

The Public

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

LOUIS F. POST, EDITOR

ALICE THACHER POST, MANAGING EDITOR

ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JAMES H. DILLARD, Louisiana
LINCOLN STEFFENS, Connecticut
L. F. C. GARVIN, Rhode Island
HENRY F. RING, Texas
HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Ohio
FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ohio
MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Ohio
BRAND WHITLOCK, Ohio

HENRY GEORGE, JR., New York
ROBERT BAKER, New York
BOLTON HALL, New York
MISS GRACE ISABEL COLBRON, New York
HERBERT QUICK, Wisconsin
MRS. LONA INGHAM ROBINSON, Iowa
S. A. STOCKWELL, Minnesota
WILLIAM P. HILL, Missouri
C. E. S. WOOD, Oregon

JOHN Z. WHITE, Illinois
R. F. PETTIGREW, South Dakota
W. G. EGGLESTON, Oregon
LEWIS H. BERENS, England
J. W. S. CALLIE, England
JOSEPH FELS, England
JOHN PAUL, Scotland
GEORGE FOWLDS, New Zealand

Vol. XV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, MARCH 22, 1912.

No. 729

Published by Louis F. Post
Elsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar

Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1896, at the Post Office at
Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL

Free Sugar and Direct Taxation.

With their free sugar policy, loss of revenue to be made up by an excise tax on incomes, the progressives of both parties in Congress have begun a campaign in the right direction. To take away the tariff-graft from sugar monopolists may not be a great item in tariff reform, but it is an influential one. To turn for revenue to the excise tax on incomes, may not count for much in this single instance, but it opens the way. Let the free sugar bill go to the country next fall, coupled with the excise tax bill on incomes of \$5,000 and upwards, and the great plutocratic edifice of tariff-tax graft will begin to crumble. If these bills are first enacted into law, so much the better for the people and for the party that leads in this hopeful crusade; if they are not enacted, but the question nevertheless goes to the country, so much the worse for the opposition.



Another Argument Against the Recall.

The reduction to absurdity of all the arguments against the popular Recall (not exempting judges) is that of the learned gentlemen who point to the assassination of a judge in Virginia by an organized band of outlaws as an exemplification of the judicial Recall. Since those outlaws "recalled" the sheriff and the prosecutor with their guns at the same time that they thus "recalled" the judge, this argument would apply to

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:	
Free Sugar and Direct Taxation.....	265
Another Argument Against the Recall.....	265
Coal Strikers and Coal Trustees.....	266
Waterpower Trustees.....	266
Public Service Management.....	267
School Houses in Politics.....	267
Race Hatred.....	268
Roosevelt's Chances.....	268
Traffic Monopolies.....	269
Patent Monopolies.....	269
School Teachers and the Steel Trust.....	270
Warren Worth Bailey for Congress.....	270
There is a Law (Elizabeth P. Rounsevell).....	270
EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:	
The Mexican Situation (R. B. B.).....	271
How Not to Do It (A. J. Portenar).....	273
INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:	
The Courts and Constitutional Problems (J. H. Fry).....	274
NEWS NARRATIVE:	
British Coal Miners' Strike.....	275
The Coal Strike in Germany.....	276
Probable Coal Strike in the United States.....	276
Free Sugar.....	276
Direct Legislation in the Ohio Constitutional Con- vention.....	276
Bryan Before the Ohio Constitutional Convention.....	276
Woman Suffrage in the United States.....	277
The Mexican Insurrection.....	277
The Disorders in China.....	277
News Notes.....	278
Press Opinions.....	279
RELATED THINGS:	
Lenten Thoughts (Anne W. Rust).....	280
Goods for Goods (Russell Rea).....	280
Something for Nothing.....	282
The Drama of the Winter Stars (Annie L. Muzzey).....	282
BOOKS:	
Mankind Getting a Living.....	283
More Philosophy.....	283
Pamphlets.....	285
Periodicals.....	285
CARTOON:	
"What Does a Line Fence Amount to When You Have Been Fenned Up?".....	284

the Recall in all its applications and not to judges alone. And what a delectable argument it is! A band of outlaws, in a wild mountain region, shoot to death the sheriff, the prosecutor and the judge for doing their duty; therefore it is dangerous to reserve to the law-abiding people of any community the right to recall from office, in a formal and peaceable manner, by their votes, any sheriff, prosecutor or judge for not doing his duty! The Recall is lucky in the kind of opposition it provokes.



Coal Strikers and Coal Trustees.

England, Germany and the United States are threatened with a coal famine in the very centers of inexhaustible natural deposits of coal, and an impotent public opinion is appalled. Such expression as it gets may be resolved into curses at striking coal miners. But coal miners have a right to strike. Their labor is their own. Slavery aside, and coal miners are under no obligations, legal or moral, to keep at work. It is for them to say whether or not they will dig coal for the pay they are offered; and they have as much right to say it collectively as individually. Curse them if it relieves your mind, but rest under no delusion. If you are cold because they won't dig coal, it is no more their affair than it is yours if they are hungry because you won't furnish them with food.



You are cursing in the wrong direction when you curse the strikers. You bark up the wrong tree. Instead of cursing them, curse the owners. The owners of natural coal deposits are responsible if coal is short-mined. They are responsible if there is a coal famine where natural coal deposits are abundant, for they hold title to those natural deposits as trustees for the common good. On no other sound principle can monopoly of these free gifts of nature be justified or excused. When mining stops in consequence of labor strikes, the crucial question is not whether strikers are over-exacting; it is whether owners of natural coal deposits are true to their trust.



Of course it is conceivable that the demands upon the owners of natural coal deposits by coal miners might be so irrational and extravagant as to make stoppage unavoidable. Mine owners are under no more obligation to keep on operating at a loss than are miners to keep on working at all. But mine owners *are* under obligations to keep on operating or surrender their trust. They must not

be allowed both to monopolize the coal deposits and to refuse to operate them. Unless they surrender the deposits they owe a duty to come to terms with the coal miners, to the end that coal mining shall go on without interruption. If they won't do this, then the government owes the duty of rescinding their trusteeship, of taking over the mines, and of producing coal by direct governmental operation.



So revolutionary an alternative may not in form be necessary, but the principle must be recognized. If the trust obligations of coal deposit owners are not redeemed, their trust must be rescinded; and the trustees must understand that it will be rescinded if necessary. Short of government operation there are many available methods, one of which, neither revolutionary nor beyond immediate reach, might fully serve the purpose. A reasonable minimum wage for coal-mining, based upon the principle that the ownership of natural coal deposits is a public trust and coupled with a warning that if this wage is refused as a minimum the trust method will be superseded by government operation, would probably be enough to prevent coal famines where natural coal deposits are plentiful. Natural coal deposits are essentially common property; how they shall be utilized for the common good raises a question of method; this question has been answered so far by creating ownerships in trust; but if the trust method fails, another method must be adopted. Trustees must be ejected if they cannot keep up the coal supply; and some method, ranging from government regulation or special taxation to governmental operation, must take its place.



Waterpower Trusteeships.

Not content with permitting incompetent and unfaithful trusteeships of all our natural coal deposits, public opinion has kept silent while similar trusteeships are in process of creation for all our water power. One vigilant official sounds a warning. This is the commissioner of corporations, Herbert Knox Smith.



There would of course be no great danger in this trusteeing of waterpower were it not for the fact that the trusteeships are allowed to take on the color of property rights. The same absurd anomaly once attached to public office. It was regarded as the private property of the incumbent; and even to this day that absurdity survives in a

way. It is dying out, however, and the true principle that public office is a public trust has gained a strong foothold. The general establishment of the Recall would make its foothold firm. But the same principle is as sound with reference to occupancy of natural resources as to occupancy of public office.



All occupancy of natural resources is essentially a trust. If the occupancy take the form of ownership, that form should never be allowed to transmute itself into the substance of ownership. If it does, then all such advantages as it may have in form, while the idea of a trust remains vital within the form, will disappear; and some better form for conserving public rights must be adopted. Regarding waterpower, as with coal deposits, the form of ownership appears to have so far transmuted itself into legal substance that revolutionary remedies may be necessary to cure the resulting evils. There may, however, be enough waterpower left to afford a nucleus for legislative action in the way of a preliminary declaration of trust as to all future acquisitions of nominal ownership. But the hope is probably hopeless. History testifies strongly to the stubbornness of the possessing classes in clinging optimistically to their graft until the deluge comes—as come it always does.



Public Service Management.

When Willis J. Spaulding, commissioner of public works of Springfield, Illinois, told of his work in speaking at the Illinois Water Supply Association, he made very plain the conditions of success in managing public service utilities. There was nothing overbearing or discourteous about what he said or the way he said it. He recognized that the membership of the association was about equally divided between those operating private and those operating municipal water plants; and he confessed that while he operated a municipal plant, he could imagine himself as operating or owning a private one, and in that case as probably pointing out the advantages of private ownership. But, he went on—

I hope no city in the State which owns its water plant is so unfortunate as to have it in charge of officials who do not believe that the city can successfully operate such a utility. Such officials are very apt to proceed to demonstrate by their management that their opinion is right. . . . To furnish the best service at the lowest possible cost should be the ambition and persistent effort of the water works manager, whether of a public or private plant. Approaching the subject with this purpose in mind

here is found a vast field for human endeavor and public service, full of interest and often presenting some very perplexing problems. . . . There is and should be a close and active relation between the public service corporation and the public whom they serve. If it be called the relation of master and servant, then the public should be the master. . . . The manager of a municipal plant often feels that his political life is at stake and acts a good deal like the Irishman in battle when he was charged with cowardice. He said he would rather be a coward for five minutes than a corpse the rest of his life. . . . It is very natural for us who hold our positions subject to the fortunes of politics to shun any policies which invite unfavorable criticism, even though we know them to be in the long run of great practical value to the patrons as a whole. However, in my rather limited political experience, I have observed that a few persons who may be affected adversely by a change of method, and there are always some of these, often exert an influence out of all proportion to their number. The average citizen is honest and fair and is interested in efficient government, especially in an efficient water department, and will, nine times out of ten, back up any honest progressive measure if given a reasonable chance to understand it. When we complain that we can not adopt this or that step in economy or toward equality on account of politics, let us try to be sure that we are not standing in mortal fear of a man of straw. . . . Under public ownership the water department becomes an arm of the government. The purpose of government, and in fact the only excuse for government, as I see it, is to preserve equitable relations between the individual members of the community. The working out of some phase of this great and comprehensive purpose is the function of each official, whether important or humble. In adopting or proposing policies in a water department the first consideration should be, are they equitable and will they promote the common good? We cannot have things ideal, but we can draw a picture or a blue print as it were of an ideal and work toward it, and at least leave things a little better than we found them.



School Houses in Politics.

