

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Ex-President Roosevelt at Columbus.

Mr. Roosevelt's speech last week before the Constitutional Convention of Ohio in session at Columbus, was an event of first importance. No man in American public life possesses in so great a degree as Mr. Roosevelt, or uses so freely and acutely the faculty for catching and reflecting public opinion. He seems never to reason out his convictions, but always to get them from public opinion by some sort of chameleonic instinct. Wasn't this so with him at the time of the Cuban war, and again during the dreadful era of imperialism? Wasn't it so when Big Business was in the ascendant in public opinion, and so again when public opinion began to find Big Business out? It is this instinctive faculty of his and his habitual use of it—with the narrow perfections and dangerous imperfections that characterize all instinctive processes—that give transcendent importance to Mr. Roosevelt's Columbus speech.



Mr. Roosevelt has not been known heretofore to have had pronounced convictions favorable to the Initiative, Referendum and Recall; and he gives now only verbal testimony to convictions thoughtfully arrived at on that subject. Plainly, his Columbus speech is an instinctive reflection of public sentiment. It is, too, unusually definite for him. There are no "weasel-words" on that subject in this speech, as there were for instance in

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his woman suffrage editorial. Although there are spots in it which look like traces of a tendency toward "weaseling," the weasel words, if they were ever in the manuscript, were blue-penciled out of it before its delivery. Mr. Roosevelt's declarations for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall are unqualified and definite. His speech is therefore of the highest importance as a sign of favorable public sentiment. It proves better than newspaper editorials can, almost as well as a census on the subject could, or an election at which it was the dominant issue, that the people of the United States demand the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, demand them all, demand them in their fullness, and demand them now.



Ex-President Roosevelt for President.

That Mr. Roosevelt's Columbus speech was made as a prelude to his becoming the Progressive candidate for the Republican nomination for President was suspected when he delivered it. This motive is now proved. No reasonable room for questioning it remains after one considers that the speech was delivered between the formal request of his friends that he become a candidate and his formal acquiescence, and that this significant sequence is very narrowly bounded in point of time: (1) request, February 10; (2) Columbus speech, February 21; (3) acceptance, February 26. In no respect, however, does that suspicion, now confirmed, minimize the importance of the speech with reference to the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. It rather emphasizes the inference that those methods of democracy are urgently demanded by public opinion. Pitifully at fault would Mr. Roosevelt's instincts be were he deliberately to enter a Presidential race handicapped with unpopular proposals. It must be remembered that his instinctive appreciation of public sentiment is never keener than his instinctive desire for victory. But we have no inclination by this reference to motives to chill any one's enthusiasm for Mr. Roosevelt's candidacy. We emphasize the service he renders the movement for democratic control of representative government by his definite and unqualified pronouncement for it, and we dwell upon the added value of the speech for that purpose if it be considered as his Presidential platform; but this is in order to center attention upon the tremendous advance the movement has made, and not to condemn a new leadership which it has evoked.



To new leadership there should be no objection.

provided it be strong and coupled with fidelity. If Mr. Roosevelt be a recent and sudden convert, this should not count against his candidacy. In politics and warfare as well as in business, the question is never of an "original Jacobs" but of "delivery of the goods." New occasions not only teach new duties; they also make strange political associates and bring effective leadership from unthought-of quarters. So far from opposing Roosevelt's candidacy, we welcome it. For even as Roosevelt's Columbus speech is valuable as a barometer of public opinion, so his candidacy will be valuable in drawing a sharp line between the democratic purposes and methods he now bluntly avows, and the plutocratic purposes and methods of which Mr. Taft must therefore be the Republican protagonist undisguised and unashamed.



It does not follow, though, that Mr. Roosevelt should be welcomed by Progressives as the actual candidate of the Republican party, much less that he should be welcomed as President again. It is one thing to be grateful to him for the thunderbolt he has hurled at Hamiltonian plutocracy, and much the same thing to applaud him in his struggle with Taft as the democratic champion in an extraordinary prize fight; but a very different thing would it be to contemplate with gratification his re-entry into the White House and his resumption of the power he has shown so ready a disposition to use arbitrarily. Let us not be misled by his democracy. Bonaparte also was a democrat, but his democracy led to an imperial throne; and Roosevelt is the type of democrat that Napoleon was. When self-governing peoples have fallen under absolute rule, the absolute ruler (except upon conquest from without) has usually been a Bonaparte or a Roosevelt, a man of destiny and instinct whose rough and ready democracy has enabled him to lift himself to irresponsible personal power "in the name and with the might of the people."



We are not unmindful of the circumstances that incline Progressives just now toward this man of instinct as the American man of destiny. He seems to be the politically strong man, the man who can win, the only man under whose leadership plutocracy can be put down at the next election. Part of this strength is due, no doubt, to mere factional revolts against President Taft for "turning down" Roosevelt and Roosevelt's friends and breaking promises to Roosevelt after Roosevelt had made him President; and out of this situation Mr. Roosevelt may number a powerful fol-

lowing of mercenaries—powerful in the nominating convention and powerful at the polls. But let us make no mistake, he also has a tremendous and disinterested progressive following under splendid and disinterested leadership. Republicans in shoals who have been only recently awakened to the dangers to American democracy are looking to him. Perhaps it is a mirage they see—the upright image of an inverted democrat. We think it is. Yet they may say that they have drawn from him that Columbus speech; and we freely acknowledge, not only that this is a great triumph for them but that it may be a sufficient guarantee of good faith and an ample bond for good behavior. At any rate we are bound to recognize the force of their contention when they argue that Roosevelt is the only man who, in the Republican convention, can defeat Taft the plutocratic Republican, and the only Republican who can defeat a Democratic reactionary at the polls if the plutocrats carry the Democratic convention.



But will Mr. Roosevelt be as strong politically as progressive Republicans of the Governor Johnson type think him, and as indeed he seems to be? Granted that a large contingent of mercenaries will follow no one but him into the Progressive camp; granted that he has a large following of baseball fans, sporty-minded collegiates, “by-george” bad men, and chewing-gum democrats, as well as a vast following of earnest democratic Republicans; granted that his Columbus speech will tend to fire enthusiasm for him among thoughtful democrats in all parties; granted that if the Initiative, Referendum and Recall were once firmly established in the heart of our representative system of government, we might safely trust good men in office, even the bad good-men, regardless of their opinions or ambitions, and no longer fear usurpation by a democratic Bonaparte,—grant it all, and yet Mr. Roosevelt once in the fight might encounter political obstacles that would make the progressive Republicans wish, even on the point of relative political strength, that they had clung to La Follette. Mr. Roosevelt must struggle with the “third term” objection, the logical unsoundness of which we freely concede. It is true that his election this year would not be for a third term in the objectionable sense. The only sound objection to a third term is that it may enable a President to perpetuate himself in office, as Diaz of Mexico did. Inasmuch, then, as Roosevelt was only acting President in his first term, and there has been an interval since his second, the objection to a third term does not apply

logically. But public feeling seldom makes logical distinctions very strictly. Mr. Roosevelt having been President one full term as President and almost one full term as acting President (another distinction not likely to be weighty with the man in the street), his election this year would be for “a third term” in popular apprehension. Moreover, didn’t Mr. Roosevelt promise that if elected in 1904 he wouldn’t be a candidate again? Here are elements of unfathomable political weakness. With all the power behind ex-President Grant, his friends were unable to nominate him for a third term, although it would have been after an interval and there were no pledges to embarrass them. If it be said in reply that Grant’s prior administrations were against him, what about Roosevelt’s? His Panama usurpation will be no boy’s-play issue in a Presidential campaign if flung at his candidacy. Neither will the now notorious campaign-fund affair, nor his Napoleonic interference with due process of law in behalf of the steel trust’s Coal and Iron grab. As it proceeds, Mr. Roosevelt’s campaign is likely to look less and less attractive to progressive Republicans, although the Columbus speech with which he opened it is of incalculable value in advertising the popular strength of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, thereby adding strength to strength for those controlling reforms.



Murdering the Souls of Men.

Worse than all the dynamite outrages ever perpetrated—worse for the victims, worse for their families, worse for society—are those cases of soul-murder by rich and respectable beneficiaries of special privileges of which Senator La Follette tells in the March installment of his autobiography in the American Magazine. Here is one of the instances he gives of this wicked and cruel dynamiting of the morals of public men:

Assemblyman E. was a fine young fellow, and regarded as thoroughly reliable. He was often in the executive office and I trusted him absolutely. . . . He was one of the most enthusiastic men we had, and being a high-spirited, energetic young fellow, he was of great assistance in our fights. Whenever we gathered a little group of the members in the Executive office to talk over any critical situation in the legislature, E. was always with us. He was an active young manufacturer. He often talked with us about his business. I think he had some special machine which enabled him to make his product more cheaply than other manufacturers. One day E. Ray Stevens came into my office and said, “Governor, I wish you would send up and ask E. to come down here. I don’t just like the way he talks.” “Why,” I said, “Ray, there can’t be anything wrong with E.” Then I began to think that he had not

been in to see me for three or four days. "Well," I said, "I will send up." When he came through the door he did not meet me with his characteristic frankness. But I greeted him exactly as usual and said, "E, I want to have a little talk with you." I moved my chair right up to his, placed my hands on his knees and looked him in the eye a moment before I spoke. Then I asked, "E, what's the matter?" The tears started in his eyes and the response came at once: "Governor, I can't help it. I've got to vote against the railroad taxation bill." After a moment he added, "I haven't slept any for two or three nights. I have walked the floor. I have thought of resigning and going home."

"Tell me all about it, E," I said.

"Well," he replied, "you know that all I have in the world I have put into that factory of mine. I have told you about how proud I was of the thing. Now," he said, "this railroad lobby tells me that if I vote for that railroad taxation bill they will ruin me in business. They can take away everything I've got. They have threatened to give my competitors advantages over me in railroad rates that will offset any advantages I have with my new machinery. Now, I can't beggar my family. I have a wife and babes."

I said, "E, you can't do this wrong. You can't violate your conscience." I talked to him quite a bit. He got up and walked the floor. He said he would always be for our measures, but he could not risk being driven to the wall. And then he left the office.

A few minutes before the roll call on the bill, E, who sat next to Lenroot, turned to him and said, "Lenroot, in five minutes I am going to violate my oath of office."

