

The Public

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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITORIAL

"Kindling."

That it is easy to be good, for everybody likes you when you are good, but hard to do right, for in doing right you are often contemptuously deserted and despitefully used, is the key-note of "Kindling," the play which failed in New York, but of which Margaret Illington and her company have made a great success at the Cort theater in Chicago. A play of the period, its lesson pierces to the center of both sentiment and thought. "Crude" it has been called, and this was the verdict in New York. But its crudity is not of play or players; it is the reflection of a transitional period in industrial life, and the reflection must seem crude to be true. What of its immorality in fostering sympathy for a thief? A poor interpreter indeed must he be who takes that lesson from this play. So far from apologizing for larceny, "Kindling" brings the great legal larcenies into contrast with petty ones that are illegal, and with such dramatic force as, while not approving the latter, to expose the destructive wickedness of the former.



A Women's Suffrage Test in Chicago.

"Do you approve of the extension of suffrage to women?" This question is to be voted on at Chicago on the 9th of April at the regular primary elections. The women's suffrage organizations,

under the lead of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, are busy making a general organized effort to poll a heavy vote and to secure a large majority in the affirmative. While the result will be only an unofficial and legally powerless expression of opinion, it nevertheless will be such an expression under the best existing electoral machinery for securing one; and if the opinion turns out to be favorable, favorable action by the legislature will be stimulated by it. There are plenty of reasons for voting "Yes" on that question. If you want women to be housekeepers, give them a chance to take a responsible part in that municipal housekeeping in which men alone do so badly—as, for that matter, they do in all other housekeeping. If you want women to look after children, give them a chance at the government of the public schools. If you believe in democracy, which means what Lincoln called it, government of all by all, throw aside your selfish vanity and recognize that women are of the all, that they have a right to the ballot you yourself set so much store by, and that feminine influence in the public affairs of our common life is as important as in the private affairs of the family.



Women's Suffrage in Great Britain.*

Lloyd George's women's suffrage speech at Albert Hall, the principal points of which are reproduced in another column, fairly discloses the indefensible conduct of the physical violence faction of British suffragists—indefensible not alone as matter of decent order, but also for its manifest tendency to wreck the women's suffrage cause, and in no other possible interest—be the motive what it may—than that of the Tory party and its property-class allies.



This speech was given prior to the criminal conduct of the violence faction in wantonly destroying private property. It was given before a non-partisan audience of women's suffragists, organized by representative women's suffrage associations. Instead of co-operating, or at least holding aloof from this meeting, the violence faction sought to break it up. By disorderly methods they endeavored to prevent any presentation of the subject by the one person in all England who could speak with most political authority and influence in behalf of the cause which they profess; and this on an occasion when he was the guest of

women's suffrage organizations and leaders with at least equal right with Mrs. Pankhurst's group to represent suffrage sentiment.



What is the pretense for that disorder? To force the Liberal Cabinet to insert votes for women in its electoral reform bill. But as the Cabinet is divided—one-fourth of its members (like most of the Tory party and a small proportion of the Liberty party), being opposed to votes for women,—and as unanimity in proposing Ministerial measures is an absolute political necessity, how could the Cabinet be coerced? Only by giving to the Cabinet the alternative of doing so or of resigning official responsibility to the Tories until another election could be held under the present property-qualification and plural-voting system! Such is the demand of the violence faction of British suffragists. No other interpretation of their attitude and conduct is possible.



The women's suffragists in the Cabinet proposed something better than this interesting plan of the violent suffragists. Led by Lloyd George, they secured an agreement by the Cabinet to refer the dispute to the House of Commons. If a majority of that House would amend the electoral bill by inserting suffrage for women, the Cabinet would make women's suffrage an integral part of the official bill. This spelt victory for the women's suffrage cause. For even though the Tory members were to vote unanimously against the amendment in the House, and all the anti-suffrage Liberals and Irish were to vote against it too, it would fall only 16 votes short of a majority. This gap could easily have been bridged under such leadership for the amendment as George's. It could easily have been bridged, that is, if the weaker supporters of women's suffrage in the House, and the better inclined among its opponents and the neutrals, were not angered into active hostility, as there is reason to fear they may have been, by the tactics of the violence faction of suffragists. If women's suffrage, widely democratic at that, fails at this crisis in Great Britain, the fault will lie at the door of that violence faction for having resorted at the present critical juncture to tactics which, criminal in law and criminal in morals, have also every appearance of having been exquisitely designed to baffle the democratic cause.



It is gratifying to be able to believe that in the United States, where the militant British tactics

*See *Publics* of Dec. 17, 1909, page 1205; Mar. 4, 1910, page 210, 211; Dec. 1, 1911, page 1209; Dec. 22, 1911, page 1232; Jan. 19, 1912, page 52; Feb. 2, 1912, page 98; Mar. 8, 1912 page 219.

at first aroused sympathetic interest, this interest is turning quite the other way, as later developments come to be better understood. Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch probably expressed the prevailing sentiment when, as a recent suffrage speech of hers in Milwaukee is reported, she said: "I wish English suffragettes could be persuaded to drop their brickbats. The antics of those British women cannot be forgiven. We could not expect to convert a Wisconsin voter to support the suffrage plank by shying brickbats at him."



Henry George's Thought in Sculpture.

Miss Ella Buchanan, the Kansan student of sculpture under Charles J. Mulligan at the Art Institute, Chicago, she whose "Votes for Women"* is attracting deserved attention, has just finished

"Progress and Poverty."



"This association of poverty with progress is the great 'enigma' of our times. . . . It is the riddle which the Sphinx of Fate puts to our civilization, and which not to answer is to be destroyed."—Henry George in "Progress and Poverty."

*See The Public of September 22, 1911, page 971.

a sketch in clay intended to symbolize the great agitational work of Henry George. At the heart of all he wrote or spoke or did, was this one penetrating question: "Why does Poverty keep pace with Progress?" The fact that it does, was to his thought "the central fact from which spring industrial, social and political difficulties that perplex the world, and with which statesmanship and philanthropy and education grapple in vain." All else that Henry George said or did was in explanation of this central thought, and of the necessity and the means of freeing progress from its clinging parasite. Miss Buchanan has seized upon that thought to pay the tribute of an artist to George's work, and of a daughter to the memory of a father who was devoted to George's ideals and ideas. That she has succeeded, both in grasp of subject and in simplicity yet significance of expression, may be inferred but cannot be wholly appreciated from the accompanying side view of her design.



Good Government in Milwaukee.

Citizens of Milwaukee who really believe in honest municipal government will vote for Mayor Seidel's re-election next Tuesday, or stultify their professions. The opposition, led nominally by the Democratic machine with a Republican candidate, is nothing but a "combine" of both machines and a business organization to restore bad government.



Hasn't the Republican machine given Milwaukee bad government whenever it has had the chance to influence government at all? Hasn't the Democratic machine made municipal government in Milwaukee a stench as far as its aroma could carry? And what is the business association which comes into this delectable "combine" but an aggregation of privilege-seekers and law-evaders? There is not in the whole thing so much as a pretense of promoting good government which isn't a joke among the pretenders themselves.



The sole object of that "combine" is to unify prejudices against Socialism so as to turn the Socialists out of local office—business prejudice, political prejudice, church prejudice, and all the rest. But how can genuine good-government voters, genuine non-partisans, voters who truly believe in divorcing national partisanship from municipal administration—how can any such voter vote against the Socialists in Milwaukee and in favor of this Republican-Democratic-Big-Busi-

ness-and-Bad-Government combine? How can any professed good government man do it and not laugh in his own face? The first attempt at good city government in Milwaukee for years, and the most non-partisan, is that which the Socialists are giving under the administration of Mayor Seidel.

That mistakes have been made by the Socialists is probably true, but they were not made dishonestly; Milwaukee has been free from graft under Mayor Seidel. That there has been Socialistic partisanship is also doubtless true; but under the "non-partisan" gangs now seeking restoration as bi-partisans, there was seldom anything but partisanship, apart from graft—and not always apart from graft either. The Socialist party in Milwaukee has clearly sought to give the best service to all the legitimate interests of that city, regardless of party; and what else is it that genuine non-partisans demand? There is certainly nothing else they can demand consistently. Then what assurances of good faith will non-partisans of Milwaukee who are not Socialists have to offer, if, after the Socialists have given them the best municipal government they have ever had, they restore the gangsters to office because, forsooth, the Socialists are a political party and the gangsters have for election day only become "non-partisan"?

No Trifling with Reactionaries.

William J. Bryan's announcement regarding Governor Harmon's Presidential aspirations is a welcome pledge. Explaining that Governor Harmon cannot be nominated without the active aid of the Interests, and justly implying that his nomination would not be democratic in any sense that could make a Democratic victory worth while, Mr. Bryan's editorial in the Commoner of last week announces:

If Nebraska's Democracy instructs for Mr. Harmon, Mr. Bryan will refuse to serve as a delegate (in case he is elected), but will, instead, go to Baltimore as an individual, and as an individual do what he can to secure the nomination of a progressive Democrat.

This is full and fair notice to the Interests, and all their political office boys, that they cannot baffle the democratic uprising in this country by annexing the Democratic party. You who think differently, read the history of your country in the early fifties, when the slave oligarchy did what the plutocracy of today is trying to do. Read that history and be wise. Should a reactionary like Governor Harmon be nominated by the Demo-

crats, Bryan himself could not keep millions of his followers from voting for the Republican candidate. Not unless the Republican candidate were a reactionary like Taft; and in that case Bryan could not prevent millions of his followers from uniting with millions of La Follette's to defeat both reactionaries. No manufactured third party would this one be. It would be a spontaneously generated third party, like the Republican party of more than half a century ago.

In Recognition of Fidelity.

