

The Public

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

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Vol. XV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, MARCH 8, 1912.

No. 727

Published by Louis F. Post

Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents

Yearly Subscription, One Dollar

Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL

A New Departure in Trade Unionism.

Since the garment workers' strike of New York nearly two years ago, a substitute for both "closed shop" and "open shop" has been in operation, with what are reported to be extraordinarily satisfactory results. This substitute, which is explained in detail by Henry Moskowitz in *Life and Labor* for January, originated in a suggestion by Louis D. Brandeis, and is known, in contradistinction to "open shop" and "closed shop," as "preferential union shop." It requires of employers that their unions maintain labor-union standards as to working conditions, hours of labor and wages, and that in employing workers they give the preference to labor unionists but without restriction as to individuals. Of the employes this scheme requires that their unions shall not strike without first submitting their grievances to arbitration. Incidental to the plan are such joint committees and boards as may be agreed upon between the employers' union and the labor union of a given industry. The joint grievance committee and the joint board of sanitary control of the New York garment trades, working under the treaty of peace which terminated the strike of 1910 and which Mr. Brandeis formulated, are examples.



Appeals in behalf of this innovation are made to the self interest of both sides in this class warfare between employers and workmen. The labor

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unions are admonished that American public opinion will not consent to the "closed shop," and that the fight for it by labor unions is doomed to defeat. On the other hand employers are admonished that American public opinion, aroused by disclosures of labor subjugation by employers, and conscious at last that the "open shop" means extinction of all trade unionism, will not tolerate the "open shop" idea of employers' unions. Some kind of compromise is therefore urged as necessary, and the "preferential union shop" idea is offered. Under this, it is argued, the employer will be assured of dealing collectively with responsible labor unions, the labor unions will have something better than strikes to offer as an inducement to membership, and both sides will have guarantees of a fair adjudication of differences before either finds it necessary to declare war against the other.



Whether this plan will work well or not can be determined only by reasonable trial. As Mr. Moskowitz says, "The scheme is still very young, and all that can be said of it at the present time is that it has realized the expectations of even the most optimistic." The joint board of sanitary control has established sanitary standards which seem to be largely observed by employers, and stoppages of work have never been so few nor the cloak makers' union so strong. Theoretically, there can be no question that the scheme is an improvement. Presupposing, as it does, two organizations—that of the employers and that of the workmen—all trade dealings are essentially collective as between employer and employe. The inevitable tendency of this is to do away with strikes and lockouts, to minimize the irrational demands of either side, and to reduce unemployment in all ways in which it is remediable by co-operative arrangements.



Another and more far-reaching benefit may be anticipated. By bringing employers and employes together continually in good will, instead of occasionally in bad blood, a better realization of the partnership interest which is the essence of the much perverted relation of employer and employe will be almost certain to eventuate. The personal class idea on both sides will be crowded out by a better and growing sense of the impersonal community-of-interest principle of industry. That is, both employers and employes will come to see plainly the great obscured fact of modern industry which few of either class see now at all.

They will come to see that the interest of some employers is identical with the interest of their workmen. This is true of all employers who have no special privileges. They will come to see that the interest of some other employers is divided, being identical with the interest of their employes in so far as employers help to maintain the joint business, but inimical altogether to employes' interests in so far as the employers' interest is parasitical. They will come to see, in other words, that all parasitical interests are industrially unwholesome.



Unemployment.

Professor Henderson's outline at the City Club last week of his views as secretary of the Chicago Unemployment Commission with reference to its proper work, encourages the belief that a genuine and informative investigation will be made, and that recommendations far-reaching in effect, however conservative in form, may be looked for. The subject is of course too universal for any local commission to handle effectively. Unemployment is general, both as an industrial phenomenon and in respect of its causes. Were it possible to rid Chicago of it, a deluge of unemployed from other places would at once (as James Mullenbach said in his City Club talk on the occasion of Professor Henderson's speaking) overflow Chicago and revive the local problem. The subject is one for the States, it is one for the United States, it is one for international consideration. But such a Commission as this of Chicago, of which Mr. Henderson is the secretary and Charles R. Crane is chairman, may at least set an example; and judging from the way in which those gentlemen are going about the work there is good reason to believe it will.



The Tariff-Protected Steel Trust.

Most satisfactorily is the Stanley committee in Congress vindicating its existence. One expert's report alone is well worth all the expense the committee has incurred. Our allusion is to the report of Farquhar J. McRae, the accountant, whose report was published last week. From this report it appears that in the organization of the steel trust J. P. Morgan's banking house raked in profits to the tune of nearly seventy million dollars, and that the trust itself has in the past nine years gobbled up net profits to the amount of more than one thousand millions. These profits were made on steel, and in order to make them the trust got \$13 a ton net profit, which the users

of steel had to pay. They had to pay that exorbitant profit because the protective tariff had shut off all the trust's foreign competitors. And did the workingmen employed by the steel trust get anything exorbitant in the way of wages? Well, if they should say, "Search us!" would you think it necessary to do so?



A Dangerous Candidate.

When Mr. Roosevelt announced his Presidential candidacy we remarked with due reserve that he might not find the road before him a smooth one, calling especial attention to his record on the Panama affair as a missile which would doubtless be thrown at him. At that time we had not happened to see Leander T. Chamberlain's convincing article in the February North American Review—"A Chapter of National Dishonor." Were that article to figure extensively as a campaign document against Roosevelt, it could hardly fail to disgust his self-respecting followers with their candidate, nor to arouse in them fears of his Napoleonic ambitions too intense to permit their trusting him with another term of Presidential power.



The author of the North American article is a clergyman, an expert student of international law, and president of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States and of the American and Foreign Christian Union. The article itself is a simple but keen and direct exposure of Mr. Roosevelt's autocratic action in the case of the secession of Panama from Colombia, and it is based wholly upon the official documents. The President who could do what those documents prove that President Roosevelt did to Colombia, in flagrant violation of treaty pledges and without the excuse of necessity or even of convenience with reference to the Canal, and who could boast of it afterwards as a patriotic performance, needs only the favorable opportunity to essay subjecting his own country to his unbridled will.



Are the progressive Republicans so hard-pressed for Presidential material that they must turn to a man who has shamelessly put into our national history this chapter of dishonor, and thereby confirmed his own title as the most dangerous popular leader since Bonaparte? Can they not rally, and invite the rest of us to rally, behind some one of their party leaders whom it would be at least an honor to have followed if he should be

defeated, and whose election would be a convincing guarantee of democratic government?



The Altgeld Memorial.

At Orchestra Hall, Chicago, on Sunday the 10th of March, there is to be a fitting observance of the tenth anniversary of the death of John P. Altgeld. With Daniel Cruice presiding in behalf of the Altgeld Memorial Association, there are to be addresses by three such democrats as John P. Altgeld was—Edward F. Dunne, Herbert S. Bigelow and William J. Bryan.



This meeting is the climax of a series. There was the memorial meeting at the Auditorium closely following Altgeld's death; then the memorial meeting of the fifth anniversary, at which Senator Charles A. Towne was the orator; and after that the Labor Day meeting of 1910, at which the four bronze tablets now affixed to the cemetery monument were dedicated and the orator was George Fred Williams. The meeting next Sunday will probably be the last for another decade; and the promoter of them all, Joseph S. Martin, Altgeld's most devoted friend, aims to make it a climactic occasion.



John P. Altgeld, who as Governor put himself in opposition to the inexcusable and lawless military invasion of his State by a popular President of his own party, and who dared to pardon unjustly condemned men whose views of government he did not share but at whose conviction without proof of crime by a packed jury and a class-bound judge he revolted, was one of those true and courageous democrats whose fame grows brighter as their graves grow greener. Those of us who join next Sunday in this testimonial will honor ourselves more than we honor him. There is ample assurance that this memorial tribute will be no post mortem apology nor any conventional enshrinement of a dead statesman. It will be an appreciative and affectionate tribute to a democratic leader who has not ceased to lead.



Riotous Women.

The wantonly criminal performances last week of a faction of the British woman suffrage movement, ostensibly designed to promote the suffrage cause, could not prejudice that cause more if this had been their deliberate purpose. They come at a time when nothing is needed but a majority in

the House of Commons to make woman suffrage part of the Ministerial suffrage bill. A divided Ministry have compromised upon an agreement that their electoral bill shall go into the Commons without extending suffrage to women; but that if a majority there vote to amend it by inserting that provision, the bill so amended shall thereupon be accepted by the Ministry as their own bill, and be forced through the House of Lords as such with all the power of the Liberal party. Acting upon that agreement, and with a large majority of the Ministry encouraging him, Lloyd George, the most popular British Minister for many a day, has undertaken to secure a majority in the Commons for the woman suffrage amendment. If the Tory suffragists in the Commons would vote for that amendment—and this they could do without violating their party obligations in the slightest—the woman suffrage cause in Great Britain would be won along with the abolition of plural voting; but even with unanimous Tory opposition there is excellent reason for expecting a majority of Liberals large enough to secure that result. And such is the view of all the women suffrage factions except that which is identified with Mrs. Pankhurst's leadership.