Lenroot was shocked and said, "What do you mean?"

He replied: "It is a question between my honor and my bread and butter, and I propose to vote for my bread and butter."

And he voted against the bill.



Stealing Wages in Lawrence.

For seven weeks a strike has been in progress at the textile factories in Lawrence, Massachusetts. These factories are subsidized through the Federal government by means of the protective tariff. The reasons given are the necessity of the subsidy in order to maintain American wages. The wages are nevertheless reduced below the living point, and a long strike results. Thereupon the powers of the State—judicial, police, and military—are brought to the aid of the subsidized employers; and this interference in their interest is extended so far beyond the law as to interfere with the sending by strikers of their children to temporary homes in other cities. By what law have the police done this? If by none, why do the higher authorities allow it? And then that tariff subsidy. This makes the question national. The

people of the United States are empowering those Lawrence manufacturers to charge excessive prices for their products *in order to pay good wages*; but the employers *pay starvation wages* and put the extra prices into their own pockets. Hasn't this a good deal the flavor of stealing by trick and device? and isn't it time for Congress to take up Congressman Berger's investigation resolution and find out why tariff protection for workers does not profit workers?



For a "Money Trust" Whitewash.

Several members of Congress went on record last week in unblushing defense of secrecy for the "money trust." Ex-Speaker Cannon led them. There is no telling how many more may do the same thing when the attempt to uncover these "money maggots" reaches the danger point. At present, however, it seems as if the caucus vote which suppressed a special committee and referred the matter to the neatly packed committee on banking, may have failed in its anti-publicity purpose. By a vote of 207 to 8 in the House on the 24th the committee on banking were given pretty strict orders. They may not now be able to sidestep the investigation, as was undoubtedly the original expectation. And none the easier will it be since other and unpacked committees are asking authority to investigate the "money trust" with reference to their own respective functions. Thus the judiciary committee proposes to investigate the "money trust's" violations of the Sherman law, and the committee on Presidential elections proposes investigating its connection with campaign contributions.*



That Postal "Surplus."

Why should the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General demand of the National Rural Letter Carriers' Association that it withdraw its endorsement from its organ? If because the organ had misrepresented the Department, a demand for correction would have been more appropriate. For the Department to demand a boycott by its employes of their organ has a high-handed appearance. As to the misrepresentation, it appears to have been to the effect that the recent Department boast of a "surplus" is not true. The R. F. D. News (the organ in question) had explained that this "surplus" was arrived at by bookkeeping methods, and did not represent the actual financial condition of the postal service. And now this "misrepresenta-

*See The Public of February 23, page 172.

tion" appears from Washington dispatches to be proved to have been a true exposure. Instead of a surplus of \$219,000 for the fiscal year 1911, the *deficit* for that year is reported to be several hundred thousand dollars.



Boy Scouts.

One of the slipperiest places in the human mind is the spot where it mistakes form for substance. Here is where we slip when we kow-tow to a flag but stultify the lessons it symbolizes. We do it when we venerate the Bible as a printers' product but quote it in the Devil's cause. This is paganism—patriotic paganism the one, religious paganism the other. But the slipping may be in an opposite direction. If, for instance, we hate the wickedness of war, we may get to detesting military forms too blindly, merely as forms. Some such mental tendency may account for some rather thoughtless denunciations of the Boy Scouts.



It is true that the Boy Scouts, which originated in this country, was adopted and adapted in Great Britain by a professional soldier; but his object was not warfare, if we may believe his word. In his address on the subject in Chicago, Gen. Baden-Powell said: "I've seen enough of war to want to keep away from the military idea. Woodcraft, handicraft, and all those things are invaluable. First aid and all that goes with it is excellent; but the boys should be kept away from the idea that they are being trained so that some day they may fight for their country. It is not war-scouting that is needed now, but peace-scouting. The explorers, the pioneers, the persons who are always on the lookout to do something for the benefit of humanity, are the ones who count, and that should be the motto of every boy scout." In the United States, the head of the Boy Scouts not only never has been a soldier, but he is and has always been one of the most pronounced protagonists of peace to be found anywhere. We mean Dan Beard. Why object to Boy Scouts organized under such impulses and for such purposes, because they adopt some of the features of military training? Why should military forms be abhorred in so far as they serve to promote health, strength, alertness, readiness, skill, discipline, unified activities, antipathy for all unnecessary killing and eagerness to relieve suffering?



It may be replied that unwarlike forms would serve those purposes as well. But they might not;

if for no other reason, then for this: that in the animal stage of a boy's growth, military forms appeal to him. They appeal to him because, it may be, of the fighting blood that then courses through his restless system. And what can be better than to offer that fighting spirit an outlet which, while attracting him because of its military form, utilizes his energies in peaceful activities? And may it not also disgust him with the murderous spirit of warfare before he comes upon the stage with those who decide for or against war in times of national crises? In all things let us be cautious about getting our minds involved in the entangling alliances of substance and forms.



The Initiative and the Referendum.

The United States Supreme Court has bowed to it. Mr. Roosevelt has boosted it. Oregon and several other communities have adopted it. Ohio is on the verge of it. Senator Lorimer is against it. The Big Business Men's Association is waxing profane about it. President Taft threatens to use the Big Stick on it. All signs are favorable.



IS IT POSSIBLE TO GIVE THE PEOPLE TOO MUCH LIBERTY?

The question as stated is an absurdity, for it assumes that there is *somebody* or *someone* competent to give more or less liberty to human beings, and naturally this entity would be their Creator. It would be presumption to say that the Creator had given men too much or too little liberty, since that would be ascribable to faulty wisdom, and that is unthinkable as appertaining to the Deity. The question should probably have been put thus: "Is it possible for man to *have* too much liberty?"

And yet that seems equally absurd, for it resolves itself into this—Is it possible for man to have more than he wants?

His *natural* liberty is God-given, is unalterable, is inalienable, and is among those rights mentioned in the Declaration of Independence; and his *civil* rights depend upon his own volition. So whichever way we turn to ask questions about man's social or civil liberties, we must come back for an answer to man himself. God has launched the ship, but the sailing is left, without his intervention, in the hands of the sailors, his creatures.

The measures and boundaries of a man's liberty are his God-given rights, and the duties consequent upon those rights.

Thomas Paine divides the rights of man thus:

I. "*Natural Rights*: Those which appertain to man in right of his own existence," such as the operations of the mind, personal comfort, the pursuit of happiness, and so forth; these are immutable, and are limited only by their infringement of similar rights, inherent in others.

II. "*Civil Rights*: Those which appertain to man in right of his being a member of society."

By way of explanation, the same writer says, "Man did not enter into society to become *worse* than he was before, but to have his rights better secured. A man, by natural right, has a right to judge in his own cause, and so far as that right of the *mind* is concerned it is never surrendered, but what availeth it him to judge if he hath not the power to redress; he therefore deposits this right in the common stock of society, and takes the arm of society, of which he is a member, in preference to and in addition to his own. Society *grants* him nothing (note the word). Every man is a proprietor in society and draws on its capital as a matter of right." Whence the necessity of civil rights? First, men must mingle together, they are gregarious by nature; created so, no doubt. The first flocking tendency may have been due to a desire for mutual protection against wild beasts, or it may have been due to a desire for sexual relationship, or later, for companionship; whatever the cause may have been, the fact is patent. This association gave rise to *civil* rights. When man enters society, the natural rights which he relinquishes (we now quote again) "are those in which, though the right is perfect in the individual, the power to execute is defective."

All these statements are presented simply to show that the civil or social rights (call them as you please) have their origin—every one of them, and without exception—in man's agreement with his fellowmen. If he does not want to surrender any of his natural rights, he may hold himself aloof from society. He will then not infringe upon the rights of others, and his natural rights will remain unaffected and inalienable.



From what source then comes the idea that it is possible to give the people too much liberty? For that idea still exists. In fact, the framers of our Constitution seem to have held it, as the provisions of that document plainly show. Their writings, their speeches and their attitude toward their fellowmen, all indicate that they considered government as something *apart* from the people; *superior* to the people; capable of maintaining

itself and of granting privileges and favors to those under it. Plainly this preposterous stand, this ridiculous point of view, that a creator can make a creature superior to himself, is a relic of monarchy and of the "divine right of kings," and no true democracy can hope to exist continuously so long as it is tainted with this poison.

The *whole people* must be the government, or there is no democracy. *All* members of society must have a voice in the merging of their natural rights into civil rights; otherwise they will lose both. It therefore follows that no society of men can grant itself too much liberty, for if it cares to place restrictions upon itself, it can readily do so. If its laws are found to be too lax or too rigid, the remedy is always at hand.

Pursuing this thought a little farther, a nation is always *fit to govern itself*, for so long as the *people* comprise the *government*, they can have what they mutually care to have, or what they want. They may not govern themselves to suit others, but they may govern themselves to suit the individual subscribers to the compact, and no outside nation has a right to interfere, without good and sufficient cause; otherwise such interference becomes an invasion, and an intrusion upon the natural rights which that nation or society holds inviolate. It is as nonsensical to speak of a people granting themselves too much liberty, as it is to speak of a man giving himself too much money by taking it out of one pocket (being sure that the pocket is his *own*) and putting it into another. He cannot be richer, he cannot be poorer, but he can favor one of his pockets.



All this is upon the presumption that if men are to form social ties, they shall submit to what is commonly called the rule of the majority.

"Man has always a right to judge in his own cause; but as he cannot execute, he must surrender the right of execution to the society in which he has deposited a portion of his rights." Therefore, since no two persons are alike, no matter how similar they may be, there will always be differences of opinion, and these, by common consent, can be harmonized only by an agreement among men to abide by the decision of the majority. Majority rule does not necessarily prove right. But that is another subject.

HOWARD E. RANDALL, M. D.



Land never was private property in that personal sense of property in which we speak of a thing as our own, with which we may do as we please.
—James Anthony Froude.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE FARMING CLASS IN WESTERN CANADA.

Ceylon, Sask., Feb. 20.

Last week, in Regina, was held one of the three big Provincial conventions of farmers that have become a regular institution in the Canadian prairie Provinces.

The real meaning of this gathering is not indicated by the mere fact of the meeting of the 800 delegates and visitors, nor by the further fact that the Grain Growers' Association in Saskatchewan has over 10,000 members and is aggressively pushing its organization. There is a deeper significance in the fact that the affiliated farmers' organizations, both east and west, are viewing the big public questions from a national standpoint, and are laboring earnestly to break the thralldom of party politics.



