perjury or fraud.

The merits of that defense depend upon the application thereof. What was the perjury, what the fraud, for which Hanford cancelled that Socialist's citizenship papers? The Socialist had sworn that he would support and defend the Constitution of the United States; but, being a Socialist, he intended to use his citizenship papers for the purpose of so voting as to bring about amendments to the Constitution with reference to government and property. It was for "concealing" or failing to avow this perfectly lawful intention, that the Socialist was held by Judge Hanford to have committed perjury and fraud and consequently to have forfeited his citizenship! If such a judge is immune from impeachment, the judicial Recall might be regarded as an excessively mild method of guarding against the dangers of judicial usurpation.



"Cutting a Watermelon."

Just what watermelon is ripening in connection with a certain official deal with the Illinois Central Railroad regarding Lake-shore real estate at Chicago, nobody seems very definitely to know. That there is a watermelon, a huge and luscious one, seems evident enough; also that highly respectable citizens are intending to cut it in an irreproachably respectable fashion. Indications are not lacking, either, that other respectable citizens have been overlooked in the invitations. But what the watermelon is and how its refreshing slices have been assigned is as yet something which "no fellow can find out." Light is not thrown upon this mystery by the personnel on either side; for citizens of genuine public spirit are fighting one another, and so are citizens who have never been known to be public-spirited except for private ends. Of course the appeal on both sides is "the public good," which may be ambiguous. Time, that great revealer of mysteries, may yet explain this mystery; but the revelation may not come until after the sacred rite known as "cutting a watermelon" is complete.



Financial Concentration.

Five men control the New York Clearing House, and the New York Clearing House con-

trols the financial interests of this country. That was the purport of testimony given by William Sherer, manager of the New York Clearing House, in his testimony before the Pujos Congressional committee last week. Mr. Sherer did not look upon the situation with much concern. But is it a small matter that the intricate mechanism of the exchanges of nearly 100,000,000 people are subject to the control of 5, and they with no wider responsibility than that of the executive committee of a local and private social club? The remedy for this dangerous lodgment of power is at the moment another question, but what of the power itself? Shall it continue as, and what, and where it is? Shall it be made more menacing than ever by the Aldrich scheme, which is set to spring out of its box and through Congress next winter? Or is there a way of getting rid of financial leeches and adjusting exchanges in the common interest? Now that Junior Wall Street is fighting Senior Wall Street, a thorough-going investigation by the Congressional committee should secure revelations resulting in general benefit.



Woman Suffrage in Ohio.

The number of the Woman's Suffrage clause on the Ohio ballot for the special election set for the 3rd of next September, would have been portentous ten years ago. It is "23." But the "twenty-three" superstition has passed away; and even if it had not, perhaps the portent might as well be dreaded by the "antis" as by the "pros." Ill omens in conflicts do come true—to one side or the other. At any rate "23" is the number of the Woman's Suffrage amendment to the Ohio Constitution which the Constitutional Convention has submitted to the people of Ohio for their decision at the polls on September 3rd. Whoever puts his cross opposite "Yes" at "23" of the long ballot on that day in Ohio will vote for woman suffrage, no matter what other numbers he votes for or against; and if the number of affirmative votes at "23" shall exceed the number of negative votes at the same number, the Woman Suffrage amendment will have been adopted, no matter what happens to the amendments identified on the same ballot by other numbers.



The proposed amendment is in these words:

Article V. Sec. 1.—Every citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of the State one year next preceding the election, and of the county, township or ward in which he or she resides such time as may be

provided by law, shall have the qualifications of an elector and be entitled to vote at all elections.

If "23" on the September 3rd ballot receives more "Yes" than "No" votes, that clause will, from the 1st day of January, 1913, but not before, take the place of the corresponding clause in the present Constitution. Ohio men who vote against this amendment may be perfect husbands and fathers, but they will thereby prove themselves defective democrats; Ohio women who to escape the responsibilities of their citizenship urge Ohio men to vote against it, should be regarded as poor citizens though they be the best of wives and mothers.



The Boston Strike.

As with every other local labor disturbance in the United States, it is impossible to obtain trustworthy information of the merits of the traction strike in Boston. The Boston strikers are said to have been unusually well treated by the traction interests, and this is very likely true as employers usually understand good treatment of employes. Whether it be a result of that treatment or of the Boston atmosphere, the men are accounted the most courteous and considerate to be found anywhere, in their behavior toward passengers. Of the service, it is reputed to be efficient except in the rush hours, when there are not as many cars as there ought to be and could be were the management as considerate as their striking employes have been of the rights and comfort of passengers. This inefficiency, however, goes without rebuke, because the monopoly interests in control manage to avoid too severe an inspection by the Railroad Commission and know how to keep the local newspapers quiet. It is their skill with the newspapers that also makes the merits of the strike a mystery. Whether the strike is justified or not nobody except the combatants knows, for it is impossible to reconcile opposing partisan statements, and the local newspapers haven't the enterprise and honesty to make an exhaustive investigation and then report the truth. Between their fears of injuring circulation by offending organized labor, and their servile timidity (or worse) with reference to monopolistic interests, the Boston newspapers are running a neck-and-neck race in bad journalism with the newspapers at every other local field of action in the class war.



Lives of delegates remind us
That we cannot be sublime
If we let instructions bind us
To vote one way all the time.

—Chicago Record-Herald, June 11.

POLITICAL ACTION OR VIOLENCE?

At the Indianapolis convention of the Socialist party in May* an unemphasized and not very generally understood decision of the convention was its adoption by a vote of 191 to 90, of the following proposed amendment to the party's constitution:

Section 6. Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates sabotage or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from membership of the party. Political action shall be construed to mean participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist party platform.

The adoption of this amendment by the Socialist convention does not complete its adoption by the Socialist party. A favorable referendum vote of the entire membership of the party throughout the United States is necessary for that; and it is at this referendum that the intra-party bitterness which oozes out through Socialist organs and leaders, and is but barely indicated to outsiders by the proposed amendment, may force a line-up of irreconcilable factions.

The vote at the convention is on all sides regarded as having failed to indicate the party sentiment. By one side the adverse vote of 90, nearly a third of the whole, is said to have been swelled by delegates who, while out of sympathy with the movement assailed, were for various reasons opposed to giving it official party attention. By the other side it is intimated that recent accessions of party membership are largely of persons sympathetic with the movement which that amendment is intended to ostracise. There is reason to believe, too, that Socialist party growth from the same sources may shift control of the Socialist party to advocates of lawless policies and force a split upon the party.

Whatever the outcome may be, the controversy is of interest, very serious interest, outside as well as inside the Socialist party in which it is raging with extreme intensity of feeling.



To understand the bearing of the amendment on which that controversy now hinges, the notion that Socialism is a proposal to abolish competition by governmentalizing social industries upon a basis of common ownership, and only this, must be discarded.

That Socialists make such proposals is true, but it is usually as policies of a labor nation yet to be established, not as reforms of existing political systems. That they advocate advances in those

*See The Public, current volume, pages 484, 487, 515.

directions under existing systems is also true, but only as opportunists. It is furthermore true that at present the opportunist factions are uppermost in most and probably in all the strong Socialist party organizations, and consequently that Socialist platforms declare for particular and immediate reforms; but this is in the face of constant efforts by professed Socialists both within and without party organizations to bring about the abandonment of opportunistic policies as hostile to Socialism.

Notwithstanding all those circumstances it is nevertheless the fact that Socialism is not apprehended by those of us who regard its doctrinaire programs as expressing its present dominant purpose. Its distinctive characteristic at the present time is its assumption of leadership on the Labor side in a world-wide conflict between two classes—employers, called “the capitalist class,” and employes, called “the wage-working class.”



The fact of the existence of those two classes cannot be gainsaid. With intense specialization of industry on a large scale and in an old-fashioned legal environment, there has been a rapid tendency toward industrial classifications into employers and employed. There is also a tendency, growing constantly stronger, toward the increase in numbers of the employed class with decrease in its wealth per capita, and the decrease in numbers of the employer class with increase in its wealth per capita. In other words, under present industrial adjustments, we are tending toward complete division into the two great social classes which Socialists regard as having hostile economic interests and as being therefore at war with each other.

This hostility of interests and the consequent warfare, are facts as impossible to controvert as the fact of the two classes—employers and employed. It is absurd to argue that under existing legal institutions the economic interests of the man who bargains to get wages are identical with those of the man, or the corporation, that bargains to pay wages. There is no such community of interest. While it is true that those interests would be identical in the general round-up, upon an equal basis for bargaining, since the bargainers would then be free co-operators in industry, this can not be true when failure to agree upon wage-terms means only inconvenience to one side (oftentimes not even that) and hunger and cold to the other. Given this disparity of independence in bargaining, and the interests of employer and employed are in no conceivable sense identical. As to the

consequent warfare, isn't the fact obtrusive all the time and all over?

Now it is this class war, this indisputable conflict between “capitalists” as a class and “wage workers” as a class, with which present day Socialism has chiefly to do.



Present day Socialism as a political movement had its beginnings in the old “International.” There was an irrepressible conflict in that body between the progressive and the revolutionary types in this war for the “labor” class against the “capitalist” class; and from the wreck of the “International” the progressives emerged as a Socialist party, with Marx as their name to conjure with. The revolutionists, left in the lurch, were afterwards little heard of except through individual voices crying out as in a wilderness, or in the occasional explosion of a deadly bomb followed by spectacles which the newspapers were wont to describe gleeefully as “the execution of a red.”

The Socialists also were revolutionary. They might resent being called “progressives.” But they proposed effecting the revolution by due process of law, by regular parliamentary procedure, by political agitation and activities, by the ballot instead of unlawful force. Their object is thereby to revolutionize the present “capitalistic” nations by turning them into a world-wide “labor” nation or federation of “labor” nations, governed by all the people (none of whom would then be idlers) as an industrial as well as a political democracy.