It may not be very important whom the Democrats nominate for Lieutenant Governor of Illinois, nor perhaps whom the people elect, although this office has legislative functions which might at any crisis be important; but wholly aside from any question of the functions of the office, there is a democratic reason why democratic Democrats should vote for Frank D. Comerford. Every such vote is a tribute to his fidelity as a former member of the legislature. When first elected to the Illinois legislature, he discovered its "jackpot" methods and publicly denounced them. The "jackpotters" expelled him; his district re-elected him; and the "jackpotters" crookedly kept him out of his seat. That was before the limelight had fallen so brightly upon "jackpot" methods at Springfield. What all the people now know regarding those methods, Mr. Comerford tried to tell them nearly ten years ago and was disciplined for it by the gang, nor with any tender touch. To nominate and elect him Lieutenant Governor now, would be a gracious recognition by the people of Illinois of his fidelity to their interests at a time and under circumstances when that kind of fidelity was a costly indulgence. Why not be as keen, good people, to reward costly fidelity in office when it is discovered as to denounce profitable infidelity when it is exposed?

Roosevelt's Democratic Views.

As there is no reason yet to believe that Theodore Roosevelt in a place of power would be any less Napoleonic than ever in his personal ambitions and usurpation tendencies, his defeat at the North Dakota primaries last week is an event to be glad of; but his service as an advocate of democratic progress is not to be despised, and in this he has never appeared to such advantage as in his Carnegie Hall speech in New York on the 20th. That speech is a model above anything in the way either of speech-making or of democratic sentiment that

Mr. Roosevelt has ever before achieved. Simply as a speech, it is better thought out and better constructed than his speeches usually are; and as a declaration of democracy it is analytical, discriminative and consistent to a degree quite unusual with Mr. Roosevelt. If general confidence in the ex-President's appreciation of and faithfulness to the utterances of this speech were equal to the respect the speech and its sentiments deserve, Mr. Roosevelt would occupy a worthier place than he does in democratic estimation. But as it is, the minds of thoughtful and reasonably cautious democrats of all political parties slip back very easily from enthusiasm over the speech to recollections, from the Philippines to Panama, of Mr. Roosevelt's autocratic conduct when in power. By doing as Governor Wilson has done, acknowledging earlier errors and distinctly renouncing them, Mr. Roosevelt would give vastly more value to his later opinions as the pledges of a candidate in the Presidential campaign.



Apart from his candidacy, however, the merit and usefulness of that Carnegie Hall speech must be acknowledged. It is no small matter, in the work of democratic progress, that Mr. Roosevelt, whatever his motives or however vacillating his democratic fidelity, should set the whole nation to thinking upon such responses as these to President Taft's plea for aristocracy:

Whenever there is tyranny of the majority I shall protest against it with all my heart and soul. But we are to-day suffering from the tyranny of minorities. It is a small minority that is grabbing our coal deposits, our water powers and our harbor fronts.

It is a small minority that lies behind monopolies and trusts.

It is a small minority that stands behind the present law of master and servant, the sweat-shops and the whole calendar of social and industrial injustice.

The only tyranny from which men, women and children are suffering in real life are the tyrannies of minorities.

I am not thinking only of those special interests which by grosser methods, by bribery and crime, have stolen from the people. I am thinking as much of their respectable allies and figureheads, who have ruled and legislated and decided as if in some way the vested rights of privilege had a first mortgage on the whole United States, while the rights of all the people were merely an unsecured debt.

Mr. Taft's position is the position that has been held from the beginning of our government, although not always so openly held, by a large number of reputable and honorable men who, down at bottom, distrust popular government, and, when they must accept it, accept it with reluctance, and hedge it around with every species of restriction and check

and balance, so as to make the power of the people as limited and as ineffective as possible. Mr. Taft fairly defines the issue when he says that our government is and should be a government of all the people by a representative part of the people. This is an excellent and moderate description of an oligarchy. It defines our government as a government of all of the people by a few of the people.

On the subject of Recall of judges, Mr. Roosevelt is in this speech discriminative without "weaseling," and sound beyond successful contradiction. These clauses of his speech are examples:

Mr. Taft says that the judiciary ought not to be "representative" of the people in the sense that the legislature and the executive are. This is perfectly true of the judge when he is performing merely the ordinary functions of a judge in suits between man and man. It is not true of the judge engaged in interpreting, for instance, the due process clause—where the judge is ascertaining the preponderant opinion of the people (as Judge Holmes states it). When he exercises that function he has no right to let his political philosophy reverse and thwart the will of the majority. In that function the judge must represent the people or he falls in the test the Supreme Court has laid down.

In a great many States there has been for many years a real recall of the judges as regards appointments, promotions, reappointments and re-elections; and this recall was through the turn of a thumbscrew at the end of a long distance rod in the hands of great interests. I believe that a just judge would feel far safer in the hands of the people than in the hands of those interests.



Lifting Burdens.

Speaking of tax burdens on producers, let this offer of The Equitable Taxation League of Kansas City be thoughtfully considered:

Last year the Commercial Club asked the business men of this city to contribute \$100,000 for a publicity and convention fund. Much hard work was done, but only \$37,385 was subscribed. It was a keen disappointment that this fund was not raised. Nevertheless the Club brought many notable conventions to our city, but those gatherings gave us only a temporary advantage. We have a much better proposition to offer. The proposed amendment to our tax laws will give a thousand times more trade and advertising advantage every year, and that benefit will not only continue, but will steadily increase with the coming year. And further, you can secure the greater benefit at less cost. The adoption of the amendment will lift \$15,000,000 annual burden from the industries of Missouri.

Do you ask how that grand result is to be secured? The process is simple. Merely abolish all taxes on producers. And that is what this Tax League proposes. But how, then, are public services to be paid for? Out of those values which good government gives to the *monopoly* of land but not to the use of land. Think it over.

A TRUST OF BANKERS AND FOR BANKERS.

In our editorial dissection of the Aldrich bill for a central reserve association, we undertook to show that Senator Aldrich was right when in his Chicago speech he called this proposed association an organization "of bankers and for bankers."

At any rate, extended consideration in advance of the publication of that editorial,* careful reflection since its publication, and the silence of critics on this point, confirm the conclusion, that "whatever else it may be, for good or bad, the pending bill to incorporate the National Reserve Association and to give it for fifty years vested rights in law to all the privileges directly or indirectly conferred by its charter, whatever those privileges may turn out to be, is to make of that association an association of bankers."

From this viewpoint, then, let the Aldrich bill be scrutinized.



If that association of bankers is to be merely for the personal enjoyment of its members, if it is to have no coercive influence upon others, if it is to get no governmental powers or privileges, if in a word it is to be a social club of bankers without authority or prerogative,—if all this be true, then there is no reason why anyone not a banker should be heard to object.

But if the National Reserve Association is to get from government coercive prerogatives or financial privileges, if it is to have vested rights affecting the rest of us, then the fact that it is to be an association of bankers raises a host of questions regarding the extent and character of its privileges as an association for bankers.

We may have occasion to direct attention, one after another, to several dangerous powers and perquisites which the Aldrich charter would vest in this self-styled "*co-operative union of all the banks of the country.*" For the present, however, we shall deal with only one.



By that charter this union of bankers would have the privilege of profitably money-mongering the treasury balances of the Federal government for fifty years.

That there may be no uncertainty or mistake, we quote the appropriate clauses of the Aldrich bill from sections 1, 23 and 25:

That the National Reserve Association of the United States be and it is hereby created and estab-

*See The Public of February 2, 1912, current volume, pages 100 to 104.

lished for a term of fifty years. . . . The government of the United States shall, upon the organization of the National Reserve Association, deposit its general funds with said Association and its branches, and thereafter all receipts of the Government, exclusive of trust funds, shall be deposited with said Association and its branches, and all disbursements by the Government shall be made through said Association and its branches. . . . The National Reserve Association shall pay no interest on deposits.

Now, what reason is there for this making of the public treasury a proprietary appendage to an association of private-profit makers? Good men, no doubt, and a useful business theirs, the business of banking; but that is surely no good reason for turning the deposits of the United States government into the treasury of their trade union.

For any good reason for this extraordinary privilege from the government to the bankers' guild, one may look in vain in the report of the Monetary Commission transmitting the bill to Congress. None is given that will stand scrutiny. And if you ask whomsoever you will why the government should *bind itself* to keep its balances with a bankers' trust, you must go without an explanation that explains.

The substance of all the explanations is that government treasury balances rise and fall from time to time so as to make seasons of money-famine alternate irregularly with seasons of money-plenty, and that the attempt to correct the consequent confusions in business by depositing treasury funds in selected banks, makes for favoritism.

But is that the best that can be said in behalf of this plan for creating proprietary interests in the national treasury? We suspect it is. Yet it sounds very like the plea of the beggar who, more frankly than the bankers' trust, supplemented several high sounding reasons for his modest request with the comprehensive one that "besides every other consideration he needed the money."



Much has been said by advocates of this Aldrich measure to minimize traditional objections to anything like the old United States Bank of "Nick" Biddle's day, which Andrew Jackson put an end to. That institution was such a parasite that its memory admits of no defense on civic grounds.

It may indeed be that in some respects the proposed National Reserve Association is not a resurrection of Biddle's parasitical bank in a new guise and with a new name. In one respect, though, the Reserve Association would be worse than the Bank was. The charter of "Nick" Biddle's bank, like the proposed Aldrich charter, created a vested

right in treasury balances. For twenty years the Bank had, like the proposed Reserve Association for fifty years, the privilege of holding treasury balances on deposit without interest. But in the Bank charter there was a clause enabling the Secretary of the Treasury to discontinue using the Bank for government deposits, upon reporting his reasons to Congress. The Reserve Association's proposed charter has no such saving clause.

The nearest approach to such a clause is a general provision reserving to Congress the right to alter or amend any of the provisions of the law. But such alterations or amendments can take effect only at the end of decennial periods.



