

The Public

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

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Sleeping Car Crimes.

All crimes have their degrees, and sleeping car crimes are probably not exceptional in that respect, although they haven't yet been codified. When they come to be codified, all travelers will probably recognize their own favorite delinquencies; but we shall be surprised if any are found to rank higher in turpitude than that commonest of all sleeping car crimes, the prolonged monopolization of lavatory space for beard-shaving on crowded cars at ablution time.



Culpability for the Chicago Stereotypers' Strike

By the newspaper publishers' union the Chicago stereotypers' union is denounced for striking in violation of contract. But has the necessary evidence of violation of contract been produced?



The important facts in that regard are fairly clear. In the first place the Hearst pressmen were either locked out or they went on strike. In the next place, the Hearst pressmen either tried to secure arbitration with the Hearst papers and were repulsed, or the Hearst papers tried to secure arbitration with them and were repulsed. But these disputes would not separately nor together be decisive with reference to the question of violation of contract by the stereotypers. In that regard the decisive points are threefold. First, the fact that the

publishers' union locked out all union pressmen; second, the question of whether or not this was done after all efforts at arbitration had failed through the fault of the proprietors of the newspapers concerned; and, third, the question of whether or not any fault for failure of arbitration rested upon these proprietors was proposed for arbitration by either the stereotypers union or the publishers' union and prevented by the other.



Since it is undisputed that the publishers' union did lock out the stereotypers' union, the whole issue of violation of contract by the stereotypers turns upon the questions enumerated above as points two and three. For Clause 12 of the contract at issue allows the stereotypers' union to strike without notice under the following circumstances:

This agreement may be declared null and void in the case of a strike or lockout of a union now affiliated with the Chicago Allied Printing Trades Council, with which the employer now has contractual relations; provided, that such strike or lockout occurs after all efforts at arbitration have failed through the fault of the proprietor or proprietors of the newspaper or newspapers concerned; the determination of which latter fact, however, shall be referred to arbitration as herein provided for, if so requested by either proprietor or manager of the newspaper or newspapers affected, or by Chicago Stereotypers' Union No. 4.

Therefore the stereotypers' union can hardly be regarded as having violated their contract unless it appears that the general lockout of the pressmen (a union affiliated with the Printing Trades Council and under contract with the publishers' union) occurred after arbitration, or on failure of arbitration through no fault of the newspaper proprietors, or after arbitration of the question of such fault provided the stereotypers requested it.



This question consequently arises: Have those facts appeared in any authoritative form, or at all, or can they be shown? We have no knowledge of their having appeared; and that they can not be shown is a fair presumption from the fact that the publishers' union refuse to discuss the issue publicly on neutral ground at the City Club where belief in the sanctity of contracts prevails. If it be said that the International officers who promptly passed upon the question of violated contract at New York adversely to the Chicago stereotypers' union, ought to know better than outsiders whether the contract was broken or not, another question arises. It is this: How did the International officers, a thousand miles away when they first decided that question—how did they at that distance

know that the conditions had not arisen which would have authorized the stereotypers' strike by the terms of the contract?



The Essentials of Crime.

Some words of the commonest use are extremely vague in meaning, both to those who use them and to those who hear them; and one of these is the wee word "crime." It is an awful word, too,—in its implications, in its insinuations, in its consequences. It may signify in practical effect almost anything dreadful, from loss of reputation to loss of life. But what does it inherently mean?



The dictionary doesn't help much. Though it may save your making a verbal blunder if you are in any danger of that in using so common a word, it won't help you to understand yourself in the use of the word nor your neighbor in his use of it. If you think you do understand yourself when you use it, or your neighbor when he uses it, think again and you'll probably need no urging to think again and yet again and then again. Ask your lawyer what the word means and he may talk learnedly to you—without a fee, too, if he is at leisure and wants professional exercise—about things criminal in themselves and things criminal merely because the supreme power in the State prohibits them; but even if you understand him, you will have to confess that you don't yet understand "crime" in any other than the bare superficial significance of the word.



What is crime? Perhaps it would be easier to tell what ought to be crime, although that might be no child's play either. But in an effort at definition one could begin with the understanding that it must be an overt act of some kind, an actual expression of a *purpose*. No matter how evil one's purpose may be, and no matter by what name we classify his evil purpose, we cannot call it a crime without forcing ourselves to adopt some other name for the *act* of giving effect to the purpose. A purpose and the act pursuant to it are very different things. If bad purposes without action were crimes, prisons might be overcrowded with very respectable people—yes, and very good people withal. An expression in action, then, must be necessary to constitute a crime.