During the half century or less since the wreck of the “International,” Socialist parties in politics, clinging to the parliamentary policy, have taken political root in all parliamentary countries. In Europe they have distinct party representation in many parliaments, considerable in some, and in at least one, Germany, their popular vote is so large that if the apportionment were fair they would probably control the Reichstag. In the United States the original party organization, the Socialist Labor party, is now hardly more than a remnant; but an offshoot, the Socialist party, whose latest convention was at Indianapolis and of which we are now especially writing, has steadily and largely gained in voting power. Its Presidential vote in 1908 was 412,330—nearly 3 per cent of the total vote cast—and in several towns and cities it has elected mayors and councilmen, notable among its mayors being ex-Mayor Emil Seidel of Milwaukee, Mayor J. Stitt Wilson of Berkeley (California), Mayor Duncan of Butte (Montana) and Mayor Lunn of Schenectady, N. Y. There is now,

however, a pronounced revival of the old controversy in the "International" out of which Socialist parties emerged, the question of how to wage the class war being as critical and burning a one within Socialist party organizations as ever the similar question was in the "International."



Not by exactly the same methods as then is revolutionary warfare now contemplated, nor by the same persons. Half a century works changes of methods and of men in all connections. But the same spirit has revived, and it is the spirit of violence. While "direct action," the modern phrase, does not necessarily mean violent action, neither did "revolution" necessarily mean violence in the terminology of the anarchistic element of the old "International." But as "revolution" in the vocabulary of that earlier controversy contemplated violence when and where necessary for the purpose then, so does "direct action" in the present revival of that old controversy contemplate violence when and where necessary for the purpose now. The controversy in that respect is not so simple as the use of "direct action" and "violent action" interchangeably would imply.

The "direct action" policy is complicated with labor union policies that are best known abroad as "syndicalism," a familiar term in the United States being "industrial unionism."

"Syndicalism" means no more in itself than federation, and is a logical industrial development. Employers who criticize jurisdictional disputes among labor unions ought to appreciate and welcome it; for it would bring all crafts of each general industry under one jurisdiction. For example a quarrel between one branch of the carpenters' craft and another would not obstruct house-building, for all building crafts would be in the same general labor union regardless of craft specializations. This aspect of "syndicalism," or "industrial unionism," or whatever the name for the differentiation of labor unions into more general relationships industrially may be, is open to no just censure. Since labor organization is, under existing circumstances, a necessary mode of defense in a war of employers against employes, organizations along broad industrial as distinguished from narrow craft lines must have a strong tendency to lessen friction and promote better understandings between the combatants.



Yet it may be easily seen that the broader form of organization—this "syndicalism" or "industrial

unionism"—must contribute greatly to the development of that "class-consciousness" among the wage working class to which both "political action" and "direct action" Socialists look forward as the condition precedent to their victory in the class war. To "political action" Socialists, it appears that when the wage-working class achieves its own solidarity through a vital class-consciousness, such as the "capitalist class" already has, it will vote as a unit for its own men and policies and against the men and the policies of the enemy class. To "direct action" Socialists, this "class-consciousness" of the wage-working class is expected to dictate not only their class use of their voting strength as a whole, but also, as occasion may occur, their class use of any other kinds of strength which individually or collectively they may possess. It is these possibilities of "syndicalism" or "industrial unionism" that generate a variety of more or less divergent policies among Socialists. There are in this country three general factions, representing as many policies. First are the political Socialists who as yet dominate the Socialist party. They are for political action only, leaving trade unions to their own devices outside of politics, but looking to trade union membership as recruiting ground for Socialist party members and Socialist voters. Then there are the Socialists of one of the national bodies known as "the I. W. W." (Industrial Workers of the World), the "Detroit" body, which is for political action and also for "direct action." Third, there are those of the "Chicago" body of "the I. W. W." which, regarding political action as futile and calculated to militate against the interests of the "wage-working class" in its war upon the "capitalist class," by generating political ambitions and conservative policies, is for "direct action" exclusively. All those elements are in the Socialist party, and recently the "direct actionists" have been urged by "direct action" leaders to divest themselves of prejudice against political action and to join the party in order to control its policies.

Such is the situation that accounts for the submission of the amendment to the Socialist party constitution quoted above. If adopted it would exclude from party membership all who oppose political action or advocate violent methods of "direct action." Its adoption by the convention was a convention victory for Socialists who stand for political action exclusively, although a sinister significance was apparent in the fact that 90 delegates voted against it. Its adoption on referendum would be another, and possibly a permanent, intra-party victory for the political action

wing of the Socialist party. Should it be defeated on referendum there would seem to be little possibility thereafter of confidently regarding the Socialist party as representing a peaceable political movement. Defeat of the proposed amendment would be in the nature of a declaration of class war by methods which cannot and would not long be tolerated by the great body of the people of this country of whatever class.



Needless for us to say that our sympathies are with the political Socialists in this controversy.

That there is an unjust and growing division of our people into "capitalist" and wage-working" classes, tending to a centralization of wealth and power in the narrowing few and to economic dependence and poverty among the widening many, seems to us obvious. Not many are there any longer who deny it. That there is already a class war under way seems to us to be proved by an overwhelming mass of facts. That the warfare is becoming more bitter and is tending to greater lawlessness on both sides is also evident. That it can be won by the wage-working class as a class, either by political action or "direct action," we do not believe. That it can be won by non-class political action looking to the reversal of the unjust laws of property that cause the differentiation into those two classes, we do believe—but that is another story.

The special point we would make just now is that while the wage-working class can have no reasonable hope of winning this war as a class either by political action or by "direct action" (and that either in politics or out of it their effective fighting power for their own class will diminish as their numerical strength increases), yet that the Socialist party as a political movement has a rightful place in the forum of American citizenship, but that physical force "direct actionists" have not.

We do not mean that the protection of the law should be withdrawn from those who defy the law. On the contrary, for the common good the law ought to protect enemies of the law equally with everybody else. Though any were to scout all distinctions of right and wrong and all allegiance to law, nevertheless, in the interest of right and of the common good, their rights too ought to be scrupulously conserved. But we do mean that the law will wholly disappear and a reign of terror take its place, in which not the "capitalist" class but the wage-working class will be the pathetic victims, if violent forms of "direct action" are resorted to in this war of classes.

For "direct actionists" to proclaim, as they frequently do, that they are not advocates of violence doctrines is useless. They are in fact prompting and pursuing a policy of violence such as that which the proposed Socialist amendment indicates. This policy is not confined to Socialist organizations. There are reasons for believing that it connects with labor agitators who, some of them Socialists and some not, adopt destructive methods of waging the "working class war." Whether "direct actionists" advocate violence doctrinally or not, they are looking to violence and depending upon it as a policy of class warfare. Should they be brought to book lawfully for crime, the plea that they are not violence doctrinaires would be no defense. Should they be run down lawlessly by "vigilante" mobs, it won't make any practical difference whether they have argued for violence or only welcomed and promoted it.

It is not for lack of sympathy with the impulses of the "direct actionists" that we say this. The injustice that prevails, through which great masses of industrious human beings suffer, so that favored ones may luxuriate in idleness or worse, makes any one's blood boil if he has red blood in him. If a period of violence could, sooner or better than the ballot, remedy these conditions, then for those who advocate violence or would welcome it there might be much to say, even though it meant a reign of terror. Bloody international and civil wars are excused for less reason. But violence won't remedy those conditions. Violence can't remedy them. Violence can only make them worse and give them a longer lease.

The privileged classes could hardly adopt tactics for the class-war that would serve their own side better than the tactics of violent "direct action" which the Socialist party convention urges its party membership to exclude from the armory of its class-war weapons. "Direct action" of that kind, at this time and in this country, by or for the working class means reaction in favor of the privileged class.



JAMES E. MILLS.

In the earliest days of what is now known as the Singletax movement, about the time when Henry George first sprang into fame in Great Britain and was yet but barely known in his own country, "Progress and Poverty" caught the thought and the conscience of a busy man of science on the Pacific slope. Snowbound in the Grizzly Mountains, among the Sierras of Plumas county, northern California, he found his first

leisure for reading this book, of which some hard-headed business friend had spoken strongly. "The worst of it is," his friend had said, "that Henry George proves his theories and shows that they will work."

Our scientist thought so too, when he had finished reading the book; and being a conscientious man, he took advantage of his first visit to Boston to offer his resignation, if they cared to accept it, to one of the principal firms which employed him. Their interests in the monopoly of natural resources were great, and as it was his professional duty as their consulting geologist and engineer to pass upon mineral-land purchases for them, he thought they might object to his remaining in their service if they knew he held Henry George's views.

The firm was composed of Alexander Agassiz and Quincy A. Shaw, son and son-in-law respectively of Louis Agassiz, the world-renowned scientist—he who "could not afford to work for money."* "Why," laughed Mr. Shaw when their expert adviser made his confession, "my brother helped bring out the first editions of 'Progress and Poverty.'" With seriousness then he said: "I am convinced that we are not treating fairly the people who are doing the work of the world. They are not getting their fair share of the product of their labor. But I do not know how to remedy the wrong. I am caught in the net. I am like a cog in the wheel and have to go around with it. If I tried to help them I should probably do more harm than good. But my brother helped Mr. George bring out the first editions of 'Progress and Poverty.'"

That engineer and consulting geologist never knew Mr. Shaw's exact convictions on the subject, although from this time on their personal correspondence dealt largely with economics and Mr. Shaw's interest was as keen as his correspondent's; but in the conversation the geologist inferred a sympathy by Mr. Shaw with Henry George, more from the tone it may be than from the words. He made the guess that Mr. Shaw in giving credit to his brother for financially aiding in the publication of Henry George's book, was concealing the fact that he himself had with good feeling furnished the money.