Two points, then, apply quite manifestly to the proposed National Reserve Association: First, it is to be an Association of bankers, a co-operative union of bankers completely under the control of bankers, as may be seen in detail by reference to our editorial on the subject in *The Public* of February 2, 1912; and, Second, it is to be an association for bankers with reference at least to the treasury balances of the United States government.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE SEATTLE AWAKENING.

Seattle, March 19.

Our first campaign for a Singletax charter amendment in Seattle is past and we are now able to look at it somewhat in perspective. Before and during the campaign, there was absolutely nothing but our hopes upon which to base an estimate of the vote we might get. Four thousand signatures had been secured on a petition, but many of the signers had little or no interest in the question except a willingness to have it submitted to a vote. As signatures came without much effort, it was easy to conclude the amendment might carry. The examples of Vancouver and Victoria were close at hand and it was hard to believe that the voters of Seattle were not as progressive as in British Columbia.

Our amendment received 12,000 votes with 28,000 against it. The Griffiths amendment, which proposed to exempt buildings in the course of five years, had 8,000 votes for and 31,000 against. As many of our friends voted for the Griffiths amendment also, it is clear that the number who voted for that measure only was small and that nothing is to be gained by submitting timid or half-way legislation. It is also clear that all who intelligently voted against our measure, voted also against the other and would oppose any step whatever in our direction. From the results of our first effort, it appears to me we shall require two more campaigns to carry a Singletax amendment in this city.

At a dinner given by the Chamber of Commerce last week, the toastmaster reported, with great gusto, that the vote of the people on charter amendments harmonized with a straw ballot taken by that body before election. In the Chamber's vote on amendments, he said that only two per cent favored our Singletax amendment. But when our amendment was beaten in the city election thirty per cent of the people voting on it were for it, from which it must be inferred that the sentiment of the voters generally does not harmonize with the Chamber of Commerce by 1500 per cent. The vote our amendment received in this organization is about the same the Chamber has given in times past to our city water system, light plant and city car line.



The most gratifying part of our campaign was the devotion and enthusiasm of the committee having it in charge and the little army of volunteers who helped them. G. E. Tilton, chairman, and Thorwald Siegfried, secretary, abandoned their own affairs and worked night and day. Other members of the committee gave every moment they could spare. To record the names and efforts of all who helped the committee would require a book.

But I am sure those who were in the thickest of the fight would pardon no one who, in writing about our campaign, failed to mention friends that came to our aid from the outside—the Fels Fund Commission, Margaret Haley of Chicago and Alfred Cridge and E. S. J. McAllister of Portland. The speakers were all star performers, and Miss Haley is not only a star at speaking, but she can do as much campaign work as two men. There are two others who deserve honorable mention, namely, Frank and Robert Moran. Upon several occasions, when work was about to drag for want of funds, they "came across" with the sinews of war and kept our battle axes in motion.



As near as one can estimate from the vote on the Griffiths and our amendment, there were 16,000 Singletax votes, including radical and conservative, out of a total of approximately 43,000.

Now that the smoke of battle has cleared away and we analyze the forces against us, coupled with the distractions of a bitter mayoralty campaign, it seems to me that 16,000 votes, or 37 per cent of all cast on these amendments, was no defeat but a glorious victory.

The land speculators of the city, great and small, were thoroughly aroused and flooded the city with opposition literature. They also secured anti-Singletax resolutions in every organization they could influence, and exploited them. In addition, they were able to array the press of the city almost solidly against us, the *Post-Intelligencer* and *Times*, large dailies, pouring broadsides of hostile editorial and other matter against our amendment. The *Seattle Daily Star* was an exception—too much cannot be said in praise of its services. It stood with us like a rock, and gave constantly of its valuable space though it was at the same time bearing the brunt of Cotterill's campaign for mayor.

It is now more than twenty-five years since I enlisted for the war against land monopoly. During that time it has fallen to my lot to participate in many campaigns of one kind and another. It is but fair to say that after none of them have I felt less inclined to criticise any policy of those in charge. The generalship was excellent, the team work of our committee splendid, and those of us in the ranks were inspired by it. I am not depressed by the result, but elated; and I ask God to bless every man, woman and child that helped us—which includes all who voted with us. We have buried the dead, sounded the bugle for another charge, and look to the future with renewed hope.

OLIVER T. ERICKSON.*



PROGRESSIVE NEW HAMPSHIRE.

East Jaffrey, N. H.

On the first Wednesday of next June a Constitutional Convention will be held in New Hampshire, delegates having been already chosen. The Convention will be a very large body—413 delegates. The last convention was held in 1902; conventions being of more frequent occurrence than in other States, owing to the fact that there are no other means of submitting amendments to the Constitution than by a convention.



The principal questions before the Convention of 1912 will be the size of the Senate and the House, the composition of senatorial districts, the permission of the classification of property for taxation, woman suffrage, and the Initiative and Referendum.

The Senate is at present composed of 24 members, chosen from districts divided on a property basis. This method of division results in great inequality, there having been cast in one district in the city of Manchester at the last election 1,849 votes, and in another in the same city, 5,782, each district being represented by one senator. This system has resulted disastrously to progressive measures in the legislature in many instances, the majority of the Senate being reactionary in tendencies.

The House is composed of about 390 members, varying somewhat from session to session, towns of less than 600 population being entitled to representation only part of the time. This body, although so large as to be unwieldy, has usually been quite progressive, and truly representative of the people, due doubtless to the close connection between its members and the voters. A proposition to reduce the membership of the House was submitted by the last convention, but failed of adoption, owing to a fear on the part of the smaller towns that they would lose their representation. An effort will doubtless be made in the coming convention to cut down the number of representatives.

*Mr. Erickson, formerly a public spirited and leading citizen of Minneapolis, has for years been precisely such a citizen of Seattle, where he is now a member of the Council, elected at large by the largest vote of all its nine members. He has been an active promoter of Henry George's doctrines since 1887, and for ten years prior to Henry George's death was one of Mr. George's valued coadjutors and trusted friends.—Editors of The Public.

The increasing burdens of taxation here as elsewhere have compelled the recognition of the fact that some classes of property are less capable of bearing those burdens than others. The town in New Hampshire is the unit of assessment, and until 1911 there was no power in the State which could compel the assessors to assess property at its full value as required by law. Consequently much property was under-valued. But the last legislature created a Tax Commission, with power to compel full valuation. This Commission is at present bringing great pressure to bear upon all the assessors to assess all property at its real value; at the same time it is recommending an amendment to the Constitution allowing the classification of property, so as not to subject property like bonds and standing timber to a destructive tax.



The Convention of 1902 submitted an amendment granting the suffrage to women, which failed of enactment. Since then the sentiment in favor of this act of justice has grown greatly, and its advocates are full of hope that the next convention will submit again an amendment which will be adopted by the people. The State Woman Suffrage Association, the Concord Equal Suffrage Association and the Men's Equal Suffrage League are very active.



But the most important and far-reaching amendment to be considered by the Convention will be one providing for the Initiative and Referendum, with provisions for the submission of Constitutional amendments both by the Initiative and by legislative reference. For if such an amendment should be adopted, all these other questions could be submitted to the people whenever it seemed best, without the cumbersome and expensive expedient of a convention.

The New Hampshire Direct Legislation League was organized about a year ago, the president, Judge George W. Clyde, having submitted an amendment providing for the Initiative and Referendum when a member of the Convention of ten years ago. The League has prosecuted its educational work as widely as its limited means would afford, with the result that in the coming Convention will be found a large number of men ready to vote for the submission of the necessary amendment.

The Progressive Republican movement in the State has been of great assistance in turning the attention of the people toward the Initiative and Referendum, although many of those same Progressives fall as yet to realize the necessity for the adoption of these aids to true representative government. The greatest foe of the Initiative and Referendum here, as elsewhere, is ignorance of what they really mean, and this difficulty the Direct Legislation League will seek to overcome by affording to every delegate all the information possible on the question.

To those to whom the workings of the New England town meeting have been familiar for years, of which the Initiative and Referendum are but a wider application and in modern form, an understanding of their principles should not be difficult.

While thoughtfully conservative, the citizens of the "Old Granite State" are not slow to adopt methods which give promise of bettering political conditions; so the advocates of the Initiative and Referendum look forward confidently to the Convention, feeling sure that the wisdom of the adoption of these improvements to our system of government will appeal to the best judgment of the delegates.

GEORGE H. DUNCAN.



CAUSES OF POVERTY IN CHINA.

Christian Hospital, Nanking, China, February 25.

In her review of Edward Alsworth Ross's "The Changing Chinese," which appeared in the Public of January 19, on page 67, the reviewer, Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, thus summarizes Professor Ross's handling of the causes of poverty in China, with comment thereon:

In one respect, however, this clear-sighted economist fails to explain the terrible poverty of the Chinese masses. He claims that it is not due to the system of land tenure, as most Chinese farmers own their own little plot of land rent free. But in a later chapter he tells of the aversion of the "upper classes" to work of all kinds, tells of the pitiful attempts of even the hard-worked coolie to pretend he is a gentleman of leisure when he has earned a few pence more than usual; he tells of the long finger nails which are the badge of freedom from labor. Now, where a large class refuses to work in any way, refuses to render service to the community, and yet it is this very class that lives in luxury—may not this be an explanation of the heart-rending poverty of unold uncounted millions? This, and not altogether a too great pressure of population against the producing power of the soil, as Professor Ross seems to imply? How does one class live in luxury except from the labor of the others?

The true answer to the last question, as the reviewer evidently surmised, is, Through landlordism. The "upper classes" referred to as hating work, are officials and landlords. Half the farmers are tenants, and poverty in China is chiefly due to two causes, landlordism and the miseries of famines.

W. E. MACKLIN.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

A GROWING TENDENCY.

Port Arthur, Texas.