The Grain Growers' Association is a class-conscious body, laboring to solve the problems of the Canadian agriculturists; but, perhaps because it stands for the interest that outranks all others combined, it has taken the democratic position on every public question, as the enemy of privilege.

If Canadian manufacturers can meet foreign competition abroad, it asks, why do they need protection at home?

But it goes farther and declares the farmers ready, if the lowered tariff asked for renders revenue insufficient, to bear their share of a direct tax.

It asks for government ownership of the terminal grain elevators, as the only possible means of preventing the debasing of Canadian export wheat, but at the same time it has fathered two immense co-operative schemes to protect the producer till he gets his wheat to the terminals.

In asking for government farm loans it only desires that the privilege now enjoyed by the banks and railroads be broadened into a right in which all shall share.

And it went on record as repudiating the English Tory plan of a discriminating duty against non-British wheat, which "would increase the price of the poor man's loaf."



Party insurgency, as it exists in the States, has scarcely begun here, but it is a promise of better things to see an organization of national proportions stand consistently for the right as it sees it, and in so doing administer a rebuke to both the parties to which its membership belongs.

When Laurier made his Western trip in the summer of 1910, he was astonished at meeting at every stop west of Winnipeg, instead of a crowd of gaping admirers, an earnest body of farmers who knew what they wanted and were determined to place him on record as favoring or opposing the measures they demanded.

The Conservatives were delighted, but only a year later they sang to a different tune when they saw

their own leader administered a dose of the same medicine.

It is to such influences as theirs to which governments must learn to bow if Canadian statesmanship shall ever outgrow the narrow limits of political parties.



It is an interesting speculation whether the time has arrived when the agricultural interests of a country shall become permanently united in an organization that shall guard the interests of the farmer in all matters of public policy.

There are some things that would indicate it. The farmer today finds it increasingly necessary to study the science of agriculture, to follow market tendencies, to practice good business methods, and to take an active hand in politics. These activities impel, nay, they compel, association to an extent never known before.

Whether the present affiliated associations of Canadian farmers shall strike root deeply and be cultivated wisely enough to weather future storms, may be a question, but if they should fail their successors will be placed nearer success by their existence.

GEO. W. ATKINSON.



ECHOES FROM THE NEW ZEALAND ELECTIONS.*

Wellington, New Zealand, December 12, 1911.

The forces of monopoly and privilege scored heavily at the recent elections for the New Zealand parliament. The questions of local and national Prohibition confused issues very much and quite eclipsed the land question. It was encouraging, however, to notice that a larger number of candidates supported the taxation of land values in their addresses, and gave prominence to it, than ever before.

Arthur Withy, one of our land-value-tax leaders here, fought an energetic campaign. Although defeated, he polled 50 per cent more votes than any other advanced Liberal who faced, as he did, not only the unscrupulous hostility and lavishly corrupt expenditures of the liquor trade, but also the antagonism of supporters of the Government and of the Opposition. Under the circumstances we are well satisfied with his 2,461 votes.

Mr. Withy has done excellent propaganda work throughout his Auckland campaign and is now free to devote himself to spreading "the new evangel" throughout the country. We have numerous requests for his services in country districts, and I have no doubt of encouraging results for land value taxation at our next general election.

Mr. Fowlds had to face a second ballot. He came in at the head of the poll on the first ballot, but without a full majority. As the Opposition was third, Mr. Fowlds' contest at the second ballot was with the Socialist candidate, who had come in second. At the second ballot the Socialist was supported by reactionaries, and Mr. Fowlds was defeated by 31 votes—3423 to 3454. His defeat was

*See current volume of The Public, pages 151, 154.

due in part to what appears to be a wave of revolt against the Ward ministry, which helped to carry him down, notwithstanding his having resigned from the ministry and made a progressive campaign. But another factor is an unnatural co-operation at the ballot box between Socialists here and the privileged classes. The present confusion cannot last long, however, and when it clears up a bit the principles for which Mr. Fowlds and Mr. Withy are strenuously contending will be better understood and stronger in the constituencies.

R. A. HOULD.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

A GOOD WORD FOR THE "HOBO."

Westfield, Chautauqua Co., N. Y.

I hope you will continue to keep close to the people as you did in a fine editorial* on the "Hoboes" that came to my notice. As a hard working farmer and one struggling with debt, I cannot hire as the so-called "independent farmer" can; so I am obliged to depend more or less on the men as they come along the road. While these brothers cannot buckle in and do the work of an ordinary "farm laborer," yet I find them men of finer intelligence and of keen craftsmanship in their line. And they often do excellent service in that way.

MATT C. PUGSLEY.



WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Chicago.

A few nights ago my wife expressed herself strongly, for her, against what she was emphatic enough to call "the brutality" of the recent "hanging bee" in Chicago, as she denounced it. I reminded her that these officials were not "brutes," but were her own official agents, carrying out her own orders as a citizen. This rebuke rather shocked her. But our daughter, who is thirteen now, came to her rescue with, "Don't you mind him, ma; they don't represent *us*, they are not *our* agents." You should have heard the emphasis on "us" and "our." But I guess she was right.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN."



FROM A CALIFORNIA HOUSEMOTHER

In a Private Letter.

I thoroughly enjoy the right of suffrage. There came with the power to exercise it exaltation I never felt before. I could speak for my belief, and be counted, and it would mean being more real. Do you catch my thought? It's crudely expressed. But it surprised me—I knew I should be glad, but I did not know I should feel freed.

A. K. H.

*Mr. Pugsley probably refers to an editorial paragraph on page 922 of The Public of September 8, 1911.—Editors of The Public.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, February 27, 1912.

Roosevelt and the Ohio Constitutional Convention.

At the day's session of the Constitutional Convention of Ohio on the 21st, ex-President Roosevelt delivered upon official invitation a carefully prepared address on a variety of the problems of Constitutional government, chief among them being the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. The first two of these reforms, in their application as well to legislation as to Constitutional amendments, a majority of the delegates are under pledges to their constituents to adopt. [See current volume, page 181.]



In the course of his speech Mr. Roosevelt said:

We should discriminate between two purposes we have in view. The first is the effort to provide what are themselves the ends of good government; the second is the effort to provide proper machinery for the achievement of these ends. The ends of good government in our democracy are to secure by genuine popular rule a high average of moral and material well being among our citizens. . . . Our fundamental purpose must be to secure genuine equality of opportunity. No man should receive a dollar unless that dollar has been fairly earned. Every dollar received should represent a dollar's worth of service rendered. . . . As to the kind of governmental machinery which at this time and under existing social and industrial conditions—it seems to me that, as a people, we need the short ballot. You cannot get good service from the public servant if you cannot see him, and there is no more effective way of hiding him than by mixing him up with a multitude of others so that they are none of them important enough to catch the eye of the average workaday citizen. . . . I believe in providing for direct nominations by the people, including therein direct preferential primaries for the election of delegates to the national nominating conventions. . . . I believe in the election of United States Senators by direct vote. Just as actual experience convinced our people that Presidents should be elected (as they now are in practice, although not in theory) by direct vote of the people instead of by indirect vote through an untrammelled electoral college, so actual experience has convinced us that Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people instead of indirectly through the various legislatures. I believe in the Initiative and the Referendum, which should be used not to destroy representative government, but to correct it whenever it becomes misrepresentative. . . . The power to invoke such direct action, both by Initiative and by Referendum, should

be provided in such fashion as to prevent its being wantonly or too frequently used. I do not believe that it should be made the easy or ordinary way of taking action. In the great majority of cases it is far better that action on legislative matters should be taken by those specially delegated to perform the task; in other words, that the work should be done by the experts chosen to perform it. But where the men thus delegated fail to perform their duty, then it should be in the power of the people themselves to perform the duty. . . . As to the Recall, I do not believe that there is any great necessity for it as regards short term elective officers. . . . I believe it should be generally provided, but with such restrictions as will make it available only when there is a widespread and genuine public feeling among a majority of the voters. There remains the question of the Recall of judges. . . . Courts have repeatedly defeated the aroused moral sentiment of a whole commonwealth. . . . By the abuse of the power to declare laws unconstitutional the courts have become a lawmaking, instead of a law enforcing, agency. Here again the settled will of society to correct confessed evils has been set at naught by those who place metaphysics above life. It is the courts, not the constitutions, that are at fault. . . . The judge is just as much the servant of the people as any other official. Of course he must act conscientiously. So must every other official. He must not do anything wrong because there is popular clamor for it, any more than under similar circumstances a governor or a legislator or a public utilities commissioner should do wrong. Each must follow his conscience, even though to do so costs him his place. But in their turn the people must follow their conscience, and when they have definitely decided on a given policy they must have public servants who will carry out that policy. . . . There is one kind of Recall in which I very earnestly believe, and the immediate adoption of which I urge. . . . When a judge decides a Constitutional question, when he decides what the people as a whole can or cannot do, the people should have the right to recall that decision if they think it wrong. . . . If the courts have the final say-so on all legislative acts, and if no appeal can lie from them to the people, then they are the irresponsible masters of the people.



La Follette and Roosevelt.

Mr. Roosevelt's speech before the Ohio Constitutional convention on the 21st having been heralded as a political platform on which he is to take the place of Senator La Follette as the progressive Republican candidate for President, members of the progressive Republican conference gave out on the 23rd the following communication to them from Senator La Follette in reply to their assurances of support for him:

Without one word I should have known where to find you all. Nowhere are there braver, brainier fighters for human rights. Trained and seasoned in many battles, you never swerve from the straight course. Again and again you have made what those without vision call "defeat" the very corner stone of great and lasting victory. We are facing a civic

crisis. The demand for better control of government and the just solution of our economic and social problems is nationwide. The progressive platform must be thoroughly constructive and uncompromising on the great issues that are now to be fought out to a finish. It is no time for compromise either on principles or on men. It was the uncompromising course in Wisconsin that secured the wise and progressive statutes which distinguish our commonwealth. Standing solidly together, we will continue the Wisconsin way until it is the national way. I believe that time is near at hand.

[See current volume, page 181.]



Theodore Roosevelt, Presidential Candidate.