The correctness of that inference was confirmed as time went on. For Mr. Shaw's brother was Francis G. Shaw, father of the Colonel Shaw

*Louis Agassiz was once offered \$600 for two lectures in New York and refused. "Mr. Agassiz," said this man, "six hundred dollars is a great deal of money!" Mr. Agassiz opened wide his big eyes and said: "But I can't afford to work for money."

whose death in battle at the head of a Negro regiment before Charleston in the Civil War is memorialized with a St. Gaudens bronze on Boston Common; and of that same Francis G. Shaw this is said in the "Life of Henry George" by his son, Henry George, Jr.: "One thousand copies of the best edition of 'Progress and Poverty' had been ordered by Francis G. Shaw, a man of means and advanced years living quietly on Staten Island," who furthermore wrote to Henry George that "he had received a pledge of \$3,000 for the circulation of 'Progress and Poverty' from a man richer than he was, who did not want to be known."*

Delighted with his employer's sympathetic spirit, as welcome as it was unexpected—delighted more with that, no doubt, than with the assurances as to his own continuous employment, for which, indeed, he as an expert of high rank and without financial ambitions felt no necessity—the working geologist whom "Progress and Poverty" had converted in those California mountains remained in his old relations with the firm until his death, some twenty years later. And in all that time he was one of the most disinterested and useful of the men anywhere in the world who responded to the clarion notes of Henry George's battle call.

It is a memory of this man, James E. Mills, that we wish to revive. He worked hard for his cause. He spent much for it from a professional income which, while large as earned incomes go, was laboriously acquired by daily work. And he spoke and wrote ably in its behalf on occasion. But, though assuming many responsibilities for this cause and shirking none, and though well known in California, he was hardly known at all in the Singletax movement at the East except to Henry George and his immediate coadjutors. Mr. Mills was modest as well as devoted and efficient.

Those who did know him, warmly appreciated his work, his liberal aid when and where money was needed (liberal out of all proportion to his means), his timely speech and his effective writing. Henry George's "Standard" had his sympathetic and substantial support; so had "The New Earth;" and if the history of The Public ever comes to be written, his name will be found in the long list of those who in its early days made its publication possible.

Another thing. Like Thomas G. Shearman, Tom L. Johnson and Joseph Fels, the money Mr.

*"The Life of Henry George," by Henry George, Jr., pages 353 and 381.

Mills happened to be able to give was the least of what he gave. He gave also himself.



James Ellison Mills.

James Ellison Mills was born in Bangor, Maine, February 13, 1834. His father was Dr. P. B. Mills, a noted physician whose rock-bound and rugged New England democracy, though by no means narrow, found broader expression in the son. A fearless thinker was Dr. Mills, reverent toward genuine ideals, but righteously and outspokenly indignant at mere conventional goodness. With this spirit strong in him, and with a manner of native refinement exquisitely sensitive, James E. Mills developed into the best type of Westerner. He was free without aggressiveness, strong without coarseness, tender without weakness. His balance in these respects enabled him to find manhood in others beneath unseemly externals, or lack of it within the mask of polished manners, as well as the genuine man under conventional culture. It made him sterling friends regardless of class or station.

In his boyhood, under his father's advice and

in order to strengthen a somewhat naturally delicate physique, Mr. Mills worked at intervals in a logging camp of his father's. But at eighteen he was a vigorous youth, robust in mind as well as body. He was even then a thorough democrat withal, plus a democratic vanity or two in the way of sartorial peculiarities, which cling through life to some but which he with his good common sense soon discarded as un-democratic.

At this time he appeared at Harvard University and was admitted to the Lawrence scientific school, where he acquired a vocation in which he came to excel. Louis Agassiz was chief of his instructors from the first, and six years later he became an assistant in that great scientist's laboratory. The young geologist was then and during the rest of Agassiz's life one of his most intimate and cherished personal friends.

There was an interval, however, in his scientific career, which he devoted to theological study and pulpit service. A Swedenborgian in religious faith before going to Harvard, he came there into intimate relations with the leaders in that faith of half a century ago—the Worcestersters and Reeds and Goddards; and from 1860 to 1865 he was pastor of the Swedenborgian Society of Brooklyn, N. Y. But his health in manhood demanded the outdoor life, as it had in youth, and upon leaving the pulpit he engaged actively in outdoor work as a consulting geologist. Among the mining capitalists for whom he did the largest amount of geological work were Louis Agassiz's son Alexander and his son-in-law, Quincy A. Shaw. For this firm and at the suggestion of the elder Agassiz, Mr. Mills made a geological survey of the Sierras in and about Plumas county, California, near the spot at which he afterwards became a convert to the doctrines of "Progress and Poverty." Louis Agassiz had described the region as likely to disclose the "most interesting geological formation in the world," and recommended Mr. Mills for the work.

Soon after reading the book that converted him, Mr. Mills met Henry George; and their friendship continued intimately until Henry George died at the climax of his campaign for Mayor of Greater New York. At the farewell banquet given to Mr. George by the Manhattan Singletax Club upon his departure for his trip around the world in 1890, Mr. Mills was among those who spoke, his toast being "The Prophet of San Francisco." Subsequently Mr. Mills wrote three pamphlets on Henry George's philosophy, which had come to represent to him the "new earth," or human form of that "new heaven" which had long been and always continued to be

his concept of spiritual substance. The basis of the articles was the spiritual and economic doctrine of service for service—that in normal conditions service, and service only, entitles any one to the service of others. One of them bore the title of "Privilege or Service?" It was published in the New Jerusalem Magazine (Boston), issue of February, 1893. One on "Sacrifice or Service" had appeared in that magazine for January, 1892. "Metanoia," the title of an earlier one, published in the same magazine for February, 1891, developed the thought that death is not a climax of life but that, with repentance in the true sense, we are eternally living but without it are eternally dying. Two other pamphlets by Mr. Mills were on the general subject of "Christian Economics," one being "The First Principles of Political Economy," from which we quote a substantial part in this issue of *The Public* in the department of Related Things. The other was "The Two Great Commandments in Economics." They were published originally in the San Francisco Star and The New Earth.

Mr. Mills died at San Fernando, State of Durango, Mexico, July 25, 1901.* His wife, Jane Dearborn Mills, having returned from Mexico to New England, still lives at Jamaica Plain, Mass.



An old-time San Francisco friend of Mr. Mills, Joseph Leggett, also a follower of Henry George, and one of Mayor Taylor's police commissioners in the city by the Golden Gate, writes of Mr. Mills that "he possessed in a very marked degree that high spiritual insight which enabled him to perceive clearly the advance of thought in the world." "Being a close scientific observer," Mr. Leggett continues, "and a marvelously clear thinker, his conclusions were singularly accurate and definite. He was intensely democratic in the highest and truest sense, but had little use for either the Democratic or the Republican party. He regarded Samuel Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Henry George as the four great American democrats, and it grieved him to note how the first of these men had been ignored by the people of his own State and of the country at large. 'Hasn't his part of the work of establishing real political freedom been strangely overlooked?' Mr. Mills asked me once in a letter, in which he went on to say: 'The real democrats have been strangely neglected or damned by faint praise. Lincoln stands above them all in real democracy of sympathy; but others will loom up

*See *The Public* of August 10, 1901, page 276, and of August 31, 1901, page 333.

still more democratic—indeed, George seems to me the best representative of democracy among living men. No man can have an adequate idea of God until he sees all other men equal before God.' This sense of democracy gave Mr. Mills a deep sympathetic interest in the Labor movement. In the same letter he wrote: 'The eight-hour movement seems to progress. The May-day labor movement in Europe was orderly, and all along the line the skirmishing goes on well. But the real battle will be fought on the line of the Singletax, and until that is won the fruits of the skirmishing will be a poor crop for the mowers.' I believe that Mr. Mills played a very important part in leavening the thought of our time with the fundamental truth of the Singletax philosophy, which is just beginning to bear fruit all over the world. Through his pamphlets on 'Privilege or Service?' on 'First Principles of Political Economy' and on 'The Two Great Commandments in Economics,' I am sure that he exerted a powerful influence upon the leading minds of the Singletax movement, and did much to keep it on the high moral and spiritual plane on which it has moved and which has contributed so largely to its marvelous progress."

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE LABOR WAR.

Kingussle, Scotland, May 29.

There are signs in England of the social cyclone which Mr. John Macmillan declares to be brewing in the Western States (see "Public" May 3rd). The portents are daily growing more ominous. The country has just begun to recover from the paralyzing effects of the coal strike and now the transport workers are out 125,000 strong and the Port of London is tied up. So sensitive has the world of labor become that some apparently trivial maladjustment suddenly throws the vital machinery of industry out of gear. Strikes recur, involving enormous waste, and when they are settled, under pressure from all sides, wages remain low and the economic position of the laborers is not greatly bettered. The railway strikers came to terms last autumn and there remain today 100,000 of their number who receive less than \$5 a week in wages. And the miners are already expressing dissatisfaction with the awards under the Minimum Wage Act.

No expedient can bring relief as long as the law of supply and demand is blocked by land monopoly. As Emerson perceived, "artifice or legislation punishes itself by reaction, gluts and bankruptcies." Three years ago the Liberal Party seemed to have learned this lesson and subsequent experience has proved that, like the giant of mythology, their strength is increased whenever they are thrown back upon the earth. Meanwhile the House of Have is in need of a new prophet. Malthus is played out and

the defenders of the existing order catch at the Eugenists as at a straw.