But just at a critical moment, when Liberal members of Parliament as yet unconverted are in doubt, and a trifle may move them one way or the other, Mrs. Pankhurst's faction throw stones through the windows of the Prime Minister's residence and through the windows of stores, and make other demonstrations which, if not criminal with reference to the law and in bad faith with reference to their cause, must be insane. What is likely to be the effect of such demonstrations upon Liberal members who hesitate between following Mr. Asquith or Mr. George on this question? Certainly not to weaken any tendency they may have to follow Mr. Asquith. Upon the opinion of thorough-going suffragists the inexcusable conduct of that faction will of course have no effect. Thorough-going suffragists will follow Mr. George's example and vote for the amendment in spite of the criminal folly of some women. But is that likely to be so with new recruits or prospective ones? The violent faction might serve their cause better by urging their Tory supporters in the Commons to vote for the woman suffrage amendment, thereby making it part of the Ministerial bill, than by getting up riots at a time and under circumstances which can serve no purpose of the rioters unless it be their purpose to prevent the embodiment in the Ministerial

electoral bill of a clause extending the suffrage to women.



Experts in Government

One of the justly distinguished men of the East, a wise man who, unlike those wise men of a farther East, sees a star only to wonder at it and blunder about it, makes the remarkable statement that democracy, in order to succeed, must learn to depend upon "experts." The dangerous feature of this bit of wisdom, for wisdom there is in it, is its undiscrimination. Very likely the thought in the speaker's mind was that specialized work should be done by specialists. But he may or may not have realized that all is not specialism. If he did not realize this, then his remark is one of those half truths which is ever the worst of falsities; if he did realize it, then he made a slipshod statement, or has been unintelligently reported. For democracy to assign its *expert work* to experts and trust them, is the soundest kind of civic good sense; but for democracy to assign its *non-expert work* to experts and trust them, is civic insanity.



Where can the line be drawn between expert and non-expert work in government? There may be difficulty in determining this where one merges into the other; but there need be no insuperable difficulty even there, and seldom would the issue be important. In general terms expert work may be briefly and roughly described as that which in detail executes a general purpose, and non-expert work as that which decides upon the general purpose to be executed. The latter has to do with the *What*, the former with the *How*. As to warfare, for illustration, democracy must confide in military experts to wage war; but it would be suicidal for democracy to leave it to military experts to make war at their own will. So, also, it is for architects and engineers to design and erect public improvements; but the people must decide whether they want the improvements or not. And although experts may be called in to help the democracy to a conclusion in the domain of public desire, their function there is only advisory. It is all as when one consults his lawyer. The lawyer may advise litigation, and if litigation is decided on, a lawyer must be trusted to manage it in its technical details; but whether litigation shall be entered upon is for the client and not for the lawyer to decide. At the point democracy trusts *public policy* as well as plan and execution to experts, democracy ends and absolutism begins.

The indiscriminate outcry in some quarters for government by experts, might more appropriately come from the uneducated and the foolish than from wise men. Government by experts is no new thing. It is as old as history, and in all times and everywhere it has been—so far as the interests of democracy are concerned—a wretched experiment and a disastrous failure. Russia is governed by experts to-day, and what democrat would exchange even our halting experiment in democracy for Russia's expert system of government? France had government by experts under Napoleon, earlier also under the French kings, and how did it benefit democracy? The monarchical system of government by experts confided in by the democracy—is a confidence game singularly like that of the lamb in the stomach of the lion. For the good of all, the only true principle of government, so far as history thus far enlightens or reason guides, is that experts shall advise and execute, but that the democracy shall determine the point for them to advise upon and the purpose for them to execute. For democracy the What, for experts the How.



DIRECT LEGISLATION AND THE RECALL.

The Initiative, Referendum and Recall have passed the stage when these measures can be called "merely academic." Nearly one fourth of the States have the Initiative and Referendum, and the Recall is an active political issue. The States which may be called progressive in regard to these measures are, South Dakota, Utah, Oregon, Nevada, Montana, Oklahoma, Maine, Missouri, Michigan, Arkansas, Colorado, California, Washington, Nebraska, Idaho, Wyoming, Wisconsin, Arizona, New Mexico, North Dakota, Illinois, Texas and Ohio.



Considering the people of the several States as an organized political body in meeting assembled, the Initiative corresponds to moving the question. It is a scheme whereby a small number of voters may propose a law and compel a vote to adopt or reject it.

The Referendum corresponds to action on the report of a committee. It is a plan whereby a small number may compel a vote of the electorate on an act of representatives to approve or reject it.

The Recall is a plan to compel an election before the stated time. It is a measure whereby a

small number may compel a vote of the people to say whether or not they approve of a public servant and desire him to continue to act as their representative or not.



It is a well established constitutional principle that the "sovereignty in every State resides in the people of the State, and that they may change their form of government at their own pleasure" so long as its form is "republican."

A form of government in which the supreme power resides with the people is republican in form. The forms of republican government in the various States have from the beginning been undergoing transformation, and have been and are being constantly reorganized according to the progress of popular government.

It can not be truthfully said that autocracy in Russia, aristocracy in England, or democracy anywhere, have been free from corruption, but in the United States, we are, not only by our written constitutions, but also by our fundamental political character, committed to democracy.

We have been extending and are likely to extend further the elective franchise.

We have been changing the State constitutions to conform with the decline of State legislatures in public esteem.

There has been a gradual recognition of the fact that there is no real difference in principle between a statute and a constitution. A public service corporation law is written in the State constitution of Oklahoma, a civil service law in the constitution of New York, while in other States these measures are merely statutory.

And so there is no principle of discrimination between acts upon which the people of the several States may vote directly by way of enactment. If they can adopt or reject the most important of all legislation by popular-vote constitutions, they can certainly vote to adopt or reject a less important measure passed by their representatives in the State legislature. If the people, through their representatives, can propose legislation for enactment, the people can propose legislation directly. There is no heaven-given right residing in a legislature alone to employ legal talent competent to draft a bill with technical formality.

If the people can elect public officers they can also remove a public officer by election.



The general rule is, that the will of the people is expressed by a majority vote.

If this is not the best method of ascertaining

the will of the people in votes of the people acting in their sovereign capacity, then it is not the best method of ascertaining the will of the State in elections of United States Senators by legislatures, or in judicial decisions of courts which are made by majority votes of judges.

Many measures passed by States, acting through legislatures, could not command a 20% vote of the electorate. Many measures desired by a majority of the electorate are denied passage by State legislatures.

The recognition of the fact that judges in defining law make law, and in nullifying acts of legislatures read into constitutions their views as to public policy, makes it plain that they, most of all public officers, should be subject to popular control. For either judges are servants and representatives of the people, in which case they should be subject to popular control, or else judges must be recognized as the real sovereign in the place of the people. But this is not in accord with the republican form of government. Arguments against the Recall have all been made against the choosing of judges by popular election.



There is no question of substitution of the Recall for impeachment. Impeachment is designed for malfeasance in office. The Recall is designed for misrepresentativeness in office. The judiciary must be independent. If it is independent of bosses, it will be independent of popular majorities. If it is not independent of bosses, then direct popular control is necessary to end the tyranny of the bosses.

But the constitutions nowhere say or intend that judges shall be sovereign. That would be "solecism, at least in a republican government," said Thomas Jefferson. If the people can empower legislatures to remove judges for malfeasance without destroying judicial independence then the people can directly pass, in Recall elections, on their judicial representatives without improperly affecting judicial independence.

Is there anyone who will allege that legislatures have never been improperly influenced in the elections of United States Senators? Why, then, may legislatures not be improperly influenced in unseating a judge?



There are no inherent personal or property rights which are beyond the reach of the State, or of the people expressing themselves directly in their sovereign capacity. And any argument which aims to uphold such a theory will be found to

apply with equal cogency to upholding anarchy.

The Initiative, Referendum and Recall supply to democracy those necessary safeguards against usurpation of political power, which will warrant the granting to public officers such freedom of action, necessary power, and a sufficient term of office, as will produce efficient administration. In other words, if democracy is to be efficient, and if efficiency is to be democratic, the Initiative, Referendum and Recall are necessary developments of popular government.

And who wants efficiency which is irresponsible to the people? or who wants democracy if it spells bad and inefficient government?

The real danger is that in the search for efficiency we forget democracy, and in the search for democracy we neglect efficiency.

LEWIS STOCKTON.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

GOVERNOR JOHNSON OF CALIFORNIA.

Columbus, Ohio, Feb. 29.

A wonderful thing happened here today. A man spoke to the Constitutional Convention. The press dispatches will tell what Governor Johnson of California said, but no report of his speech can possibly carry with it the spirit of the speech itself.

His coming had not been heralded as was the coming of President Taft or of Colonel Roosevelt, and there was no large group of spectators. The galleries were comfortably filled; the members of the convention occupied their own seats on the floor, instead of having relinquished them to visitors as many of them had done on the occasion of the visits of the President and the ex-President. A vote had just been taken on several liquor license proposals following a whole week of debate. Both extreme "wets" and extreme "drys" had been routed. The middle-of-the-road members who had exercised the balance of power felt only that they had averted something, not that they had settled anything. Nobody was happy. The atmosphere of the convention was tense and unpleasant—the veriest outsider could not but feel the unrest of the delegates.

The Governor of California walked down the centre aisle to the front of the convention hall. A subtle change commenced to take place in the mental atmosphere. Before he faced his audience, before he spoke a word, the changed "feel in the air" proclaimed that *somebody* had arrived. Before he had spoken four sentences he had the undivided attention of every person within the sound of his voice, and that attention speedily deepened into interest which never wavered for a single second until he closed. He talked democracy—the kind The Public preaches—and the two great distinguishing features of his talk were these: (1) he knew what he was saying, and (2) he believed it. Here was a man speaking from his heart as well as with his lips.

It is easy to understand, having seen and heard

him, how he "put over" twenty-three people's amendments in California. His whole being bespeaks power—not force, mind you—but conscious, intelligent power. And his hearers responded more sincerely, more spontaneously, than I, at least, have seen this same group respond to anything that has been said to them since this convention assembled. That simple, but majestic sentence, "For this is the power of truth," has been saying itself over and over in my mind all day.