In response to the address of Governors Glasscock, Aldrich, Bass, Carey, Osborn, Stubbs and Hadley, requesting ex-President Roosevelt to become a candidate for the Republican nomination for President, Mr. Roosevelt gave out the following letter on the 24th:

New York, Feb. 24, 1912.—Gentlemen: I deeply appreciate your letter and I realize to the full the heavy responsibility it puts upon me, expressing as it does the carefully considered convictions of the men elected by popular vote to stand as the heads of government in their several States. I absolutely agree with you that this matter is not one to be decided with any reference to the personal preferences or interests of any man, but purely from the standpoint of the interests of the people as a whole. I will accept the nomination for President if it is tendered to me, and I will adhere to this decision until the convention has expressed its preference. One of the chief principles for which I have stood and for which I now stand and which I have always endeavored and always shall endeavor to reduce to action is the genuine rule of the people; and therefore I hope that, so far as possible, the people may be given the chance through direct primaries to express their preference as to who shall be the nominee of the Republican Presidential convention. Very truly yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

[See current volume, page 157.]



Roosevelt's Boston Speech.

After announcing his candidacy Mr. Roosevelt supplemented his Columbus speech with one at Boston, delivering it on the 26th before the Massachusetts legislature. In the latter speech he in terms favored "direct nominations, direct primaries, including direct Presidential primaries, not only for local but for State delegates," and declared his belief "in the adoption of wisely chosen devices under which the Initiative and Referendum can be used, not as a substitute for a representative government, but to make representative government genuinely representative, to see it corrected if it becomes misrepresentative." On the subject of the Recall of judges, Mr. Roose-

velt made an extended explanation of and argument for his position in the course of which he said:

I am not advocating the recall of judges; I am advocating a measure which, if adopted, will prevent the necessity of the recall of judges. I am not advocating the recall of the judge; I am advocating the recall of legalism to justice. My proposal applies only to the legislative acts which the courts declare unconstitutional. I refer specifically to laws, passed in the collective interests of the whole community, passed by the legislative body—your body here—in the exercise of the power to promote the general welfare, in the exercise of the police power which is inherent in the legislature. If such a law duly dealing with the collective interests of the community as a whole, passed by the legislature and signed by the Governor, is declared unconstitutional by the court, I ask that the people be given the right, if they choose to exercise that right, themselves to pass final judgment upon the proposition. . . . I am not wedded to any method. . . . but I am wedded to the purpose that I uphold. I wish to put a stop to the courts nullifying laws which the people deem necessary to their general welfare. . . . Differences about method are differences of detail, but the difference is fundamental between me and those men who hold that the people are not, after due thought and deliberation, to find their desire expressed in the law of the land.



The Lawrence Strike.

Both Houses of Congress were afire on the 26th with speeches on the textile strike at Lawrence, Mass. Senator Poindexter of the State of Washington, just returned from a visit to Lawrence, introduced a resolution directing an inquiry by the United States Commissioner of Labor. He declared that Lawrence is in the hands of "military autocrats." Senator Lodge objected to any interference with the affairs of his State, in which he was supported by Senators Bailey, Williams, Overman, Chilton and others. "They have substituted white slavery for black slavery," said Senator Tillman. In the House, Representative Wilson of Pennsylvania proposed a resolution to direct the committee on labor, of which he is chairman, to investigate conditions at Lawrence and appropriating \$10,000 for the work. Representative Berger spoke on the subject and read to the House a telegram from the textile workers' strike committee, saying a delegation of children and strikers would come to Washington to appear before the rules committee when it considers the Wilson resolution. Mr. Berger also has a resolution for an investigation pending. [See current volume, page 156.]



Governor Foss of Massachusetts has ordered the attorney general of his State to make immediately "a rigid investigation" and if he finds "that any

citizen has been deprived of a lawful exercise of his constitutional rights" that he "immediately set in motion such machinery of the law as will guarantee to all citizens free and untrammled exercise of these rights." The immediate cause for this action appears to be the interference of local authorities with efforts of strikers to provide for their children outside the State. Several of these children had been sent to temporary homes in New York, as heretofore reported in these columns, but on the 25th the local authorities arrested 14 children about to go to Philadelphia and sent them to the "city home." A dispatch in the Chicago Inter Ocean of the 25th thus describes the matter:

Contrary to the orders issued by the civil and military authorities, prohibiting the exportation of children of the striking textile mill operatives, an unsuccessful attempt was made today by the strike committee of the Industrial Workers of the World to send a party of thirty children to Philadelphia. Before the police and militia could prevent the attempt, several heads were broken by the clubs of the officers, a number of men were arrested, and all of the children, whose ages ranged from 4 to 14 years, were taken into custody. To discourage possible attempts on the part of the strikers to rescue the children, four companies of infantry and a squad of cavalry surrounded the railroad station when the children were taken into custody. The action was taken as a result of the order issued last Saturday by Colonel Sweetser, commander of the militia doing patrol duty here, forbidding the exportation of additional parties of children to other cities in an endeavor to arouse sympathy in the cause of the strikers, without permission of the parents.

In behalf of the strikers it is stated that all these deportations of children are with the consent of their parents.



Direct Legislation for Ohio.

United support of 80 of the members of the Ohio Constitutional convention for an Initiative and Referendum clause was announced at Columbus on the 21st. "There will come out of the conference of the Initiative and Referendum supporters a measure drafted along sane, conservative and safe lines, one that will appeal to the sober judgment of the delegates and will be adopted by the convention," said George W. Harris of Hamilton, as reported in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of the 22nd. He added: "There are no serious differences between delegates. The differences merely are matters of expression and detail in the main and will be settled during the next few conferences. The friends of Initiative and Referendum all over the State need fear no outcome detrimental to the cause. We have over 80 votes and the redraft of the proposal will be such as will enlist this united support when it comes from the committee. The time required for redrafting the instrument will not be long." This announce-

ment was followed on the 22d by the following statement, published in the Plain Dealer of the 23d:

Supporters of the Initiative and Referendum reached an agreement tonight on the vital points involved in the framing of that measure. The final vote at the conference was 51 to 1. Two votes by proxy were also counted and President Bigelow of the Constitutional convention announced he had personal knowledge of nine more votes, or enough to pass the measure. The compromise section of the measure was written by Robert Crosser. He explained that it was submitted as a basis for negotiations, but did not represent his views. Crosser declined to vote on it and it is not certain that he will support it in the convention. Under the compromise section, laws that are Initiated and sent to the legislature for passage need only 4 per cent of the signatures of the voters of the State. If the legislature fails or refuses to pass the law within forty days from the time the General Assembly convenes, then the measure automatically goes on the ballot at the next general election.* If the people wish to Initiate a law direct, 8 per cent of the voters of the State must sign the petition. If the people wish a referendum, they need only 6 per cent of the signatures, but if they wish a Constitutional amendment the measure requires 12 per cent.

Herbert S. Bigelow, president of the convention, as reported in the Cincinnati Post of the 23d, said of this compromise plan:

The Initiative and Referendum plank agreed to at the I. and R. caucus last night, and which will be supported by a majority of all the delegates, is a vast improvement over the I. and R. provisions of any State of the Union. On a percentage of petitions higher than in any other State, a proposed law may be put upon the ballot without first being presented to the legislature. But on a lower percentage than in any other State, a proposed law may be first presented to the legislature, and then referred to the people if the legislature fails or refuses to pass it. This plan encourages the use of the "indirect or legislative initiative" advocated by Theodore Roosevelt. The plan agreed to by the friends of the I. and R. has met with their enthusiastic indorsement and will be acceptable to all advocates of Direct Legislation. It is absolutely defensible and argument-proof. It will be adopted by the Convention without change, and the people of Ohio will indorse it by an overwhelming majority.

As reported in the same paper, the Cincinnati Post of the 23d, Mr. Crosser, who was sponsor in the Convention for the original plan, said of the substitute, which also he drafted:

The proposition adopted by the caucus ought to be satisfactory to both the radical and the ultra-conservative I. and R. men. I concede that the low percentage for the legislative or indirect Initiative will probably result in that method being used far more frequently than the direct Initiative with its higher percentages, but what's the difference so long as the people get exactly what they want?

[See current volume, page 181.]

*This is modeled on the Wisconsin plan.

California Campaign for Home Rule in Taxation.

A meeting that may be regarded as the opening of the campaign for home rule in municipal taxation in California was held in the Building Trades Temple, San Francisco, on the 20th, under the auspices of the California League for Home Rule in Taxation, of which James G. Maguire is president and A. Laurence Johnson (son of the late Albert M. Johnson and nephew of Governor Johnson) is secretary. The State Labor Commissioner, J. L. McLaughlin, presided at the meeting, and the principal speakers were W. S. U'Ren of Oregon and J. Stitt Wilson, Mayor of Berkeley. Judge Maguire announced that the formal Initiative petitions for the proposed amendment allowing local option in taxation are nearly ready for circulation for signatures.



Mayoral Election in Seattle.

Along with two forms of the Singletax for local revenue purposes—progressive and immediate—Seattle is to vote on the 5th for Mayor and members of the Council. The nominating primaries were held on the 21st. The two highest candidates for Mayor, one of whom will be chosen at the election on the 5th, were ex-Mayor H. C. Gill and ex-State Senator George F. Cotterill. Following are the returns:

| | |
|----------------------------------|---------------|
| H. C. Gill | 24,630 |
| George F. Cotterill | 14,231 |
| Thomas A. Parish | 12,669 |
| Hulett M. Wells (Socialist)..... | 10,841 |
| David P. Rice | 95 |
| Total | 62,466 |

Ex-Mayor Gill was recalled by popular vote about a year ago. Ex-Senator Cotterill is a leading Singletaxer of the State of Washington of long-time standing and high repute. The third candidate, Mr. Parish, publicly announces his intention of supporting Mr. Cotterill in the interest of law, civic honor and decency and urges his supporters to follow his example. The Post-Intelligencer also supports Senator Cotterill, even if ungraciously:

Better George F. Cotterill, with his unbecoming conceit, his loquacity, his pessimistic faultfinding and all his isms, than Hiram C. Gill, with his avowed disrespect of law and his odious past. Better a whole wordy term of Cotterill than a few turbulent months of Gill! Better far for Seattle! To the thousands of good citizens who, abhorring Gillism, but restricted to a choice between two extremists, are reluctantly resolved to give Gill another chance, the Post-Intelligencer urges a sober second thought. Do not do it. Putting back into office a man who failed so wretchedly and who stood for an order of things so intolerable is not a good business proposition. Seattle cannot afford to do it. Cotterill, at least, is clean and capable, and stands for decency. The Post-Intelligencer has said he could not be elected. It hopes it was mistaken. It

hopes, in the situation now presented, that citizens will realize that Cotterill, with all his temperamental faults, is infinitely to be preferred to another nauseating, poisonous dose of Gillism. Be cheerful, therefore! Take your medicine, citizens of Seattle! Go to it and without a wry face!