Unfortunately the organized forces of discontent are fighting at cross purposes and playing into the hands of their enemies. In the words of Philip Snowden, M. P., "neither trade unionism, nor the Labor movement, nor the Socialist parties have any clear idea of the attitude they ought to take up in regard to the functions of the state in industrial affairs." His remedy is state interference to counteract the effects of the competitive system. The British Socialist Party, assembled at Manchester, hold a turbulent session at which mutually destructive theories are hotly discussed. The Fabian Society at Keswick celebrate the advent of the minimum wage. At the 20th annual conference of the Independent Labor Party at Merthyr, Mr. W. C. Anderson condemns profit-sharing and co-partnerships and demands the abolition of private property in land and in industrial capital.

But there are signs of promise. Socialists are not too pleased with recent socialistic legislation, and members of the Labor Party find themselves more and more in accord with the Singletax group in Parliament so brilliantly led by Josiah Wedgwood.



Most hopeful of all, the discussion of Welsh Disestablishment has brought the land question to the front again and Lloyd George seems prepared to make use of his great opportunity. Speaking at Swansea, on May 28, he declared that Liberals were too timid. "Let them look at the land question," he continued. "Up to the present time they had dealt with it as if they were handling a hedgehog." Religious foundations had been robbed to establish private fortunes, but this was not the only trust in land which had been betrayed. "In South Wales they had hundreds of thousands a year paid in rents and taxes, and the men of South Wales jeopardized their lives to pay these exactions, and when they came up into the sunshine again to seek rest and restoration they were met with disease and degradation. The men for whom they worked grudged them every inch of sunlight or space of breathing ground. That was a trust that would be looked into. They claimed a right to it. Who gave it them? It was not in the Law nor in the Prophets. . . . I will tell you what is the matter with this country. There is one limited monarchy here and there are ten thousand little Tsars. They hold an absolutely autocratic sway. Who gave it to them, this trust or property? We mean to examine the conditions of it. It is a fight full of hope for the democracy.

F. W. GARRISON.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

SENATOR LA FOLLETTE AND THE LIQUOR QUESTION.

Asbury Park, N. J., June 4.

I have read with great pleasure the editorial in your current issue relative to the interrogatory concerning his stand on the liquor question which was put to Senator La Follette at the conclusion of his

speech in Asbury Park.* Your conclusions are to the point and unanswerable. I desire, however, to correct one detail which may seem of small consequence, but which will gain in significance as the campaign proceeds if Mr. Roosevelt is nominated. I was standing with my hand on Senator La Follette's shoulder when he said to the minister: "If you are an honest man you will come tomorrow and ask the same question of Mr. Roosevelt." Mr. Taft's name was not mentioned. The minister was merely admonished to ask the question of Mr. Roosevelt. The significance of the Senator's remark will doubtless be appreciated by The Public even though recent primary votes go to show that as yet the public isn't "on."

G. A. MILLER.

*See The Public of May 31, page 506.

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, June 11, 1912.

Presidential Politics.

Although ex-President Roosevelt has been carrying the party vote at the primaries for Republican candidate for President, President Taft appears to be getting the convention delegates. In Ohio, where the popular vote for Roosevelt was overwhelming, the Republican State Convention at Columbus on the 4th awarded the six delegates-at-large to Taft by 390½ to 362½, with the net result of giving Taft 14 and Roosevelt 34 of the national delegation as a whole. "Pure political brigandage," is what Mr. Roosevelt called this action in an interview about it. When the national committee met at Chicago, a vote regarded as a test disclosed only 13 anti-Taft members to 39 in favor of Taft. The vote was over two questions: (1) That 8 votes in the committee should be enough to require a roll call, and (2) that the newspapers be afforded representation on the Congressional press-gallery basis. By *viva voce* vote the first was defeated by the substitution of 20 for 8, and by a roll call vote the second was defeated by providing for accommodations only for 5 accredited press associations. On the 7th contests from Alabama and Arkansas were decided adversely to Roosevelt by the national committee. Most of these were decided unanimously; but in the one from the 9th Alabama district "steam roller" methods were used for Taft in the spirit of rule or ruin, as Roosevelt partisans assert. In a public address on the 8th, Mr. Roosevelt said that "a nomination obtained by the votes of delegates seated in utter defiance of justice as these two Alabama delegates [those from the 9th district] have just been seated, would be worthless to the

man obtaining it and would be indignantly repudiated by the party as a whole." The Indiana contest was passed upon by the committee on the 10th. As to the 13th district, the Taft delegates were seated by a vote of 36 to 14; all the other Taft delegates were seated by unanimous vote of the committee. [See current volume, page 539.]



On the Democratic side, Governor Harmon controlled the Ohio convention of the 4th at Toledo. Mayor Baker of Cleveland led the opposition in behalf of Governor Wilson, but the convention instructed for Harmon and adopted the unit rule by 597 to 355. Of the 48 delegates from Ohio,—6 of them delegates-at-large,—79 from the districts are for Wilson. These announce their intention of opposing the application of the unit rule when they represent their districts at the national convention. At the State convention Mayor Baker "served notice," says the Plain Dealer report, "that he did not recognize the validity of the action, and while the convention might be able to shackle his vote, it could not stop his tongue or his voice, and both would be used at Baltimore to defeat the end sought by the delegates." Mayor Baker's defiant speech, reported by the Plain Dealer to have brought great applause, "denounced the convention's way of building up support for a Presidential candidate, asking the men if they thought it possible for a candidate to win who went to the convention 'with delegates shackled to his chariot wheels, with all other delegates knowing they were being counted for one man under a gag rule, while at heart they were for another and had the high authority of their districts to vote for the other man.'" [See current volume, page 512.]



The Labor War.

Conditions in Belgium not unlike those of two weeks ago in Hungary, were reported on the 4th. "Post-election riots" were reported to "have taken on a revolutionary character." At that time the Socialist central committee at Brussels was expected to "proclaim a general strike," but it was subsequently reported that they had decided to postpone this question for a month. The rioting—reported to have broken out in Liege, Antwerp, Bruges, Tournai, Ghent and Louvain as well as Brussels—was explained by the dispatches of the 4th as a revolt of working classes against the Roman Catholics, provoked by the success of the latter at the elections, which had returned to the Chamber of Deputies 101 Clericals and only 44 Liberals, 39 Socialists and 2 Democrats. The burning issues were over (1) a question of financial support from public funds for Catholic schools and (2) the question of plural voting, the Liberals and the Socialists being jointly opposed to the con-

servatives or Clericals on both questions. Both the Socialist and the Liberal parties have issued urgent appeals to their followers to refrain from violence and to devote their energies to obtaining the abolition of the plural vote by parliamentary methods. These appeals, however, are reported to have had no effect in the Walloon provinces, where "direct action" through a general strike is demanded. Pursuant to such demands strikes in different places have been called locally, including a miners' strike at Mons and a suburban railway strike at Brussels. On the 6th there was a strike of miners in the Province of Hainaut—over 15,000 going out at La Louvière alone. Socialist orators were hissed by a vast mass meeting at La Louvière when they urged the strikers to return to work. On that day it was estimated that 100,000 men were then on strike in the Walloon provinces.



When the labor strike at Budapest over the question of suffrage extension had subsided, violent demonstrations over that question shifted from the streets to the Diet, where a deadlock was broken by the police under orders of the new president, Count Tisza. On the 4th the Opposition created a tumult in the Chamber which obstructed its proceedings. When the president called in the police, Count Karolyi defied them to lay hands on any member; but they ejected him with 21 others. Upon resumption of the session, the disorder was revived, and the police removed 15 more members under orders from the president. This drastic action being insufficient to give him command of the chamber, President Tisza ordered the ejection of 38 more, and his order was obeyed. The remainder of the Opposition then withdrew and the army bill was agreed to without debate. Suspensions of members of the Opposition for varying periods were voted on the 5th. On the 7th an excluded member, Julius Kovacs, evading the police and getting into the press gallery, fired three pistol shots at the president without effect and thereupon shot himself. Count Tisza, the president, is opposed to suffrage extension. [See current volume, page 512.]



The transport strike in London was strengthened on the 10th by action of the General Council of the Transport Workers' Federation, which sent telegrams on that date to every port in England, Scotland and Wales calling for a national strike. The telegrams were sent in consequence of a decision by the employing shipowners, announced earlier on the same day to reject a compromise which the Asquith Ministry has been attempting to arrange, providing for a general organization of the employers to treat with the unions, with money guarantees by both sides as insurance against violations of agreements. The employers

protested that their interests are so diverse that any organization embracing all would be impossible. [See current volume, page 538.]



In a street battle between the police and strikers at Newark, N. J., on the 5th—women fighting with the strikers—many persons were seriously injured, most of them with gunshot wounds. The strikers fought with knives and stones, the police with guns.



A referendum in nine craft unions of shop employes on railroads running west of Chicago, upon the question of calling a strike in sympathy with the industrial union strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman lines, was reported on the 6th as showing a large majority in favor of striking. Only one union, it was said, had failed to register the necessary two-thirds or three-fourths vote, according to the different constitutions, and it was consequently regarded as probable that the members of those crafts will leave their shops by July 1. Before a strike is ordered, another effort will be made to get a conference with the general managers of the united roads. One request for such a conference was made of W. A. Garrett, chairman of the General Managers' Association, before the strike ballots were sent out, and it was denied. About 100,000 shop employes on the different railroads are involved in the controversy. [See current volume, page 159.]



"Riotous scenes," says the United Press on the 7th, "marked the calling of a strike by the union employes of the Boston Elevated, which controls all the surface, subway and elevated street railways in Greater Boston, and in many neighboring cities and towns. After a stormy three-hour meeting the newly organized union voted almost unanimously to strike. . . . The first charge on a car was made by a crowd of 200 or more. During the next five hours cars were stoned, passengers were driven with car crews to the streets, trolleys were disconnected and tied down, clashes with police reserves occurred at a score of points in Boston, Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury and Somerville, and many arrests were made." The strikers claimed they had 3,800 men in their ranks. Two thousand attended a meeting in Paine Memorial Hall, which voted 1,398 to 8 to strike. There was complete suspension of traffic on the night of the 7th. Partial resumption of service was reported on the 8th, although the suburban lines stopped running at 8 o'clock, and after midnight all the electric lines, elevated, surface and subway were shut down. On the 9th 100 Wellesley College students agreed not to ride on the Elevated Railway cars when they visit Boston, the money saved in this way to

be given to the strike fund. These girls will wear buttons bearing the words, "Brothers All," "Hands Across the Tracks," and "We Walk to Help Organize the Car Men."