Before me is a letter from a friend in New York who writes, "I attended a very interesting meeting of the Insurgents' Club and heard another Johnson, the California Governor, who is the real thing." I believe my friend is right in his estimate of this man as "the real thing." I believe he is "another Johnson."

ELIZABETH J. HAUSER.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

EXPERIENCE IN GETTING INITIATIVE SIGNATURES.

Portland, Oregon.

Last year a very earnest and honest working-man came to my office, whom I will call Jenson. He had made up his mind to circulate an Initiative petition to put the "employment sharks" in Portland out of business. They are harpies on the back of labor, and he had suffered from them as have thousands of others.

His draft of the petition was legally faulty, redundant and badly worded. I advised him to go to a lawyer and have it properly drafted, and offered to have it submitted to the advice of two or three attorneys of State reputation if he would let me take it up.

I saw that the patient pertinacity of the man would secure the signatures all right, and I recognized that properly adapted it would be a very popular move in the direction of establishing municipal employment offices throughout the State. We have a very good one in Portland, but it is not able to do all the work of that nature for Oregon.

Jenson flared up. He would have no lawyers. No one! He insinuated that I was half a lawyer myself. He didn't care to have his measure "butchered up" by newspaper sharps or lawyers, either. He went at it, and the printer got up his petition blanks in legal form for the sake of the job, but could not budge Jenson from the idea that no lawyers need apply.

The securing of initiative petitions was undertaken with that determination that has so often shoved members of the Scandinavian race into success. He lived on very little and asked no help from anybody. The employment sharks were to be put out of business. "Sign your name dere," said Jenson.

Right away he bumped up against the questions of "Who is backing this? Did U'Ren advise on this measure? Did the Central Labor Council put this out? Have the Socialists started this up? Does the Labor Press stand for it? Has Parkison endorsed this scheme?" and so on.

"I put dis out; nobody advised me," Jenson would

say. "I don't go to U'Ren, nor to Parkison, nor to Vood (C. E. S. Wood), und Shudge McGinn don't know nothing about it. Der Central Labor Council don't run me. Dis will put the employment shark out of peesiness. You sign it or not?"

It was not signed, usually.

After Jenson had been out several days he showed me his petition, and I called his attention to the fact that the signers did not give their street address, and that he had not kept a copy of them on the back of each sheet as required by law.

He told me he was going to appear before the Central Labor Council and get its endorsement of the measure, for the reason that local unions would not endorse it without. I attend the Central Labor Council regularly and therefore observed with interest the poor fellow's attempt to get before that body. It referred him to the Legislative Committee. That committee referred it to several lawyers, and reported that it was impossible, unconstitutional, badly drawn and would not possibly carry. After several somewhat piteous attempts Jenson gave up the fight, his soul full of bitterness, firmly of the opinion that the Initiative is no good to the workingman.

The idea that any man can draw up an Initiative measure and trot around for a few hundred signatures two or three days and thereby become a law-maker, does not pan out in Oregon. Several who have tried it with even more ability, means and pertinacity than Brother Jenson have found this out. His individual efforts were entirely thrown away.

ALFRED D. CRIDGE.

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, March 5, 1912.

Strike of British Coal Miners.

A gigantic coal-mining strike in Great Britain has begun. Rumors of it had colored the cable dispatches for several weeks, with stronger indications each week of a complete cessation of coal mining unless the Government interfere. Notices of intention to quit work on the 29th day of February were given in behalf of nearly a million coal miners prior to the 17th, and the executive committee of the International Federation of Mines was called to meet in London to consider the situation with reference to the advisability of calling a general European strike. This possibility is still in abeyance. The strike is over the question of minimum wages, the strikers demanding a living wage as the minimum for the poorest paid coal miners, and the mine owners insisting upon a guarantee of a minimum output as the condition of granting the minimum wage.

Steps were taken by the Ministry on the 20th to adjust the controversy between the coal miners and the owners of the coal deposits of Great Britain, the Prime Minister having on that day invited representatives of these owners and of the miners to meet the Cabinet on the 22nd for conference. The invitation was formally accepted, and at the appointed time on the 22nd, one conference between the Cabinet and the mine owners' representatives was held and two with the representatives of the miners, but there was no joint conference. A further invitation was given by the Cabinet to the miners and the mine owners to a conference on the 27th, when the National Miners' Federation was to meet in London. Several conferences were accordingly had, but not jointly and there was no result. Some of the miners—about 30,000 in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire—quit work on that day in accordance with their local notices which had fixed the 27th instead of the 29th for quitting.



After conferences on the 28th, when some 70,000 additional miners had quit work, the Cabinet issued its first formal statement on the subject. This statement is reported by cable to have declared that the Ministry are satisfied that there are cases in which underground workers are not able to earn a reasonable minimum wage, and that the power to earn such wage should be secured by arrangements suitable to the special circumstances in each district, adequate safeguards being provided to protect employers against abuse. The statement added that the Ministry were prepared to confer with the parties concerned as to the best method of giving practical effect to these conclusions by means of district conferences, representatives appointed by the Ministry to attend in event of failure to arrive at a settlement within a reasonable time, and these representatives to decide jointly any outstanding points. The proposals, the statement continued, were considered by representatives of the coal owners, with the result that those in the federated area, which includes Yorkshire, Lancashire, the Midlands, and North Wales, about 60 per cent of the mine-owning interests, accepted them. Replying in behalf of the miners to those Ministerial proposals and notice of their acceptance by mine-owning interests, the National Miners' Federation adopted the following resolution:

There can be no settlement of the present dispute unless the principle of an individual minimum wage for all underground workers is agreed to by the coal owners.

The Federation added, however, that it was willing to meet the coal owners at any time to discuss minimum rates to be adopted in each district.



No further progress had been made on the 29th,

the Ministry intimating that they had not yet been able to induce all the coal owners to agree to the demand for a minimum wage as made by the miners. But the Prime Minister was reported to have declared that if the principle of a minimum wage was not agreed to it would be made effective by the Government. As quoted by the dispatches he told the Miners' Federation that the Ministry were "determined that the minimum wage should become 'part and parcel of the organization and working at the coal industry by whatever appropriate means the Government can command'; for the Government felt it was face to face with a warfare between Capital and Labor in the coal industry which might paralyze all other industries in the country. The conclusion the Ministry had reached was, he said, that a case had been made out for insuring to the underground workers in the coal industry, with adequate safeguards, a reasonable minimum wage. Already a majority—certainly 60 per cent—of the coal owners of the country had assented to the Ministry's proposals, which were 'consistent with justice and the best interests of the community.' Mr. Asquith gave assurance to the miners' delegates that means would be found to compel the minority of the coal owners to fall into line with the majority on the minimum wage."



Fully 800,000 miners had by that time quit work, and at midnight of February 29-March 1, the great strike formally began. All the underground workers of England, Wales and Scotland, except a few who remain to care for the safety of the miners, had then gone out. Only two small nonunion mines in the entire country were still at work, one in North Wales and the other near Berwick on the Scottish border. Over a million men were out, and the consequent cessation of other industries may enormously increase the number of the unemployed. The principal districts affected are reported to be Durham (which produces about 40,000,000 tons a year), Yorkshire (36,000,000), Lancashire (23,000,000), Staffordshire (13,500,000), Derbyshire (16,900,000), Northumberland (14,000,000), Monmouthshire (13,000,000), and Nottinghamshire (11,000,000).



The Lawrence Textile Strike.

Before the Committee on Rules of the lower house of Congress on the 1st, American Woolen trust strikers from Lawrence representing eight nationalities were examined about the strike. Several of these witnesses were children. The investigation was pursuant to resolutions of Congressmen Berger and Wilson. Dispatches describe them as "a motly group of serious-faced, poorly-clothed, but clean children who seemed to have prematurely aged from responsibilities," who

"were called one by one to the stand and told, mostly in broken English, of the shops, homes and life in the mill town of the great woolen company," and whose testimony consisted of "harrowing stories of privation in homes, or relentless grinding work and abuse by State and city authorities." The fact that the American Woolen trust controls one of the highly protected industries, protected in the interest of American labor, is the basis of the investigation. (See current volume, page 202.)



Sugar and Income Taxes.

Two Congressional bills prepared by the Committee on Ways and Means of the lower house of Congress, were ratified by the Democratic caucus on the 1st. One of them proposes putting importations of sugar on the free list; the other would amend the corporation tax law so as to tax all individual earnings above \$5000 a year at the rate of 1 per cent on the excess.



George F. Cotterill Probably Elected.

As this Public goes to press the dispatches from Seattle state that in the mayoralty election held on the 5th, the election of George F. Cotterill, the Singletaxer, over H. C. Gill, who was recalled as Mayor somewhat more than a year ago, seems assured. Returns from one-fourth of the city and practically all of the strong Gill wards give Mr. Cotterill a lead of more than 200 votes over Mr. Gill. Cotterill's supporters claim he will have a majority of more than 2,000. [See current volume, page 203.]



Fiscal Progress in Rhode Island.

After four years of public-spirited effort, Rhode Island has finally passed a general tax law. It provides for a permanent Tax Commission composed of two Republicans and one Democrat, the term of office to be six years; and henceforth the taxable property in the townships and cities of the State is to be listed in four classes. These classes are (1) land, (2) buildings and other improvements, (3) tangible personal estate, and (4) intangible personal estate. The last of these, intangible personalty, is to be taxed at four-tenths of one per cent whether owned by individuals or industrial corporations, the tax for corporations to be assessed by the State Tax Commission upon their "corporate excess", namely, the difference between physical value and market value.