George A. Schilling's advice to the Chicago school board, that it allow school rooms to be used out of school hours for political meetings, is good advice. The school house should everywhere be the center of civic thought and activity. Making school houses non-partisan is in keeping with the old fashioned notion of making school debates non-partisan. The good effect upon school education of substituting live political questions for such soporifics as the question of a preference for city or for country life, is manifest. Equally so is the making of the school house a center for the social and political intercourse of its district. The principal argument against it is that which does duty chiefly against woman suffrage, the argument that

rests upon the hypothesis that politics is "a dirty pool." Wherever politics is a dirty pool it is made so by dirty men who want it kept so. With school houses for political centers, the slimy influence of dirty men in the political pool would be greatly lessened. To clean dirty pools, let clean currents flow through them.



Race Hatred.

At the North, antipathy to Negroes is supposed to be peculiar to the South, but that is a mistake. Negroes accused of crime are burned at the South by mobs, but so they are at the North. There are "Jim Crow" cars at the South; but how often do you see a Negro in a dining car or a Pullman sleeper at the North—except as a servant? In that capacity you may see them in "white" cars at the South. But there are instances of anti-Negro prejudice at the North which could hardly be conceived of at the South. For example: The proposal to build at Hyde Park, Chicago, a Home of the Good Shepard for Colored Girls, brought out a meeting of the neighborhood, which, with a single exception, was unanimously opposed to it. The exception was a clergyman whose Christianity seemed to relate to Chicago today no less than to Jerusalem nineteen hundred years ago. He argued that to him human liberty and American citizenship were more sacred than property rights; and the propertied rabble shouted that his sentiment had run away with his reason. Race snobbishness like this is certainly not usual at the South, if it prevails there at all, unless it be with a class which is itself so self-degraded that it needs to degrade another in order to maintain a semblance of superiority. The institution in question was objected to not because it is to be a "rescue home," but because it is to rescue Negro girls. We hesitate to believe that such a manifestation of antipathy toward Negroes would be possible anywhere in the civilized world outside of Hyde Park, Chicago; and but for the testimony of its own citizens we should also give Hyde Park the benefit of a reasonable doubt.



Roosevelt's Chances.

If Mr. Roosevelt is to be nominated by the national Republican convention on the 6th of June, 1912, he must somehow get a substantial hold on its "machinery." It is true that there is a great deal of "Roosevelt sentiment" in the mind of the Republican masses just now; and there is no doubt that Mr. Taft is laboring under a burden of unpopularity among the very voters who helped to

put him in the White House. But the "sentimental" phase of the situation, both as relates to Roosevelt and to Taft, is one thing; the "practical" side of the case is another thing. For while a great deal is being said about people's rule and insurgency, the fact remains that we are still very largely in the grip of the machine system of politics. Though the days of the practical politician seem to be numbered, he is with us yet; and any estimate of Mr. Roosevelt's chances, either as to nomination or as to election if he is nominated, must reckon with this important fact.



It is clear that the "machinery" of both the great parties is not in the same condition that it was twenty years ago. Of the two, the Republican is in far better shape than the Democratic, from the standpoint of the practical politician. The old Hanna machine, although slightly patched up and lop-sided, still runs on the main track, held together by the cohesive power of plunder and the prestige of many victories. Four years from now, it *may* be on the scrap heap. By the time the Presidential election of 1916 rolls around, we may have preference primaries, Initiative and Referendum, and a number of other accessories of popular government. But at present we don't have these things; or, rather, we don't have them in sufficient measure to affect the situation materially from the practical standpoint. All of which proves that the Republican Presidential situation this year will be shaped, as in the past, by political schemers rather than by real statesmen who are serving the interests of the people. This being the case, it would seem that the fate of Roosevelt's candidacy is to be decided more by machine considerations than by "sentimental" motives.



Of course, Republican politicians will reckon with sentiment. They are reckoning with it now. But sentiment may not continue exactly in its present form until June, or until November. Mr. Roosevelt's apparent strength now, may turn out to be a tangible weakness if he is once again presented to the country as the official candidate of the Republican party. If he should be nominated in June, his opponents would undoubtedly raise a great clamor about the "third term tradition"; they would point to his declaration that he would not again be a candidate; they would enlarge on his abuses of Executive power; they would insist that the present rise in the cost of living began and gathered headway during his former terms of

office; they might recall his dexterity in raising campaign funds and his lack of dexterity in enforcing the anti-trust law against friends, and they would be pretty sure to scoff at his intimate association with such "progressives" as Mr. Perkins. All this, and much more, could easily operate against a candidate with as extensive a "past" as Mr. Roosevelt.



Then there is the technical problem of the Republican party as a party. How can the party turn Mr. Taft down without at the same time virtually condemning the present Republican administration? And if it condemns Taft by "damning him with faint praise," how can it have the face to claim supreme wisdom as the savior of the nation? A political party must at least have an appearance of consistency. If the Republican party in 1908, aided by Mr. Roosevelt himself, couldn't pick out a candidate that it dare renominate in 1912, is the party going to face the country with a virtual acknowledgement of its own bankruptcy? If it is going to play the game, it has to be "game."



The situation, then, is not so simple as it seemed at first sight. In considering the availability of Mr. Roosevelt as a candidate, the practical politician will inevitably ask whether the popularity of Roosevelt (which has revealed a tendency to "wobble" a bit since his return from Africa) will be strong enough, between June 6th and November 4th, to surmount the disadvantages entailed by repudiating Taft and renominate a man with a record as extensive and vulnerable as that of the Strenuous One. Mr. Roosevelt himself seems to be dimly conscious of this. For while his recent declaration on the Initiative and the Referendum is marked by the absence of his usual "weasel" words, his personal attitude is very "weasely." His practical instincts, like those of the machine politician, restrain him from condemning Mr. Taft; and, like the machine politician, he gives clear evidence that he will support the regular candidate of the "G. O. P.," whoever is nominated. In other words, he does not make a straight-out fight for the nomination regardless of consequences. So it appears that while Mr. Roosevelt's words at Columbus reflect public "sentiment," his personal attitude reflects the existing machine situation in politics. This attitude may be worldly-wise. No doubt it is. But the thing that spells wisdom to some observers is the very thing that suggests uncertainty in the matter

of renominating and re-electing Theodore Roosevelt.



Traffic Monopolies.

The Interstate Commerce Committee of the lower house of Congress is reported to have adopted a recommendation with reference to the Panama Canal which would apply to all relations of railroads to water shipments and destroy the connection between the two. This proposal would prohibit railroads from owning, leasing, operating, controlling or having any interest whatever, by stock ownership or otherwise, directly or indirectly, through any holding company or in any other manner, in any common carrier by water with which the railroad or other common carrier does or may compete. This is a laudable effort to regulate traffic by setting competition free; but like most efforts of the kind it utterly ignores the key to the problem. If shipping combines own dockage locations, or railroad lines own terminal sites, or a third interest owns one or both, what difference can it make whether or not any of them owns or controls stock in the other?



Patent Monopolies.

By 4 to 3 the Supreme Court of the United States holds that a patent for an invention gives the patentee absolute control over its use—control so absolute that he can prescribe to lessees and purchasers the very terms in every respect upon which they may use it while the patent lasts. Apparently the majority of the Court have decided this case in strict conformity to the patent law. That is, they have decided the rights of litigants under the law as Congress has made the law, instead of making law to suit the circumstances. But in so deciding they give astounding power to patent owners; and for that reason Chief Justice White and two other judges vigorously dissent.



In his dissenting opinion the Chief Justice points out that under this decision the patentee of a sewing machine might require the lessee or purchaser to buy all the thread, needles or oil used with the machine from the patentee. Doubtless this would be so; but it is no answer to the decision of the other judges that such is the law of Congress—is, not necessarily *ought to be*. Apparently the Chief Justice and his dissenting associates would like to decide that this is not what Congress intended. But they would thereby make

the patent law according to their own notions of what a patent law ought to be. If this view prevailed, the design of the patent law would depend upon the courts and not upon Congress; and that is precisely a power which it is objectionable for courts to have. If Congress has made a bad patent law, let Congress and not the courts amend it.



That Congress has made a bad patent law is no secret. Instead of providing some reasonable method for compensating inventors, it has created in inventions an absolute monopoly which almost always obstructs the public in enjoying the benefit of inventions and seldom rewards inventors. What the majority of the Supreme Court have decided that this law is, is precisely what Congress intended it to be—a law giving monopolies. Congress did not indeed tend it to have the effects that the Chief Justice shrinks from; but Congress did intend to create an absolute monopoly in patented inventions. If a monopoly produces those effects it is not for the Court to correct the improvidence of Congress. But it is for Congress to do so, and let us hope that Congress will do it and do it thoroughly. A system of royalties instead of monopolization, would meet the case and not be difficult of adjustment.



School Teachers and the Steel Trust.

The attempt of the steel trust, lately represented in the Chicago school board and still not without influence there, to displace a faithful principal to reward a serviceable friend, has culminated in disaster to the steel trust's plans and a good lesson for all concerned. The principal in question, Charles I. Parker, had become an institution in South Chicago. He had piloted generations of children through their school life, and won a place among them which sent a thrill of indignation through the whole community when the steel trust labeled him for its scrapheap. His is an instance of the right kind of service in school-teaching. School-teaching calls for leadership. It affords opportunities for the truest kind; and when a whole community springs spontaneously as in this case to the support of its school principal, like children to a father; there is little room for any other inference than that he is a school principal worth keeping.



Warren Worth Bailey for Congress.

In naming Warren Worth Bailey, editor of the Johnstown Democrat, as their only primary candi-

date for Congress, the Democrats of the Nineteenth Congressional District of Pennsylvania have shown good judgment. Perhaps they were influenced by the fact that this district is, upon the surface, a hopeless one for any Democratic candidate; but none the less for that they are entitled to the credit of putting their best man forward. Mr. Bailey is a democratic Democrat. Are there not by this time enough democratic Republicans in his district willing to cross party lines to elect a Democrat provided he be such a one as Warren Worth Bailey is? These times are like those of the 50's, when the real Democrats of both parties came together to form the Republican party. The same conflict between democracy and privilege rages now, though the issues are different in detail. The men who believe in privilege are getting together without regard to party lines; why can not those who believe in democracy follow their example? No party issue is now at stake in Congress. The issues are between progressives and reactionaries. Every democratic Democrat in Bailey's district will vote for him. If every democratic Republican does the same, he will be elected in spite of the enormous Republican majority there. By the way, why should that great majority waste itself on a mere party machine? Why not give the machine a needed lesson by voting for a Representative who will represent the progressive instead of the reactionary elements of the Republican as of the Democratic party?



THERE IS A LAW.

The pitifully small area of good ground in the field of human opinion is constantly forced on the consciousness of the thoughtful lover of truth. Sowers in this field who have failed to take account in advance of its stony ground, and its thorns, have found little in their harvest but grief and disappointment and have usually retired early from this branch of agriculture. Only a great love sustained by the Eternal Strength could persevere therein to the end.