In connection with the freight handlers' strike at Chicago a riot occurred on the 8th between strikers and strike breakers at the freight yards of the C. B. & Q. railroad. More than 500 were engaged in the riot, and one striker was desperately wounded while another was killed. Many shots were fired. Also in connection with this strike a meeting of teamsters and switchmen at Chicago on the 9th adopted a resolution declaring that—

the rank and file of the teamsters and switchmen of Chicago tender their support to the freight handlers, now on strike, and in the event that a satisfactory settlement of the dispute between them and the railroad managers is not reached within twenty-four hours, we pledge ourselves to furnish such assistance as may be demanded by the freight handlers and to take such other action as may be necessary to bring about an honorable settlement.

[See current volume, page 538.]



Impeachment of Judge Hanford.

On motion of Congressman Berger (Socialist) of Wisconsin, proceedings looking to the impeachment of Judge Hanford of Seattle were begun on the 7th. Mr. Berger's resolution directing the judiciary committee to investigate Judge Hanford's judicial conduct was adopted. The resolution charges Judge Hanford with "a long series of corrupt and unlawful decisions," including the cancellation of a citizen's naturalization papers because the citizen is a Socialist, and with "being an habitual drunkard." [See current volume, pages 531, 542.]



Democratic State Politics in Ohio.

Upon the organization of the Democratic convention of Ohio in Toledo on the 4th, at which the unit rule in favor of Governor Harmon as Democratic candidate for President was afterwards adopted, Governor Harmon's private secretary, George S. Long, was made permanent chairman over Senator Atlee Pomerene. When the struggle over the unit rule ended, the convention nominated Congressman James M. Cox for Governor without opposition and by acclamation, and adopted for the State campaign a platform advocating—

(1) restoration of the government to the people through Direct Legislation and through the simplification of the machinery of government so that the people may adequately express themselves; and (2) legislation looking to the abolition of privilege and to the restoration of equal opportunity to all.

To those ends the platform specifically favors—

A short ballot in the selection of administrative officers.

Separate ballots for State and national officers.

Home rule for cities and villages, including the question of public or private ownership and operation of all public utilities.

Immediate valuation of the property, tangible and intangible, of all public utilities to the end that rates for service to the public shall be based on actual values and not upon fictitious capitalization.

Home rule in taxation.

Adoption of the proposed amendment to the Constitution providing for the Initiative and Referendum in State matters.

Further reduction in the hours of labor for women and further restriction on the right of employment of children in workshops and factories.

Ratification of the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the direct election of United States Senators.

Improvement of the roads and highways.

Continuation of the reform in the conduct of penal institutions.

Regulation of the liquor traffic by license and strict control, when and where the people decide the traffic shall be lawful, and therefore adoption of the license proposal as submitted by the Constitutional Convention.

In his speech accepting the gubernatorial nomination, Congressman Cox said: "This platform becomes our solemn covenant." Robert Crosser of Cleveland, father of the Initiative and Referendum at the Constitutional Convention, was nominated for Congressman-at-large.



The Negro Rebellion in Cuba.

Several of the large American, British, French and Spanish companies operating plantations and mines in eastern Cuba telegraphed President Gomez early last week for troops to protect them against marauders and insurgents, specifying that 100 soldiers were needed for each of their mills, and 50 for each canefield. The President replied that compliance with their request would require 1,250 of his best troops for the protection of simply one group of foreign properties in a single section of a disaffected district, and at that rate the whole of his regular army would not suffice for police work alone. The plantation owners then appealed to Captain Kline, in command of the United States naval station at Guantanamo, with the result that on the 5th Captain Kline disembarked 450 marines, and sent Lieutenant Belknap to Santiago to inquire of the Americans there as to what protection they needed. The United States battleships Ohio and Minnesota arrived at the Guantanamo naval station on the 7th with a regiment of marines. The cruiser Prairie received orders to take 50 marines to Manzanillo. The gunboat Eagle took 85 marines to Santiago,

whence they were sent by train to Firmosa to guard mines; and 50 marines were sent from Guantanamo to Siboney. The hospital ship Solace is in Guantanamo waters. The cruiser Washington and battleship Rhode Island entered Havana harbor on the 10th. And the battleships Nebraska and New Jersey have been ordered to Cuba. A company of the United States marines engaged in guarding the Cuero mines, was attacked in the early morning of the 10th by insurgents, who were repulsed. Senator Bacon has introduced into the United States Senate a bill regulating the conditions under which the United States may intervene in Cuba. He declared that unrestricted interventions would lead to ultimate annexation. President Taft believes that he has the right to employ the American army and navy to restore order in Cuba, without specific direction from Congress. [See current volume, page 541.]

NEWS NOTES

—United States Senator George S. Nixon of Nevada died at Washington on the 5th, at the age of 52.

—The Russian Douma adopted on the 6th a bill permitting women to practice law. [See current volume, page 228.]

—George W. Clarke received the Republican and E. G. Dunn the Democratic nomination for Governor at the Iowa primaries on the 3rd.

—The Constitutional Convention of New Hampshire met at Concord on the 5th and elected Edwin F. Jones as president. [See current volume, page 296.]

The Kansas Supreme Court refused on the 9th to oust the councilmen of Hunnewell, Kan., who had obstructed the woman mayor, Mrs. Ella Wilson, in the administration of town affairs. [See vol. xiv, page 1312.]

—A young girl who acts as assistant to Camille Flammarion in the Paris Observatory, according to the New York World, has had the standard time of Paris altered a fraction of a minute by her careful calculations.

—A bill to regulate minimum wages for women and children in Massachusetts was signed by Governor Foss on the 5th, after passing the legislature, and a minimum wage commission of three, on which there must be at least one woman, is to be accordingly appointed.

—Minnesota is the first State to ratify the Amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the direct election of United States Senators, the Minnesota Senate having on the 10th adopted the ratifying resolution previously adopted by the lower house. [See current volume, pages 469, 515.]

—The lower house of the Illinois legislature defeated on the 5th the joint resolution proposing a Constitutional amendment which would permit the amendment of more than one article at a time. The resolution received 81 votes, and only 24 were cast

against it; but the necessary number of affirmative votes is 102—two-thirds of the membership. [See current volume, page 325.]

—During practice maneuvers of the French fleet off Cherbourg on the 8th the battleship St. Louis ran upon the submarine Vendemiaire as she rose to the surface, and literally cut her in two. The submarine immediately sank with her entire crew of 26 persons. [See vol. xiii, p. 518; vol. xiv, p. 1004.]

—A decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the 7th, held that the powers of the Commerce Court are limited to questions of law and that it has no power of reviewing the decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission on questions of fact. [See current volume, page 325.]

—The Illinois Supreme Court decided finally on the 6th, in the case of Milford E. Streeter against the Western Wheeled Scraper Company of Aurora, that the "assumption of risk" doctrine in labor accident cases was destroyed in Illinois by the new statute regarding safety appliances. [See current volume, page 398.]

—General Caneva, commander in chief of the Italian forces in Tripoli, claims to have won the biggest battle of the war, at Zanzur oasis, on the 8th. He reports an insignificant Italian loss, with a Turkish loss of 1,000. General Caneva says that his forces are now in complete control of the Tripolitan coast. [See current volume, page 442.]

—In San Quentin prison, California, on the 9th, a "grub strike" broke out at dinner time on the part of from 200 to 300 out of the 1,900 prisoners then in the dining room. Two prisoners were shot by guards, one of them fatally. The dispatches state that several of the mutineers would be severely "disciplined," a word which has been understood with reference to San Quentin prison to be a euphemism for torture.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see current volume, page 371), for the first ten months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for April, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Gold	45,706,414	39,978,952	5,727,462 exp.
Silver	45,706,414	39,978,952	5,727,462 exp.
Silver	53,118,690	37,825,702	15,292,988 exp.
Total	\$1,989,302,085	\$1,444,590,405	\$544,711,680 exp.

—Katmai volcano in the peninsula which forms the southwestern point of the Territory of Alaska, which had long lain dormant, is now in violent eruption. The first evidence of the disturbance came on the 6th, when the peninsula and surrounding waters were rocked by earthquakes. As reported by the mail steamer Dora which was in sight of the mountain, after the earthquakes came a terrific explosion and a great mass of rocks was thrown out by the mountain, followed by a steady stream of rocks and ashes which soon darkened the sky and obscured the volcano. By the 9th it was estimated that an area of 300 square miles, much of it fertile territory, had been covered to a depth of several inches by volcanic ash. Fine ashes had been blown as far as Sitka, 700 miles east. This volcanic disturbance is the most violent ever recorded in Alaska. [See vol. xiv, p. 979.]

PRESS OPINIONS

How to Pay Easily and Honestly for Public Improvements.

The Boston Common (ind.), March 23.—If the Massachusetts Board of Port Commissioners is really anxious that the city shall get the greatest possible use out of its harbors for the least possible cost, they will at once recommend that the legislature pass a resolution to submit to the people a Constitutional amendment enlarging the scope of the State's powers of excess condemnation. Thus also they can free themselves, severally and jointly, now and hereafter, from the least suspicion of a motive of interest in any scheme of private land speculation, such as is now taking place with respect to the East Boston Company.



How to Be a Good Citizen.