Governor Johnson of California.

Governor Johnson of California addressed the

Ohio Constitutional convention on the 29th upon invitation. Introduced by President Bigelow as one entitled to the respect of all, because of his leadership in good citizenship, Governor Johnson plunged at once into the body of his speech with only the preliminary remark that it might seem incongruous for one to come from the rim of the continent to give counsel to the people of Ohio, regarding the work in hand by the Constitutional Convention, especially after the words of advice to which the delegates listened last week. But out of the West, he said—

has come a new race that has found it necessary to find new processes by which government may be restored to those to whom it rightfully belongs; and out of the West we humble exponents of that movement are glad to come to preach the faith that is in us at any time. . . . The only difference between the East and the West as to State government, is that in the West the people have found the power of expression, while in the East the politicians and interests have the power of repression.

He then enumerated the direct primary law, the Initiative and Referendum, the Recall, and the Presidential preference primary, as the order of progression in California; and on the application of the Recall to judges said:

Judges are but men after all. When we begin to whittle away human frailties and try to make them something more than men, we come to a species of worship, and the American people can never tolerate that. There are two kinds of judges. The one is ruled by his conscience and guided by the law and by the facts. The second is he who listens to the power in the litigant who advances to his desk. The first kind never will be recalled. The second will be recalled instantly and should be recalled without delay. Impeachment is not, and never has been an effective remedy to prevent judicial corruption. In no State has it ever been effective. It is a mere scarecrow that does not even frighten. Don't allow yourselves to be frightened by mere bugaboos. No people will recall a judge because of a decision given erroneously, but honestly. No people will recall their judge unless back of his decision there is real corruption. No just judge need fear the masses. We of the West, in our optimism have been willing to trust the people. . . . Judges are elected by the people. When elected, they are fulsom in their praises of the people who gave them power, but after being clothed in the gown and wig of office, they become contemptuous of that force which gave them power and to them then the people become the rabble and the masses. . . . Now, if the people have the judgment to decide a judge's qualifications in the beginning and his fitness for re-election, should not they have the right to recall him? . . . There are distinguished members of the bar, and we have them in California, who view any change in government to be a species of anarchy not to be tolerated. We had all these arguments in California. But I preach to you the faith that is in us, as people of the West, and I say to you that the Recall must be made applicable to judges first of all.

On the question of woman's suffrage Governor Johnson said:

We have had three municipal elections in California since the woman's suffrage amendment was adopted. In the bitter contest in Los Angeles the women registered in many districts in a greater proportion than the men, and they voted in a greater proportion than the men, and they voted quite as intelligently and discriminatingly as the men. One judge, who presided at an election, told me that there were four men who asked instructions as to how to vote in the Los Angeles election and he said that in each case these instructions were given by women who happened to be present. In the beginning I was not an ardent advocate of equal suffrage, but I thought it should be left with the people. I insisted, without taking any side, that if a large proportion of the people wanted the question submitted to them, it was their right to have it.

[See pages 202, 223.]



The Anti-Imperialist League.

The Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League was held November 30, 1911, in Boston, with an adjourned meeting held January 9. From the report of the meetings just published we learn that the League has by death lost from its list of Vice-Presidents—

The Hon. George Frederick Seward, of New York, an experienced and able diplomatist; the Rev. Professor Charles Marsh Mead, of Connecticut, a skilled and learned writer; Mr. David Stroud Burson, of Indiana, the oldest official and probably the oldest member of the League; General Roeliff Brinkerhoff, of Ohio, a hero of the Civil War and prominent in social reform; the Hon. Edward Morse Shepard, of New York, an illustrious publicist of the highest ideals; and the Hon. Louis R. Ehrlich, of New York, whose heart and life were illuminated by universal human sympathy.

The League has added to its list of Vice-Presidents the names of—

the Hon. Cyrus Cline, a member of the national House of Representatives from Indiana; Judge Edward Osgood Brown, of Illinois; the Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, a member of the national House of Representatives from Alabama; the Hon. Eugene F. Kinkead, a member of the House of Representatives from New Jersey; Mrs. Maria Freeman Gray, of California; Miss Emily L. Osgood, of Massachusetts; the Hon. Samuel W. McCall, a member of the national House of Representatives from Massachusetts; Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, of the District of Columbia; Mr. Joseph Fels, of Pennsylvania; and Professor William Edward Dodd, of Illinois.

Moorfield Storey was re-elected President of the League; David Green Haskins, Jr., was re-elected Treasurer, and Erving Winslow was re-elected Secretary.



The Anti-Imperialistic League had many mat-

ters before it for attention during the year covered by the report. Of its work the League says:

It may be repeated that the thing chiefly to be regarded by the Anti-Imperialist League is the condition of the United States rather than the condition of distant lands. We regret suffering and wrong in remote countries, but we regret especially the wrong-headedness of those at home who cause, or assent to, injustice by the United States toward those remote countries, and we oppose any development of imperialism here.

While paying attention to our relations with our South and Central American neighbors, and with Mexico, the League has especially protested against the sale to the sugar trust of "the friars' lands" in the Philippines, and has stood for the ultimate independence of the Filipinos.



Honors to William Dean Howells.

The 75th birthday of the venerable dean of American literary men, William D. Howells, was celebrated at a banquet given in his honor by Colonel George Harvey, in New York on the 2d. The speakers included President Taft, Hamilton W. Mabie, Winston Churchill, Basil King, William Allen White, and Augustus Thomas.



The Massachusetts Men's League for Woman Suffrage, at its dinner in Boston, February 28, sent the following greeting to Mr. Howells:

The Massachusetts Men's League for Woman Suffrage, with many of its friends, gathered at dinner at the Twentieth Century Club in Boston, to celebrate the notable advances of our cause in the last year, send heartfelt greetings to you on the eve of your seventy-fifth birthday. We remember with profound gratitude the sympathy and service for our cause of Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Higginson and so many of the great literary leaders of the past; and we rejoice that in you, our most eminent and revered man of letters today, this high tradition is so highly sustained. In adding honor to our cause and to yourself by accepting prominent place in the New York Men's League for Woman Suffrage, you reinforced every worker for the cause in the country; and in declaring as you have recently done that you had heard arguments against woman suffrage but never yet a reason, you touched with memorable and influential trenchancy the injustice and emptiness of the conventional opposition. It is because you have ever been a conspicuous and courageous lover of justice more than because of your literary fame, so dear to all American hearts, that we are grateful for your recognition of the justice and the urgency of the great movement for the rights of women; and on this anniversary, when your countrymen unite in tribute to you for so many services, we desire to express our gratitude and honor for your service to the cause in whose behalf we are met together here.

Chinese Soldiers Mutiny.

The soldiery of the northern Provinces of China, more directly under the control of the new President and former Premier, Yuan Shi Kai, are clamoring for their pay, and at various points have started pillaging and burning. The first outbreak, at Peking on the 1st, was soon brought under some control, but on the following day worse disorders of a similar character broke out at Tientsin, and in some smaller places. Foreigners have taken refuge with their respective legations which are protected by the foreign troops. The foreign troops, especially the British, have made demonstrations against groups of Chinese mutineers who have threatened the railways. These demonstrations have not been displeasing to the Peking government, as they have aided in controlling lawlessness, but formal intervention by the Powers is not held to be necessary. Martial law prevails in Peking and many executions have taken place. According to a dispatch of the 3rd, Yuan Shi Kai had summoned Republican troops from Nanking to aid in putting down the mutineers. The delegates who had been sent to Peking to inform Yuan Shi Kai officially of his election to the Presidency, and to conduct him to Nanking, have appointed four of their number to return to Nanking, to explain the views of the foreign Powers, and impress upon the Nanking Republicans the necessity of supporting Yuan Shi Kai, and the desirability of the Nanking government coming to Peking to establish a strong coalition. The foreign legations consider it judicious to support Yuan Shi Kai as the quickest and surest means of overcoming the general spirit of anarchy. Gen. Li Huen Heng, the newly elected Vice President of the Republic, is also anxious to assist in restoring Yuan Shi Kai's authority. In his opinion, the mutiny should not be permitted to upset the general scheme of reconstruction. Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the acting President, who is still at Nanking, is ready temporarily to assume the whole responsibility of administration. The delegates suggest a combination of the best northern and southern troops, and the establishment of a great police force with headquarters at Peking. [See current volume, page 205.]

The American Consul General at Hongkong, Mr. George E. Anderson, has made the following report to Washington, according to the Daily Consular and Trade Reports of February 28:

It is one of the most remarkable features of the revolution in China that it has been accomplished with a comparatively small disturbance of the finances of the Far East.

Two principal causes have contributed to this stability. The first, perhaps, is the fact that the revolution has long been anticipated by commercial

interests in this part of China and conditions discounted in advance. It has also been a cardinal principle with the revolutionists from the beginning of the movement that all national contracts of China shall be observed in the most scrupulous manner, that foreign interests shall be protected at every hazard, and that, so far as may be possible, all legitimate business interests shall be guarded in every way. It has been the announced plan of the revolutionists to restore order in the country even before proceeding to the formation of a permanent government.

The business world also has agreed in the idea that whichever way political affairs in China went the future promised improved conditions under which trade could be carried on. Most of the members of the provisional government at Canton, formed after the abdication of the viceroy, were members of the Sze Yap and the Hongkong Chinese chambers of commerce, the two leading Chinese business organizations of Hongkong. The Chinese business community, on which, after all, the entire structure of foreign commerce in China rests, has thoroughly understood the nature of the movement, what it has been intended to accomplish, and what it would mean eventually in a business way. While the revolution itself has, of course, produced a strain, the general undertone of the situation in commercial circles has been one of confidence and optimism.