It is more than a quarter of a century since there was placed at the service of political economists a clear exposition of the natural laws which underlie and govern the association of men in the production and exchange of wealth. These laws, up to that time but rarely and vaguely apprehended, were shown to be fixed, uniform and nearly as obvious when once pointed out as the laws of physics and mechanics. Still these laws have not ceased to be studiously overlooked by the acknowledged authorities, and the old practice yet prevails of ex-

pounding industrial phenomena from their most complex and confusing aspects, as if one were to teach the laws of the mechanical powers from the operation of an elaborate and complicated modern machine, working—to complete the analogy—under great stress of difficulty. Thus, while the seed of transcendently important economic truth has been long and faithfully scattered abroad, the impression still prevails, among not only the masses but men of great attainments and undoubted devotion to ideals of justice, that nature has made no provision for industrial peace and harmony in the civilized state, and that this oversight must be corrected through the labored lucubrations and contrivances of men.

We need not wonder then that the present widespread awakening of the public conscience, to say nothing of the public prudence, regarding the wrongs and sufferings of the disinherited should be largely wasting itself on inadequate, impracticable and inconsistent "demands." Through the hopeless impossibility of doing more than a small fraction of the multitude of things which we are authoritatively assured must be done, the forces of industrial regeneration are divided into rival squads on questions of policy. Their leaders dispute in vain over the relative importance of numberless schemes of partial relief pending the revolution or catastrophe which all agree in foreseeing, and spend much of their effort in mutual bickering and vituperation; while the rank and file see small opportunity or prospect of ever accomplishing by political action anything more than a demonstration of their abiding and rapidly growing discontent.

In view of this general confusion and uncertainty it would seem that the urgent need of the hour is to emphasize and insist upon the plain natural principles of industrial activity as shown in the simple beginnings of surplus production and exchange of commodities. The harried and anxious multitude will now hear gladly that there are such principles, ordained from the beginning, eternal and immutable, to be not altered or improved but only recognized and obeyed. Most gratefully will they learn that there is in the nature of man an automatic and equitable regulator of prices and wages, incredible as it may seem to the perplexed and worried gentlemen of the boards of industrial arbitration and the public service commissions. Many of our best and brightest will recoil at its name, which is that of the most maligned and least understood of all the principles involved in economic or other human activity, competition. But let them boldly advance and challenge its further acquaintance, for their theory of its practical obsol-

escence is an utter delusion. It is as if an observer of a cyclonic disturbance should infer that it was abolishing the law of gravitation. The economic principle of competition deserves our earnest study, by way of reparation if nothing else; but it must be studied in respect of its free and natural action, like the orderly exit of an audience from a crowded theatre at the close of the performance. Its ill repute has arisen from unfairly judging it as we see it hemmed in by privilege and pursued by the devouring fiends of poverty, like the fierce scramble for the doors of that same audience when the stage is on fire.

ELIZABETH P. ROUNSEVELL.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE MEXICAN SITUATION.

Puebla, Mexico, March 15.

It is only within the last few days that the nature of the recent increase in Mexican disorder has become clearly manifest. As a residence in several parts of the country since the fall of Diaz last June has given me a favorable opportunity to observe post-revolutionary events, my impressions of the present situation may prove of interest.

During the five-month incumbency of provisional De La Barra, and up to the inauguration of President Francisco Madero in early November, the country was for the most part in a quiet and orderly condition and trade was active and prosperous except in those industries, like mining promotion, dependent upon the constant introduction of new foreign capital. Outside investors have been shy of Mexico since the anti-re-election agitation became active in 1910, and gave the lawless elements in the back districts an opportunity to ply the trade of bandit under the guise of revolutionist. Though the bandits did not disband on the exile of Diaz, they were obliged to retreat to the more remote districts, where their depredations did not seriously affect the mass of the people, and would have, normally, been more and more difficult to continue.

In the struggle against Diaz, one of the Madero chiefs in the South had been Emiliano Zapata, an outlaw of no formal education, but of considerable natural force and shrewdness. After the triumph of Madero, Zapata did not disband his troops, but allowed them to pursue their depredations, giving as an excuse that his men had not been paid their wages as soldiers of the revolutionary army. But when Zapata's troops were paid, and even their firearms purchased by President De La Barra, the brigandage still continued. Francisco Madero, the controlling voice of the De La Barra regime, had several conferences with Zapata in September, in which he tried to quiet him by kindness rather than force, but without success; for Zapata, a wild man of the hills, proved amenable to neither reason nor patriotism.

General Bernardo Reyes had been politically prominent under Diaz, having been successively

commander of the army, secretary of war, and governor of the state of Nuevo Leon. In 1910, Diaz had sent Reyes on a mission to France, fearing his presidential ambitions, but he recalled him in the spring of 1911, to defend the government against Madero. At the fall of Diaz, however, Reyes was only at Havana on his return journey. On reaching Mexico, Reyes pretended a friendship for Madero and even spoke of becoming a candidate for vice president, but later he undertook to run for the presidency himself.

The unpopularity of Reyes's candidacy, which culminated in September by the mobbing of a Reyes procession in the capital, so appalled the general that he abandoned his campaign and fled to San Antonio, Texas. After Madero's inauguration a large part of the federal army was sent to the northern border to guard against a suspected Reyes raid, so that finally, in December, when Reyes did cross the line, he was unable to get a following, and was soon captured and sent to the capital for safe keeping.

During the absence of the federal army in the North, to watch Reyes, Zapata had improved his opportunity; supplied with arms and equipment from some mysterious source, he grew so bold as to attack important towns like Yultepec and Cantita. But with the return of the army in January and the declaration of martial law in Morales, Guerrero and Puebla, Zapata was obliged to retreat and many of his men were either shot or captured.

Emilio Vasquez-Gomez had been secretary of education in De La Barra's cabinet, but had been dismissed for alleged embezzlement. Retiring to San Antonio, Texas, he had launched occasional tirades against Madero, but had apparently gone no further. What a surprise then, in the last week of February, when a band of Vasquists appeared before Ciudad Juarez and demanded the surrender of the city! The federal troops having been sent south, Juarez was easily captured, and at present writing the Vasquists are said to have there an army of 4,000 men under regular pay and well equipped.

The next surprise was the defection, on March 3, of General Pascual Orozco, the trusted lieutenant of Madero in the latter's capture of Ciudad Juarez last year, and who had been appointed chief of the rurales of Chihuahua. Orozco had a large following in the North and he soon was able to capture the city of Chihuahua and loot the state treasury of \$300,000.

To the political student, the Mexican crisis two weeks ago seemed inexplicable. It was comprehensible how unscrupulous men like Zapata, Vasquez-Gomez and Orozco could resort to arms for their private ends, but how they could so readily obtain followers, and especially funds from a nation which, barely three months earlier had elected President Madero almost unanimously, was the mystery. Was democracy then impractical for Mexico? Were the ideals of President Madero impossible of realization? Could anarchy and universal chaos be prevented only by the restoration of another dictator, another man on horseback?

The "platform of San Luis Potosi," the basis for the Madero revolution, is democratic and progressive, but cannot be called demagogic or visionary. President Madero has also been temperate in his

public speeches, and he told the workmen at Vera Cruz last November that they could expect of democracy only a square deal; for industrial success they must depend on hard work and sobriety. Many of the Maderist politicians were, however, less sincere and promised almost anything in order to get office. Universal suffrage prevails in Mexico, and among the illiterate masses such political chicanery raised such false hopes as to the coming paradise that they were greatly disappointed when the inauguration of President Madero failed to bring in the millennium. The deceived districts were those that listened readily to the siren songs of the counter-revolutionary agents. For that the present crisis is due to a counter-revolution cleverly engineered and financed from France, whence Limantour and other multi-millionaire "scientificos" (Diaz grafters) had fled, seems now the only adequate explanation of recent events. First Reyes starts his raid as a feint to draw the army north and give Zapata a clear field for work in the South. After Reyes's capture the army is rushed south to crush Zapata, thus leaving the North so undefended that the strategic port of Ciudad Juarez is easily captured by a few Vasquists.

The large sums now being spent for the wages and equipment of the Vasquist soldiers in Juarez are reported to come from Paris, via New York, and Zapata's funds are believed to have the same origin. The biggest land monopolist in Mexico, and perhaps in the world, is the "scientifico" Terrazas of Chihuahua, with his 12,000,000 acres of land. It is a peculiar fact that his the Lagunas district, north of Torreon, where Terrazas has many estates, is a hotbed of disorder, and it is believed that Orozco's defection was the result of direct purchase by Terrazas.

The declared policy of President Madero has been the abolition of favoritism in taxation, and a recent revaluation of the city of Chihuahua showed that Terrazas held \$5,000,000 worth of property there, but had previously been only assessed for \$50,000. It was also estimated that Terrazas's total taxes on the new valuation might aggregate \$2,000,000 annually, and it is remarkable how soon after the publication of this fact that the counter-revolution began to start up everywhere.

In spite of the immense fortunes of the "scientificos," gained not only from hereditary landed estates, but by a vast organized manipulation during the last twenty years, of public finance and natural resources for private profit, the chances of success of the counter-revolution seem almost hopeless. As public sentiment heartily sustains President Madero, the conspirators must exclusively count for success upon their military operations.

At present the federal army exceeds 15,000 well-equipped and trained men, while the rurales, or mounted police, are estimated at 25,000 more. The federals are led by graduate officers, while both Zapata and Orozco are untrained in military science. The federals control all the railroads south of Chihuahua, and still retain all the large cities except Juarez and Chihuahua. Advancing south, the Vasquists will be in the enemy's country and it is difficult to see how they can reasonably hope to succeed in capturing Mexico City. Only by the winning of a decisive battle or by the purchase of the

leading officers of the federal army can the Vasquists make good.

As President Madero is a man of sincerity and high democratic ideals, it is the duty of progressives everywhere to sustain him in his endeavor to hold his post in spite of the conspiracy against him of the millionaire criminals of the old regime.

R. B. B.



HOW NOT TO DO IT.

Brooklyn, N. Y., March 5.

Of political progressiveness in the East, perhaps the best we can say is that there are sporadic cases. Even here in the very web of the money spider there is a constantly growing public sentiment in favor of direct primaries. You need not take my word for that. There is better evidence in the fact that both principal parties in convention assembled indorsed a principle of that nature. This could only be because they had their ears to the ground and heard something convincing. That is what happened here in 1910. The Democratic and Republican parties embodied in their respective platforms a pledge to pass a direct primary law.

The plank of the Democratic party, which was the successful contestant for popular favor, declared for State-wide direct primaries. But the legislature of 1911 was a long while about giving any attention at all to that pledge. They finally tackled the job, however, with the same alacrity that a small boy exhibits about washing the back of his neck in cold water on a winter morning.

The first thing in their law is that "party nominations be made by conventions composed of delegates." That was hardly what we had a right to expect from a party that had specifically pledged itself to State-wide primaries; but when we had glanced over the provisions for the direct primaries we did get, we found that we did not care so much whether they were the width of the State or the width of Ann street.