In his election address Mr. Cotterill alludes thus to his "temperament" and his "isms":

I have one ambition: to make the world, and particularly that small but precious corner of it where I am called to serve—Seattle—a little better, safer, more just, and the people happier, because I have lived and labored. I have one "ism," which embraces all worth while. To "do unto others as I would have them do unto me," to apply in government the Golden Rule instead of the rule of gold. I shall have one official guide, and one only—the will of the people, expressed in due form of law. It would be as foreign to my nature to strive to enforce personal standards unsupported by law as to lower the law to the level of the lawbreaker. I have no "experiments" to initiate on Seattle save those which the people have ordered or may direct by their own deliberate discussion and lawful action.

[See vol. xiv, pp. 151, 156, 201, 251, 953, 1053; and current volume, pages 15 and 81.]



Disorder in Mexico.

General Orozco and General Trevino, both of the old régime, were reported on the 23rd to have joined the insurrection against President Madero. The insurrectos on the 26th encamped northwest of Juarez and demanded the surrender of the city. Not receiving a favorable reply they fired a volley at the city at 10 a. m., on the 27th, and then entered without opposition. On the same day collisions between American ranchmen and Mexicans at the Nelson Morris ranch on the border, and between Texas militia and supposed Mexicans at El Paso (opposite Juarez), were reported. [See current volume, page 182.]



Lloyd George and Woman Suffrage.

A great audience at a mass meeting in Albert Hall, London, held on the 23rd by the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies, was addressed by Lloyd George, chancellor of the British Exchequer. He was constantly interrupted by militant woman suffragists who had gone to the meeting to prevent his being heard, but the vast majority of the audience gave him such hearty support that the interruptions were ineffective. The meeting had been called in connection with the campaign he is making to secure the adoption by the House of Commons of a woman suffrage amendment to the Ministerial voting bill. The only woman suffrage association of national scope from which opposition to this policy comes is the one of which Mrs. Pankhurst is the leader. In

the course of his speech at Albert Hall, Mr. George said:

It is hopeless for the women to look to the Unionists [Tory party] for help, as three-quarters of the Conservatives are opposed to woman suffrage.

To the demands of the militant suffragists for a Government bill (that is, a measure unanimously approved by the Cabinet before its presentation to the House of Commons) Mr. George replied in the same speech that—

these suffragists would never get a Government measure giving women the right to the franchise. The only way they could succeed was by bending all their energies to secure the amendment of the proposed manhood suffrage bill while it was being discussed in the House of Commons. Two-thirds of the members of the Cabinet and three-quarters of the House of Commons, he said, would support an amendment to the bill giving women the right to vote, and such an amendment would certainly be carried.

Another news report of Mr. George's speech is as follows:

During his speech Mr. Lloyd George frequently was interrupted with cries of "traitor" and "coward." He said woman suffrage had not been included in the Government bill because the question was one on which no party had agreed, but that three-fourths of the Liberal members of the House of Commons and two-thirds of the members of the Cabinet would support an amendment covering it. If suffrage for women was made a Government measure, the Chancellor added, both the Liberal party and the Cabinet would be "hopelessly shattered"; but if it was introduced as an amendment to the Reform Bill this would enable all its supporters, irrespective of party, to vote for it and a suffrage bill would be carried next year.

[See vol. xiv, pp. 1218, 1282, 1294; current volume, pages 52, 98.]



Local Land Values Taxation in Great Britain.

Following its action of January 25 on the taxation of land values for municipal purposes, the Glasgow (Scotland) Town Council on the 1st of February adopted the following on motion of Bailie (Councilman) Battersby, by 42 to 18:

That the Corporation having approved of the resolution contained in the Parliamentary Bills Committee's minute, of date 25th, January, 1912, relative to the levying of a tax for local purposes on the valuation of land under the Finance (1909-10) Act 1910, the Town Clerk be instructed to communicate the said resolution to all rating authorities in Great Britain, requesting them to petition the Government in favor of the same at the earliest possible date.

The resolution referred to in the above motion, and which had been adopted the week before by a vote of 43 to 11, as heretofore reported in these columns, was in the following terms:

That, having regard to the facts (1) that the principle of the taxation of land values has been con-

sistently supported by the Corporation with the view of securing to the city and the ratepayers the benefit of such taxation, and (2) that the Government are at present collecting, or are in contemplation of collecting, information and all relative data as to the true valuation of all lands situated in urban and suburban districts throughout the country for the purpose of such taxation, the Corporation, following out their recognized policy in regard to this matter, resolve to petition Parliament to the effect that powers be granted to all local rating authorities throughout the country—county, urban and town councils—to impose and levy on the new valuation a tax on the value of land for local purposes, distinct and separate from the increment duty to be imposed and levied under the provisions of the Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910.

[See current volume, page 179.]



Announcing a vigorous campaign of education on the basis of the above petition, the United Committees for the Taxation of Land Values explains that—

it should be noted that Glasgow led the municipal agitation for the rating of land values from 1902 to 1906. Many Municipal Conferences were held at which the evidence produced for this change in the incidence of local rating was considered. The two main reasons for the proposed change advocated by the various municipal representatives were, first, to procure a share in the land value created by the expenditure of the rates in carrying out services that led to the direct increase of land values; and, second, that the monopoly price of land was mainly responsible for bad housing conditions. The rating of land values was advocated particularly with a view to bringing the value of land back to a normal point at which it would be possible to erect decent housing accommodation, and to effect much needed municipal improvement in many other directions. Thus Glasgow once more takes the lead in the struggle of the municipalities for a sane and business-like rating system. It is admitted on all sides that the present system of rating has broken down. It penalizes industry, stultifies development, and by encouraging the withholding of land from use causes unemployment and poverty. The rating of land values is the only practical alternative that will remedy the anomalies and injustices of the present system. By exempting improvements of all kinds from rating and raising local revenues by levying on the basis of land value alone, whether land be used or unused, publicly created values will be made available for public uses; the barriers which land monopoly now opposes to all municipal and industrial development and enterprises will be broken down. The building trade will be relieved from a tariff which restricts production and it will be made possible for more, better and cheaper dwellings to be erected, creating a fresh demand for labor in the building and all allied and auxiliary trades. Idle land will be forced into use on fair terms extending production in industry of all kinds and banishing unemployment. The municipalities have much to gain by the adoption of the proposed new system of

levying rates. Every year the problem is up as to where the revenue is to be found for increasing public necessities. A reduction of expenditure is out of the question if municipal efficiency is to be maintained. To increase rates on the present basis is almost as much out of the question, for the business men in all communities already complain that the burden is well-nigh intolerable. Here then is the way out. It is the performance of public services that creates and maintains land value, and it is to this fund that we must turn for our revenues. It is the duty of all citizens to see that this resolution of the Glasgow Town Council is fully considered by their respective local bodies. Too often in the past, matters of this kind get no further than the office of the Council Clerk. Public-spirited citizens in all parts of the Kingdom are appealed to to see that this does not happen with the Glasgow Town Council's resolution. The matter is of too vital importance to our public life.



China Arranges Her Republic.

A draft of a provisional constitution has been adopted by the National Assembly sitting at Nanking. It empowers the President to appoint a premier and to form a cabinet, which will be subject to the approval of a National Assembly, consisting of five delegates from each of the Provinces and from Tibet and Mongolia. The Assembly will be superseded later by a regular Parliament, which will adopt a permanent Constitution. General Li Yuen Heng, one of the Republican military leaders, was elected on the 20th as Vice-President of the Republic. An armed escort was dispatched from Shanghai on the 22nd, to proceed to Peking, and notify Yuan Shi Kai of his election as President, and conduct him to Nanking. According to a dispatch from Peking on the 25th, the new government has decided that the country shall hereafter be officially styled "the Great Republic of China," the word "great" being intended to include Tibet, Turkestan, Mongolia, and Manchuria. [See current volume, page 178.]

NEWS NOTES

—Judson King of Toledo (secretary of the National Referendum League) and Dr. Cora Smith Eaton of Seattle, were married at Seattle on the 14th.

—General Pedro Nel Ospina, Colombian minister to the United States, was recalled by the Colombian government on the 22nd. [See current volume, pages 171, 180.]

—By a recent special referendum election the people of Switzerland have adopted state insurance against sickness and accident, by a vote of 250,000 as against 220,000.

—President Taft submitted to Congress on the 20th the report of the Employers' Liability Commission and the Commission's proposed employers' liability and workmen's compensation bill, accompanied by a

Presidential message urging the enactment of the measure.

—Governor Osborn has called a special session of the Michigan legislature to meet on the 26th for the purpose of deciding upon the enactment of a Presidential preference primary law.

—John H. Marble, formerly of San Francisco and chief of the division of prosecutions of the Interstate Commerce Commission, was on the 23rd appointed Secretary of the Commission.

—William J. Bryan, Edward F. Dunne and Herbert S. Bigelow will be the speakers at the tenth anniversary meeting of the Altgeld Memorial Association, at Orchestra Hall, Sunday, March 10, at 2:30 o'clock. Daniel Cruice will preside.

—By a disastrous fire at Houston, Texas on the 21st more than a dozen of that city's most important industrial enterprises were reduced to ruins, and 1,000 persons were rendered homeless. The financial loss is roughly put at \$7,000,000.

—The Democratic convention for Missouri elected on the 20th. eight delegates at large to the national convention, each with half a vote, and instructed them for Champ Clark for President on every ballot. [See current volume, pages 111, 181.]

—The Chamber of Representatives of the Principality of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Germany, elected on the 23rd Socialists as speaker and deputy speaker, thus becoming the first German state whose Parliament is presided over by a Socialist. The chamber consists of 9 Socialists, 4 Liberals and 3 Conservatives.