Newark (N. J.) Evening News, June 6.—Governor Wilson told the members of the New Brunswick Board of Trade to get into politics as well as look after other civic affairs and to help fight the wrong. When any one complained of "dirty politics," the Governor would ask him if he voted at the last primary, and if not, he wanted nothing further to do with such a man. The Governor's advice is wholly good. In a democratic country, under a democratic form of government, every citizen ought to be in politics. It is his privilege, his right, his duty. No one is morally excused for not participating in politics. The plea of "dirty politics" is vapid, inadequate, inconsequential. The man who will not go into politics because he knows some of it is dirty, ought not to go into business because there are gamblers, cheats, frauds, thieves and scoundrels in business. It does not follow that he must conduct business upon any such plans as the undesirables adopt. Going into politics does not mean going into dirty politics any more than going into business means going into dishonest and crooked business. It means exactly the reverse. When every citizen does his part as a citizen, does not leave it to the unscrupulous partizan or the professional politician, then and only then is the standard of citizenship raised to the highest point; then, and only then, is dirty politics the least influential and the least successful.



Progressive China.

Christian Science Monitor (Boston), June 5.—Whether China, at this stage of history, will try to reproduce the experience of western Europe and America in forms of government, or will launch out on a more socialistic or collectivistic theory of the state and of state activities, is one of those wide-open questions that make prophecy unsafe. Neither President Yuan Shi Kai nor Premier Tang Shao-yi is touched with modernity to the same extent as Dr. Sun Yat Sen. The leader of the revolution and the man who retired in order that Yuan Shi Kai might rule does not hesitate to declare his belief in socialism and in extreme state activity in solving all

problems of economic and industrial distress, such as the great famines and floods that now periodically destroy population and wealth. He also would go far in preventing increment of wealth derived out of social development from going into pockets of private owners. He would tax after the manner urged by Henry George. No man in the Empire now has, or is likely to have, greater weight as a national adviser, for Sun Yat Sen speaks with the authority of a world-wide traveler and of a patriot who has put nation far above self. It is worth noting that Premier Tang Shao-yi says that he hopes for socialism's triumph some day; but he is not as ready to experiment with radical legislation now as is Dr. Sun Yat Sen.



Are They All So Sordid?

The Cincinnati Post (ind.), May 8.—Says Louis Post: "Men of the kind (the privileged) who go bravely to death in sinking ships when rescue appliances are inadequate for all, will as bravely give up their industrial privileges once they understand that privilege for some spells disaster for all." The editor of The Public fails to see the difference in the sentiment which fills a man at the moment when he sees women and children threatened at sea and the sentiment which moves him at the moment when "business is business." In the first instance, it is a sort of natural heroism; in the second, one of the strongest of human sentiments—greed. At one time, the man says: "There's not enough for all. Let the poor women and children have place in the lifeboat!" At another time he says "There's plenty for all. Let me have it, regardless of the poor women and children." To many of the privileged the greed of money is stronger than the desire of life, and there is no teaching them that surrender of privilege means safety rather than disaster. Often, royalty has honestly believed that society would go to smash without its royalty, and so our moneyed royalty thoroughly believes that the country would perish should their privileges be surrendered. What sort of demonstration other than what we've had must we have in order to make the privileged understand that "privilege for some spells disaster for all"? Privilege has resulted in an average wage under which decent citizenship is an impossibility. Privilege has created a condition under which there is no justice as between the rich and poor in the courts. Privilege has founded a class that preys upon the multitude. These things all men see or feel. The world has earnestly rejoiced (and been tremendously surprised) in that a few millionaires didn't take seats in those lifeboats. But they surrendered no privilege, no right that was not just as heroically surrendered by nearly 1,500 poor men who were dying with them. Death knows no privilege, nor do men recognize such in the presence of death. Neither Editor Post nor anyone else will see, as an effect of that ocean horror, a single privilege relinquished by the privileged. The lesson to be drawn from those last scenes on the sinking Titanic is simply that a rich man can be as brave in dying as a poor man. No privilege was given up. Nor as yet has any privileged one surrendered a privilege that means misery and death to women and children as surely as if they were on the stricken Titanic.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

FULFILLMENT.

For The Public.

O Worshiper in this long hallowed place,
Unsteady now, and wan, with feeble voice,
Here vent your praise, and let your heart rejoice;
Your visage bodies forth the inward grace.

E'er long you'll heed the now expected call,
As finally your hands enwearing sink,
And passing lightly o'er the farther brink,
Your spirit's Father will reclaim His all.

Your many year-long labors fully done,
Your children, e'en, now gathered to the dust,
You worship here with monumental trust,
And scarcely know the work just now begun.

The wife of many long and faithful years,
You kissed farewell, ah, not these many weeks,
And as your question clearer knowledge seeks,
She 'waits you patiently with unborn tears.

Thus though your aged form be somewhat bent,
While yet remains the daily trivial task,
With little more of good or ill to ask,
Your lasting courage is not clean forspent,—

For see in yonder aisle the bride and groom
Of recent years, whom, both in deed and thought,
You from the school to faithful freedom brought,—
Thus lent your merit life in youthful bloom;

And see where towers the massive, rising plan—
Embodiment of some wild genius' scheme,
For whom your intercession saved the dream,
Averted ruin and preserved the man;

And, too, where many thousands daily toil
With better hope than then before you came,
And dared their over-lords for very shame
To further wring their blood in greedy spoil.

Ah, Sir, forget not in the day, that some,
Now children in life's morning, plain can see
In all your labor, faithful ministry
To Him who in the evening bids you come.

THORWALD SIEGFRIED.



THE CHRISTIAN LAW OF CIVILIZATION.

From an Address by James E. Mills* on "First Principles of Political Economy" as a System of "Christian Economics."
Prepared in 1893.

The law of equal right of access to the earth is the first great commandment—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all

*See this issue of The Public, page 559.

thy soul, and with all thy mind"—applied to conditions of life; and the law of service is the second great commandment—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"—applied to actual life. Christ taught that on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets—that is, all spiritual wisdom. So, all principles of political economy hang upon these two laws—the law of equal right of access to the earth, and the law of service.

The two are interdependent, the second like unto the first; as the second great commandment was declared to be like unto the first. There is no possible way in which to carry the law of love to the Lord, or the law of love to the neighbor, into conduct and conditions of men, other than by service to men. "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me." The law of service is the law of life, divine as well as human, for there is no rationally conceivable motive for creation other than to serve or bless men, and creation is service. It applies throughout human life, from inmost motive and desire down to the body, made up as it is of organs, each existing for its own function or service to the whole, and dependent on the service of the whole for existence.

On the plane of political economy, the law of service ordains *that every adult man in normal condition of body and mind shall serve his fellow men, and that service, and service only, entitles a man to share the service of his fellow men.*

Society exists by mutual service, and is, first of all, an organized system of service in which each acts for all and all for each. The individual is a center toward which converge unnumbered channels of the supply of the products and results of the labor of his fellow members of the great organism. The more advanced the society, the more numerous are the channels of supply, the greater the specialization of the parts or organs, and the more complete the harmony of parts, and the more complex and higher the organism. In the lowest condition of society, each man works, for the most part, directly to satisfy his own physical wants. He hunts, or catches fish, or gathers berries, to satisfy his own hunger. For the most part, I say, for human life cannot continue without some effort for others than self; for children, at least. As society advances, the labor of each individual comes to be exerted in some branch of service to the community, and the return to the laborer is the result of such service; and, in well developed society, each individual finds himself compelled by the necessities of physical existence to enter a vast, complex and highly organized industrial system, and to do his share of its work. The necessities of his social nature, his desire for honorable association with his fellows, and his love of influence among them, urge him on to doing well his part in his calling; and the strongest and deepest natural affections of a healthy character, the love of wife

and children and home, hold him to his work, and infuse into it the energy of love for others than self. The mass of workers work, first of all, for home; women, for the most part, directly within the household; men, for the household, though outside of it; and, in this sense, the world's work is for the world's homes.

A man's service to the community involves the best and deepest in the nature that comes to him by birth, and it does not end here. Faithful service begins, indeed, in effort to satisfy the laborer's own bodily, social and domestic needs, and is, in the beginning, self-centered; but the tendency of such work, in healthy conditions and under the guidance of higher truth, is to open the heart to the love of serving others. This love, together with the love of God, is the goal of human life. It is the second great commandment in effect upon the soul, and its coming to the heart is "birth from above." It is the main reason for existence of the vast industrial system in which the masses must, and all men should, spend the greater part of their active life.

As the youth, on coming to manhood, has a birthright to his share of the earth which his Father created for all men, so, too, he has a birthright to his place in the great industrial system, where he may serve his fellow men with the best exercise of his faculties, and with single-minded effort to do well his part, in entire confidence that, by the law of existence of the system, he will receive so much of the service, or products of service, of his fellow workers of the world, as is needed for the best development of his own manhood, and of the womanhood and manhood of the wife and children whom God may intrust to his care. The law of service is a law both of conduct and conditions. It commands the individual to do for his fellows, and it also determines the results to him of doing, or leaving undone. It is the organizing law of the industrial system, of its anatomy and physiology, of its structure and its functions.

If, therefore, there were no breach of the law of service, and it were nowhere thwarted by human perversions throughout the industrial system, its effects and results would all tend to develop the highest manhood of the worker. There would be nothing limiting or distorting in it; nay, more, there would be no lack which human labor could supply of whatever would conduce to the physical, mental and moral health and well being of the workers. Service, and all else, like the Sabbath, is made for man, not man for service, or for anything else. The worker is the lawful heir to the earth, and it is for him that the law of service organizes the industrial system.