I don't want to be prolix, but I do want you to understand. On the ballot used in elections in New York each party has a column. Over the column is the party emblem, and under the emblem is a circle. A cross in the circle means a "straight" vote for all the candidates in the column, and it makes "straight" voting easy. The ballot to be used in primary elections under the new law will be gotten up in the same manner, with columns for each *faction*, and an emblem and circle at the top of each column. Stick a pin in that piece of information.

Party committees having been elected, these committees may name candidates for all offices other than State offices, but including delegates to State conventions. The names of the candidates thus designated by the committees must be printed in the first column of the official ballot, and the *party emblem* must head that column. The names of the other fellows must be printed in columns to the right of the first; and they *may* have an emblem if they care about it, but they are interdicted from adopting certain symbols, such as the national flag and the "party emblems of any party."

A candidate nominated by petition must file his

petition not more than five days after the filing of the "regular" nominations, but not earlier than the "regular" nominations. His petition must be signed by not less than five per cent of the enrolled members of the party, and not less than four per cent of the last vote cast for the party's candidate for Governor, and each signature must be certified by a notary public. A candidate for Assembly is specifically required to obtain 800 signatures. Perhaps the gentlemen who framed that section did not know what they were doing; and again, perhaps they did. Anybody who has ever been engaged in the effort to obtain signatures to an electoral petition will realize how nearly a physical impossibility it is to obtain within five days four per cent of the vote cast for Governor, which is a very different thing from five per cent of the enrollment. It is true, signatures might be sought before the party committee had filed its nominations; but as no one could be certain that such nominations would be objectionable until they were made, disinterested party members would withhold their signatures until they knew good reasons for giving them. Even to obtain five per cent of the enrollment in such a time would be a considerable achievement.

Let me quote parts of two sections as the quickest way of unfolding one of the cleverest pieces of skulduggery ever sneaked into a legislative act.

Section 38 provides that—

Each committee may, and each State and county committee must, prepare rules and regulations for the government of the party and the conduct of the official primaries within its political subdivision, which may include the payment of dues.

Then, away off at the other end of the act, we find:

No contributions of money, or the equivalent thereof, made, directly or indirectly, to any party, or to any party committee or member thereof, or to any person representing or acting on behalf of a party, or any moneys now in the treasury of any party, or party committee, shall be expended in aid of the designation or nomination of any person to be voted for at a primary election, either as a candidate for nomination for public office, or for any party position; except that such funds may be used to pay the expenses of holding any meeting of a party committee called to designate a candidate or candidates for nomination for public office in accordance with the provisions of this chapter and for the purpose of printing and distributing any literature regarding such candidates, the postage, clerk hire and necessary expenses incident to informing the voters regarding such candidates, the holding of meetings and other legitimate expenses necessarily incurred in promoting the canvass of such candidate.

These sections, read together, create a paradise for political highbinders. A committee empowered to make rules may fix a stated sum as dues to be paid into the party treasury. They may also make a rule that one who has not paid dues cannot vote at a primary. If there is opposition to their nominations, they are prohibited by the law from spending this money for primary purposes—*except* for every blessed thing necessary to elect their candidates. I am at a loss for words to express my admiration of the genius who manufactured that political sandbag. To compel the adherents of an insurgent candidate to contribute funds to be used to defeat that candidate is a proposition of such sublime audacity, yet of such practical efficiency for the purpose for

which it was intended, that in my amazement I forget to be indignant.



There are more things in the law—plenty; and here is another example of “how not to do it.” Under section 46, paragraph 3, the party rules may provide that—

A candidate for election as member of a committee may be designated either by the member or members thereof from the same unit of representation or by such other committee, chosen by the enrolled party voters within such unit, as the rules and regulations of the party may prescribe.

—which is rather involved, but being interpreted is equivalent to saying that enrolled voters may be limited to the election of only one committee, and that all other committee and delegate selections may be made without the direct action of the voters; which is precisely the privilege they had before, with no direct primary law at all.



After the passage of that law there was an election, and the Democrats lost all that could be lost in an off year, namely, the Assembly. Thus it became necessary, in order to pass amendments, that there should be a meeting of minds of the Democratic majority in one House and the Republican majority in the other. Both of them being of the opinion that there was more than enough *directness* in the law already, they contented themselves with a few amendments not requiring extended notice. One of them, however, is worthy of mention as indicating the spirit in which they approached their task. In the original law it was enacted that county committees should be composed of at least one member from each election district in the county. In an amendment it is provided that “the number of members from any unit of representation shall be not less than the number of election districts within such unit.” So that while we had a chance of knowing something about our representatives in the county committee under the law as it was, the amendment makes it possible to take the whole number from one or two election districts in an Assembly district under the law as it is. This is the most important amendment, and it is distinctly bad.



To sum up, the only comfort that can be extracted from the passage of this miserable pretense of direct primaries is that, however grudgingly given, it is nevertheless a recognition of the public demand, and in that fact lies hope for future improvement.

A. J. PORTENAR.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE COURTS AND CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS.

Grand Junction, Colo.

In your issue of February 9th Herbert S. Swan asserts that the only valid argument for the Recall of judges is that they pass upon the Constitution-

ality of statutes, and he closes with this sentence: “If judges, then, were to be deprived of the prerogative of passing upon the Constitutionality of laws, there would no longer be any valid argument favoring even their popular election, much less their recall.” But if courts are not to pass upon the Constitutionality of laws, by whom is the individual to be protected from unconstitutional laws?

The Constitutions of the various States were adopted for the purpose of placing restrictions upon legislative bodies created by the Constitutions, and if these legislative bodies violate those restrictions by enacting laws contrary to the Constitutions, it must necessarily be the duty of the courts to say that they are contrary to the provisions of the Constitutions and that being contrary thereto are null and void. These restrictions were placed upon the legislative bodies by the people in adopting their Constitutions by reason of the experience of the English speaking people for ages before our present Constitutions were adopted, which experience taught them that unrestrained legislative bodies often abuse their power.

The following are common provisions of the Constitutions of most of the States of the United States:

That the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall forever hereafter be guaranteed. . . . No person shall be required to attend or support any ministry or place of worship, religious sect, or denomination against his consent.

That all elections shall be free and open; and no power, civil or military, shall at any time interfere to prevent the free exercise of the right of suffrage.

That no law shall be passed impairing the freedom of speech.

That no ex post facto law, nor law impairing the obligation of contracts, or retrospective in its operation, or making any irrevocable grant of special privileges, franchises or immunities, shall be passed by the General Assembly.

That private property shall not be taken or damaged for public or private use without just compensation.

That in criminal prosecutions the accused shall have the right to appear and defend in person and by counsel; to demand the nature and cause of the accusation; to meet the witnesses against him face to face; to have process to compel the attendance of witnesses in his behalf and a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the county or district in which the offense is alleged to have been committed.

That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law.

Many others might be cited, all of which are common to the Constitutions of most of the States of the United States and all of which provisions are restrictions upon legislative bodies.

If a legislative body in one of the States should pass a law requiring all people to worship according to the rules and regulations of some particular sect or denomination and make it a penal offense for a person to worship otherwise, would you deprive the courts of power to pass upon the Constitutionality of such a law and compel them to enforce it against the individual?

If a legislature should enact a law prohibiting everyone from voting at an election, except such as obtained the consent of some military or civil officer, would you deprive the courts of the power of holding such a law unconstitutional and of protecting

the citizen in the free exercise of the right of suffrage?

If a legislature should enact a law prohibiting all publications or speeches favoring the adoption of the Initiative, Referendum, or Recall, would you deprive the courts of the right to hold such a law unconstitutional?

Go through the Constitutions of the various States and you will find all through them provisions restraining legislative bodies in the enactment of laws. Therefore, to abolish the right of the courts to pass upon the constitutionality of laws would be in effect to abolish the Constitutions themselves.

Under our form of government and under our written Constitutions it must always be the duty of the courts to pass upon the Constitutionality of laws enacted by legislative bodies, because they must at all times recognize the Constitution of the State as the highest law in the State. When an agency created by the Constitution and deriving its powers from the Constitution abuses that power and acts contrary to the prohibitions and restrictions therein laid down, then the courts must hold such acts void and enforce the Constitution as the highest law.

We must always remember that Constitutions are the fundamental laws of the State, adopted by the people themselves acting directly in their sovereign capacity; and that laws enacted by a legislative body are merely the acts of the agents of the people temporarily appointed to carry on the government in accordance with the directions and restrictions laid down in the Constitution and not contrary thereto.

If beneficial laws have been held unconstitutional by courts, it is not necessarily the fault of the courts, but may be the fault of the Constitutions in prohibiting such legislation; and it is possible that in a few instances the courts have misinterpreted the Constitutions and have held some laws unconstitutional which should not have been so held. In either case a remedy is at hand. If the so-called beneficial law is restricted by the Constitution, then the Judges should most certainly not be recalled for holding it so; neither should their decision be referred; but the Constitution should be amended by the people in their sovereign capacity so as to remove the restriction against such beneficial legislation. Even if the courts have misinterpreted Constitutions, then it would be far better to amend the Constitution so as to make its meaning clear, than to recall the Judge who rendered the decision.

We must always remember that the Constitutions are the legislative acts of the whole people; that is, all the people have a right to vote upon them, and as the majority of the people did vote for them they have become binding upon all the people; and when the courts enforce the Constitutions, they are carrying out the will of the people as theretofore expressed in such Constitutions. It may be that some Constitutions are difficult to amend, and it may be that some Constitutions contain restrictions upon legislation which they should not contain; nevertheless the Constitutions are the expressed will of the people, and we must presume that they understood and knew what they were doing when they adopted them. To say that they did not is to say that they are incapable of self-government. It must always be remembered that as the people adopted the Constitutions, so do the people have the right to

alter, change, revise or amend their Constitutions. So it is no argument in favor of the Recall of Judges because they hold laws enacted by legislative bodies unconstitutional, but rather in favor of the recall of the legislators who enacted such laws, or for the adoption of an easier method of submitting Constitutional amendments.

I have confined myself in this letter simply to State Constitutions because that is apparently the scope of Mr. Swan's article. As far as the general principles are concerned the same would be true of the United States Constitution. But by reason of its different manner of adoption, and the rules of construction governing it, it would have to be considered separately.

JOHN H. FRY.

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 19, 1912.

British Coal Miners' Strike.