—An English traveler, Lord Cranforth, has arrived in London from East Africa, and reports that the inferences to be drawn from facts learned in Abyssinia are that King Menelik, whose death has been so many times reported and denied, is really dead but that there is a pretense kept up by the government that he is alive. [See vol. xiv, p. 469.]

—The lower house of the Swedish Riksdag has passed a resolution that no titles of nobility are to be used in the minutes or other official documents of the house. As the only distinction enjoyed by the nobility in Sweden at the present time consists merely in the right to the title preceding their name (Count, Baron, etc.), this resolution is a distinct blow at the whole institution of nobility in that country.

—A resolution adopted on the 26th by the Illinois Mine Workers in convention in Springfield, pledges the support of that organization to the political "party which stands unequivocally for the protection and advocacy of organized labor," by which the Socialist party is understood. Other resolutions demand of the next General Assembly the submission of a Constitutional amendment embodying the initiative, Referendum and Recall.

—W. Morgan Shuster has arrived in this country from Persia, having spoken in London on the way, as already reported. He addressed the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia on the evening of the 24th, with a crowded audience. He repeated his criticisms against the British government for the support it is giving the Russian policy in Persia, and reiterated his severe condemnation for the alleged cruel treatment of the

Persians by Russia. [See current volume, pages 109, 183.]

—The first of a series of monthly dinners to be given by the Manhattan Single Tax Club of New York City was held at Pabst's Restaurant on the night of Washington's Birthday. It is reported to have been one of the largest and in every other way most successful dinners ever managed by this club. The attendants, over 250, were addressed by Robert Baker, Hon. Frederic C. Howe, Franklin Pierce and Joseph Fels, the latter being the guest of honor. Dr. Mary D. Hussey presided as toastmaster.

—Oklahoma's Democratic State convention, which began on the 22nd with a faction fight, ended late on the 23rd with the selection of a split delegation to the Baltimore convention. It was agreed that 20 delegates be elected from the State-at-large, each with half a vote, 10 of them instructed for Champ Clark and 10 for Woodrow Wilson. The delegates are instructed to divide the Oklahoma vote so long as Clark and Wilson are before the convention, and with the withdrawal of either to center on the other. [See current volume, pages 111, 181.]

—The Tory amendment to the address of the Commons in reply to the speech from the Throne, moved in the British House of Commons on the 19th, was rejected on the 20th by a vote of 324 to 231. The amendment states that the Government had not fulfilled its pledges to reconstruct the House of Lords. In summing up for the Government, Premier Asquith declared that pledges had not been given that the reconstitution of the House of Lords should precede either home rule or an alteration of the basis of representation in the House of Commons.

—The Supreme Court of Illinois decided on the 24th that an appropriation by the legislature for the medical department of the University of Illinois is unconstitutional because it was not printed in its final form before enactment, as required by the State Constitution. As the Illinois legislature has frequently neglected this Constitutional requirement it is feared that many other Illinois laws may be involved, including the Australian ballot law, the public school law, the labor arbitration law, the State board of pardons law, the Chicago municipal court law, and the primary election law.

—In the war between Italy and Turkey over Tripoli, Italian warships bombarded Beirut, on the coast of Syria, on the 24th, killing sixty peaceable citizens and wounding many more. A Turkish cruiser and a torpedo boat were sunk during the bombardment. The Turks sent a circular note to the Powers on the same day, declaring their determination to close the Dardanelles, and to expel all Italians from Turkey. The Italian Chamber of Deputies on the 23rd passed a bill for the annexation of Tripoli by a vote of 431 to 38. The negative votes were cast by Socialists, a few Republicans and one Radical. [See current volume, page 159.]

—The fifty-years' anniversary of the battle between the Monitor and the Merrimac, in connection with which the Swedish-American engineer, John Ericsson, played so important a part as the inventor and designer of the victorious vessel, was celebrated by the American Society of Swedish Engineers by a dinner at the home of the society, 271 Hicks St., Brooklyn, N. Y., on February 17. An

address was delivered by Mr. Erik Oberg, associate editor of "Machinery," on "John Ericsson, the Man," in which the speaker pointed out that it was not merely on account of his genius as an engineer, but on account of his personal characteristics, his energy, his refusal to yield one inch against his own convictions, his fundamental honesty in dealing with men and conditions, that John Ericsson achieved so prominent a place in the engineering world.

—A motion in Clarence S. Darrow's behalf in connection with his indictment at Los Angeles, to compel the District Attorney to file a transcript of the evidence before the Grand Jury upon the basis of which the indictment had been found, was denied on the 23d by Judge Hutton. While a transcript of immaterial evidence had been filed, none was filed of the important evidence, the District Attorney explaining that no record of the latter had been made. In denying Mr. Darrow's motion, Judge Hutton announced his intention to fix an early day for trial. Thereupon Mr. Darrow's attorney filed a petition with the District Court of Appeals for a mandate requiring Judge Hutton to order the District Attorney to supply a complete transcript of the evidence, and for a writ of prohibition forbidding Judge Hutton to set a date for trial until the complete transcript is turned over to the defense. The petition sets forth that unless a full transcript is given, the defense cannot prepare for trial. On the 26th the District Court of Appeals granted a temporary mandate in accordance with the petition, and upon the question of making this mandate permanent a hearing is set for the 4th. [See current volume, page 112.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Lawrence as An Object Lesson.

The Boston Common (ind.), Feb. 17.—Entirely regardless of immediate conditions at Lawrence, there should, for obvious reasons, be a thorough investigation of the textile industry in Massachusetts by the law-making power of Massachusetts. If people must pay a subsidy to textile manufacturers, they have a right to know precisely what the social results are. . . . In Lawrence we see it doing much for the mill owners and little for the workers. True, the courts are open to poor as well as to rich; and the soldiery is to protect the humblest home as well as the greatest mill. That is true enough in theory. But how differently the results work out in fact! All the protection, whether of tariffs, of courts or of soldiery, has, as a matter of fact, gone to the side of property, big property. Human welfare has been lost in the scramble for privilege or is upheld only by "anarchists." Such a basis of society cannot endure. If we would escape social revolution let us seek with diligence for social justice.



The Resignation of Sun Yat Sen.

(New York) Nation, Feb. 22.—The resignation of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, provisional President of the Chinese republic at Nanking, is an added illustration

of how history insists on being dramatic in spite of the scientific historian's efforts to make it a matter of documents. The brief note in which the intellectual leader of the Chinese revolution lays down his office and makes way for the man of action whom the immediate necessities of the situation demand is not unworthy to be classed with Gen. Washington's farewell to his fellow officers. The act does not mean, of course, Dr. Sun's retirement from active participation in the rebuilding of the Chinese government. If it should turn out that Yuan Shi Kai's motives are not of the best, and an attempt at a military dictatorship is made, Dr. Sun will undoubtedly be called upon once more to lead the republican movement. If Yuan Shi Kai is faithful to the Republic, the future may see Dr. Sun elected to the Presidency in the same way that Washington was succeeded in the Presidency by the theoreticians and statesmen of the Revolution.



Financial Statistics.

The Cincinnati Post (ind.)—\$4.18, \$5.10, \$5.60, \$5.86, \$5.06, \$5.77, \$5.60, \$5.08, \$5.60, \$5.89. Ordinary figures? An account of the weekly expenditures for incidentals? The sums you and I spend for tobacco, theater tickets, drinks or car fare? The data of a housewife who wants to know the cost of gas, or coal, or water, or ice, or milk? No, none of these! No ordinary dollars and fractions of dollars, these. These figures drip blood, human blood; the blood of men, women and children. They stand for hunger and cold, for disease and degradation, vice, lawlessness, shame. That \$4.18 is history of the youth of a 16-year-old girl. She worked 56 hours per week. Rents high, fuel high, food high, clothes almost impossible! Before her eyes, lolling on soft cushions, bedecked with jewels, protected by rich furs, rides the daughter of Mammon, born to luxury, who works not at all. The girl of that \$4.18, hungry, cold, hopeless, futureless, has naught save her body, and she becomes the prey of the rich young fellow who later marries into Mammon's "best" circles. Arrest her! Pounce upon her with the police! Six months, \$200 fine and warning to leave the city. That \$5.10 is a boy without boyhood. . . . At 14 years of age he is 64 years old. He steals. He throws stones at the officers. He hates the law. Bayonet the "undesirable!" That \$5.98 is a man—a full grown man. He has wife and babes whom he loves, "even as you and I." Observe his slouching gait, his wrinkled, leathery cheeks, his fierce, sullen eyes. You may see the scars of 56 hours of soul-killing toil, but you may not look into that heart and see the raging fires, the seething hell of envy and hunger for vengeance as well as justice. Bread, fuel, rental, clothes, medicine for five for \$5.98. Away with him! He's hopeless. . . . Awful figures. They cry out in terrible appeal that God must some time answer though all others be deaf. They impeach the virtue of our daughters in their comfortable homes. They proclaim that the happy youth and bright prospects of our boys are stolen from others. They shriek across the centuries to give the lie to our claim of progression from barbarism. They are the foul blots upon the escutcheon of so-called civilization from

which drip vile hypocrisy and dishonor. They brand this age as the age of cannibalism of the souls as well as the bodies of helpless victims. What are they? They are figures taken from ten average pay envelopes of employes of the textile mills at Lawrence, Mass., where the great power of a great State and of a great nation stands ready to shoot and bayonet our brothers who protest too much against degradation and misery being fastened upon them and their children forever. Ten poor, little soiled pay envelopes sent to the writer's desk. And printed on their backs is the superlative sarcasm of a big bank—"Do not spend all your income"—society's, civilization's favorite prescription for the hellish wrong of it all!

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

IT WAS NOT MEANT TO BE.

For The Public.

My heart grows chill at the world of ill
That lies on every hand,
Like sands of stone over treasure prone,
In the waste of a golden strand.

For the fathers work till in pain they shirk,
And in stupor their misery rests,
While the mothers weep, and the children keep
The visions of grief in their breasts.

"As the perfume blows from the lips of the rose,
As the sunshine and rain from the sky,
From the heart of man"—says the wonderful plan—
"Let the message of happiness fly."

Then I charge you strong—ye righters of wrong—
To unravel this riddle of fate,
Lest we reach the road where we lighten the load,
In exhaustion, and conquer too late.

THORWALD SIEGFRIED.



THE BOY SCOUTS.