The following editorial from a recent number of the Beaumont (Texas) Enterprise is significant:

When you render your property for taxes this year just put about twenty-five per cent more value to the land and deduct it from the improvements. The total being the same, there can be no complaint from the board of equalization, and in all probability the board will be glad to see the change. By rendering the land at high value the owners of improved property can set the example for increasing the value of the vacant property and thereby eventually bring about a reduction in the tax required of improved property.

That editorial represents a tendency to soften taxes on improvements in an informal way, the discouraging effect of such taxes having come to be better recognized through the teachings of Singletax advocates these many years.

In this city, Port Arthur, 20 miles from Beau-

mont, the assessors themselves appraise improvements for taxation at 50% of their real value, land at 100% and merchants' stocks at 75%, this being also a recognition of Singletax principles.

It is quite possible that a request for further examples of such practices would elicit information going to show quite a movement around the country along these informal lines.

O. OWEN.



CURRENCY AND INTEREST RATES.

Atlantic, Iowa.

There is a very general opinion that a low rate of interest would be a benefit to the common people. Along with this, generally goes the idea that a larger volume of currency would lower the rate. It does lower the rate temporarily. But if this lower rate does not cause the surplus currency to flow to points where the rate is higher, it tends to distribute it through the country and hence to increase the number of buyers in general and at the same time to decrease the number who wish to sell or who are forced to do so. Hence a general rise in prices. The rise in prices calls for more money for the same business, and the rising prices cause more business. So the new demand for money causes the rate of interest to swing back higher than before, but only temporarily. Writers for The Public persistently ignore the truth above stated.

HENRY HEATON.

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 26, 1912.

La Follette versus Roosevelt.

At the North Dakota primaries on the 19th first indications were had of the triangular contest in the Republican party over the Presidential nomination which is now at white heat. The candidates were President Taft, ex-President Roosevelt and Senator La Follette. La Follette was nominated by a majority over both the others. Following is the vote as reported by the Associated Press on the 22d, with returns for 350 voting precincts out of 1,800 missing and not expected until the official count:

La Follette	28,620
Roosevelt	19,101
Taft	1,543



In response to the questions of a newspaper interviewer and as reported on the 21st, Senator La Follette said of this primary:

The returns so far reported from North Dakota are confirmatory of the impressions formed in a

three days' campaign in that State. Never in my experience have I known the people of any commonwealth more profoundly aroused than in North Dakota. They thoroughly understand the issue. Sentiment does not enter into the result. The people of that State could not be influenced by any attempt to make a personal issue. I am convinced that the situation in North Dakota is typical of the progressive movement in all the progressive States. The politicians in some instances may have been stampeded, but the people generally have not been, and will not be. They know the great problems that confront us have not been aggressively and constructively met by either the Roosevelt or Taft administrations. They do not want the experience of that period repeated. They want to go forward.

You will find in all Progressive territory protest against the surrender of Progressive movement into the hands of soft-shell Progressives and reactionaries. The people are not following the politicians in their hasty jump to what they believed to be a band wagon. The result in North Dakota is proof that the great body of the people are not willing to sacrifice the organization and movement which has cost a quarter of a century of struggle to a policy of expediency and compromise. They want to make headway in the solution of the social and economic problems that confront us. They demand deliverance from the burden of the thousands of millions of over-capitalization of the great transportation, tariff, trust and money monopolies. Political manipulation may have succeeded in obscuring the issues and bringing about temporary disorganization of the Progressive forces here at the capital, but the people throughout the country never saw more clearly, never were more strongly united for progress. In devoting my time so largely to public discussion of the issues throughout the country, I am confident that I shall be rendering my best public service at this time. No substantial legislation of importance to the people can be expected until both the Executive and Congress shall hear from the country in a way to make it understood that the Progressive cause is the greatest power in the land, and that it is still one of principle, not expediency. The time for talk has gone by, the time to do is at hand. I shall campaign from now on until the last delegate is elected, in the same spirit, with the same definiteness as to principle, and with the same confidence in result as in North Dakota.



Special Session of the Illinois Legislature.

Governor Deneen called on the 25th a special session of the Illinois legislature for the 26th. It is understood to be for the purpose of passing an emergency measure permitting Presidential preference primaries. Thirteen objects are enumerated in the call, but the Governor expects action prior to the primaries of April 9th on the Presidential preference question only, the requisite two-thirds of the members having expressed themselves to him as favoring such primaries. The thirteen objects specified in the Governor's call are as follows:

(1) To amend the primary election law. (2) To amend the election law. (3) To make an appropri-

ation for the repair of the State capitol building. (4) To make an appropriation for the repair of the buildings at the State fair grounds. (5) To amend the State insurance law. (6) To propose an amendment to article 14, section 2, of the Constitution, permitting the adoption of more than one amendment to the Constitution at the same time. (7) To amend the existing laws so as to confer greater powers upon boards of park commissioners and particularly to authorize such boards to condemn riparian and littoral rights as well as lands and property, and otherwise acquire the same. (8) To make an appropriation for the maintenance of the State grain inspection department. (9) To make an appropriation for the maintenance of the department of State factory inspection. (10) To amend clause 50, section 1, of the act providing for the general expenses of the State government, by providing additional appropriations thereunder. (11) To make an appropriation for the medical department of the University of Illinois. (12) To make an appropriation for the maintenance of the soil survey and for other agricultural departments and purposes. (13) To make an appropriation for the payment of the expenses of this extraordinary session of the General Assembly.



Milwaukee Politics.

An extraordinary political situation exists in Milwaukee. The Republican party has virtually dissolved for local purposes and melted into the Democratic party. At the direct primaries on the 19th two Republicans contested for the Democratic nomination for Mayor, and one of them was nominated and will lead the Democratic ticket at the election on the 2d of April. Following is the result of the primary vote on candidates for Mayor:

Socialist party:

Mayor Emil Seidel (unopposed).....17,229

Democratic party:

Gerhard A. Bading (a Republican)...26,248

William J. Carey (a Republican).....14,875

The contest for Mayor will therefore be between Emil Seidel, the present Socialist Mayor, and Gerhard A. Bading, a Republican with the Democratic nomination. For City Treasurer and Comptroller the Democrats have nominated in each instance a Democrat whose only opponent will be a Socialist. All these Democratic nominations were made under a bargain between the organizations of the Democratic and the Republican parties in co-operation with the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association. The Democrats were to nominate a Republican for Mayor and a Democrat for each of the other two offices, for the purpose of defeating the Socialists by uniting all opposing elements. Republicans voted as Democrats at the primaries. [See vol. xiv, pages 348, 436.]



Taxation in Houston.

Through the patient and thoughtful service of J. J. Pastoriza, the Commissioner of Houston (un-

der their commission form of government) who is in charge of local taxation, a long stride in tax reform is announced by Mayor Rice in his official message. Explaining local taxation in this message Mayor Rice says:

During the present year the Somers system* of taxation has been established in Houston, at the suggestion of Commissioner Pastoriza. It seems to be a very efficient system, just and equitable to all. The tax board has adopted the system of assessing land values at 90 per cent and improvements 25 per cent of their value. Under this system the valuations have increased from \$77,000,000 to \$123,000,000, which is very great. All tax problems are difficult and very few, if any, satisfactory. I would suggest to the citizens to thoroughly investigate this system and understand it. If it is satisfactory, so much the better; if not, then some better plan should be proposed. The city council will not be arbitrary, but will be glad to listen to any one or all citizens upon this subject. Last year the tax rate was \$1.70 per hundred. This year it has been reduced to \$1.30 per hundred for all purposes, being the lowest rate of any large city in the State.

Initiative, Referendum and Recall in Texas.

A conference of Texas Democrats held at Dallas on the 18th adopted resolutions declaring that—we favor the amendment of our constitution in such a way as to incorporate the Initiative, Referendum and Recall therein; that our efforts to secure this amendment shall not involve an alignment with nor opposition to any other measure, nor shall this organization promote or oppose, as such, the candidacy of any man for office; that we recommend that our friends proceed with the work of obtaining signers to petitions; and that we take such steps as may be necessary to place a demand in the platform of the Democratic party for the submission of the amendment providing for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

The conference had been called to order by George Clifton Edwards of Dallas, who is prominently identified with the Socialist party. D. J. Neill, former president of the Texas Farmers' Union, was permanent chairman, John Maxwell permanent secretary, and the following campaign committee was appointed: D. J. Neill, John Maxwell, William Hoefgen (president State Federation of Labor); H. F. Ring, C. W. Woodman, Joe Myers, F. B. McCurdy and T. H. McGregor. [See current volume, page 180.]

Pending Coal Strike in the United States.

A conference between owners of American natural coal-deposits and working miners in Cleveland on the 21st referred the controversy tentatively to a committee of two owners and two miners from each of the four States involved—Illinois,

Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania. [See current volume, page 276.]

The British Coal Miners' Strike.

The Government bill in Parliament with reference to the coal miners' strike, which was introduced by the Prime Minister on the 19th, came before the House of Commons for second reading on the 21st. [See current volume, page 275.]

When before the Commons for second reading on the 21st, this bill encountered a hostile motion by Arthur J. Balfour, Mr. Bonar Law's predecessor as Tory leader. Mr. Balfour characterized the action of the strikers and of the Government as "a colossal revolution." His motion was defeated, and after debate the bill passed its second reading near midnight by 348 to 225, the Labour party and the Irish party voting with the Government. The "committee stage" of the bill was finished in the early morning hours of the 23d. Nearly all amendments submitted had been either defeated or withdrawn, so that the bill was ready for final action in its original form substantially.