After a three-hours' joint conference on the 12th, representatives of both sides in the British coal-mining strike adjourned for the day without having reached an agreement. The Prime Minister presided. It appeared from the dispatches that the difficulty then in the way was the refusal of the owners of Scotch and Welsh coal deposits to join the owners of the English deposits in fixing a minimum wage. The conference of the 13th was equally fruitless except that its adjournment for the day was expressly for the purpose of considering "certain proposals made by the Prime Minister." Subsequent sessions appear, however, to have produced no result; and dispatches of the 15th announced failure and termination of the joint conference, supplemented with an official statement by the Prime Minister, who said: "The Government has done all in its power to obtain a settlement of the controversy by an agreement, and it has come to the conclusion, with great regret, that this is impossible and that other measures must therefore be taken." The same dispatches reported, though unofficially, that "the Government's minimum-wage bill will be read in the House of Commons Tuesday, hurried through the various stages, and probably become a law by the end of the week." Such a bill appeared from subsequent dispatches to have been drawn by Lloyd George and to have been approved on the 16th by the Cabinet. It was introduced in Parliament by the Prime Minister on the 19th. He explained that the measure was only a temporary one, whose specific purpose was to settle the present difficulty. It will be effective only three years

unless the coal industry wishes to prolong it. A reasonable minimum wage for the miners, with safeguards to protect the owners against slackness and deficiency of output, will be settled by district boards. The minimum will be retroactive, the men being paid from the date of their return to work at the rate of their return to work at the rate subsequently fixed by the district boards. [See current volume, page 250.]



The Coal Strike in Germany.

In the Westphalian district 200,000 miners were reported on the 12th as on strike, and on the 13th 240,000, with indications of wider extension. Repressive police action had by that time brought on conflicts between policemen and strikers. Dispatches of the 19th reported that leaders of the miners unions decided at their meeting at Bochum on that day to end the strike. [See current volume, page 251.]



Probable Coal Strike in the United States.

Negotiations between miners and the owners of coal deposits in the United States for renewal of their contract, which expires March 31, have given rise to a situation which the president of the miners' union described on the 13th as looking "very blue" with indications pointing to a strike. Better terms, including 20 per cent increase of wages and a one-year's agreement instead of three years', were proposed by the miners, and this proposal the owners' union rejected on the 13th, with a counter proposal that the present agreement be renewed for three years. [See vol. viii, p. 853; vol. xii, p. 445; vol. xiii, pp. 83, 321; vol. xiv, p. 806.]



Free Sugar.

By a vote of 198 to 103, the lower House of Congress passed a bill on the 15th abolishing all taxes on the importation of sugar into the United States. It is calculated that if this bill becomes a law the price of sugar will be reduced a cent and a half a pound, and that the annual loss to the Federal revenues will be \$53,000,000. Party lines were crossed in the vote on the bill. Democrats voting against it were Estopal, Wickliffe, Dupre, Rondsell and Broussard of Louisiana, and Martin and Taylor of Colorado; while the Republicans voting for it (24 in all) included Lindberg of Minnesota, Murdock of Kansas, La Follette of Washington, Kent of California, and Norris of Nebraska. Four of these Republicans were Stand-patters, and 20 were Progressives. To make up the revenue loss on free sugar, a bill came before the House for imposing an excise tax (conformably to the Supreme Court decision in the corporation-tax cases) of 1 per cent on the incomes of

corporations, firms or individuals which reach or exceed \$5,000 a year. This bill was passed in the House on the 19th by 249 to 41. [See vol. xiv, p. 255.]



Direct Legislation in the Ohio Constitutional Convention.

Having decided on the 11th that instead of submitting to the people a new Constitution, the policy of the convention shall be—to submit all of the proposals which shall pass, to the electors in the form of separate amendments or in groups under a common title,—the Constitutional Convention of Ohio took up on the 12th the measure for the Initiative and Referendum. [See current volume, page 253.]



Mr. Crosser, chairman of the committee on Initiative and Referendum, reported the measure substantially as outlined in these columns last week, with the recommendation of the committee that it pass. On the 13th, the controversy having gone over to that day, Mr. Halfhill led the opposition with amendments increasing the number of signatures necessary for Initiative and Referendum petitions, and Mr. Lampson led it on another tack with a motion proposing the following amendment:

The powers defined herein as "the Initiative" and "the Referendum" shall never be used to amend or repeal any of the provisions of this paragraph, or to enact a law to adopt an amendment to the Constitution authorizing a levy of the single tax on land, or taxing land, or land values, or land sites, at a higher rate or by a different rule than is or may be applied to improvements thereon to personal property or to the bonds of corporations other than municipal. Such powers shall never be used to enact a law or laws redistricting the State for Representatives in Congress or redistricting the State for members of the General Assembly, or changing the boundaries of judicial districts.

No conclusion had been reached when the Convention closed its sessions for the week.



Bryan Before the Ohio Constitutional Convention.

In speaking upon invitation before the Constitutional Convention of Ohio on the 12th, William J. Bryan advocated the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. On that point he said:

The Initiative and the Referendum do not overthrow representative government—they have not come to destroy, but to fulfill. The purpose of representative government is to represent, and that purpose fails when representatives misrepresent their constituents. Experience has shown that the defects of our government are not in the people themselves, but in those who, acting as representatives of the people, embezzle power and turn to their own advantage the authority given them for the advancement of the

public welfare. It has cost centuries to secure popular government—the blood of millions of the best and the bravest has been poured out to establish the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. All this struggle, all this sacrifice, has been in vain if, when we secure a representative government, the people's representatives can betray them with impunity and mock their constituents while they draw salaries from the public treasury. The Initiative and Referendum do not decrease the importance of legislative bodies, nor do they withdraw authority from those who are elected to represent the people; on the contrary, when the people have the Initiative and Referendum with which to protect themselves they can safely confer a larger authority upon their representatives. The fact that the people can act through the Initiative and Referendum makes it less likely that they will need to employ the remedy. The attacks which formerly were made upon the Initiative and the Referendum have been directed more recently against what is known as the Recall. But it will be found upon examination that the Recall is an evolution rather than a revolution. The right to terminate an official term before its legal expiration has always been recognized. I know of no public official who is not subject to impeachment at the hands of some tribunal. If impeachment had been found entirely satisfactory the Recall would not now be under discussion, but impeachment has proved unsatisfactory. In discussing the Recall, I have assumed that it would apply without discrimination against all officials, including the judiciary. The argument that a judge should be exempt from the operation of the Recall even when it is applied to other officials, has no sound foundation. A judge is as much a public servant as any one else; if it is insisted that he enjoys public confidence to a greater extent than other public officials this very argument answers itself, because that superior confidence will protect the judge against injustice. In proportion as people have confidence in the bench they will be slow to remove a judge on insufficient grounds. The judge who would be swerved by fear of a Recall would not be fit for the place, anyhow. If there is any position in which we need rigid, uncompromising uprightness it is upon the bench, and the Recall, instead of menacing the independence of the judiciary, is more likely to improve the character of those who occupy judicial positions. With the Recall official terms may with safety be made longer. And speaking of the length of terms, the tendency is toward making an Executive ineligible to re-election. His duties are so responsible and his influence is so extended that he should be free to devote his best energies to public affairs, and no one can devote his best energies to the public if his vision is clouded by political aspiration or his judgment perverted by personal considerations.



Woman Suffrage in the United States.

At a joint meeting of the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage and the House Committee on the Judiciary, at Washington on the 13th, representatives of the National Suffrage Association and other organizations advocated a Constitutional

amendment extending the suffrage to women. Among the speakers were Anna Howard Shaw, Jane Addams, Mary E. McDowell, Leonora O'Reilly, Caroline A. Lowe, Ella S. Stewart and Elsie Cole Phillips. The opposition was represented by Ella C. Brehaut.



Taking advantage of the decision of Judge Owens to allow preferential Presidential primaries (not provided for by law) to be held in Cook County (the Chicago county) at the regular primaries in April upon payment of the extra expense by those interested, Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch and other woman suffragists applied to him on the 13th for similar submission on like terms and at the same time, of the question, "Do you approve extending suffrage to women?" Judge Owens granted the request, and a campaign is now in progress. It has been learned, however, that the County Clerk, under legal advice, refuses to place the question on the official primary ballots. [See current volume, page 228.]



The Mexican Insurrection.

General Pascual Orozco has sent two envoys, Manuel Lujan and Juan Priete Quemper, attorneys of Chihuahua, to Washington to present to the President of the United States the merits of the insurrection Orozco is leading.



A joint Congressional resolution, passed by the United States Senate on the 13th, and by the House on the 14th, and immediately signed by President Taft, makes it unlawful to export arms or munitions of war to any American country where domestic violence exists. The President immediately afterward issued a proclamation declaring that since such domestic violence existed in Mexico all Federal law officers were enjoined to prevent violations of the resolution. Violation of the new law becomes a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of \$10,000 or imprisonment for two years, or both. The joint resolution is so worded that government officials will make use of it in the future to prevent filibustering expeditions to any American country where a state of revolution exists. [See current volume, page 254.]



The Disorders in China.

The city of Canton in south China still suffers from the looting of bands of revolvers and brigands, with which the regular Republican troops are fighting; and the neighboring seaport city of Swatow is now in the same case. President Yuan Shi Kai is still unable to bring his own provinces of north China into order. It is said in the dispatches that

Yuan does not dare to disarm his looting troops, for he does not know at what moment he may need an army; and that the wretches who are decapitated for looting, and whose corpses are polluting the streets of Peking, are not the real criminals, who are to be found rather among the armed soldiery who while guilty, act as irresponsible judges and executioners of helpless and inoffensive citizens. According to a dispatch of the 13th from Peking, there are now not less than six hostile armies in the field. These comprise the northern and southern armies, which the present disorders show are not agreeable to the forced compromise that their leaders are now negotiating; the Manchu troops, which remain a distinct body apart from the others; the Mongols, who in large bands are fighting the Chinese garrisons in the north; Gen. Sheng Yun's army, composed largely of Mohammedans, and, in the province of Yunnan, an army of independents. General Sheng Yun, who is a Mongol, and who was governor of Shen-si under the Empire, is leading his army, reckoned at 10,000 troops, from the northwestern Province of Shen-si, and the still farther western Province of Kan-su, to Peking, with the understood purpose of restoring the Manchus to the throne. President Yuan on the 13th had sent envoys to meet him and "explain the situation." It was also reported on the 15th that the Manchu Prince Tuan, who has lived in banishment in the same western district that General Sheng is bringing his troops from, had issued decrees which he has signed "Emperor of Shen-si and Kan-su."



President Yuan announced his new cabinet on the 16th, as organized by the new Premier, Tang Shao Yi, as follows: General Dun Ki Sui as Minister of War; General Lam Tin Wei, Minister of the Navy; Luk Chui Cheong, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Chu Bing Kwan, Minister of the Interior; Choi Yun Poy, Minister of Education; Leong Yu Ho, Minister of Posts; Chang Kee Mee, Minister of Commerce and Labor; Chang Chun Sin, Minister of Agriculture; Wong Chun Fui, Minister of Justice, and Chang Kim Lo, Minister of Finance. The dispatches state that General Dun Ki Sui, the newly appointed Minister of War, is a Manchu general, who offered able resistance to the Republican forces during the revolution. Chang Kee Mee, Minister of Commerce and Labor, formerly was Governor of Shanghai. Wong Chun Fui, Minister of Justice, formerly was Minister of Foreign Affairs under President Sun Yat Sen. The Premier left Peking for Nanking on the 17th.