From an Article by Dan Beard, National Scout Commissioner, in the Review of Reviews for October, 1911.

Some husky men in their shirt sleeves were pitching quoits, when one of the players somehow lost his balance just as he was about to make a pitch. In his struggle to save himself, his body swung round in a half circle, he flung his arms out to balance himself, and the iron ring flew off at a tangent, gyrating through the air, landing in the midst of a merry group of picnickers, who were eating their lunch from a cloth spread on the grass.

There was a shrill scream, and a young woman threw up her hands and fell backward on the sward, with an ugly gash in her head from which the red blood flowed profusely. The other wom-

en screamed shrilly too, either out of sympathy or because it was the only thing they knew how to do in such an emergency.

The men joined the crowd and elbowed and jostled one another, stupidly, helplessly staring at the victim of the accident, at the same time shutting off all fresh air from the now unconscious girl.

No one knew what to do; the accident was unlooked for, unusual, and, hence they were unprepared. A small boy not over twelve years of age in a khaki suit, a modified cowboy's hat, and with a bag like a canvas haversack hanging by a strap over his shoulders, was attracted by the commotion, and, boy-fashion, wormed his way through the crowd. He was not excited, nor nonplussed; he looked calmly around at the crowd, and, in the even voice of one accustomed to being obeyed, gave the command to "Stand back and give this woman air."

Without question and without realizing their own absurdly ignominious position, the people quietly obeyed, and at a respectful distance watched the small boy stanch the blood, close the gaping lips of the wound, apply the antiseptics, and, with the deftness of an expert surgeon, bind up the head with bandages. He even administered a restorative, and then as the young woman sat up, blinking at the crowd, the boy, a lad of a few words, said, "Now take this woman home." A minute more and the little figure had mingled with the crowd and disappeared.

It was not until it was all over that anyone thought to ask who had so masterfully taken charge of the situation, and efficiently rendered first aid to the injured.

At first there was no answer, and then another lad with the same sort of a campaign hat answered, "Oh, him? Why he's one of the Boy Scouts of America. He belongs to Mr. Sutton's troop. He passed such a bully examination on first aid that the patrol made him the 'toter' of the first-aid kit. What does B. P. stand for? Oh, that means 'Be Prepared.'" With that the youth saluted and retired to join his friends.

This incident happened in the Keystone State. Similar incidents are happening all over.

Such incidents are typical of the spirit which the Boy Scout movement seeks to arouse in the boys. Its threefold aim of strengthening the body, training the mind, and building up the character, is based upon the practical idea of leading a boy to be thorough, honorable and alert in his play and to be thoughtful of others.

The Scout activities appeal to the boys because they include innumerable things which their heroes of fiction and history have done. In place of trying to force the boys to conform to the artificial ideas and standards of the adults, evolved by adults who lead artificial lives, *we go to the boys themselves*, find out the real things which interest

them, the fundamental causes for their activities, the kind of men that make heroes for them, and then we endeavor to show them how they can derive entertainment in natural boyish ways; how they can emulate the remarkable virtues of such real boy's heroes as the picturesque groups of remarkable persons developed by our frontier, whom we call the Buckskin Knights—such men as Jonathan Chapman (Appleseed Johnny), a follower of Emanuel Swedenborg's teachings; the daredevil Simon Kenton, a devout Methodist; the greatest scout that ever lived, Daniel Boone, of Quaker ancestors, whose whole life was influenced by the precepts of the Friends; the great pathfinder, Marquette, a priest of the Roman Catholic Church; Abraham Lincoln, a product of the frontier; George Washington, the foundation of whose remarkable character was built in the wilderness among the Buckskin men.

The boys by becoming Scouts have an opportunity to learn woodcraft, gain knowledge of birds and trees, learn the secrets of the woods, to swim, paddle a canoe and do many other things boys love to do. At all times they have over them a Scoutmaster, whose credentials have been approved and who is really their physical, mental and character trainer. He watches over them and guides them in their play and their various activities, trains them in alertness, self-reliance, and other Scout virtues. His aim is to turn out useful, self-reliant, alert, honest citizens.

The idea of Scoutcraft appeals strongly to our youth. It is not a religious movement, although all religions indorse it, for we take the middle of the road and go no farther than the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It is not a military movement, for militarism is conspicuous by its absence; it is not nature study, for there are hundreds of societies devoted entirely to that subject which are unknown to fame; it is not athletic, for there are thousands of unknown athletic associations; it is not woodcraft. It is all these things and more put in a way that strikes the boys as manly and helpful.

The Scout "Oath" or promise says: "On my honor I will do my best—1 To do my duty to God and my country, and to obey the Scout law; 2. To help other people at all times; 3. To keep myself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight." The Scout law has twelve planks, and if a boy obeys them he will be an excellent Scout. The points are—1. A Scout is trustworthy. 2. A Scout is loyal. 3. A Scout is helpful. 4. A Scout is friendly. 5. A Scout is courteous. 6. A Scout is kind. 7. A Scout is obedient. 8. A Scout is cheerful. 9. A Scout is thrifty. 10. A Scout is brave. 11. A Scout is clean. 12. A Scout is reverent.

The prominent men interested in this movement represent all shades of political and religious

beliefs. There are peace men, sitting elbow to elbow with famous war heroes, but whatever their individual faiths may be all these men are honestly, sincerely and deeply interested in the welfare of the American boy. They are fully aware of the fact that all boys are naturally democrats, hence it is that rich or poor, Catholic, Protestant, Jew or Gentile, Republican, Democrat, Insurgent, or Socialist, they are all proud to be called Scouts. The activities of the boys are as varied as their fancies.

Scouting is typically and intensely American. It is safe to say that no full-grown man can appreciate the real meaning to the youth of the United States of the word Scout, unless that person is in full sympathy with American institutions, tradition and history, and familiar with the potential power, manly self-respect, personal integrity and personal dignity only to be realized under a republican form of government, the only form of government that has no tendencies to make menials of its citizens.

The Boy Scouts have nothing to do with war, and their Scoutcraft has no more connection with it than has the hunter's knowledge of woodcraft and the lone trapper's ability to take care of himself under all and any conditions. War with the old scouts was not of their own seeking, but incidental to the life they led. War with the Boy Scouts is not talked of, prepared for, or considered in their training; the whole aim of the society is to make them clear-eyed, clean-limbed, clear-minded, efficient, manly boys and ultimately good citizens.



THE MOLLYCODDLE.

S. E. Kiser in the Chicago Record-Herald of February 27.

The Mollycoddle's heart is sore.

"Once more" he sadly sighs,

"We'll hear that two and two are four,
That folly is unwise.

"With strenuousness let loose,

"Twill be our daily lot

To hear that stones yield little juice,
That heat is always hot.

"We shall be told in thunder tones

That wrong cannot be right,

That jelly hasn't any bones,
That black is never white.

"And when these platitudes are heard

We'll have to show surprise,

As if a god spoke every word,"
The Mollycoddle sighs.



In the meantime, the price of kerosene, like Henry George's famous thought, still mounts.—Chicago Tribune.

BOOKS

DEMOCRACY IN THE CHAUTAUQUAS.

The Spirit of American Government. By J. Allen Smith. Published by the Chautauqua Press, Chautauqua, N. Y. New Edition, 1911. Price, \$1.25.

Thousands of people in the United States are now engaged in the study of a book which can scarcely fail to cut a considerable figure in the present fast growing and already imperative demand that the reins of government be turned over to the people. The book is a part of the regular Chautauqua reading course, and is exciting much comment in these circles, where it is now nearing completion by the readers who are following the regular outline.

The work is a critical study of the United States Constitution from the viewpoint of thoroughgoing democracy. The author is Dr. J. Allen Smith of Washington University. The book does not essay to plead for democratic ideals of government; it is simply a merciless uncovering of the facts which show the amazingly small portion of power vested in the people by the Constitution. It shows the adoption of the American Constitution to be not (as we have been taught) an advance step in free government, but a retrogressive move—the expression of a reactionary sentiment following the Revolution and the Declaration of Independence.

The Federal Supreme Court is shown to be the most powerful tribunal in the world, and in the latter chapters some extremely interesting remedial measures are offered as a possible means of dethroning this great arbitrary power.

Dr. Smith, the author, had been teaching in the Washington University twelve years, and his interpretation of the Constitution, it seems, has come to be accepted in that institution, though it is obviously much at variance with the view usually taught in our schools and colleges. The spirit of his book may be felt from a few such excerpts as these:

Democracy—government by the people or directly responsible to them—was not the object which the framers of the Constitution had in view, but the very thing which they wished to avoid. . . . Accordingly the efforts of the Constitutional Convention were directed to the task of devising a system of government which was just popular enough not to excite general opposition and which at the same time gave to the people as little as possible of the substance of political power.

In the United States at the present time we are trying to make an undemocratic Constitution the vehicle of democratic rule. . . . It was framed for one purpose while we are trying to use it for another. . . . Is free government, then, being tried here under conditions most favorable to its success?

That such a small minority of the people should have

the power under our Constitutional arrangement to prevent reform (amendments) can hardly be reconciled with the general belief that in this country the majority rules. . . . Patrick Henry clearly saw that this lack of adequate provision for amendment was destructive of democracy. In the Virginia convention held to ratify the constitution he said . . . "Is this an easy mode of securing the public liberty? It is, sir, a most fearful situation, when the most contemptible minority can prevent the alteration of the most oppressive government; for it may in many respects prove to be such."

The statement so often made and so generally believed that the American Judicial system was modeled after that of Great Britain will not bear investigation. English judges are not and never have been independent in the sense in which that word is used with reference to the judiciary of the United States. . . . The provision in the Constitution for the life tenure of a non-elective judiciary was designed as a check not upon an irresponsible executive as was the case in England, but upon the people themselves. . . . Gouverneur Morris, who claims to have written the Constitution with his own hand, tells us that in framing that part of it relating to the judiciary, "it became necessary to use phrases which would not alarm others." . . . That power of government which controls without being controlled is represented in the United States by a small oligarchy of nine irremovable judges. . . .

The present arrangement which makes the House of Representatives largely an irresponsible body, while not provided for by the framers of the Constitution, is nevertheless the logical outcome of their plan to throttle the power of the majority. . . . The (House) committees as a matter of fact, are in no sense responsible either to the Speaker or to the House itself. . . . They are in fact just so many small, independent, irresponsible bodies, each controlling in its own way and from motives known only to itself the particular branch of legislation assigned to it. . . .