But the industrial system, as it now exists on earth, fails of this its purpose, and the failure is world-wide. The mass of workers, those without unusual abilities, find themselves helpless victims of its exactions and limitations, their development

arrested, their manhood distorted by it. It is unnecessary to recall the evils that result from this failure of law to reach actual conditions of life. They stand out glaring and hideous whenever the light of the law itself is let on to the conditions; and to one who recognizes the law, the question is, What is the breach of law that causes all this failure, and perversion, and misery, and evil? * * *

The failure is in the distribution of the products of labor. From the nature of the relation of wants to production, the world's workers* need all the products of the world's work, and to them, by the law of service, they all belong. But some men do find means of securing the products of labor, or, what is the same, the service of other men, without rendering adequate service in return. Some of these means are classed as fraud, robbery, embezzlement, or other crime, and are restrained by law; but a very small part of the great diversion of the products of labor from the producer is due to recognized crime. The mass of men would quickly find ways to limit to narrow bounds the perversion of the economic system and the diversion of the returns of their labor from their own homes, if they could trace it to recognized crime. The great means of the diversion is privilege established by law and approved by the conscience of the masses themselves.

Privilege, in the sense here intended, is the ability, conferred by law upon a man or class of men, to secure the services of other men without rendering adequate service in return.

The chief privilege which nullifies the law of service, and robs society and individual manhood of its blessings, is the same that nullifies that other great law, the law of equal right of access to the earth, namely, the private ownership of land, the bestowal upon some men of the right to the earth, which is the property of all men.

The two laws—the law of equal right of access to the earth and the law of service—are the two central principles of political economy, flowing directly from the relation of man to God and to fellow men, and based upon his relation to the earth. Reasoning down from first principles, it follows that a breach of these great central laws of being must introduce wrong, disorder, and evil into the industrial system; and, reasoning up from conditions to causes, we can trace the world-wide economic evils and miseries of today to the same breach of central laws.

*To prevent possible misunderstanding, I repeat that by "worker" is here meant one who works with head or hand, with or without capital, for wages or the immediate product of labor, to satisfy bodily, mental, moral, or spiritual wants of men.



The man whom nature has appointed to do great things is first of all furnished with the openness of nature which renders him incapable of being insincere.—Carlyle.

LITTLE TALES OF FELLOW TRAVELERS.

No. 4. The Lodging-House Landlady and Her Daughter.

For The Public.

Peter Scott was a homely and plain-spoken man who went about a good deal in various lines of business. He was apt to think that his personal responsibility towards others began and ended with his own family and friends.

"Really, now, every tub must stand on its own bottom," was the way he sometimes put it, when he was asked to "lend a hand."

In this frame of mind he was once moving around the Sacramento Valley, selling fruit trees to farmers and orchardists. The little but awakening adventure which this story makes public began to happen about 6 o'clock one evening in January, when he went up a stairway to the somewhat dilapidated "Regal Lodging House," in the foothill town of Oro, expecting to engage a modest room for one or two nights.

"Needs repainting," thought Scott, "but mighty clean everywhere. Hope my folks won't ever have to keep lodgers."

Then as Scott went down the hall to where a red bellcord hung over the register-table, he heard a man's loudly complaining voice from the rear of the building—a voice bulwarked by some alcohol, and by assured legal rights.

"Phoebe," it said, "I gotta have more money. Time that big girl of ours earned her own living. Fork over those three dollars you took in a minute ago."

Then Scott, flushing because of his unconscious eavesdropping, moved loudly forward as if he was just coming in, and jangled the bell riotously. He heard a gentle voice briefly answering the man; presently a quiet, gray-haired woman, full of dignity and refinement, came forward to show him a room, left in some disorder by its last occupant, who, as she explained, had just given it up.

The landlady called her daughter while Scott registered. The girl came, a tall, modest, studious young creature, smiling a shy welcome at Scott as she passed. She somehow reminded him of his own Malvina in the Chico High School. The thing "took hold of him in a new place," as he said later, and while the two women were busy in the room, he sat down and considered the situation.

"Poor stick of a man, but a nice sensible wife, and a mighty fine girl. Lots of hard times, no doubt, and temptations for her, too. Wish I had brought my wife along. She would know all about it at once; a man has to do lots of guessing. But that girl ought to have a chance; she's most as trim as our Malvina."

The landlady gave him the key. Scott surprised himself by saying that he wanted the room at

least a week. He surprised himself still more by adding: "Wish Mrs. Scott was with me, madam. And I have a girl as big as yours; an awful nice girl, too."

She looked at him good and hard. Then she suddenly shook hands, and went off with her daughter.

"Don't see what's come over me," said Scott to himself. "But they are the right sort."

Then he crossed the street for his supper; it was a cheap all-night restaurant, where, as usual, he picked up some acquaintances, got on the track of several farmers who wanted trees, and heard of a number of colts for sale. He dealt in horses now and then, as a side-line.

After a while a somewhat shabby man came in, tried to borrow a dollar from a young blacksmith, failed, and slipped out.

"That chap," said one of Scott's acquaintances, "is the husband of the woman who runs the Regal Lodging House. He says he can't find anything in his line, so he loafs around. Don't think he has any line whatever."

"Perhaps he has," answered Scott, again surprised at his interest in a stranger. "I noticed his fingers, and the way he holds them. He's handled lots of horses; think he's druv trottin' stock in races when he was younger."

"That's what he says, but nobody believes it."

"What's his name?"

"Alick Morden."

"Well, tell him to hunt me up late tomorrow afternoon, for I want to talk horses, and maybe I can throw an honest dollar his way."

Scott went up to his room receiving a look and word of good-will as he passed the landlady and her daughter. He sat down and reflected awhile. "I always said it was silly to try and pull anyone else's chestnuts out of the fire. Wonder whether there's any sound wood left in Morden. If he loves horses there's something to nail to. Really, it's none of my business." Thus ran his gently irate, and somewhat disconnected ideas. "Think I'd better leave this place. Every tub——" he broke off suddenly, pulled a picture of his wife and daughter out of his inside vest-pocket, and looked at it awhile.

"They don't really look much alike," he said presently. "But somehow they begin to seem alike to me. This Morden girl deserves a better chance." He added in a tense whisper: "Far as her father goes, you drank too much yourself, Pete Scott, for a number of years."

The next day Scott drove a thriving trade in trees. Late in the afternoon Morden came along, and they fell into "horse-talk." Scott offered him a commission, gave him some memoranda, told him to "wade right in," shook hands and left him.

After supper Scott hunted up an old friend of his named Lewis, who owned numbers of buildings

in Oro. He came right to the point, and said he had taken a room at Mrs. Morden's.

"Good place," replied Lewis. "I happen to own that house. She's a fine woman, with a first-class girl. The man is no account. She keeps the rent up, but can't get ahead any."

"Now see here, Lewis," said Scott. "You are a stay-at-home speculator, with mighty nice children. I am a run-about speculator with one splendid big girl. Both of us when we trade horses believe that every fellow must take care of himself. Both of us let our wives keep up the church end."

"That's about it," Lewis replied with a laugh. "Come right out with it—what's the game?"

"Now, Lewis, suppose that woman can't keep up the rent; bad season, weak husband, and so on. Suppose she breaks down. Suppose that nice girl goes to the devil. Then there's one less home. It isn't always right, Lewis, for us to think just as property-holders. I've made that mistake sometimes. One has to think sometimes as a man does about his neighbor-folk."

"I don't exactly see what you are driving at, Scott."

"Well, now, Lewis, if we was sailin' in a boat with these two women, and they was stumblin' overboard, we'd hang on to them, wouldn't we?"

"Of course."

"Well, ain't life a sort of a voyage, anyhow? Aren't all of us taking it together? Let's help the Mordens."

"What started you on this, anyhow?" questioned Lewis.

Scott told him with entire simplicity, and added: "That fellow Morden will prob'ly earn some money in a few days, for he knows horses, and he is as excited as a boy going to his first circus. Those women are worked to death worrying over him. If he keeps straight for a while maybe he can get the chance to drive horses in a breaking cart; he knows how all right. But that's nothing. The biggest end is what I'll put right up to you."

"Go slow now," said Lewis.

"Sure!" chuckled Scott. "It's only this: You spend a little on new paint and paper, and whatever the place needs to make it take a big new start. You do that, and as I move around I can send lots of travelers to The Regal."

"Then I'll raise the rent on her, Scott."

"You can, Lewis, but you won't, for you'll want to see that family take root again, and pretty soon your wife will be inviting them around to your house."

"Stick to the main point," said the cautious Lewis. "How much do you want me to spend?"

"Leave it to Mrs. Morden. Make it the neatest lodging house in town. Advertise it as 'renovated from garret to cellar.' Start the game tomorrow, old friend, and don't bring me into it at all. I'll

keep still. It's your pie. You'll have the time of your life."

Lewis laughed. "Possibly I'll get as far as a coat of alabastine on the inside walls," he replied. But Scott, as he went off, laughed back, "I shall send your wife half a dozen new roses whenever The Regal is put in shape."

A few days later Scott met Morden, who had "struck a new gait," was really taking hold, and proudly showed some definite results.

"Wish I was on a stock ranch," he said.

"That's easy, if you can keep sober long enough."

"I used to. Might do it again. Love to handle horses."

"That's it. You are liable to hurt horses and train them wrong, if you take a single drink."

"Never thought of it that way. Looks reasonable. Might have to take a night-cap when I go to bed."

"Not much harm in that, if you never take two," said Scott. "It's the social drinking, and having weeks to waste in a saloon, that has knocked you out."

"I hate to stay in a house," Morden replied.

"Look here," was Scott's sudden suggestion. "You go to Lewis. He's a fine fellow, and he owns plenty of vacant lots. You can borrow one to raise vegetables on for your family and for sale. Tell him I sent you. Pitch into that lot whenever you haven't horses in hand. Keeps you out of the saloons. Makes your women folks happy."

Morden replied: "I planted Lima beans once; I know which side to put down."