Charles Frederick Adams makes it clear that the dog-in-the-manger is one dawg that Missouri ought to keep kicking aroun'.—New York World.

NEWS NOTES

—The Illinois State Suffrage Association has called a Mississippi Valley conference on woman suffrage to meet at Chicago on the 21st and 22nd of May.

—At Birmingham, England, on the 18th, of 12 women nominated for the Board of Guardians 2 were unopposed and 9 others were chosen. The only one to fail was beaten by a candidate of the Labor party.

—The House Committee on Interstate Commerce voted on the 15th to recommend the passage of Representative Sims's bill to abolish the Commerce Court recently established. [See vol. xiv, pp. 85, 133.]

—At the end of an all-night session on the 15th the Republican State convention of Oklahoma instructed its delegates to the national convention to vote for Theodore Roosevelt for President. [See current volume, pages 194, 201.]

—The Italians are making effective use of aeroplanes in their Tripolitan campaign, both for taking observations of the Turkish positions and for dropping bombs into the enemy's camps, sometimes with very terrible results. [See current volume, page 228.]

—The Kansas Democratic State convention on the 15th instructed the Kansas delegates to the Democratic national convention to vote for Champ Clark for President until two-thirds of the delegation believe his nomination to be impossible. [See current volume, page 206.]

—Their motion that the court direct the jury to return a verdict of not guilty having been denied, the beef packers on trial at Chicago for conspiracy under the Sherman anti-trust law, declined to offer evidence in their defense, and the case is now being summed up by the lawyers on both sides. [See current volume, page 36.]

—William J. Bryan's 52nd birthday was celebrated at Lincoln on the 19th, with a dinner at which the speakers were Ollie James, Senator-elect from Kentucky; Senator Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma; former Senator R. F. Pettigrew of South Dakota; George Fred Williams of Massachusetts; Representative Robert L. Henry of Texas, and Frederick Townsend Martin of New York.

—King Victor Emmanuel of Italy was shot at by Antonio D'Alba, a young stonemason, while driving in the streets of Rome on the 14th. Major Lang, an officer of the King's guard, was badly wounded by one of the three bullets fired by the King's assailant. D'Alba is under 21 years of age, and is regarded as an anarchist. He is said to assign as his reason for the attempted assassination that he desired to protest against organized society.

—At a country town in the mountain region of Virginia, a mountaineer of the name of Floyd Allen was convicted of a crime and sentenced to the penitentiary on the 13th for one year, whereupon his clan of outlaws, sitting as spectators in the court room, shot and killed the judge, the prosecutor and the sheriff and wounded others (one of them mortally), the whole party then riding away. They

were reported on the 16th as in hiding near Devil's Den in the Blue Ridge and a posse of 500 were hunting them down. Some arrests have been made, Floyd Allen among them.

—Chancellor Mahlon Pitney of New Jersey was confirmed on the 13th by the Senate as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, the vote being 50 to 26. The Senators who voted against Chancellor Pitney included most of the progressives in both the Democratic and Republican parties, among them being Senators Bacon, Bryan, Bristow, Bourne, Cummins, Kern, Kenyon, Lea, O'Gorman, Poindexter, Reed, Smith (Ga.), Taylor, Williams, Chamberlain, Culberson, Gardner, Gore, Hitchcock, Johnson, Myers, Newlands, Pomerene, Rayner, Shively and Smith (S. C.). Justice Pitney took his seat on the 18th.

—The wreck of the battleship Maine, which was sunk in the harbor of Havana in the days immediately preceding the Spanish war, and raised by means of a dry dock and floating bulkheads during the past year and a half, was floated out to sea in tow of the tug Osceola, escorted by two American cruisers and four Cuban gunboats, on the 16th. Steaming due north, the flotilla crossed the three-mile limit in about two hours. Then a wrecking crew was sent aboard the hulk of the old war vessel, valves were opened and the wreckers leaped into waiting tugs. Ten minutes later the Maine sank in the waters of the Gulf stream. After firing salutes the American cruisers started north, bearing the bodies of the 65 members of the crew of the Maine which had been recovered from the wreck, and which are to be buried in American soil. [See current volume, page 159.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Realignments in American Politics.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer (Dem.), March 15.—The practical obliteration of party lines upon many of the live issues of the day was again illustrated by former Senator Foraker's address before the Ohio Constitutional Convention yesterday. The words Republican and Democrat mean nothing in the consideration of such topics as direct legislation and the Recall. Col. Roosevelt and Mr. Bryan, Republican and Democrat, agree in upholding the Initiative and Referendum, and practically agree upon an application of the Recall to courts. Gov. Harmon and Mr. Foraker, Democrat and Republican, oppose direct legislation as applied to the State. Both see danger in the judicial recall. We are no longer Republicans and Democrats, but Progressives and Conservatives.

The Lawrence Strike.

The Oregon Daily Journal (ind.), March 14.—The strike of the textile workers at Lawrence ended yesterday. It results in an average increase of 20 per cent in wages. It continued for 61 days. It cost the mill owners a million dollars, and the workers \$1,350,000. It disclosed that textile workers were receiving an average wage of \$9 a week for men and \$6 for women. It revealed that most of the workers

are of the pauper labor of Europe, and that the mill owners are establishing a system of pauper labor in America. . . . Lawrence has been a revelation. The textile industry is one of the industries most highly protected by the tariff. Its mill owners are rich almost beyond the dreams of avarice. All of its corporations pay enormous dividends and have swollen surpluses of undivided profits. . . . After these 61 days at Lawrence, let the truth be told. The tariff does not protect American labor. It protects American mill owners. They confess it now in the granting of a twenty per cent wage increase to 300,000 workers. They have pleaded guilty.

The Seattle Election.

The (Indiana) New Era (Dem.), March 16.—While Mr. Cotterill was chosen mayor, the Singletax amendment which was being voted upon at the same time was defeated by a vote of more than two to one. It is not at all strange that this amendment was defeated, as a large number of the middle class did not understand the issue and Big Business in Seattle was united in its opposition.

Fargo (N. D.) Courier-News (ind.), March 16.—The Seattle election says over again that decency is in the majority. Mark also that the women voted in Seattle, that they voted against the Singletax and certain other amendments and defeated them but elected the clean man to the mayoralty. The main issue was decency, and decency and the woman won.

Municipal Obligations.

(Kalamazoo) Public Cause (ind.)—Shall the city of Kalamazoo accept the natural obligation of a municipality, and protect its citizens from the greed of corporations, as it now protects them against thieves and fire, or shall it permit corporations to prey upon the necessities of the people and to levy a tax for a service which the city itself should perform? If the people should decide to abandon municipal lighting, that decision would be equivalent to a declaration that Kalamazoo does not consider itself capable of exercising the natural functions of government.

Christianity in Strange Places.

The (London) Nation (radical-Liberal), Feb. 3.—Bishop Gore's address last Thursday to the Christian Social Union on "The Social Obligations of a Christian," took the form of a vigorous and outspoken indictment of the traditional attitude of churchmen "in regard to what were vaguely called social questions." People who wanted to get a social reform carried out had "to go to every kind of atheist and nonconformist and other kind of person," while the mass of church people showed "a blank, stupid refusal to recognize their social duty." He dared anyone to say that "what Christ preached was not a revolutionary doctrine, which we have got over again to digest and make our own." He concluded with an appeal to church men and women not to be content with mere salvage work, but "by determined and continuous effort to change the social system

which crushed out the hope, the strength, and the purity of the people."



"The Taproot of Capitalism."

(London) Land Values, Feb.—Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, M. P., the chairman of the Labor party in the House of Commons, made the following significant statement on the 15th January, 1909, on his return from a visit to Australia: "I have come back more convinced than ever that the first thing the Labor party at home must do is to break up the land monopoly. We are playing with it now, and you don't discover that until you go to Australia and see what they are doing. They are breaking up all the large estates and making it the easiest thing imaginable for a man to get upon the land and have a small farm of his own, and bring up his children there." The Labor party are in power in Australia and they have done something to break up the large estates by the taxation of land values. In crippling land monopoly they have done well, and have their reward in the admitted general prosperity of the commonwealth. The Liberal party in Great Britain have commenced the attack on land monopoly, and the Labor party are with them. It is the solemn duty of every progressive and democratic citizen to press onward with this policy.



Land Monopoly in Nebraska.

(Lincoln) Nebraska State Journal (Rep.), Dec. 25.—A people accustomed to supposing that the country is running short of farm land cannot afford to overlook Labor Commissioner Guye's assertions to the contrary. He makes the astounding statement that only a little more than one-fourth the farm land in the State of Nebraska is under cultivation. . . . Of course a large part of this is accounted for by the semi-arid lands in the western part of the State, lands that will not be thoroughly cultivated till the country is in most desperate straits for food. But Mr. Guye's figures are made by counties, and show that the western counties do not nearly account for the condition. . . . That the case calls for statesmanship of the most far seeing kind is clear. What can be done? "Colonize," says Mr. Guye. But we are confronted with the fact that land seekers have now for years been passing through Nebraska to poorer land beyond. Why didn't they stop here? And why are trainloads of Nebraskans even—farmers living adjacent to these untilled acres and of all men most alive to their great value—going monthly to Texas and Canada in search of land? For no visible reason except that the distant lands are cheaper, or seem so to them. And why, with this immense acreage of the best corn and alfalfa land in the world crying for the plow, are men traveling thousands of miles past it to spend immense labor carrying water to make the desert lands of the far west productive? Presumably for the same reason, that the cost of carrying the water to that dry land is less than the cost of buying our land watered by nature. To sum up, this unused Nebraska land is unused because its owners ask more for it than people can get land for elsewhere.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

LENTEN THOUGHTS.

For The Public.

Do men erect them temples of stone
And call them "houses of God,"
And gather together one day in the week,
For worship?—or for the reward?

The church today somehow seems to be
On the "life insurance" plan;
And the man who keeps his premiums paid
Is the most *religious* man.

The church hands out to him a pass
For the train that is due for Heaven;
And the only question that is asked,
"Have you given, given, *given?*"

Oh, why insult Almighty God
With baubles such as this?
What need has He for temples here
When the *universe* is His?

The whole universe a temple is,
And our hearts are altars fair;
And when we burn the incense, love,
Our God is present there.

Ah, well, erect *those* temples high,
And garnish with gold each part;
The temple of God, know thou, oh, man,
Must be within thine heart.

ANNE W. RUST.



GOODS FOR GOODS.

A Lucid Explanation of Trading Between Nations.*
By Russell Rea, M. P., in the Westminster (London) Gazette.

Suppose you are an importer of American corn, all you care about is your imports, and you will go on importing so long as you can see any profit in it.

The American who has shipped your corn to your order draws a bill upon you for the price at, say, three months' date, payable in London, and takes his bill in duplicate or triplicate copies, with his bill of lading, to his banker in Chicago or New York, who pays him his cash, and, unless you fail to meet the bill, your American exporting correspondent hears no more about it. He disappears from the drama.