But any lawyer will tell you that much, and still leave you in the dark. He will tell you, too, that

the act must be contrary to law, which may make the subject darker still; for why should an act which is not a crime if there be no law against it, become a crime when a law calls it so? Reasons in reply are abundant. Your lawyer can fill your hat with them. But if your curiosity is really profound, you may grant all he says and still wonder how crime can be a very bad thing if the mere enactment of a law is all that makes it so. Indeed, the more he fills you up with explanatory reasons the stronger are you likely to feel that crime is not necessarily crime—and of course that would be nonsense. So you will still incline to ask yourself what it is in any act, besides the purpose to do it, which warrants the law-making power in calling it a crime and requiring punishment of the actor accordingly. Follow this line of questioning out historically, and at the end you will be no better satisfied, though much more bewildered no doubt. But if you probe your own consciousness, perhaps you will get a glimmer of light. Your lawyer's chatter and the historical labyrinths may still be back of it all, furnishing light for the glimmer, for please observe that we have no intention of challenging any of the fatalistic theories of psychological speculation; but suppose you jump the scientific fences, both the psychological and the juridical, plump over into the middle of your own common sense. Wouldn't you then be likely to find it pretty nearly true that crime *is* crime, and no-crime is *not* crime, regardless of what the law says about it—except for the single purpose of putting the machinery of the law in motion?



The law might call it a crime to eat breakfast before noon, and punish persons for doing it. This would make the act of early breakfasting a crime in your lawyer's professional vocabulary. But would it really be a crime? Conversely the law might not forbid murder of children, might even allow rewards for it, in which case child-murder would not be a crime in your lawyer's professional vocabulary. But wouldn't it be a crime nevertheless? Possibly you think these instances fanciful. They are not. Look over the list of tariff crimes, crimes by law, and you will find parallels in abundance for laws against breakfasting earlier than noon; consider the grinding of little children up into big dividends in factories, and you have non-criminal child-murder in awful abundance. Are we not forced, then, to say that except for technical legal purposes the law is not the test of crime.

But if law is not the test of crime, what is the test? We do not venture to make one. What would you think, though, of *purposeful anti-social action* as the true touchstone of crime? The element of *purpose* must come in, of course; no act can be truly criminal if unintended. *Action* also there must be; mere intention cannot be truly criminal. And inasmuch as crime is distinctly a social phenomenon, an action of one member of society upon or with reference to other members of society, why does not the *anti-social* purpose coupled with anti-social action distinguish its true character? This leaves out of consideration, to be sure, the question of whether an act is pro-social or anti-social or neutral; but something at any rate is gained if we get only thus far beneath the surface of the barbarous notion that crimes are nothing but creations of the law. The law may or may not provide punishment for crime, it may or may not provide punishment for what is not crime; but it cannot make crime of an act which is not a crime, nor any act innocent which is a crime. All it can do as to either is to prohibit or to permit. Human relationships have roots in human nature that human law is powerless to alter by calling names and imposing penalties. If an act be not anti-social, how can it be a crime although punishable by law? If it be anti-social, how can it not be a crime though excluded by law from the catalogue of crimes or even rewarded with wealth and honor?



The Beast After Judge Lindsey Again.

Judge Lindsey of Denver cut deep when as the "kid's judge" he added to his policy of kindness towards the hapless children brought before his court, a policy of "wanting to know why" they were there; not merely why they were arrested, but why they had got into the ways that brought about their arrests. This policy lead Judge Lindsey right into the lair of the Beast. He then told the people all about it, and in doing so won the hate of the Beast by exciting the fears of its whelps. The Interests felt that Denver society was endangered because the Interests were, and that society must be saved so as to save themselves. Lindsey's name has ever since given them the horrors, and all the powers of "society saving" bipartisanship have consequently been brought to bear to put him down. But he has "beat them bad," to amend an expression of theirs sufficiently to make it printable. At his last election he had a clear majority over all. They are after him again, however, and both at the city and county election next week and at the State election next Novem-

ber, his continuance upon the Juvenile Court bench will hang in the balance.