NEWS NOTES

—By a vote of 74 to 18 the lower house of the Maryland legislature defeated a woman suffrage bill on the 29th.

—The National Educational Association will hold its next convention at Chicago in July, from the 8th to the 12th. [See vol. xiv, p. 678.]

—A bill granting American citizenship to the people of Porto Rico passed the lower house of Congress on the 4th. The bill now goes to the Senate. [See vol. xiii, p. 37.]

—A bill providing for a state monopoly of life insurance has been approved by the Italian Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 268 to 79. The object of the move is to provide for old age pensions.

—The third Conference of the Western Economic Society was held at Chicago on the 1st and 2d of March, to consider the subject of "the Regulation of Industrial Combinations." [See vol. xiv, p. 1169.]

—The Socialist candidate for Mayor of Muscatine, Iowa, was defeated in the municipal election on the 4th by Conrad Koehler, the candidate of the combined opposition. He received 1,615 votes to 2,339 for Koehler. [See vol. xiv, p. 442.]

—The monastery of the Trappist monks at Gethsemane, twelve miles from Bardstown, Ky., was burned to the ground on the night of the 1st. The seventy-five brothers of the order, who are bound to extreme poverty and everlasting silence, are homeless.

—The financial chairman of the legislative committee of the Political Equality League of Illinois (Mrs. Harriett T. Treadwell, 6220 Jefferson avenue,

Chicago), is soliciting funds to help Wisconsin win votes for women, as the best way of getting woman suffrage elsewhere.

—The Italians claim victories over the Turks in Tripoli on the 27th and the 4th. The Italians have followed their seizure of French ships on charge of carrying "contraband of war" to the Turks, by the seizure of the British steamship *Rescuer* at Trepani on the 26th, on the same charge. [See current volume, pages 111, 206.]

—Eladio Victoria, elected President of Santo Domingo, December 2, in succession to Ramon Caceres, who had been assassinated, took the oath as President, for a term of six years, on the 27th, and appointed his cabinet. Fighting was reported two days later between his troops and revolutionaries. [See vol. xiv, p. 1245.]

—John E. Owens, county judge of Cook county (the Chicago county), Illinois, entered a formal order on the 2d directing the Election Commissioner of Chicago and the town of Cicero to provide for a Presidential preference primary on April 9th for all political parties applying to them therefor, the expenses to be paid by the applicants.

—Woman suffrage won a second victory in the Constitutional Convention of Ohio on the 29th, when the minority report was killed on a viva voce vote, and the majority report providing for votes for women (agreed to by the committee on suffrage by a vote of 20 to 1) was ordered printed and placed on the calendar immediately after the liquor question. [See current volume, page 202.]

—Mexico continues to suffer from insurrectionary disorder. There has been fighting in Chihuahua during the last week, and General Orozco, the insurrecto leader in Chihuahua, is threatening to proceed to the City of Mexico. President Taft issued a proclamation on the 2nd, warning American citizens to refrain from entering Mexico, and advising those now resident in Mexico to leave when conditions threaten to become intolerable. [See current volume, page 204.]

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department for January, 1912, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912 [See vol. xiv, p. 831]:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash	123,413,503.02
Total	\$273,413,503.02
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1911	\$288,200,599.23
Decrease	\$ 14,787,096.11

—Upon their pleas of guilty, Mrs. Emeline Pankhurst, Mrs. Tukes and Mrs. Marshall, leaders of the physical force faction of woman suffragists in Great Britain, were sentenced on the 2d by police magistrates to two months' imprisonment for destruction of property valued at less than \$25. Other prisoners to the number of 120, were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment of less duration, while some who had destroyed property of more than \$25 value were committed for trial. The offenses consisted in smashing the windows of Mr. Asquith's official residence and of retail stores on the 1st, in a crusade of violence designed to make public opinion in favor

of votes for women. The immediate object is to force the Ministry to offer an official bill embodying woman suffrage, in place of their plan of a manhood suffrage bill subject to such amendment by a majority of the House of Commons as to include women. On the 5th two women (one of them an American) were sentenced to two months' imprisonment with hard labor for similar offenses committed on the 4th. [See current volume, page 204.]

—The bill for the so-called "fourth partition of Poland," introduced in the Russian Douma in May, 1909, was defeated in that body on the 28th. The creation of the new province of Chelm, comprising about one-third of the provinces of Lublin and Siedlce, in the kingdom of Poland, was approved, but its submission to the ministry of the interior instead of to the governor general of Warsaw was rejected by a vote of 139 to 135. This leaves the new Chelm province in the kingdom of Poland. [See vol. xii, pp. 133, 493.]

—The United States Senate on the 1st adopted a resolution calling on President Taft to submit to it all the correspondence with Colombia dealing with the acquisition of the Panama canal zone by the United States. The resolution was offered by Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, who urged its adoption in a speech in which he charged former President Roosevelt with participation in a conspiracy to foment the revolution by which Panama was lost to Colombia and the Canal Zone became the property of this country. [See current volume, pages 205, 219.]

—A brief cable dispatch of the 4th notes the dissolution of the Landtag of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Germany, "as the result of the refusal of the Socialists to assent to a proposed election law, intended to increase the voting strength of the highest taxpayers." Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt is a small principality of the German Empire in which the highest assessed inhabitants are privileged to elect four out of the total sixteen members composing the Chamber of Representatives. Prior to the dissolution one Socialist had been elected speaker and another deputy speaker. [See current volume, page 206.]

—"Greater Berlin" on the 27th elected Dr. Karl Steiniger as its first mayor. Under the new form of government the city council will have control over matters of transportation, building plans, and the acquisition of suburban lands for the purpose of forming a permanent forest and meadow girdle around the city. The municipal council is to consist of 100 members, about one-third of whom are elected by the city itself and the remainder by the suburban districts. Berlin has now a population of nearly 3,300,000, and is the third greatest municipality of the world—only London and New York exceeding it in population.

—In consequence of the interest and discussion aroused by the introduction of House Resolution 220 into the United States House of Representatives, by Congressman Richard Bartholdt, the Esperanto Association of North America is arranging to distribute free one million copies of "A Glimpse of Esperanto," a pamphlet outlining the purpose of the international language and giving a general synopsis of its grammar. A copy will be sent to any name, upon receipt at the Esperanto office, Washington,

D. C., of address and stamp. The Bartholdt Resolution 220 reads: "Resolved, That the Committee on Education be, and the same is hereby authorized and directed to cause an investigation to be made by the Committee on Education or a subcommittee thereof, touching the practicability of the study of Esperanto as an auxiliary language and a means of facilitating the social and commercial intercourse of the people of the United States and those of other countries, the committee to submit its report at the second session of the Sixty-second Congress." This resolution having been passed by the House of Representatives, its subject matter is now before the Committee on Education. [See vol. xiii, pp. 805, 823.]

—The monthly Treasury report of receipts and disbursements of the Federal government for January, 1912, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912 [See vol. xiv, p. 832]:

Receipts	\$381,478,658.11
Disbursements	404,661,682.84
	\$ 23,183,024.73
Repayment of unexpended balances.....	825,225.00
	\$ 22,357,799.73
Ordinary deficit	
Panama Canal (surplus from bonds).....	12,198,720.65
	\$ 10,159,079.08
Public debt deficit.....	6,604,344.03
	\$ 16,763,423.11

It is to be observed that this deficit is reduced by counting proceeds from Panama Canal bonds in the same category with regular receipts. The proceeds of those bonds was \$33,189,104.15, and canal disbursements were \$20,990,383.50, leaving as canal "surplus" \$12,198,720.65, which is in the bookkeeping of the department deducted from a grand deficit of \$28,962,143.76, in order to reduce the grand deficit to the figures of the table, namely, \$16,763,423.11.

PRESS OPINIONS

Legalized Crime and Criminals.

Dubuque (Ia.) Telegraph-Herald (dem. Dem.), Feb. 25.—There is no law to arraign as criminals the heads of the woolen mills of Lawrence. These industrial absolutists, these logical products of privilege and government favor, cannot be forced to abandon their policy of greed and criminal unconcern for the suffering and the poor. . . . Here we have the finger pointing the provocation of crime. Here we have the explanation of dynamitings. Here we have accounting for the mounting hatred of the poor for the rich and accelerating bitterness of feeling among those who have not for those who have.



Good Advice from Governor Foss.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), Feb. 15.—It seems strange that it remained for Gov. Foss of Massachusetts to advise the Democratic majority in Congress what to do to insure relief from the high cost of living. In an appeal to Chairman Underwood of the ways and means committee he urges an immediate repeal of all

taxes on food stuffs and the various necessities of life. This is the program The Democrat has urged ever since the Democrats gained a majority in Congress. It is the logical and the urgent thing to do. There can be no effective relief from excessive prices until the grip of the monopoly combinations is broken by throwing down the Taft-Aldrich tariff bars and allowing the food and clothing of the world to come into this country absolutely tax free. And if the Democrats in Congress do not promptly act upon the suggestion of Gov. Foss there will be further reason to believe that there is basis for the charge that many of them are more interested in the cause of Big Business than they are in the welfare of the common people.



College Professors and Direct Legislation.