Meanwhile the Prime Minister postponed final action and called a conference of natural-coal-deposit owners and striking miners for the 25th. T. P. O'Connor, M. P., explains this as follows in his cable letter of the 23d to the Chicago Tribune:

The Government, after considerable hesitation and after a serious struggle within the Cabinet, refused to place in the bill the figure of \$1.25 a day as the minimum wage which the miners pressed upon them. This refusal was imposed upon the Government by the conviction that such naming of a figure of wages in an act of Parliament would bring immediately a similar demand from all other workmen in the country, and would reduce all elections to an auction between the political parties as to the price at which they would buy the support of the workmen. Further, many of the Liberal employers and all of the old fashioned economists warned Premier Asquith against such rash legislation. This refusal was backed by the House of Commons and ultimately the matter seemed settled until the Labour leaders made a dramatic and pathetic appeal to Asquith to grant this concession or some approach to it to enable them to close the disastrous strike immediately. After a scene of tense emotion which reduced the House of Commons to the stillness of the grave, Asquith announced that the final stage of the bill would be postponed till Monday and that another conference between the miners and coal owners would take place on that day.

The Miners' Federation promptly accepted the conference proposal, and on the 25th the conference convened.

*See *The Public*, volume xiii, page 675; volume xiv, pages 173, 234, 230, 242, 323.

Woman Suffrage in China.

The provisional National Assembly of China, sitting at Nanking, on the 20th granted the women of China suffrage on the same terms as the men. Like men, women voters must be able to read and write, must be twenty years of age, and must be property owners. Chinese "suffragettes," apparently dissatisfied with some of the restrictions imposed, on the 22nd forced an entry into the National Assembly then sitting, and, after knocking down the police on guard, smashed the windows of the building. The meeting had to be suspended, to reopen under military protection. The outbreak is believed to have been incited by American and European suffragettes. Members of the Assembly, according to a dispatch, express the belief that the demonstration of violence will seriously react on the suffrage cause. [See current volume, page 277.]

NEWS NOTES

—A textile strike in Fall River, to have begun on the 25th, was averted through the acceptance on the 24th, by the five unions involved, of an advance in wages of 10 per cent.

—News dispatches of the 23rd reported that 6,000 workers in five woolen mills of Passaic, New Jersey, had quit work on that day under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World.

—The International Congress of Hygiene and Demography, created to meet cholera conditions in Europe in 1852, is to hold its first American session in Washington, this year, from September 23 to 28.

—The Ohio Constitutional Convention has for the most part been occupied during the past week with a contest over the Initiative and Referendum. No result is yet reported. [See current volume, page 276.]

—The New Jersey State Senate on the 19th defeated a resolution providing for an amendment to the State Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women. The resolution received only three votes. [See vol. xiv, p. 348.]

—The textile strike at Lawrence, Mass., came to an end on the 24th with an official announcement by the strikers that the strike had accomplished its purpose in securing a substantial increase of wages. [See current volume, page 251.]

—The Democratic convention of Maine, meeting at Augusta last week, adopted a platform plank advocating "a Constitutional amendment to permit the classification of property for the purpose of taxation." [See current volume, page 126.]

—Tom Mann of England, who has been organizing an international labor strike for May 1, was imprisoned without bail by a committing magistrate at Salford, England, on the 21st for advising soldiers to refuse to shoot if called out on strike duty.

—Women's suffrage and the election of United States Senators by direct vote were defeated in the Senate of Massachusetts on the 20th by close votes.

The vote against suffrage was 17 to 14; that against direct voting for Senators, was 19 to 14. [See vol. xiv, p. 351.]

—By an explosion in one of the mines of the San Bols Coal Company at McCurtain, Okla., on the 20th, 105 men were buried in the mine. Twenty-six of them were later rescued, one of them to die shortly after. By the 21st 52 bodies had been recovered, and 29 more located.

—Indiana Democrats in convention at Indianapolis on the 21st instructed their 30 delegates to the Baltimore convention to "present Governor Marshall's name as the first and only choice of Indiana Democracy, for the nomination for President." [See current volume, page 278.]

—The sixty-seven unidentified dead, taken from the battleship Maine after lying in her wrecked hulk for fourteen years under the waters of Havana harbor, were buried in the Arlington National cemetery at Washington on the 23rd, with military honors. [See current volume, page 279.]

—State ownership of all industries that pertain to the development of natural resources is proposed in a bill introduced in the Senate of Arizona on the 23rd by Senator Worsley of Tucson. Under this bill the State would own oil wells, refineries and mines, and would sell the products to the people.

—Judge Windes of Chicago refused on the 21st to prohibit the voluntary primaries allowed by Judge Owens at the expense of the persons asking for them. The decision was on the proposed Presidential preference vote, but it applies as well to the proposed advisory vote on women's suffrage. [See current volume, pages 228, 277.]

—Henry H. Hardinge* of Chicago spent the week ending the 16th lecturing in Winnipeg on the Initiative and Referendum and land value taxation. The municipal Singletax is an issue in Winnipeg and his meetings were well attended and he is reported to have handled the subject brilliantly. [See vol. xiv, pp. 54, 876; current volume, page 78.]

—By a vote of 63 yeas to 68 nays, the lower house of New York legislature decided on the 19th to reject the adverse report of the judiciary committee on woman suffrage. On the 20th the House unanimously sent to the order of final passage the Murray resolution providing for a submission of the women's suffrage proposition to the people of New York. [See vol. xiv, pp. 443, 681.]

—The people of the island of Crete, in their efforts to break away from Turkish suzerainty, have followed out their announced purpose of electing delegates to the approaching Greek parliament. In order to be prepared for any contingency, 69 deputies have been elected—three times as many as the leaders expect to have seated. [See current volume, page 63.]

—By a vote of 4 to 3 the Interstate Commerce Commission has laid down the principle that if a railroad makes a low rate upon traffic wholly within a State, even when forced to do so by State law, it must accord the same rate to inter-State traffic moving under substantially similar conditions. The decision was made in the case of the St. Louis South-

*See The Public, volume xii, page 1182.

western Railway and other carriers operating between Louisiana and Texas. The minority of the Commission were of opinion that the decision usurps Congressional powers.

—The revolution in Paraguay has won out. The capital city of Asuncion fell on the 22nd and President Pena and the officers of his government took refuge on Brazilian and Argentine ships and in the foreign legations. A provisional government has appointed Dr. Emiliano Gonzalez Navero, a former President, as provisional President. [See current volume, page 111.]

—A children's theater is to be constructed on the roof of the Century theater in New York, to be opened next October for the production of plays suited for the enjoyment of children, as, for example, a dramatization of "Alice in Wonderland." Nurses and chaperons will be in attendance. There will be performances every afternoon at 3:30 and no evening performances.

—The case of the United States against the beef trust, on trial in the Federal court at Chicago before Judge Carpenter, was submitted to the jury at 4:40 p. m. on the 25th. At about noon on the 26th the jury returned a verdict of not guilty. All its members were immediately taken by the acquitted defendants in automobiles to the stockyards for luncheon. [See current volume, page 278.]

—In Old Bailey court, London, on the 22nd Ben Buck and Charles Buck, publishers of the magazine "Syndicalist," were sentenced to six months' imprisonment for permitting their editor to print an appeal to soldiers to refuse to shoot strikers. Guy Bowman, the editor, freely admitted authorship and defended his sentiments, but the Court shut off his explanations by imposing a sentence of nine months.

—Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, joint editors of "Votes for Women," and Mrs. Mabel Tuke were remanded by the magistrate at Bow Street police court, London, on the 21st after a further hearing of charges of conspiracy to damage property. The magistrate agreed to accept \$10,000 bail for Mrs. Tuke, her health being impaired, but refused to bail the others. [See current volume, page 228.]

—Mrs. A. Emmagene Paul, for 17 years a superintendent of street cleaning in Chicago, died on the 25th at about the age of 70 years. Mrs. Paul had so remarkable an aptitude for the work she undertook that she came to be regarded as the most successful street inspector of the city, and during the last part of her service had charge of the cleaning of the First Ward, the filthiest and most difficult district of Chicago.

—Fighting in Mexico between the Federal troops representing the Madero government, and the insurgents under General Orozco, between Chihuahua and Torreon, is reported to have continued for four days at the end of last week, ending with Federal defeat on the 24th. General Salas, minister of war, and personally in charge of Madero's troops, is reported to have committed suicide by shooting, after losing the battle. The Federal troops retreated on Torreon. [See current volume, page 277.]

—A railway committee of twelve, consisting of vice-presidents and general managers representing

about fifty railroads, which had been appointed to answer a demand of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers for an increase in wages, declined on the 25th to grant any increases. To this the conference committee of the Brotherhood at once replied that the engineers reaffirm their demands, and if the managers have nothing further to offer the entire matter will be submitted to the engineers for final action.

—Ellen Pitfield, a woman suffragist of the violent British faction, who attempted to set fire to the general postoffice in London March 3rd by throwing a bundle of paper saturated with petroleum into the building, was sentenced on the 20th at the Old Bailey to six months' imprisonment in the second division. This means that she will be accorded privileges not granted to ordinary prisoners. The judge explained that her sentence would have been more severe except for the fact that she was in ill health. [See current volume, page 228.]

—At the fifth Commonwealth Political Labor Conference of the Commonwealth of Australia, held at Hobart (Tasmania) in January, the following was affirmed as the Commonwealth Labor Party's objective: "(a) The cultivation of an Australian sentiment, based upon the maintenance of racial purity, and the development in Australia of an enlightened and self-reliant community; (b) The securing of the full results of their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of monopolies, and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and municipality."

—In the Federal court at Cleveland on the 23rd, indictments against individual defendants for violation of the Sherman anti-trust law were dismissed, but eight corporations were fined the aggregate amount of \$123,000 upon their pleas of guilty. This action was taken under advice of Attorney General Wickersham upon recommendation of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The exonerated individuals are Dan R. Hanna, R. L. Ireland and D. T. McCabe. The corporations fined are Pennsylvania Railroad Company, Ohio & Western Pennsylvania Dock Co., Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Ry. Co., Union Dock Co., Ashtabula Dock Co., Pittsburg & Conneaut Dock Co., Bessemer & Lake Erie R. R. Co. and New York and St. Louis R. R. Co.