In due course the first copy of the bill of exchange is presented to you in London by this American banker's London correspondent, a

*See Volume II of The Public, Jan. 20, 1900, page 5. Also "Ethics of Democracy," by Louis F. Post, pages 197 to 217; and "Social Service," by Louis F. Post, pages 198 to 222.

London banker, and upon your accepting the same, *i. e.*, acknowledging your obligation to pay the price, you receive the bill of lading and the produce it represents. This first copy of the bill of exchange the London banker will hold until the date it becomes due, and when you have met it, *i. e.*, paid the price, you disappear from the scene.

But the drama is only half played out. You have got your corn, the American seller has got his cash, but your American correspondent has received his cash not from you but from an American banker, and you have paid your cash not to him but to an English banker. How is the international adjustment of the account made? That is the question. And when you have solved that question you become a Free Trader.

The bankers take up the business just where you left it. You and the American exporter have brought corn to England: they must get cash to America to pay for it. As we have seen, the American banker begins by advancing the cash himself and paying the exporter for your corn. But on the day he does so, and sends to England the first copy of the bill of exchange drawn on you for your acceptance, he also puts into circulation the second copy of your bill of exchange, with his own endorsement, to which his guarantee through his London agent, "in case of need"—that is, if you fail to meet the bill yourself—is added. It is now an approved bill on London, the most convenient, the most sought after, the safest medium of remittance in the world.

Sure as the rising of the sun, that second copy of your bill of exchange (with the first, containing your acceptance pinned to it) will turn up for you to meet on the due date.

How did that second copy get to London? An examination of the numerous endorsements will show. Probably it did not come direct from America, for America does not take our goods in sufficient quantities to pay directly for her exports to us. It has left America to pay for French wines or silks, or for China tea, or Java coffee, or West Indian sugar. It turns up in London as a remittance in payment for Manchester goods sent to India, or Cardiff coal sent to Port Said, or, perhaps, to meet the payments of the dividend warrants to English shareholders in an Argentine railway, or the freight of a British ship. But it has always, in every case, without any single exception, been sent to London to pay some debt due by a foreigner to an Englishman.

No one buys a bill of exchange on London, approaching maturity, and sends it to London for any other purpose. Even if, instead of being sent by one individual debtor to pay one individual debt, it is sent by a foreign banker who has purchased it, in a parcel with other similar bills, to his London agent, as is often the case, the object is the same. The foreign banker only remits it in

order to maintain in London a sufficient balance to meet the demands in London of the British creditors of his clients for British goods, freights, or dividends.

But the question is not yet answered. How is this balance maintained? Suppose there are no such debtors to be found, or not a sufficient number of them. Well, this adjustment is a delicate matter, and it is the business of international bankers to make and keep the balance true. If, at any moment, they find that the claims of this country upon the world are not equal to the claims of the world on this country, they put down the rate of exchange on London, which is the same thing as the price abroad of bills on London. The foreign holder of these bills must accept fewer dollars and cents, or francs, for every pound sterling in the bills from the banker who remits them for collection. This is an immediate bonus to the English exporter, it is an immediate fine to the importer, it checks imports, it encourages exports.

But if the excessive supply of importers' bills on London continues, the rate continues to fall, until it becomes more profitable to send the bills to London and demand and obtain the actual gold sovereigns and ship them abroad than to accept the dollars or francs which represent the current market rate abroad for bills of exchange on London. This is the gold point, below which the price of bills cannot continue—for the movement of gold from our shores in any considerable quantity quickly and infallibly ends excessive importation. The Bank of England takes alarm, and puts up its rate of discount to protect its gold reserves, perhaps from 2 to 3, 4, or 8 per cent. Then dear money causes all prices to fall in England, prices of stocks, of produce for export, of imported produce, all fall together, and weak holders on small margins are forced to sell.

This fall immediately checks all import trades—the buying of goods from the foreigner, which can no longer be sold here for a profit at our reduced level of prices. The importer ceases his importing. It encourages the export trades, the selling of British goods, which can now be bought here at a lower price, to the foreigner for cash, which is what the bank wants. The exporter again makes money and resumes his exporting.

This law is not one that operates slowly—it is instant. Like land, every trade is cultivated to the point which those engaged in it consider the "economic margin." At such a time as I have described, the margin of the importing trade suddenly recedes, that of the exporting trade is suddenly expanded. Every great exporting house, with numerous foreign correspondents, has always on its books numerous orders which it has not been able to execute at the limits of price fixed by the foreign buyers. These orders are now rapidly carried out.

SOMETHING FOR NOTHING.

From "Common Sense," of Cleveland.

Fifty years ago John Corlett purchased two lots on Prospect avenue in Cleveland and built two houses on these lots from trees felled from a grove in the neighborhood.

These houses are standing today, surrounded on three sides by three 12-story buildings, and the old man lives in one of them.

The other day a banker went to him with an offer of \$4,000 a front foot for the property.

The old man refused the offer, but told the banker that he had originally paid \$18 a front foot.

Now, if everyone along Prospect avenue had done what John Corlett did, property would still be worth \$18 a front foot on that street.

When any of us go along the streets of these cities and see shacks and superannuated buildings along the principal streets of a business district we know that the holders of title are waiting for their neighbors to do just what this man did, and what the men did who improved around the property of John Corlett in Cleveland, making it valuable without contributing to it either in money or effort.

In other words, it is simply getting something for nothing.

In every professional gambling room where poker is played they have a slot in the center of the table large enough to admit a chip. This is for the "rake-off," or what you pay for the privilege of playing in the room.

Usually the tax against the participants in the game is about 10 per cent of the amount of the stakes.

Last winter four lake captains in Port Huron, Michigan, played all winter in a professional poker room,—the original four continued their play all winter without admitting an outsider.

When they took their boats out in the spring not one of the four had a cent.

Where had all their money gone?

It had gone down the hole in the center of the table.

The room-keeper had it,—winnings and all.

Now, under the present system of taxation, the land values, particularly in the congested districts of cities, are like the hole in the center of the tables in a poker room.

All the earnings of the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant and the transporting agents, and all the people who are employed by them, will finally disappear just like the money of the lake captains,—in the hole in the center of the table,—it will congeal into land value.

It is only a question of time.

The remedy is a gradual reduction of taxes on improvements and a gradual increase of taxes on lands until all taxes are upon lands and none

are upon any improvements which are the results of man's effort.

In this way the holders of lands will be forced to build upon them or sell to those who will improve them.

By forced improvements, high rents and congestion will be eliminated, together with all the social and physical diseases that are now the results of congestion, for those who produce, either with their heads or their hands, will get all they earn and those who do not produce will get nothing.

The capitalist will get an equitable return providing he invests in productive enterprises; for he will not add to the unearned wealth of his neighbor.

He will not be fined for enriching his neighbor.



THE DRAMA OF THE WINTER STARS

Annie L. Muzzey in Independent of Feb. 22.

O splendor of the crystal winter night,
When bold Orion stars the blazing sky,
Belted, and armed and poised for vallant fight,
He faces Taurus of the fiery eye.

Close on his track the brave Dog Sirius leaps,
The Unicorn vaults o'er the Milky Way,
And Procyon his faithful vigil keeps
Upon the fight that rages till the day.

The gentle Gemini with arms entwined
Smile softly at the sister Pleiades,
Whose "influences sweet," that none may bind,
Are infinite as the eternities.

Northward, young Perseus, flushed with victory,
Comes with the trophy of Medusa's head;
But rests not till his loyal sword sets free
Andromeda, chained to her rocky bed.

Eastward King Leo, rising in his wrath,
Bears up the sickle with its golden light,
To cleave a way on the Ecliptic path
To the fair Virgin of the summer night.

Pacing forever on his polar round,
The Great Bear watches the celestial play,
Unconscious that his plodding feet are bound
By an attraction that he must obey.

So we, firm-planted on our rolling star,
Heed not the subtle change of time and place.
Unmindful, while we gaze on worlds afar,
That we, with them, are wanderers in space.

But this we know: that tho' the heavens fall,
By Power Omnipotent our way is spanned;
That the Creative Love doth hold us all
Secure within the hollow of His hand.



I know of no such unquestionable ensign of a sovereign mind as that tenacity of purpose which through all changes of companions, or parties, or fortunes, changes never, bates no jot of heart or hope, but wearies out opposition and arrives at its port.—
Emerson.

BOOKS

MANKIND GETTING A LIVING.

Social Value. A Study in Economic Theory Critical and Constructive. By B. M. Anderson, Jr., Ph. D., Instructor in Political Economy, Columbia University. Boston and New York. Houghton Mifflin Company. 1911. Price, \$1 net.

Wages in the United States, 1908-1910. A Study of State and Federal Wage Statistics. By Scott Nearing, Ph. D., author of "Social Adjustment," "Solution of the Child Labor Problem," etc. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1911. Price, \$1.25 net.

The History and Problems of Organized Labor. By Frank Tracy Carlton, Ph. D., Professor of Economics and History in Albion College. Boston, New York and Chicago. D. C. Heath & Company. 1911.

The Social Basis of Religion. By Simon N. Patten, Ph. D., LL. D., Professor of Political Economy, University of Pennsylvania; author of "The New Bases of Civilization," etc. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1911. Price, \$1.25.

When "economists" began displacing "political economists," they developed an esoteric cult to the success of which, in making simple things complex and plain things muddy, Dr. Anderson's "Social Value" bears witness. Not that his book is open especially to this criticism. It is as clear as laborious thinking and careful writing can make the subject. But the subject itself has become so hopelessly labyrinthine that only a comic writer can do it justice. No other sets or series of simple relationships were ever worse befogged with confusions than the phenomena of mankind at work making a living, has been by the "economist" cult in their discussions.

This fog must be blown away if there is to be an end of the institutional graft it serves to conceal or excuse. It is not blown away by Nearing's "Wages in the United States;" but Dr. Nearing does disclose facts which signify, whether he means it so or not, that the fog conceals graft of some kind somewhere. If "three quarters of the adult males and nineteen-twentieths of the adult females actually earn"—Mr. Nearing means "get," of course—"less than \$600 a year," a good deal of sweat-made wealth must somehow be slipping away from the earner to somebody else.

Still more light penetrates the mist from Professor Carlton's "History and Problems of Organized Labor," which, besides being a fair and interesting history and an interrogation of some of the surface phenomena that suggest institutional plundering of industry, points to "underlying causative forces, new and old, physical and social," with a significance of gesture that cannot be extremely comforting to the interests whose

beneficiaries live in the sweat of other men's faces.

By way of climax comes Dr. Patten's remarkable book—we say "remarkable" in no perfunctory spirit—which in translating religion into economic terms awakens the confidence of the thoughtful and stirs the hope of the just. "We cannot make every one wealthy," Dr. Patten writes, "but *there is no need of poverty.*"



MORE PHILOSOPHY.

Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson.* With annotations. Edited by Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin Company. Price, \$1.75 per volume.