The failure to make provision for the freedom of the press should be regarded as a significant omission. . . . This is the more noteworthy in view of the fact that this guarantee was at that time expressly included in a majority of the State Constitutions, and that the temper of the people was such as to compel its speedy adoption as an amendment. . . . Liberty, as the framers of the Constitution understood the term, had to do primarily with property and property rights. The chief danger which they saw in the Revolutionary State governments was the opportunity afforded to the majority to legislate upon matters which the well-to-do classes wished to place beyond the reach of popular interference.

In chapter thirteen of his book Dr. Smith suggests a remedial measure, within the Constitution, for the irresponsible power of the Supreme Court. He says "The Constitution does not fix the number of Supreme judges. This is a matter of detail which was left to Congress, which may at any time provide for the addition of as many new judges to the Supreme Court as it may see fit. Thus Congress, with the co-operation of the President, could control the policy of the Supreme Court in exactly the same way and to the same extent that the House of Commons controls the House of Lords."

DORA KERSCHNER.



Marks: So your Italian barber refused to shave you? Why was that?

Parks: I told him I'd just had a Turkish bath.—Boston Transcript.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Democratic England. By Percy Alden. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The New Democracy. By Walter E. Weyl. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$2.00 net.

—All the Children of All the People. By William Hawley Smith. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912.

—Socialism and Character. By Vida D. Scudder. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston and New York. 1912. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Stock Prices: Factors in Their Rise and Fall. By Frederick Drew Bond. Volume VI of "The Investor's Library." Published by Moody's Magazine Book Dept., New York. 1911. Price, \$1.00.

—Hill's Reference Guide for Land Seekers, Travelers, Schools, Tourists, Emigrants and General Readers. By Thomas E. Hill. Published by the Hill Standard Book Co., 527 Plymouth Ct., Chicago. 1912. Price, \$2.50.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Equitable Taxation: A Restraint to Monopoly, An Aid to Industry. By John Zellweger, 1900 Adelaide Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

The A B C of the Land Question, Translated into Spanish by Antonio Albendin from the English of James Dundas White. Published by the Translator at Ronda, Spain.

Is Lebe Majeste a Crime in America? Should Men be Jailed for Free Speech? Published by the Metropolitan Press Printing Co., Central Bldg., Seattle. Price, 10 cents.

Socialism and Private Property. The Harvard Socialist Tracts, Number 1, February, 1912. Published by Harvard Socialist Club. 2 Holworthy Hall, Cambridge, Mass. Price, 5 cents.

Administration of the Office of Sheriff of Cook County, Illinois. Report prepared for the Judges of the Circuit Court by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago, December, 1911.

The Water Works System of the City of Chicago: Report of Dabney H. Maury to the Chicago Commission on City Expenditures. Published by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, 315 Plymouth Ct., December, 1911.

Wendell Phillips: A Centennial Oration delivered at Park Street Church, Boston, November 28, 1911. By Wendell Phillips Stafford. Published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 29 Vesey St., New York.

Administration of the Office of Clerk of the Circuit Court and of the Office of Clerk of the Superior Court of Cook County, Illinois. Report prepared for the Judges of the Circuit Court by the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago, December, 1911.

Hours and Earnings of Women Workers in Maryland and California. Employment of Children in Maryland Industries. Massachusetts Manufacturers and Employees' Health. German Workmen's Insurance Code, July 19, 1911. Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 96—Sept., 1911. Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington, D. C.

PERIODICALS

The Western Woman Voter.

The Western Woman Voter (Seattle, Wash.) for January is a Singletax number and prints in large black type on its cover, "Vote for Amendment No. 2 (Erickson Amendment)."

A. L. G.



The Spanish Singletaxer.

The February number of the Spanish Single Taxer (El Impuesto Unico, Imprinta Rondena, Plaza Ayuntamiento, Ronda, Spain) contains among other articles, a translation of the conclusion of Henry George's "Thy Kingdom Come"; a reply to an adverse criticism of the George theory that appeared in "Land and Liberty," a Spanish periodical; and "The Fight Against Tuberculosis," a paper delivered at the Third Medical Congress by Dr. Felix Vitale, in which he quotes the leading authorities on infection and prevention of this disease. Dr. Vitale holds that the leading causes of this disease are economic. Nearly three pages are devoted to the news of the movement in Spain and abroad.

C. L. LOGAN.



"Budkavlen."

The first number for 1912 of "Budkavlen" (The Message), the journal of social ethics and economic reform published by Johan Hansson at Tunnelgatan 19, Stockholm, Sweden, is full of live topics, and undoubtedly serves its purpose as an educator on economic questions exceedingly well. Many journals devoted exclusively to Singletax propaganda have a tendency to become too academic, and they thereby diminish their value for propaganda purposes. A really useful journal must deal with the questions of the day as they present themselves, and in this particular "Budkavlen" fills all requirements. The political and social problems that are uppermost in the Swedish mind are dealt with, and their true economic relation analyzed. This is propaganda of a very practical kind, and the results that the land-value reformers in Sweden have achieved in a very brief space of time argue for its effectiveness. In the January number an address to the king (or government, for in political questions the cabinet is the actual power in Sweden) regarding high prices and unemployment, gives in concise form a statement of what the reformers want, and of what they expect to achieve by their reform. This address was handed over to the government on January 11, and is signed by delegates from numerous societies in the country, among others by the "Small Farmers' Association." An article on the new Riksdag (parliament) indicates that in the upper house the conservative element has some 85 members, to 65 liberals and socialists. In fact, there are not less than 12 socialists in the upper house. In the lower house there are 101 liberals, 65 socialists, and 64 conservatives, so that here the latter element is distinctly in the minority. As the two houses vote "in common" on questions on which they cannot agree, the progressive elements at such common

voting have a total strength of 230 to 150 of the conservatives. Among other articles of interest is one dealing with the conditions under which the state has been "parted" from some public lands. In this connection, however, it may be mentioned that the Swedish government still has possession of vast areas of forest lands, and receives a considerable income from this source. An article on the subject of the prevention of emigration from Sweden shows how the economic conditions in America are the sole cause of the emigration, and the writer, Erik Oberg, points out that there can be no effective work done to stem the tide of emigration from Sweden before such measures are taken as will serve to place Sweden on an economic plane where it cannot be excelled by living conditions in the United States. Another article deals with the always "open" and somewhat "hackneyed" question whether the land value tax can be shifted. The news section gives a review of the progress of land-value reform during 1911 in Norway, Denmark, France, Spain, England, Africa, Canada, United States, Australia and China.

E. O.



A Singletaxer to Singletaxers.

There is in The Westminster Review for February an article by Alexander Mackendrick on Henry George's Teaching which must express for many a Singletaxer his own spiritual experience. Mr. Mackendrick contrasts the Singletaxer's outlook on life with other men's. "The ordinary philanthropist," he writes, "equally with the Socialist and the unthinking man of the world believes, or acts as though he believed, that the social hell is the normal condition of society, unless when buttressed and bolstered and tinkered with by kind-hearted persons. . . . Such people seem to think things have a perverse tendency to go all wrong, and the natural way for wealth to distribute itself is for some to have more than they can wisely use, and others to have less than sufficient to keep body and soul together. . . . Under such a theory of life as this it is obvious that no man should be able to retain his reasoning powers intact, and continue to believe that any beneficent power, either of a personal or impersonal kind, guides the destiny of this world." "The follower of Henry George, on the other hand, believes that the misery of the world is not due to natural causes, but entirely to artificial or man-made laws, which permit certain men, or classes of men, to shut others out from the universal workshop, which is the physical basis of life." With this outlook on life, "it becomes possible to entertain the idea of an overruling and beneficent power at the back of phenomena. It suggests the liberating of an immense amount of spiritual energy engaged in righting wrongs, and setting it free to develop human life in the direction of its higher potentialities."

A. L. G.



The Chinese are, in their own way "the best educated people in the world," according to the New York Commercial, as quoted by the Literary Digest. "Every coolie can read and write his own complicated language, and the news can be spread throughout China once the way is opened to distribute pa-

pers. Illiteracy, therefore, will not bar a campaign of education that will teach the people the meaning of self-government and the way to elect representatives. Whether a republican form of government is best suited to the Chinese temperament remains to be seen, but there will be no trouble in making the people understand what the change means, provided that those who assume control at the beginning are honest in their endeavor to impart the knowledge. The Western world does not grasp the fact that there is no illiteracy among the men of

IN MEMORIAM

JOHN P. ALTGELD

Died March 12, 1902

**Orchestra Hall, Sunday, March
10, 1912, 2:30 P. M.**

DANIEL L. CRUICE, Chairman

Music by the Sinai Congregation Choir

Mr. Arthur Dunham, Organist and Director

ORDER OF EXERCISES

Organ - - - Mr. Arthur Dunham

PRAYER BY THE REV. THOMAS E. COX

"Hymn to the Homeland" - - - *Sullivan*
BY THE CHOIR

Address - - - Hon. Edward F. Dunne

"How Blest Are They" - - - *Tschaikowsky*

Address - - - Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow
President of Ohio Constitutional Convention

"America" - - - - - *Smith*
BY THE CHOIR AND AUDIENCE

Oration - - - Hon. William J. Bryan

"God Be With You Till We Meet Again" - *Rankin*
BY THE CHOIR

Public Invited - Seats Free

China nor realize the effect that this will have when they have a chance to think and act for themselves."



David A. Ball of Pike county, Missouri, was once State Senator and acted as Lieutenant Governor during the two years he presided over the Senate.

He had an ambition to be Lieutenant Governor in fact.

One day he confided his ambition to his old family doctor. "The old man," Ball says, in telling the story, "walked two blocks with me without making any comment. Then he turned and said:

"That's all right, Dave, but look here: Suppose you were elected and the Governor should die?

NOTICE OF MEETINGS

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

THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago.

At SHEBOYGAN, Wisconsin, on Monday, March 4, 1912, LOUIS F. POST, of Chicago, will lecture on the SINGLETAX before the Contemporary Club

THE PATHOS OF POVERTY

A Free Lecture by BENJAMIN FAY MILLS

At the Whitney Opera House, Sunday, March 3rd, 11 a. m.

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