PRESS OPINIONS

Patents on Inventions.

Collier's (Ind.), March 16.—The patent system penalizes the community and strengthens the trusts, some of which flourish by using patents and others by buying and suppressing them. When the Government grants a patent, it should at once throw it open to anyone who chooses to pay a small royalty to the inventor.



Business in Politics.

The (Joliet, Ill.) Daily News (Ind.), Feb. 13.—Who will be the President of the United States when this Aldrich clearing house controls the funds of all the banks and of the United States treasury? Should the President find it a necessity to maintain

the dignity of the nation here and abroad, or to quell an insurrection, where would he get the money? Will this be the great wealth concentrator of the century—the master of business, of the government, of the people?



Suffragette Obstruction to Suffrage.

The (London) Daily News (Lib.), Feb. 24.—The meeting at the Albert Hall addressed last evening by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was called to demand woman suffrage in 1912, and Mr. Lloyd George began his speech by telling his audience that the outlook for the cause to-day was far better than it had ever been before. His theme was the position of the suffrage in relation to Parliament, and he advised the women's leaders to lay their plans on the assumption that a franchise bill giving the vote to women would pass the Commons, but be rejected a first and second time by the Lords. Challenged by the interrupters to say why the suffragists in the Cabinet, being in the majority, did not enforce their will, Mr. Lloyd George gave the only possible answer—namely, that any attempt to force either the Government or the Liberal party into giving the vote to women would inevitably shatter both. The Parliamentary situation remains unchanged, and Mr. George could only repeat that the Government's promise of facilities represented the only way by which the measure could be got through the House of Commons during the ensuing session. . . . It is deeply to be regretted that even on such an occasion as last night Mr. Lloyd George should have had to deliver his address in the teeth of almost unbroken interruption.



Woman Suffrage in Great Britain.

The (London) Nation (Ind. Lib.), March 2.—The Albert Hall has been the scene of two great meetings on woman suffrage in the past eight days. At the first, a meeting organized by suffrage societies with the object of obtaining the vote in 1912, Mr. Lloyd George was continually interrupted by militant suffragists in spite of a dignified appeal from Mrs. Fawcett. Mr. George urged a "broad and democratic measure," but stated that if there were no alternative means of extending the suffrage to women, he should vote for the Conciliation Bill in preference to leaving the matter untouched. . . . On Wednesday, the anti-suffragists made their demonstration, but though the Lord Chancellor put the familiar arguments, or rather the considerations that weigh with many men, with his accustomed dignity and terseness, it cannot be said that any new fact emerged. In the interval a letter appeared from Mr. Churchill stating objections not only to the Conciliation bill but to the enfranchisement of seven or eight millions of women at a stroke. The effect is to throw Mr. Lloyd George's advocacy of a democratic franchise into stronger relief. . . . If Mr. Lloyd George should, after all, succeed in carrying a suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill this session, it would certainly make a great many denunciations of his alleged treachery sound foolish. But this is really no excuse for the attempt of one organization to spoil a meeting organized by another

having the same object in view. It is, in our view, utterly unworthy to write of the unreasoning action of a small band of women as an argument against the political capacity of an entire sex; but human nature being what it unfortunately is, the action of any prominent set of women is sure to be used as an argument against the ability of women in general to form a balanced political judgment. Moreover, the fact that any prominent politician who identifies himself with the suffrage at once lays himself open to attack from the militant suffragists has its effect on the less staunch supporters of the movement.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

SPRING SONG.

For 'The Public.

Give me your hands across the distance and the fear—
 So prays Earth's spirit for the touch of Spring.
 The long, long hopes of patience to their welcome cheer
 Lift all glad gifts of joyful answering.

Give me your song, full sweetened by its use of pain,
 To blend with one my heart alike has brought.
 Thro' Winter's loss comes to the brave that greater gain
 The potencies of faith for love have wrought.

Give me your trust, as happily my own to you gives all.
 The upheld bloom of Spring has naught to keep.
 And tho' from higher suns your sympathy shall call,
 Sings my response from gratitude as deep.

Give me to know yet more of what your longing needs.
 Must still unheeded all my tribute waste?
 O hear you not the voice that deep within you pleads,
 Bidding your hunger of life's fulness taste?

GEO. E. BOWEN.



WHY I WANT WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Part of an Article in Collier's Weekly for March 16,
 By Frederic C. Howe.

Long habit has made men think in terms of dollars. Long habit has made women think in terms of husbands, children, and unborn babes. Men vote the terms they think in. Women will vote the terms they think in. That is what the women did in Colorado. They voted in terms of the home.

I want a civilization in which one-half the people will vote in terms of humanity rather than in terms of property.

I want to live in a world that is free from the law-made privileges that beget the poverty from which we all suffer; free from the terror of hard times, of lost jobs, of periods of sickness and accident almost as fearful as death.

I want to live in a world where one hundred warships, costing \$200,000,000, will not be proudly paraded before a city too poor to feed its hungry school children; to live in a world where the opinions of long-dead grandfathers inscribed in constitutions will be of less consequence than the mangled arms and limbs and the destitute women and children of our factory workers; where breaker boys will not be permitted in coal mines, where it will be criminal to place little children in canneries, chemical vats, glass mills, or phosphorus factories.

I want to live in a city where the daily wages of women and girls will support life; where the lost job means something other than the street or starvation. I want to live in a country where prostitution will not be the price we pay for our bargain-counter economies; in a country where the doors of the prison will open outward for those who have become tangled in the machinery of the modern industrial world.

I want to live in a world that hates these things, hates them so thoroughly that it will abolish them.

I want to live in a world that thinks of its people rather than of business, of consumers rather than producers, of users rather than makers, of tenants rather than owners; in a world where life is more important than property, and human labor more valuable than privilege.

As women are consumers, users, and tenants rather than producers, makers, and owners, I have hopes for a society in which women have and use the ballot.

I want woman suffrage because I believe women will correct many of these law-made wrongs that man has made. For women will vote in terms of human life rather than in terms of special privilege.

Men might continue to vote for the hunger taxes on all that goes on to the table. Men do not know how many dollars are taken from the weekly pay envelope because of the tariff. Woman will know. And when she learns that the price of sugar behind the tariff wall in New York is twice what it is in Hamburg and London, she will want to save her share of the \$150,000,000 that experts say the tariff exacts from all of us for the benefit of the Sugar Trust and planters and beet sugar growers.

Women with babies will think more about the prohibitive cost of woolen blankets, underwear, and clothes than men do. She knows what it is to pay monopoly prices for woolen goods which turn out to be shoddy or cotton; knows the cost of sickness and industrial accidents to those she holds dearer than her life. Women will have to be shown that wages at \$7 to \$9 a week for a man and \$3 to \$6 a week for a woman, with from 20 to 100 per cent dividends for stockholders of textile mills, is really protection to American labor.

Women does not know the meaning of "bulls" and "bears," of "long" and "short," of stocks and bonds. She will not tremble when Wall Street

threatens to close the banks and the factories if its privileges are disturbed. She may get hysterical over dirty streets, inadequate schools, crowded street cars, and monopoly prices, but she will not be terrorized by the scare headlines of a subsidized press.

Women read the foolish gossip of the fashion page, but they do not read the foolish gossip of the stock market page. They may vote in ignorance, but, at least, they won't think themselves wise when they merely vote the opinions of those who control the agencies for making false public opinion.

Women will have to be shown.



LLOYD GEORGE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Principal Portions of the Speech Delivered by Lloyd George at Albert Hall, London, February 23, at a Meeting Organized by Suffrage Societies with the Object of Attaining the Vote in 1912. From the Report of the London Daily News.

Mr. Lloyd George was the principal speaker at the Albert Hall last night, at a non-party demonstration in favor of women's suffrage.

The meeting had been organized by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the London Society for Women's Suffrage. The vast hall was crowded, the majority of the audience consisting of women who wore the distinctive colors of their societies. Mrs. Henry Fawcett presided.

"This is called a democratic country. By that it is meant that the citizens are expected to obey the laws and those who make the law. That is not true. (Hear, hear.) At least one-half of the adult citizens of this country whose lives are deeply affected by every law have absolutely no voice in making that law. (Applause.) They have no more voice in the matter than the horse that drags their lords and masters to the polling booth. The drunken loafer who has never earned his living for years is consulted by the Constitution on questions like education and the upbringing of children. He is even consulted as to the best method of settling the temperance question—(interruption)—but the wife whose industry keeps him and his household from beggary, and actually pays the rent that constitutes him a voter, and who is really responsible for his qualification, is not taken into account in the slightest degree. That is a position of things which no unprejudiced person can defend for a single moment. It is a barbarous anachronism, and what I say is this—in this year of Grace, in this session of Parliament, is the best opportunity you have had to put an end for ever to that system. (Loud applause.)

"You have got to get the assistance of members of Parliament, but this is a fact that I want you to get well into the minds of those who are laboring for the attainment of this purpose—that this year, this session, determines as far as the next general election is concerned the fate of this question.

"I am proceeding on the assumption that the House of Lords may, if it is sent up there, reject it. I am not an authority on the views of the House of Lords. If I am wrong, all the better. If they do pass it, well and good. But you had better prepare your plans on the assumption that they will throw it out, at any rate the first and second time, and that it will go through the third time. What I want to emphasize is this: It is exceedingly important that we should realize exactly what the position is, and lay our plans accordingly.

"Here is an opportunity never provided before. Do not forget that. You may be dissatisfied with it. You may wish that that opportunity were improved upon, but still the fact remains that it is the best opportunity that has ever yet been given for women's suffrage." (Cheers.)

At this stage there was an outbreak of interruption, and cries of "Turn them out." "No, no. Do not turn anyone out," said the Chancellor. A white-haired old lady in the front row of the stalls stood up, and, in a loud voice cried, "Cannot you behave like ladies for once?" a rebuke which was received with cheers.