In these two latest volumes (V and VI) of the series of journalistic notes edited by the son and grandson of Emerson, the records run from 1838 to 1844 and include some interesting periods in the life of the author whose pen so rarely traced an aimless thought. Opening these pages at any point one is certain to strike a paragraph which leads to deeper reflection on its subject, and the mental powers are quickened by the insensible touch of thoughts that like pebbles cast in water make ever widening circles whose limits we may not mark.

There is much interesting criticism of the men and women of Emerson's time as well as of events which are viewed from an interior rather than from an external standpoint. Perhaps we may except, however, the reflections written down immediately after the death of his little son Waldo, in 1842. Here then is no ray of that heavenly light and consolation which we might suppose would come to a philosopher with such interior vision. There is only the wail of the bereaved human heart such as we find in his famous poem, "Threnody," though in the closing lines of the poem (written two years after Waldo's death) there comes this assurance of faith:

What is excellent,
As God lives, is permanent;
Hearts are dust, heart's loves remain,
Heart's loves will meet thee again.

The question might have arisen in the philosophic mind. Between souls that love is there any separation save in the surface sweetness of the external life so pathetically dwelt upon in the journal and in the poem?

These pages are alive with the luminous rays of thought that come to the quiet mind open to the one source of light. We must refer again to the interest of Emerson's private character reading of his famous contemporaries which he seems to have set down unconscious of the day when his

*See The Public, volume XIII, page 596; volume XIV, page 306.



"What does a line fence amount to when you've been penned up for three years?"

J. W. Donahey in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of February 27, 1912. Reproduced in The Public by courteous permission of the Editor of the Plain Dealer.

heart to heart talk with himself should be made a matter of unqualified judgment. Yet these studies are so impersonal that they may be read without vanity or resentment by lovers of their subjects, and lack of space only debars a liberal quotation from these mellow judgments of the critic.

Perhaps a few paragraphs that apply to our own day may be selected with the assurance that a better sentiment may be found on the next page.

Trust thy time, also. What a fatal prodigality to condemn our own age. One would say we could afford to slight all other ages if only we value this one. . . . The very time sees for us, thinks for us. . . .

Insight is for us which was never for any, and doubt not that the moment and the opportunity are divine.

Rings and jewels are not gifts, but apologies for gifts. The only gift is a portion of thyself.

You dare not say "I think," "I am," but quote St. Paul or Jesus or Bacon or Locke. Yonder roses make no reference to former roses or to better ones. They exist with God today.

Good scholar, what are you for but for hospitality to every new thought of your time?

If there is grandeur in you, you will detect grandeur in laborers and washerwomen. Take thy body away that I may see thee.

A. L. M.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

The Black Book: It is Terrible to Be Poor. By Thorwald Siegfried, Seattle, Washington. 1911.

Water, Dirt and Railroad Public Highways. Speech of William J. Gaynor at the National Rivers and Harbors Congress at Washington, D. C., December 7, 1911.

Municipal Campaign Book, 1912. Social-Democratic Party. Published by Order of the County Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party, Milwaukee Co., Wis.

Homesteads for Workingmen. Labor Bulletin Number 58 of the Bureau of Statistics of The Commonwealth of Massachusetts. January, 1912. Printed by Wright & Potter, Boston.

Freight Rate Favoritism the Mother of Monopolies. Speech of William J. Gaynor at the Convention of the Atlantic Deep Waterways Association at Richmond, Virginia, October 18, 1911.

Report of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League, November 30, 1911, and its adjournment, January 9, 1912. Published by the Anti-Imperialist League, Boston, Mass.

Motion Pictures and the Social Center. Address by John Collier before the Conference on Civic and Social Center Development, 1911. Bulletin General Series, Number 313, Published by the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. Price, 5 cents.

The Tax Act of 1912 (Public Laws, Chapter 769). Providing for a Board of Tax Commissioners and for a State Tax upon Corporations, etc. Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island at its January Session, 1912. Printed by E. L. Freeman, State Printer, Providence, R. I.

Social Center Development to Date and the School-house as a Recreation Center. Address by Clarence A. Perry before the Conference on Civic and Social Center Development, 1911. Bulletin, General Series Number 314, Published by the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. Price, 5 cents.

PERIODICALS

Swedish Singletax Papers.

Sweden has two new Singletax papers. Snällposten (The Fast Mail), a Gothenburg weekly, was taken over at the new year by Dr. Karl Elander, and turned into a Singletax organ. Numbers at hand show it to be a lively one too. The other is an agricultural paper, Odlaren (The Settler, or Clearer of Land), edited by A. L. Killan, a leading Singletaxer, who proposes to treat the subject from the farmers' point of view. New Singletax clubs are also springing up in different parts of the country.

S. TIDEMAN.



Here is a little story that illustrates the late Citizen Tom Johnson's quick wit. When he was running for Congress the first time he met a Clevelander in front of the Society for Savings and hinted in his smiling way that he hoped to get his vote. The citizen demurred.

"I like you, Mr. Johnson," he said, "but I was born

a Republican. My father was a Republican and my grandfather helped form the party." Johnson laughed.

"You remind me of the story of the Kentucky mountaineer," he said. "A belated stranger seeking shelter at night entered a mountaineer's cabin and found an old man toasting his bare feet by the open fire. 'I reckon I'm goin' to hev chilblains,' the aged one explained after he had said howdy to the wayfarer. 'I ain't got 'em yet, but Pap Tolliver had 'em, an' Granpap Tolliver had 'em, an' o' course I got to hev 'em.' The stranger looked doubtful. 'Mebbe ef you was careful,' he said, 'you wouldn't git 'em.'

Are Your Meetings

successful? Do you want to get in touch with other progressive democrats and singletaxers? If you do, advertise your meetings in **The Public**. Notices of meetings can be received up to noon on Monday preceding day of issue (Friday.)

ELLSWORTH BLDG.

CHICAGO

THE CHICAGO SINGLETAX CLUB

Meets Every Friday at 8:00 P. M., at 508 Schiller Building
 March 22, Arthur D. Foyer, "Political Economy Not Eclectic."
 All are welcome. Ladies invited. Discussion. Literature for sale.
 JAMES B. ELLERY, Sec.

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

Charles Frederick Adams of New York will lecture here, under the auspices of the Henry George Lecture Association (Frederick H. Monroe, President, 538 Dearborn St., Chicago), on the 22nd and 23rd of March.

NOTICE!

The Henry George Lecture Association has now for sale about seven thousand (7000) copies of the abstracts of the principal lectures of Mr. John Z. White, covering the following subjects:

- Direct Legislation.
- Public Ownership of Public Utilities.
- The Sources of Municipal Corruption.
- The Dartmouth College Case.
- Government by Injunction.
- Competition the Only Just Distributor.
- Free Trade—the Basis of Universal Peace and National Prosperity.
- Henry George and His Philosophy.
- The Single Tax.
- The French Revolution of 1789.
- The Dignity of Labor.
- How to Prevent Strikes.
- The Right to Work.

These abstracts are published in a four page folder, 22x15 in. Nearly 40,000 words—or about 3,000 words for each subject. **The price of these abstracts is \$2.00 per hundred.** The Association also has for sale more than one hundred thousand (100,000) copies of a very neat and attractive pamphlet by Judson Grenell, entitled "The Single Tax, What It Is and What It Will Accomplish," at \$2.50 per hundred. Charges paid on all shipments.

Sample copies of Mr. White's abstracts and Mr. Grenell's pamphlets mailed free on application.

HENRY GEORGE LECTURE ASSOCIATION,
 FREDERICK H. MONROE, PRES.
 Room 902, 538 So. Dearborn St., CHICAGO, ILL.

The old man straightened up. 'I tell ye I got to hev 'em,' he cried. 'Chilblains goes with Tollivers.'

Citizen Tom laughed. "Some people seem to think that traditions are more valuable than principles," he said as he turned away.—Cleveland Plain Dealer.



Barry is literary rather than mathematical in his tastes. His teacher was trying to initiate him into the mysteries of division. During the struggle she

said in despair, "Don't you even know how many times three goes into twelve?"

"Aaw, that's easy," said the eight-year-old in disgust, "three times and three over."—Woman's Home Companion.



The present troubles in England are likely to cause some people to have doubts concerning the fitness of the English people for self-government.—Chicago Record-Herald.

Human Interest Books

Related to the Democratic Factors of Life

Ethics of Democracy

By Louis F. Post. A series of optimistic essays on the natural laws of human society. In rich blue cloth, with portrait of the author, postpaid. \$1.25

Ethical Principles of Marriage and Divorce

By Louis F. Post. A discussion of marriage and divorce with reference to rational moral principle. In blue cloth, postpaid. \$1.00

The Confessions of a Monopolist

By Frederic C. Howe, Ph. D. A simple, enormously true story that "puts you on" to Monopoly's game all the way to the last play. In green cloth, postpaid. 65

Garrison the Non-Resistant

By Ernest Crosby. The story of the great Abolitionist from a new point of view. In blue cloth, with portrait of Garrison, postpaid. 50
In grey paper, postpaid. 25

Labor and Neighbor

By Ernest Crosby. An appeal to first principles for the working out of the Labor question in a human way. In grey paper, postpaid. 25

The Hungry Forties: Life Under the Bread Tax

"Here is England as Carlyle saw it when he prophesied the working out of the same laws, eternal, adamant, which had made the great revolutions in Europe—*London Daily News*. In orange paper, postpaid. 20

A Great Iniquity

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

Franklin and Freedom

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

Thomas Jefferson

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

How to Get Rich Without Working

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

The Public, Book Dept, Ellsworth Bldg, Chicago

Direct Legislation Literature

—all we have left, but it is good

A Primer of Direct-Legislation

Prepared by the late Professor Frank Parsons, and by Eltweed Pomeroy, W. S. U'Ren, and others. The Referendum, the Initiative, the Recall, Proportional Representation, the Direct Primary, etc.

White paper pamphlet. 5 cents

National Decay Caused by Political Corruption, and the Remedy

By William Preston Hill, M. D., Ph. D. Value of Direct Legislation. Practical examples of its use.

In red paper covers. 5 cents

The Public, Book Dept, Ellsworth Bldg, Chicago

The Public

Published weekly by Louis F. Post, Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

Terms of Subscription.

Yearly	\$1.00
Half yearly50
Quarterly25
Single Copies05
Trial subscription—4 weeks.10

Extra copies, \$2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 or more.
Free of postage in the United States, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week, or 50 cents per year.

All checks, drafts and money orders should be made payable to the order of Louis F. Post. Money orders, or Chicago or New York Drafts, are preferred, on account of exchange charges by the Chicago banks.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one, stating with what issue the change is to take effect.

Receipt of payment is shown in about two weeks by date on wrapper, which shows when the subscription expires. All subscribers are requested to note this date and to remit promptly for renewal of subscription when due or order it discontinued if the paper is no longer desired. Advertising rates furnished on application.