Farm and Fireside (agricultural), January 20.—We sometimes suspect that these robed and shovel-hatted gentry get so used to discourses with boys and girls that when they address real men and women they assume too much of wisdom. Jacob Gould Schurman, president of Cornell, is in mind as we write these inquiries. Speaking of the people's power movement recently, and especially of direct legislation, he said: "They take us back to the wretched governmental machinery of the ancient world before the discovery of representative government," and more to like effect. . . . "Ancient democracy," says James D. Bourchier, "implies privilege; modern democracy implies its destruction." And if the opposition to direct legislation be sifted to the bottom, it will be found to prove this assertion. Opposition to it is in most cases opposition to the destruction of privilege. If opponents of direct legislation desire to be really helpful to people who are studying the subject, why do they not lay before their readers and hearers the story of its working under modern conditions, with universal education, universal suffrage and a public opinion educated by a free press, and aided by the telegraph, the telephone and the modern ballot-box? These workings of direct legislation may be studied in several of our own States; and if their experience seems too brief, why do not these gentlemen recite the experience of Switzerland, where it has been a complete success for half a century? . . . The common folks of this nation have determined to have a direct drive on its government. They do not intend to abolish representative government. Direct legislation does not do this either here or in Switzerland. If our leaders in education choose to discuss the matter, we have a right to ask them to do so on lines of reason, and with due regard to the actual facts of experience with the actual thing under consideration—and not by unenlightening reference to things of an entirely different sort.



Education Is Life.

Farm, Stock and Home (agricultural), January 15.—The University of Iowa has put its foot down on the pernicious habit some of the students have of forming political clubs. The boys hold these meetings in the college buildings, and some antediluvian dreamer imagines that such meetings are inimical

to the work and purpose of an institution that is supported for the purpose of training men and women for the high duties of citizenship. The people of Iowa should speak in no uncertain tones and inform the forces that rule their State institution of learning that certain ideas have gone to the scrap-heap, and that among these is that which makes a college a place apart from the activities of life. Rather every possible legitimate opportunity should be afforded the young people of the institution to study the movements, economic and political, of our day. If they choose to study them through the form of political clubs that is their own affair, and a step for which they should be commended and not condemned.



Collier's and Post's Postum.

Collier's Weekly (ind.), March 2.—The Supreme Court of New York, by a vote of three judges to two, has decided, without reference to the merits, on a characteristic and absurd technicality, that the case of Robert J. Collier vs. The Postum Cereal Company, Limited, must be tried again. This gives us a choice between going quietly to sleep and the enormous trouble and expense of another suit. The situation thus created is one which meets most persons who go to law in America. The fact that there are many hundred such cases going on all the time is what has brought our judicial system into disrepute. Twelve laymen heard all the evidence. They were not only convinced unanimously, but convinced so emphatically that they made the verdict in our favor \$50,000, for the sake of expressing their views of right and wrong. The five men of the Supreme Court, as they point out in their opinions, have only part of the evidence and arguments before them. They do not disagree with the jury or the court below about the merits in any particular. It is merely that three out of the five think we were allowed to prove too many of Post's fraudulent methods. In their opinion we should have shown only a limited number of his fakes. It is rather difficult to say anything about such a point of view. The country is saying all that needs to be said about the technicality and ridiculousness of American judicial procedure, and the situation is so extraordinarily bad that it must correct itself before long. The judges who took the point of view that the case ought to be tried over again are Miller, Ingraham and Scott, and even these made no argument whatever against the justness of the verdict. Those who said that, when a case was decided unmistakably on its merits, irrelevant technicalities ought not to force a new trial, are Laughlin and Dowling. . . . At this writing we have not decided whether to let the facts, which are now fully understood, speak for themselves or go through all the effort and cost of another trial. Our purpose from the beginning has been less to absorb Mr. Post's money than to show to a jury and the public the fraudulent nature of his advertising. That we have done, and we are extraordinarily little interested in the question of whether three out of five judges consider that we ought to have proved less about false testimonials and false claims.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

JAMES B. WEAVER.*

For The Public.

A nobleman died when Weaver, our friend,
On wings of the spirit departed.
Great souled was his life, and true to the end—
Devoted, sincere, open-hearted.
The truth to support, the right to defend,
He ever was ready his life's blood to spend,
When once in a cause he had started.

The forces of wrong he traced to their source
With vigilance keen, never sleeping;
And bravely he sought by every recourse
To check their iniquitous reaping.
Though crushed by great odds o'erwhelming in force,
He fought a good fight, he finished his course
With faith all undimmed in his keeping.

The thoughtless may judge that his struggles for
light
Were ended in fruitless endeavor.
His failures were merely a shift in the fight
That's world wide, and terminates never.
His triumph was won when he challenged the night;
His reward that he saw the beacons of light
That shine from Truth's camp fires forever.

J. BELLANGEE.



JUST A HORSE.

For The Public.

Out there across the lot in that barn stands a dappled dun horse, Buckskin. He is about twelve years old and weighs about ten hundred and fifty pounds. He is just a big cow-horse, that is all. But to me he is a hero, something which leads my rather stupid self up higher.

His mother had the lungs and the kind of sense and size, of the horses born on the range of Colorado. His father was a thoroughbred trotter, who before he broke down had made a jockey plenty of money by only trotting a mile in two minutes and a half, when that jockey wanted him to. His cradle was in Texas; his education—we call it breaking—well, probably he got some of it from a little girl. Anyhow, when this range-bred two-year-old left his first owner, a little daughter of that owner cried bitterly.

Until four years ago, from "milling round-ups" of about one thousand steers, Buckskin used to "cut out" the steers to be shipped to Kansas City. Trotting and weaving and dodging, and sometimes running full-tilt when he had dodged his steer out of the herd, with his dappled dun hide drenched with sweat, and his ears moving forward

*See The Public of February 5, page 133, and of February 16, page 148.

and sideways and occasionally backwards, he would get the steer separated from the others and headed for those which had been cut out before. Then with quieter ears he would trot back to get another one. And a man would sit upon his back, and most of the time that man used to be thinking that he was not by any means the smallest or most insignificant man in the State—no, not by any manner of means.

And now Buckskin pulls the family surrey, or a light cart eight miles and back to a farm, or a fourth-horse share of a disk-harrow or John Deere riding plough which we are using to make two straws grow where one used to grow on this farm, run-down by being rented for "all the traffic will bear."

Buckskin, as far as I know, has never been afraid of trains, or traction engines, or automobiles, or spitting motor-cycles. It has always seemed to me that he knows these things are useful in producing, just like himself. But when approached by a man whose manners are careless, then Buckskin snorts in a most blood-curdling fashion for such a sensible horse. Buckskin is "from Missouri;" he has to be shown by that man that he is a reasonable man. Buckskin only believes that men are guided by reason when it is proved to him; then he renders service in any productive employment the which has some resemblance to the perfection of the works of his Creator.

Why is this big cow-pony a hero? He is just a horse.

Well, I'll try and put it in words, but that is harder than algebra even. You see it is as simple as the teachings for which Christ died, and they are the very hardest things—these simple truths—to say so that people understand them. I used to think when I was a kid that horsemanship was *making* horses do things. But after a lot of greys and bays and blacks had tried to show me, Buckskin did finally show me that it was not *making*, but *understanding*—this horsemanship business. To get his service in running cattle or ploughing, he shows me that I must understand that a horse's satisfaction comes from using his powers, just like a man's. That is what makes cow-horses run pell-mell after steers, when the dust and the heat are stifling. That is what makes horses patiently struggle with a load over the frozen snow, or monotonously drag on a plough. It is, that by instinct they recognize the greatest of God's natural laws—that in the right and productive use of the powers that come from *him*, is the greatest source of human joy and satisfaction.

Then, too, Buckskin has shown me what an abundance can be produced in peace if one will only remember the Golden Rule—the law which Christ died proclaiming. Would one like oneself to have only just enough to keep alive on, out of the grain and hay one had helped to produce?

Would one like to be spurred and jerked around, because the fellow that was riding us had made a fool of himself, or did not know that we had nerves, as well as plenty of sense? Would one like to stand tied in a dirty stable, oneself uncomfortably dirty, when the only reason that one was tied up there was to help somebody do something which that somebody expected would get him things he wanted?

Yes, as my eye strikes that stable, my mind recognizes the heroism in that cow-pony standing there. His actions lead me higher; they force me to see the great and growing joy in service—the unvarying truth in the thing which Christ died proclaiming. They have made me recognize that horsemanship is to practice the Golden Rule; and that horsemanship is necessary if one is trying to produce two straws where one used to grow—if one is really farming, and not trying to get all that one can, and give the land and the horses and the tools as little as possible in return while doing this.

GEORGE HUGHES.



FOLLOWING TRUTH.

C. F. Shandrew in Arden Leaves.

"The greatest gift the gods bestowed on mortal
Was his dome of thought;
It sometimes seems a useless load
When one is tired, worn and hot;
It sometimes seems a trifling thing,
Less useful than one's lungs or slats;
A mere excuse, it seems,
To bring us duns from men who deal in hats.
Some men appreciate their heads,
And use them wisely every day,
And every passing minute sheds
New splendor on their upward way;
While some regard their heads as junk,
Mere idle knobs upon their necks;
Such men are nearly always sunk
In failure and are gloomy wrecks. . . .

"O human head! Majestic box!
O wondrous can from labels free!
If man is craving fame or rocks,
He'll get them if he uses thee!"

Let it be known that I have discovered another use for human heads, in addition to the uses mentioned above by Walt Mason. It happened thus:

One day a visitor came to see me. Having nothing to do I sent him word that I was busy. This I did because I knew the man slightly by reputation and at that time thought I did not care to meet him. He came again, and yet again. He was so mildly persistent that I finally gave him audience.

"I have come to arouse your thought," he said.

"I think I think now," I said.

Without disputing my statement he began to call my attention to certain monstrous wrongs

that still exist in the world notwithstanding the wail of the Oppressed has so long gone up.