Managing to gain a hearing after further interruptions, Mr. Lloyd George said a Reform bill would be introduced this year for the simplification and extension of the franchise to men, and would be carried through this year. (A Voice: "When?") "It is really immaterial when, from the point of view of the suffrage," he retorted, "so long as it is carried through this session. Don't let us pick quarrels, don't let us make them, merely in order to be disagreeable. (Laughter.) It will be drafted in such a form that a woman's amendment can be incorporated, and if it is incorporated in the measure the Government will be responsible for it as a whole." (Applause.)

The question had been put to him, "Seeing you are in a majority in the Cabinet, why don't you enforce your will?" If they attempted to enforce their will either in the Cabinet or in the party, they would hopelessly shatter both. (Cries of "No, no.") Mr. Lloyd George: "I know what I am talking about." If they attempted to enforce their will, he went on, although they were in the majority either in the Cabinet or in the party, they hopelessly shattered both. (Ironical cheers.)

Cabinets and parties existed not merely for the promotion of one question, but several. What would happen if they insisted on splitting the Cabinet, dividing the party, in order to get a sort of empty victory for the suffrage? The first thing

that would happen would be such a serious division in the party that it would be paralyzed for all practical purposes. (Voice: "Hurrah!") Very well; if the object was merely to turn out the Government, if their object was a party one, that was a perfectly legitimate object, but it was not the purpose for which they were there that night. (Hear, hear.) Their idea as men and women of all parties was to consider the best method of carrying the suffrage. They could not form a suffrage Cabinet that would live for five minutes. ("Why not?") "Because," promptly replied the Chancellor, "although you might not know it, a Cabinet cannot exist without a Parliamentary majority." (Interruptions.)

"A majority on one question alone is not enough to keep any Cabinet together. (Fresh interruptions, a cry of "Good old George," and boeing.) You cannot find a member on either side who is prepared to wreck his Cabinet, his party, and the party program merely for the sake of forcing his will for the moment upon that one issue. (Further interruptions, followed by counter cries of "Shut up.") Supposing you do find a Liberal Minister prepared to undertake that responsibility and the wrecking of the party and of the program which it was returned to carry out—(interruption)—has it ever occurred to you for a moment whether you would advance the suffrage by a single yard? ("Yes" and "No.") There is only one alternative administration—"Play the game straight"—a Unionist administration." ("It could not be worse.") "Don't be too sure," rejoined the Chancellor. "Three-quarters of its members would be anti-suffragists."

Gradually the number of interruptions had increased, until Mr. Lloyd George was forced to pause in the middle, or at the end, of nearly every sentence. The interruptions were not overpowering, and the bulk of the audience resented them, but they became so frequent and such a nuisance that finally Mrs. Fawcett rose and appealed for order. "I think it is a disgrace to women to behave in this way," she said sternly, and her rebuke was indorsed by the audience, who loudly applauded it. "When we find men fomenting and taking part in these interruptions," she went on, "I wonder they do not have more feeling, and seeing that we have only women stewards, help them to maintain the order of the meeting." Despite this appeal, Mr. Lloyd George was subjected to further interruption.

"I want," he said, not heeding the interpellations, "to challenge anyone here or anyone outside to produce a single statesman of authority on the other side who will undertake that if a Unionist administration comes into power they will put through a women's suffrage bill. (Hear, hear.) I will go beyond that. I will challenge you to produce any statesman of authority who will undertake that a Unionist administration would ever

give the facilities which the Prime Minister has given for a women's suffrage bill. (Cheers and hoots.) There is only one way by which they could carry the Suffrage bill this year."

"Make it a Government measure," shouted an interrupter, at which Mr. Lloyd George retorted sharply, "You won't get that."

There was only one way, continued the Chancellor, by which they could carry the measure this session. It was the way which was thrown open by the Prime Minister's declaration. If they proceeded along with all sections, all parties of suffragists, together unitedly, without jostling and clawing each other, it would get through. (Applause.) He was convinced that if they acted unitedly nothing could prevent their triumph this year. (Loud cheers.)

Those who made it difficult for them to march upon the road seemed to him to be deliberately throwing away the greatest chance they had ever had in this country of carrying through that great measure. "There never was a time, said Mr. Lloyd George, ignoring the interruptions, "when the nation stood more in need of—"("Votes for women")—the special experience and the sympathy of womanhood in the government of its affairs. (Shrieks from women, and a male voice, "Have a drop of gin, old dear.") Do listen for two minutes, please (as a fresh disturbance broke out). There are the great questions of peace and war. Who can tell what will happen? Have women no interest in those great questions? There has never been a war yet in the history of the human race to which women did not contribute their share of the indemnity of suffering—(applause)—and they have a right to a voice in shaping the policy which will control their destinies.

"There is the great labor unrest. (Hear, hear.) During the last few days we have had clamors on all sides for Government intervention. ("That is what women want.") After all, when Governments intervene—Governments are the creation of the electorate. ("Man.") If you have a great strike in this country who will suffer? ("Women," and "The poor.") Have you ever seen a great strike? I have, and I know that the burden of the privations falls upon the women, not merely themselves, but in watching the hunger of their children—(female shrieks)—and all I say is this, that in this legacy of life women have a right to share and share alike. (Applause.) As they have to bear a full share of the burdens, they have a right to claim also a share of the privileges which will enable them to lighten that burden." (Applause.)

Mrs. Philip Snowden moved a resolution calling upon the Government to enfranchise women in 1912, and Lord Lytton seconded. Mr. Lloyd George rose to answer questions, amid cheers and boing.

He said there were three questions with regard to his attitude on the Conciliation bill. He dis-

liked a narrow franchise measure, but if he were convinced that owing to Parliamentary difficulties no other franchise was possible, then he would certainly support the Conciliation bill, much as he disliked it. But he believed it was possible to carry through a much wider measure. He expressed his own views with regard to the Referendum. There was no doubt about a Parliamentary majority for a suffrage amendment, and he predicted that if they agreed on the form the amendment should be moved, they would have earned a great Parliamentary crown before the year was out.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

BOOKS

THE WAGES OF VIRTUE.

Making Both Ends Meet. By Sue Ainslie Clark and Edith Wyatt. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1911. Price, \$1.50 net.

Investigators for the National Consumers' League have made in the last two years a careful inquiry into the personal finances of working women in New York city—women who do not live at home. Away from shop and factory, Mrs. Sue Ainslie Clark—now president of the Boston Women's Trade Union League—painstakingly interviewed saleswomen, shirtwaist makers, machine operatives, and laundry workers about what their wages were and how spent. Her records with some additions have been put into book form by Edith Wyatt—with what witty, sympathetic truthfulness and rare literary skill, this author's many readers need not be told. Others may guess from such a little editorial touch as the following: "She was sitting, as she spoke, in the parlor of a Christian 'home,' which, like that of many others where shop-girls live, was light and clean, but had that unmistakably excellent and chilling air so subtly imparted by the altruistic act of furnishing for others—the air that characterizes spare rooms, hotel parlors, and great numbers of settlement receiving rooms."

The account of the New York shirtwaist makers' strike in 1908, of the cloakmakers' compromise, as well as the careful description of "scientific management, where applied to women's work, are valuable industrial history. But the reader's interest centers in these recorded budgets of the working women. One of the several score of sad little stories may be taken as typical, though many are more, and a few less, tragic.

Miss Carr lived in a furnished room with two other women, each paying a dollar a week rent. She cared nothing for her fellow-lodgers; her only reason for spending her time with them in such close quarters was her need of living cheaply. She cooked her breakfast and supper in the crowded

room at an expense of \$1.95 a week. She said that her "hearty" meal was a noon dinner, for which she paid in a restaurant 15 cents a day.

After her experience in the summer [a seven weeks' illness] she realized that she should assure herself of income in case of illness. She joined a benefit society, to which she paid 50 cents a month. This promised a weekly benefit of \$4 a week for thirteen weeks, and \$200 at death. She paid also 10 cents a week for insurance in another company.

The room was within walking distance of the store, so that she spent nothing for car fare. The services and social life of a church were her chief happiness. Besides her contributions to its support, she had spent only \$1 a year on "good times." She did her own washing.

Her outlay in health in these years had been extreme. She was very worn, thin, and wrinkled with hard work, severe economies, and anxiety, although she was still in what should have been the prime of life.

Her weekly budget was: Lodging, \$1; board, \$1.95; luncheons, \$1.05; insurance, 21 cents; clothing, contributions to church, occasional car fare, and other expenses, \$1.79; total, \$6.

Miss Carr said that her firm was generous in many of its policies, but she felt it profoundly discouraging not to advance to a wage that would permit decent living.

How do working women live on their wages? They do not live; they die. These are death-chronicles—scientific observations of various brave ways of starving—chronicles beside which the old stories of mediaeval butchery seem like pleasant fireside fancies.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.



TWO MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.

In the Shadow of the Drum-Tower. By Laura De Lany Garst. Published by the Foreign Christian Missionary Society, Cincinnati, O. 1911. Price, 50 cents net.

Mrs. Garst—herself for years in the mission field—writes with intimate sympathy about the life of her sister in China, Dorothy De Lany Macklin, who has for twenty-five years loved and worked "In the Shadow of the Drum-Tower" of Nanking with her famous missionary husband, Dr. William E. Macklin. There are three sketches in the little book—the first a reprint—all well written and illustrated, which make a most persuasive religious and human plea for the cause of missions.

The first sketch, "My Little Sister in Far-Away China," is the story of how as a young woman just out of college, Dorothy De Lany visited her sister in a Japanese mission, there met and married Dr. Macklin, and went back to make her home with him in Nanking. There she learned the language, cared for her children, made hosts of friends among the Chinese, and after many years

came home with her whole family to America on furlough.