"That's more than most people do," laughed Scott. "Go along and make your talk; buy a spade this afternoon, when I pay your commission."

A week later Scott was through with his work in Oro; he had sold lots of trees, and had shipped off a dozen young horses. He went up to The Regal, now in the throes of a complete renovation, and had supper with the Morden family. The tall girl, who so reminded him of Malvina, lit his pipe afterwards. He felt perfectly at home; he said, "My dear," to her, and then blushed furiously, hoping that no one had noticed.

Mrs. Morden's lips trembled, as she looked across the room after supper, to where Scott was sitting. She was saying under her breath: "God bless him forever, and all such good men as he is. God bless his Malvina."

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



Any explanation is good enough for grass, which today is and tomorrow is cast into the oven. But only one explanation is good enough for the beauty of grass. It is the explanation that springs to the lips of every good savage, of every good poet and, I may add, of every good theologian. It is a God.—G. K. Chesterton.

BOOKS

"BEYOND WAR."

Beyond War: A Chapter in the Natural History of Man. By Vernon L. Kellogg. Henry Holt & Co., New York. \$1 net.

Man may not be wholly but he is largely a biological being, subject to the laws that govern the rest of the animal kingdom, and largely determined in his conduct by the evolutionary struggle of life toward fuller expression. Hence to the economic and political arguments against war, of a thinker such as Norman Angell, must be added the biological arguments if the pacifist's case is to be complete.

Professor Kellogg of Stanford presents this argument in the form of a brief evolutionary history of man, showing how fighting plays an ever lessening part, and an ever more injurious part, in his life as he becomes civilized.

The book is a small one, but it is closely reasoned and its author has succeeded in putting a pretty solid biological platform under the idea of the brotherhood of man.

Incidentally Professor Kellogg mentions the Egyptian king Akhnaton, who had a vision of peace among men, and who, only the other day, was severely censured for it by no less a person than Mr. T. Roosevelt, who writes for *The Outlook*. "He, like others," says Mr. Kellogg, "was seeing forward, and the time was not come for the vision's realization. The time has come now, and hence it is so much more of a pity that one of the foremost warrior figures of our country, a man who has himself been a forward spirit in so many phases of humanity's advance, should reveal himself so backward a spirit in that phase of human progress in which the early Egyptian king was so advanced. . . . Mr. Roosevelt makes special text of the immediate result of Akhnaton's visionariness as a horrible warning to the similarly minded mock humanitarians of today. But in the very words of this critic is Akhnaton praised! 'With the best of intentions and in the loftiest spirit' Akhnaton failed to make Egypt greater in terms of mailed might or territorial aggrandizement; for that is what is meant by 'wrought incalculable harm to his native land,' which are the actual words that complete the quotation."

LLEWELLYN JONES.



Tourist (at Irish hotel): "You seem tired, Pat?"
Waiter: "Yiss, Sorr. Up very early this morning—half-past six!"

Tourist: "I don't call half-past six early!"
Waiter (quickly): "Well, half-past folve, thin."—*London Punch*.

AN UP-TO-DATE PORTIA.

Counsel for the Defense. By Leroy Scott. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.20.

A very modern young American woman is the heroine of Mr. Scott's story. Of legal education, detective talent and womanly charm, she acts as her father's attorney in his emergency, putting to rout the forces of business corruption in her home town and conquering her journalist finance's obstinate prejudice against a wife who is also a practising lawyer.

Were the author as skillful in melodrama as he is handy with morals, one could refuse to write him down among the "well-meaning."

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Second Annual Report of the Tax Commission, City of Milwaukee. Frank B. Schutz, Tax Commissioner. 1911.

—Concentration and Control. By Charles R. Van Hise. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$2.00 net.

—Whispers About Women. By Leonard Merrick. Published by Mitchell Kennerley, New York and London. Price, \$1.20 net.

—Folk Festivals: Their Growth and How to Give Them. By Mary Master Needham. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1912. Price, \$1.25 net.

—Department of Taxes and Assessments. Report for the year ending September 30, 1911. Commissioners: Lawson Purdy, President; Charles J. McCormack, Charles T. White, Daniel S. McElroy, Edward Kaufman, Judson G. Wall, John J. Halliran. New York City.

PERIODICALS

A Socialistic Magazine.

The Metropolitan Magazine (New York), heretofore owned by the William C. Whitney estate, is reported as having taken up the cudgels for Marxian Socialism, under the editorial management of H. J. Whighan, although it will not be an organ of any Socialist Party.



Twentieth Century Magazine.

George French's exposure of the losing struggles of the muck-raking magazines with the Interests is continued in the May Twentieth Century. "The Damnation of the Magazines" tells the story of "Success," "Hampton's" and "Pearson's." Those who fail to read these articles are missing a well-lighted look behind the scenes of America's life to-day. In this issue also there begins a series of "Adventures" by Nicholas Vachel Lindsay, who as "The Vagabond Preacher of the 'Church of the Open Sky'" makes a

pilgrimage through New Jersey, and to his sorrow and scorn encounters hypocritical organized charity. His description of how two hours of wood-chopping earned him a fake bath, filthy bed and wretched breakfast, should make philanthropists look to the machinery of their charities, and all other people ponder.

A. L. G.



Taxation in China.

For the Quarterly Journal of Economics of May (Cambridge, Mass.), E. T. Williams, who is Secretary of the American Legation at Peking, writes a clear and informing exposition of a very complicated subject, "Taxation in China." Though exact figures are impossible to give, Mr. Williams states, \$400,000,000 is the estimated revenue of Imperial and Provincial governments combined—not a heavy tax on 300,000,000 people if only, as is not the case, a fair proportion were spent in public works. The land tax has for centuries been the chief dependence of the government for revenue and is of two kinds: a tax in money and a tax in grain. "Tho the tax may have been originally intended to be proportionate to the value of the land and tho it does vary with the value of the land taxed, it is not as a fact levied upon land values, since the most valuable of all lands, that in the cities, is not taxed at all." "Taking the whole empire into consideration, we may say that the land tax varies from \$0.004 per acre for the poorest land in Shansi to \$0.99 per acre for the best in Chehkiang, and the grain tax from one gill of rice per acre in certain parts of Fukien to five and a half bushels an acre in some districts of Shansi." Its total amount is variously estimated at from \$66,000,000 to \$240,000,000. Besides this land tax—in addition to the customs duties, "native" and "imperial maritime," which together yield probably not over \$28,000,000—there is also a tax of much more recent origin, one first levied during the Taiping Rebellion, 1852 to 1866, namely, the *likin*, or tax on merchandise in transit. [See current volume, page 355]. "The amount of the revenue derived from *likin* is unknown, and the actual collection from the people it is still more impossible to discover. The *likin* offices are entirely independent of the tax collecting agencies and do not publish any reports. . . . The Provisional National Assembly, in its budget submitted in January, 1911, estimated the total *likin* revenue at Tls. 44,176,541, or \$28,714,752." Two other forms of taxation, both of high antiquity in China, are the "Salt Gabelle"—the governmental control of the production and distribution of salt, which yields approximately \$25,000,000 revenue—and the "Grain Tribute," a form of the tribute in kind which has survived from primitive times and which amounts to something like \$14,000,000. Mr. Williams closes his valuable paper with a remark confirming the opinion expressed in his opening lines that "one of the greatest needs of China today is a reasonable system of taxation" in place of the "archaic" one now in force, which "tho deep-rooted in antiquity is not likely to continue," and "will probably disappear in the struggle now going on, no matter whether monarchy or republic may triumph, since both are committed to the adoption of modern methods."

A. L. G.

That steam roller, as one indignant and somewhat incoherent citizen expresses it, "is running things with a high hand."—Chicago Tribune, June 11.



Teacher, to a roomful of pupils: "And just think! One of you may be president some day. All of you who would like to be president, please rise."

All rose except little Willie.
 "Well, Willie, what's the matter? Wouldn't you like to be president?"
 "Y-yes'm," stammered Willie, "b-but I ca-ca-can't."
 "Why not?" asked teacher, astonished.
 "Because—because I'm a D-d-democrat," said Willie, bursting into tears.—Unknown.



Food.
 Cooked food.
 A table to keep the food from the ground.
 A plate to keep the food from the table.
 A thick cloth to keep the plate from the table.
 A thin cloth to keep the plate from the thick cloth.
 Then another plate to keep the food from the first plate.
 Then a dolly to keep the second plate from the first plate.
 When the table is protected by the thick cloth and the thick cloth by the thin cloth and the thin cloth by a plate and the plate by a dolly and the dolly by a second plate, the food is protected by a diet.—Life.



Governor W. R. Stubbs of Kansas, apropos of a bill he was promoting, said at a recent banquet:
 "The opponents of this bill find fault with it. Well, in that they remind me of Jack Hughes. The tailor brought Jack home a new suit the other day. Jack went upstairs to try it on. Then, ten minutes later, he shouted down to his wife:
 "That fool tailor's made a botch out of the vest!"
 "How, John?" Mrs. Hughes asked.
 "'Why,' said Jack, 'he's put a button too many at the top and a buttonhole too many at the bottom.'"—Kansas City Journal.



Dr. Harvey W. Wiley said the other day in Washington of a canning concern:
 "These people, when we objected to some of the poisonous chemicals used in their canned peas and asparagus, laughed at us. They said we were ignorant and inexperienced. They pointed out that they had been many years in business and that they turned out many millions of cans a year.
 "It reminded me of a woman whom I once saw

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in my young days, feeding a babe a few months old on bits of fried fish and pickle.

"Don't do that," I said. "Don't do that, madam! It's most unhealthy to give fish and pickle to so young a child."

"The woman frowned upon me.

"'Huh,' she said, 'don't you try to teach me how to feed babies. Why, young feller, I've buried seven!'"—Washington Star.

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