"See here," said I, interrupting him, "I admit all you say, and more, too. Conditions are deplorably bad, but my education in this respect is complete, so unless you have a distinct and definite remedy for these wrongs, a remedy which must be both simple and practical, it is idle to continue this interview."

"Permit me to say," continued my visitor, "that the wide-spreading social evils which everywhere oppress men spring from a great primary wrong—the appropriation as the exclusive property of some men of the land on which and from which all must live. From this fundamental injustice flow all the injustices which distort and endanger modern development, which condemn the producer of wealth to poverty and pamper the non-producer in luxury, which rear the tenement house with the palace, plant the brothel behind the church and compel us to build prisons as we open new schools. In other words, the ownership of the earth by some men reduces other men to the position and condition of chattel slaves as effectively as if we formally made them so, and I need not point out to a man as intelligent as you are the train of evils which flow from slavery."

"That a man, or a number of men should claim ownership of a planet—a part of the universe—does seem absurd," I said, after a moment's reflection. "But what is your remedy for such a condition?" I asked.

"To take the rent of land in the form of a tax and abolish all other taxes," he answered. "This simple, yet sovereign remedy will substitute freedom for slavery, will raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals and taste and intelligence, purify governments and carry civilization to yet nobler heights."

"I admit," he resumed after a moment's pause, "that we are challenging an institution that has long seemed wise and natural, but we must find a remedy. I hope to arouse your thought and secure your assistance. Let us follow Truth wherever she may lead us."

"At some more convenient season," I murmured and abruptly dismissed my visitor. That is to say, I put aside his book, for it will be understood my visitor was Henry George, who had come to me in book form. "Singular," I thought, "that a man otherwise so intelligent should think such great results would follow such a little change. Got some presumption, too! Arouse my thought, indeed! As if I had not already thought about these problems and read about them, too, all that our universities teach, all that the Church has taught, all that our most advanced thinkers have written and said on the subject."

I then fell asleep and seemed to take a long journey! At last I came to a great gate. I knocked for admittance. A man opened the gate.

"What place is this?" I asked.

"The abode of the Choir Invisible," he replied; then seeing my puzzled expression, continued:

"Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence; live
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
Of miserable aims that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
And with their mild persistence urge men's minds
To vaster issues."

"Sounds good to me," I said, "I would like to enter."

"I cannot admit you," said the Guardian of the Gate. "Only those who follow Truth wherever she leads may enter here." And he closed the gate.



A PROSELYTE.

For The Public.

"Say, Mom," said little "Brick-Top" Brown,
As he came ague-shaken down
To his morning meal—a crust of bread,
And that weird thing, "Posthum"—ye Gods! Nufsed!
"Say, Mom," said little "Brick-Top" Brown,
"Last night when I was way up town
I got as cold as a cake of ice,
When along came a guy wot looked right nice,
And he says, says he, 'Sonny, come wid me,
And I'll warm you up wid a cup of tea;
Then I'll take you off to a nice warm place
Where I'll talk to you and the rest of the race.'
We went to a hall dat was filled wid folks,
And none of dem looked like day was brokes,
'Cept me an' a blokey wot sat in de rear,
Who acted as though he was half-hit in de ear.
Gee whiz, de guy wot took me in
Jes' tells de crowd dat he's lined wid tin,
But he says, says he, 'I am rich because
I soon got wise to the way of your laws.
I just take land and let it lay
'Til the crowd comes flocking around my way;
Then I sell it off with a hush and a rush,
And stuff my jeans with a "bunch of cush."
Say, Mom, yer oughter heard him spoke.
He said de poor need not be broke.
He said he's willin' to quit and disgorge,
Since he read a book by a guy named George.
He talked fer an hour, an' says dis is facts,
An' you kin cure all dese wrongs if you try Single
Tax.
Den de gang gets excited and everyone yells,
'Three cheers an' a Tiger for old Joe Fels!'
Say, Mom, dat guy wot filled us wid hope
Is de same guy wot makes all dat Fels-Naptha soap."

ROYD EASTWOOD MORRISON.



Lostout: "Are you out on bail?"
Indictee: "No; I'm out on a technicality." S. H.

BOOKS

THE UNIVERSAL IDEA.

The Christ Myth. By Arthur Drews, Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy in the Techn-Hochschule, Karlsruhe. Translated from the third revised edition by C. Delisle Burns, M. A. The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago. Price, \$2.25.

A writer who has the courage of his convictions to send out a work like this ought not to be so sensitive to criticism and condemnation as the author of "The Christ Myth" in his preface to the third edition appears to be. He has the satisfaction of presenting his case which, if clearly proven, does not change the fact of an Invisible Power in the universe on which men, while denying, instinctively rely. Whether or not there is a historical Jesus makes no difference in the divine Principle that is permeating the soul of humanity. What the Professor of Philosophy at Karlsruhe styles the Christ Myth has been the guiding star and will be the final salvation of the human race. An ideal of perfection is the need which the striving spirit of man has been seeking since the day of creation. We may follow with joy the careful tracing of the "Myth" from the earliest records of time down to the historical Jesus, as the Professor points the way; but we miss no jot or tittle of the power embodied in the divine symbol that is more pregnant with meaning today than ever before in the history of mankind. No Christian need fear to read Prof. Drews' careful study of the Christ Myth, as old as the story of creation itself. A great many facts are unveiled that serve to show the unity of the human family, and nothing essential to the real spirit of the Christ redemption is, or can be, taken away. The Professor, with his student habit of analysis, comparison and criticism, may hold altogether different views, but each is in freedom to follow his own highest conception of the truth that makes for the purest and truest service of his fellow man.

A. L. M.



A LEGAL VIEW.

Christ's Christianity. Being the Precepts and Doctrines recorded in Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, as taught by Jesus Christ. Analyzed and arranged according to subjects, by Albert H. Walker of the New York Bar, New York. The Equity Press. Price, \$1.00.

Mr. Walker says: "The compilation of this book occupied much of my time during five years, though most of my days during those days were devoted to the practice of law or to authorship relevant to the law of the land."

The sayings of Jesus are collected under the

various headings which the compiler finds appropriate to the literal sense of the passages quoted. While there is no doctrinal purpose in the work, it affords an easy reference to the particular subjects designated, though there might be differences of opinion as to the actual place that certain sayings should hold in the classification. It is none the less a suggestive volume to place in convenient reach of the busy man's hand.

Mr. Walker is the author also of the "History of the Sherman Law," which is considered a valuable study of a subject of great interest to those concerned in its principles.

A. L. M.



IN MEMORIAM.

The Lute of Life. By James Newton Matthews. Edited by Walter Hurt. Cincinnati: Horton & Company, Publishers. Price, \$1.50.

It is true, as John Boyle O'Reilly has said: "The singer who lived is always alive. We hearken and always hear."

The friend of James Newton Matthews has done a work for which many will be grateful as they turn over this collection of verses with their swift appeal to the sweetest and kindest instincts of human nature. Contrary to the poetic ideal as something mystical, abstruse and incomprehensible to the ordinary mind, Mr. Matthews, with beautiful simplicity, sends his clear, direct message straight to the understanding heart of the common brotherhood along the lines of human experience. Through all the well-turned and harmonious rhymes one feels the pulse of a good and noble soul that is ready to lay down life in the service that will—

Give love unto the loveless and console
The helpless and the hopeless, making whole
The broken hearted.

A. L. M.



A USEFUL REVIEW.

The Woman's Movement in America. A short account of the struggle for Equal Rights. By Belle Squire. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Price, \$1.

For those who are not informed—or are misinformed—on the vital facts of the woman suffrage movement from its first inception in America, this small volume will prove an interesting and stirring study. The spirit which the author throws into her relation of the various incidents of the movement she describes is so sincere and eloquent that a vivid interest attaches to the story from beginning to end. The several famous characters taking active part in the living drama are finely portrayed, and in a remarkably clear, rapid way the history of the varied phases of the woman's movement is presented to the reader who, whether young or old, may be seeking enlightenment on a

subject that is soon to be put to the test of actual experience in the progress of the race.

A. L. M.



A DRAMA FOR TO-DAY.

The Flower Shop. A play in three acts. By Marion Craig Wentworth. Boston: Richard W. Badger. Price, \$1.00.

The motive of this play is the woman's right to love in conjunction with any position she chooses to hold in the world of business or art. The action of the play occupies the afternoon and evening of one day in which Margaret Kendall, owner of the flower shop, succeeds with her strenuous arguments in converting to her views not only the man she loves, but also her former rejected lover, whose wife is forbidden by her husband to sing in public under a contract which Margaret has influenced her to make.

But while the curtain drops at last on a vision of "encircling arms" the spectator may not feel quite sure that the real play is ended.

A. L. M.



TO ARMS FOR PEACE!

War or Peace. By Hiram M. Chittenden. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1911. Price, \$1 net.

A brigadier general of the United States army condemning all war and praising peace! The amazement of the reader during two-thirds of the book is dissolved into "I thought so's" toward the end. For the author's paths of peace lead into the war lord's high road—full and fuller preparedness for war, bigger navy, better army, all for the national honor of defense. Then some day, if all the nations watch while they arm, down through a sky crowded with warships will fly the dove of peace, and presto! a warless world-federation.

What would Tolstoy say to this book, so like his great novel in title, so utterly unlike in power and truth?

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.



A TRAP FOR THE UNWARY.

The House of Iron Men. By Jack Steele. Published by Desmond FitzGerald, New York, 1911. Price, \$1.20 net.