Dr. Macklin's life and work are briefly told in the second sketch. Born in Canada in 1860, graduated at nineteen from the Toronto Medical College, after a few years of practice and some brilliant graduate work in New York and London, Dr. Macklin chose the mission field, and in 1885 settled in Nanking as Church of Christ missionary-physician. His work has been enormously successful as preacher, surgeon and friend to the Chinese people.

It is in his literary work, however, that readers of *The Public* will be especially interested. For after gaining remarkable command of the Chinese language he translated some of the great English classics, such as Green's "History of the English People" and Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic." Among such democratic masterpieces was "Progress and Poverty," for Dr. Macklin—although Mrs. Garst fails to mention it, is a well-known and ardent advocate of the Singletax, and his translation of Henry George's book has been very widely read in China.

The third sketch, entitled "My Little Sister at Home," brings the biography down to 1911, when, after another furlough in their Iowa home, Dr. and Mrs. Macklin went back to China to continue their work.*

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

*See *The Public* of February 2, page 110.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—God and Democracy. By Frank Crane. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago. 1912. Price, 50 cents.

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

—A Curb to Predatory Wealth. By W. V. Marshall. Second Edition. Published by R. F. Fenno & Co., New York. 1912.

—The Old Order Changeth. By William Allen White. Published by the Macmillan Co., New Edition, 1912. Price, 50 cents net.

—Elements of Socialism: A Text-book. By John Spargo and George Louis Arner. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1912. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The History of the British Post Office. By J. C. Hemmeon. Harvard Economic Studies, Volume VII. Published by Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1912. Price, \$2.00 net; postage, 17 cents.

—The Earning Power of Railroads. 1912. Compiled and Edited by Floyd W. Mundy of Jas. H. Oliphant & Co. Moody's Magazine Book Department, 35 Nassau Street, New York, Sales Agent. 1912. Price, \$2.50; postage, 12 cents.

—The Social Evil, with Special Reference to Conditions Existing in the City of New York. A Report Prepared in 1902 by the Committee of Fifteen.

Revised Edition, Edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman.
Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1912.
Price, \$1.75 net.

PERIODICALS

La Follette's Philadelphia Speech.

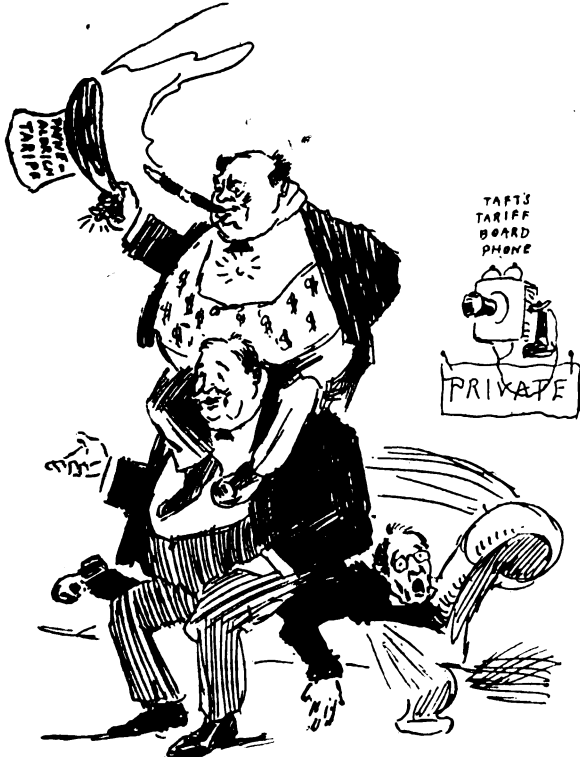
Senator La Follette's famous speech at Philadelphia on the eve of his recent illness, and which the press belabored because it criticised journalistic adjuncts to Big Business, is reproduced in two parts in La Follette's Magazine—the first part being in the issue of March 23rd. The second part, dealing with the money trust especially, will appear in the issue of the 30th.



The French Singletax Review.

The March issue of "La Revue de L'Impot Unique" contains an interesting exchange of letters between the editor, Mr. Darien, and the communal secretary of Neufchateau, Belgium, who seeks advice regarding the most equitable manner of raising

The Judicial Temperament.
Sketch by Charles Johnson Post.



Let us proceed slowly. The strikes may be merely posing for political purposes, or jealousy, hysteria, anger—it is even possible that they may be from pain or necessity. Only a specialist can analyze and decide. When they have been called in and reported it may be well, perhaps, to consider our rising. The hasty mob spirit must not prevail.

money needed for a new water supply and other municipal improvements. Accepting the common theory that taxes should be levied in accordance with ability to pay, the local authorities recommended something in the nature of an income tax as more just than a tax on land values. Mr. Darien does not find it difficult to reveal the fallacies involved in this contention, among them appearing the well known argument that many persons would escape taxation because they do not use land. He considers it a sorry joke to pretend that the official class, who form a large part of the population of Neufchateau, are not dependent upon the land. "I imagine that these officials (whose remuneration is doubtless not too extravagant), do not live in the moon. They dwell somewhere here below, and, I imagine once more, pay rather more than they could wish for the privilege of living on this planet as tenants. At present the ground rent paid by them (as part of their house rent) is all pocketed by the landlord. Is that any excuse for making them pay additional taxes from their meagre salaries?" There is hope for Neufchateau, for, whatever its present state of economic enlightenment, it has a secretary who is learning to read the handwriting on the

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wall. Turning to another installment of "A General Idea of a Rational History of the French Revolution," we are told that the genius of Calvin, which inspired the Huguenots, marked out the road to political and economic freedom. Opposed to the spirit of reform we are shown the powerful organization of the Jesuits aiming successive blows at the advocates of liberty, and retarding the growth of liberal ideas. The discussion of the land question as it affects women is resumed in this month's issue and the need of political freedom is urged. With the ballot as a weapon women may hope to hasten the advent of the economic freedom towards which society is struggling. A review of Dr. James Devons book, "The Criminal and the Community," makes the reader anxious to know more about this enlightened physician of the Glasgow prison, who dismisses the idea of a criminal type and declares that crime is the result of environment rather than heredity. Nor does he fail to perceive an economic cause for bad environment. He points out that the law takes the greatest precaution to prevent criminals from committing suicide—even when condemned to death—although it has not yet taken any steps to

permit people to work for a living. He sees in penology one cardinal principle which bids one to discover why a man does evil and then to make it to his interest not to do so. Among other interesting contributions we find official figures regarding the depreciation of rural property in France. They are restricted to land not built upon, but show a shrinkage in value in thirty years which amounts to over 21 per cent. In seeking an explanation the government report mentions disease, overproduction (!), the concentration in towns and the general decrease in population. "But," comments the "Revue de L'Impot Unique," "these are primarily effects and not causes. The cause lies wholly in the atrocious economic system imposed on France; in her grotesque fiscal methods; in her wretched Protectionism, and, above all, in the murderous institution of private land ownership which we owe to 1789."

F. W. GARRISON.



The old tombstone, in the quaint fashion of its kind, implored the passer-by to pause and drop a tear; and no sooner had the beautiful girl read the

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inscription than she began to weep. But her mother reproved her.

"Cecilia," she exclaimed, "why can you not have more restraint? You are requested merely to drop a tear, and here you have burst into several."—Puck.



Merchant: "It seems to me that you ask high wages considering that you have had no experience in this business."

Clerk: "Ah, but you forget that that's just what

makes it all the harder for me."—Meggendorfe Blaetter.



War Veteran (in lawyer's office, making will) "Now, I guess that provides for all the family except my son Bill, so to him I want to leave my portion."

The Lawyer: "But you know you can't do that Henry."

War Veteran: "Perhaps it ain't accordin' to law

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just now, Hezekiah, but there's no tellin' what turn the next pension raid will take!"—Puck.



Ross Slack, scribe of the national division of the Sons of Temperance, advocated, in an address in New York, total abstinence.

"I can perhaps sympathize," he said, "with the real connoisseur of wines—with him who sips slowly, with proper enjoyment of the bouquet and the flavor—a small glass of vintage Bordeaux, champagne or

Bourgogne. But, after all, few men drink like that. "Most men drink like the Chinaman who explained, as he bought a quart of fiery, execrable, cheap whisky:

"I no drinkee for drinkee; I drinkee for drunkee."—Detroit Free Press.



"Did you learn anything while you were in the east?" asked Plute Pete.

"I should say I did," replied Broncho Bob. "I

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Read this letter from Congressman Henry George, Jr.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., March 1, 1912.

Dear Friend:—Twenty years ago Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade" was printed in the "Congressional Record." Six members of the House divided the book among them, and each, under the "leave to print" privilege, introduced a section into the "Record" as part of his remarks during a debate on wool. These members were: Hon. Tom L. Johnson, of Ohio; Hon. William J. Stone, of Kentucky; Hon. Joseph E. Washington, of Tennessee; Hon. George W. Fithian, of Illinois; Hon. Thomas Bowman, of Iowa; and Hon. Jerry Simpson, of Kansas.

By an old Rule, whatever appears in the "Record" is privileged to be sent through the mails free under a Congressional frank. "Protection or Free Trade" had therefore become frankable. Funds were raised by popular subscription to meet the expense of printing, and in the form of a sixty-four page pamphlet, one million and sixty-two thousand copies were printed and circulated.

This circulation took place in the second Presidential struggle between Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison. The tariff question was the main issue. Grover Cleveland and a Democratic House of Representatives were elected. Tom L. Johnson and many others believed that the most telling agency in that result was the circulation of "Protection or Free Trade."

History repeats itself. Now, again, in a Presidential campaign the tariff is to be the dominant issue. The people suffer from the trusts which charge the cost largely to the tariff, which breeds and fosters the trusts which, in turn, sell their products dear in our markets and cheap in the markets abroad. The people want light on this subject—underlying principles and argument, not the ex-parte findings of Tariff Boards and statistical jugglers. Where can the plain truth of the matter be found so simply and plainly as in "Protection or Free Trade"?

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