Murder, blood-red sacred ruby, woman of magic beauty and detective of supernatural wit, vacant New York houses built of secret stairways and trap doors, drugged tea, and decoy messages, an up-to-date young athlete financier as hero—and she turns out to be a real Lady heiress after all. It's orange-yellow, poorly written, of painfully thin illusory power, this story; yet the reader—luck-

less thrall—must unravel that mystery or die with the villain, "Scratch."

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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

—The Essentials of Socialism. By Ira B. Cross. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Religion and Civilization. By William Hirsch. Published by The Truth Seeker Co., 62 Vesey St., New York. 1912.

—Ravenel's Road Primer for School Children. By Samuel W. Ravenel. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1912.

—The Women of Tomorrow. By William Hard. Published by the Baker & Taylor Co., New York. 1911. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Life of the Soul. By Walter Winston Kenilworth. Published by R. F. Fenno & Co., 18 E. 17th St., New York. 1911. Price, \$1.00.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Christianity and Socialism: A Sermon by John Haynes Holmes, December, 1908. Published by the Church of the Messiah, Park Ave. and 34th St., New York.

The Case against Corporal Punishment. By Henry S. Salt. Published by the Humanitarian League, 53 Chancery Lane, London, W. C. Price, two pence.

Why a Progressive Democrat Should be Nominated for President in 1912. Published by the Progressive Democratic League of Ohio, 510 Harrison B'd'g, Columbus, O.

The Usurped Power of the Courts. By Allan L. Benson. Reprinted from Pearson's Magazine. Published by the Pearson Publishing Co., 425 E. 24th St., New York, 1911. Price, 5 cents.

The Co-operation of the N. E. A. in Civic and Social Center Development. An Address by Carroll G. Pearse of Milwaukee, at the First National Conference on Civic and Social Center Development, October 26, 1911. Bulletin Number 311, General Series, Published by the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. Price, 5 cents.

PERIODICALS

The Independent.

The Independent of February 22 prints "The Drama of the Winter Stars" by Annie L. Muzzey, a little poem full of a big spiritual quietness. The editor in the same issue joins with the men and women all over the world who are speaking their praise of the Chinese patriot, Dr. Sun: "For all succeeding generations the name of Sun Yat Sen will stand prime in national history as that of the man

who made the republic possible and then willingly subordinated himself for its peace and glory."

A. L. G.



"Public Cause."

"Common Cause," the new and able democratic weekly recently started in Kalamazoo, Michigan [see current volume, p. 147], has changed its name to "Public Cause," its former name being the same as that of a New York monthly of very different tenor.

A. L. G.



Life and Labor.

"Jean Valjean Rescues Fantine," printed in the March number, is the first of a series of "Great Scenes from Great Stories" arranged by Mary Gray Peck for Life and Labor. This absorbing and powerful episode in Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables" was chosen, writes Miss Peck, "because it shows the author's sympathy for the wrongs of women, his perception of the economic injustice back of these wrongs, and his indignation at the merciless enforcement of laws which take no account of the causes of wrongdoing while they crush the helpless and the desperate."

A. L. G.



Say not the struggle nought availeth,
The labor and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor falleth,
And as things have been they remain.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light.
In front the sun climbs low, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright.

—Arthur Hugh Clough.



One evening the man, with a library chanced to enter the library just as his hopefuls were pulling down volume after volume of his cherished treasures from their shelves.

"Here! Here!" shouted the father; "what are you doing?"

"Looking up something in the history of the United States," answered one of the lads.

"What do you want to know?"

"A fellow just told Tom and me that Christy Mathewson once pitched for a team in Norfolk and we wanted to find out if it was true."—St. Louis Republic.



Cornelius was called one winter morning before dawn, and told to go and harness the mule to the dearborn.

The lad was too lazy to light a lantern, and in the dark he didn't notice that one of the cows was in the stable with the mule.

As he tried to harness the cow, his father, im-

patient at the long delay, shouted from the house:

"Corney! Corney! what ye doin'?"

"I can't get the collar over the mule's head," the

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.

Women's Trade Union League OF CHICAGO

Public Meeting

Sunday, March 10, at 3 o'clock

Colonial Hall, 20 West Randolph St., near State.

SPEAKER: MR. CHARLES ZUEBLIN, Editor 20th Century Magazine

SUBJECT: "THE WORKING GIRL AND THE VOTE" SOLO SINGING

Refreshments EMMA STEGHAGEN Secretary

Everybody Welcome MRS. RAYMOND ROBINS President

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE CHICAGO SINGLETAX CLUB

Meets Every Friday at 8:00 P. M., at 508 Schiller Building

All are welcome. Ladies invited. Become a member and assist in the work.

JAMES B. ELLERY, Sec.

KANSAS

A group of Kansans are working to form a non-partisan State organization to assure that Direct Legislation be submitted to the people of this State in satisfactory form. We desire to get in touch with all Kansas readers of The Public. Please correspond with ALDEN S. HULING, 1275 Lane St., Topeka, Kans.

LINCOLN, NEBRASKA

Charles Frederick Adams of New York will lecture here March 9 to 12, inclusive. A series of meetings has been arranged in connection with the Monthly Luncheon of Men Interested in Tax Reform.

Do You Advertise?

Half a page in any popular publication will attract some attention "in the crowd." But half a page in The Public, not crowded, is a direct personal appeal to all our readers who are in sympathy with The Public and who believe in our advertisers.

And have you figured the comparative cost?

STANLEY BOWMAR,

Manager.

boy replied. "His ears are frozen."—St. Louis Globe Democrat.



"Are you a director in this company?" asked one of the members of the investigating committee.

"I have an impression that I am," replied the wealthy witness; "but I do not care to say so positively. My secretary will know."

"Are you a director in many large companies?"

"Yes, sir. In thirty-five or forty, I believe."

"Can't you tell us the exact number?"

"No. I haven't counted them for a year or two."

"What are the duties of a director?"

"Why, a director directs."

"What does he direct?"

"He directs his secretary to collect a fee of \$10 or \$25, as the case may be, whenever a directors' meeting is held."

"Have you attended a directors' meeting recently?"

IN MEMORIAM

JOHN P. ALTGELD

Died March 12, 1902

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

DANIEL L. CRUCE, Chairman

Music by the Sinai Congregation Choir

Mr. Arthur Dunham, Organist and Director

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Organ - - - Mr. Arthur Dunham

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"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

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These books are from the house of Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London, England, and were originally published at \$1.00 a volume. They are printed on good book paper, and bound in durable red cloth, stamped in gold. These books are perfect copies in every way, and by purchasing the entire lot—less than 200 copies—from the American importers, we are able to offer them to the readers of this magazine at the special price of 60c, plus 8c for postage.

The Titles are:

- Overproduction and Crises - - - Karl Rodbertus
- Christian Socialism in England - - - A. D. Woodworth
- Theory and Policy of Labour Protection - - - A. Schaffler
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will help you more than any other book or set of books to study such subjects as Commission Government, The Initiative and Referendum, The Recall and The Single Tax. Every other movement that has been a force in our social and political life since The Public was established in 1898 is mirrored in its pages.

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Volume I is out of print and at a premium of \$25.00, but we have a few of all the other Volumes (Vol. II to XIV) at the regular rate.

THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

"No. I don't remember any recent ones that I have attended."

"Why should a company or a corporation have directors if the directors do not pay any attention to the manner in which the business is carried on?"

"There must be directors to elect the president and the other chief officials of the concern."

"Couldn't the stockholders do that themselves?"

"The stockholders? Why, good heavens, how could they be expected to know anything about run-

ning the business? Most of them pay no attention to it, except to draw their dividends."—Chicago Record-Herald.



"Say, pa, what does it mean when it says the Supreme Court dissolved a trust?"

"Well, my son, you see, hum—ha—that's a sort of solution of the trust question."

"Does it fix it so there's any trust any more, pa?"

PAUL M. CLEMENS
Architect Winnipeg, Man.

Are You Going to Florida?
If you want to get, not only the benefit of the Florida climate, but also desire to carry away with you the remembrance of having spent your time at—so they say—the best Hotel in the South, first-class in every respect, the best table you ever sat down to, and at the same time being cozy and homelike, go to
Lake City, Florida
—and stop at—
THE BLANCHE
Rates from \$14 to \$22 per week. Subscribers to The Public 10% off regular rates.
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TAX LIENS**
An eight per cent investment
Better than the best mortgage
Interest payable March
first and September first
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OF NEW YORK**
68 William Street, New York City, N. Y.

**Have a Little Gold Mine
of Your Own**
Rich men are not the only ones who can put their money where it will bring big interest. Any man of moderate means who watches his chance in Canada can invest a small saving each month with the same certainty of golden return as if he were a millionaire.
According to the registered right of way the Grand Trunk Pacific when completed will join Fort Fraser, B. C., with both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and gather in a volume of commerce that is sure to make this future city one of the most important in all Canada.
Calgary, when opened up by the Canadian Pacific, took a jump from 4,000 to 40,000 in population and \$200 lots rose to fabulous prices, some going as high as \$10,000 to \$30,000 and \$60,000. Edmonton, Prince Rupert and other towns have had similar experiences and this kind of history is now to be more than repeated in Fort Fraser.
The man with small capital can snap up some of the choicest lots in Fort Fraser now for as little as \$100 to \$200, if he acts quickly, and pay for them on the easy terms of 10% down and 5% per month. No interest or taxes until fully paid and titles guaranteed by the British Columbia Government itself.
Write to Spence, Jordan & Co., Dept. G., Marquette Bldg., Chicago, the town site's official representatives, asking for plat and full information.

"Well, my son, when you dissolve a lump of sugar in water, the sugar is still there, but you can't see it."—Puck.

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537 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
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