This duplex situation comes from a complex of court decisions. No one knows whether Judge Lindsey's office is a county office to be filled next week, or a State office to be filled next fall; and the Colorado courts, judging them by their past history and the present desires of their lessees, are likely to guess that it is a State office if Judge Lindsey gets re-elected by the county, and a county office if he gets re-elected by the State. His friends are therefor trying to re-elect him at both elections so that the courts may be under no pressing temptation to guess wrong. It might be easy enough to elect him at both elections but for the anti-scratching ballot law which the Interests retain in Colorado and which they are manipulating now in order to defeat Lindsey at the city and county election on the 21st of this month—next Tuesday.



Even "straight" voting for machine tickets would not defeat Lindsey if there were a different opposition candidate on each ticket. Neither would a united nomination without "straight" voting. But a united nomination supported by "straight" voting is relied upon by the Denver Interests to "turn the trick." So the Democratic machine have nominated a tool of the Interests; and the Republican machine (in cahoots with the Democratic machine) have been leaving the place open on their ticket, with a view to putting the Democratic candidate forward as also their own at the last moment. If this plan is carried out, "straight" voting may do the rest. For Judge Lindsey runs as an independent, and if there be only one adverse candidate, and he on both the Democratic and the Republican tickets, every "straight" vote for either of those parties will be counted as a vote against Lindsey and for the corporation tool whom the Interests are trying to "put over." This plan can be promoted, too, by turning all the campaign noise loose upon candidates for other offices, so that public attention may be diverted from the juvenile judgeship; which is all the easier because the general impression is that Judge Lindsey's office is a State office and therefore that Lindsey is not to be voted for until next fall. It surely behooves all Denver voters of either party to be exceedingly careful in preparing their tickets if they wish to defeat the corporations and re-elect Lindsey, and to be equally mindful of the importance of re-electing him at both elections—not alone next fall but also next week.

Michael Flurscheim.

This venerable German business man and writer on economic subjects, who died at his home in Berlin on the 24th of April, was well known in large circles in Great Britain, Australia and the United States as well as Germany. He was among the early foreign friends of Henry George, and the two were in agreement on many things, agreeing to disagree on the rest. Their disagreements lay chiefly along the line of protectionism, of which Mr. Flurscheim was a protagonist. They were concerned also with the question of land tenures. Mr. George favored, as fully as possible, private occupancy of land areas and public ownership of land values, whereas Mr. Flurscheim stood for land nationalization. He was a man of singularly attractive personality and of weariless industry in the propagation of his views.



Criminal Tendencies.

While there is much chatter about hereditary tendencies to crime, certain familiar facts in child-rearing, well calculated to produce in children tendencies to crime and easily but mistakenly supposed to be of hereditary origin, are apt to be overlooked. We refer especially to punishments of children for the consequences of their acts instead of the acts themselves. If a child is punished for—well, for breaking windows which he didn't intend to break, but not punished for failing to break windows which he did intend to break, upon what is his attention with reference to wrongdoing focused? Certainly not upon the *character* of his conduct. If this false emphasis be employed with children in an environment favorable to criminal tendencies, could there be any more effective training for crime? In any environment, for the matter of that, habitual punishment (or habitual rewards if denial of reward be one of the forms of punishment) for the consequences instead of the essential character of conduct, must be strong in influencing tendencies to crime, be the actual crimes when committed of a lawful or an unlawful kind. Were a certain type of psychologist to withdraw far enough from his notions of heredity to get the subject into reasonable perspective, he might improve his science by minimizing at least one of its fads.



That Same Seattle Judge.

The same Judge Hanford of the State of Washington, the Federal judge who did so much last year to popularize the judicial Recall,* not by ad-

*See The Public, vol. xiv, p. 1030.

vocating it but by exemplifying the necessity for it, has done more in the same direction by assuming to decitizenize an American citizen because he doesn't vote to suit Judge Hanford. This judge's reported reasons are that the citizen in question votes with a party—the Socialist party—which “has for its main object the complete elimination of property rights in this country,” and that inasmuch as this citizen held those views when he was naturalized, but did not disclose them, he was guilty of fraud in concealing views contrary to the Constitution. Therefore Judge Hanford revokes the judgment of naturalization which another court had given two years ago. It is rather difficult to see enough judicial competency in this extraordinary judge to make it safe to entrust him with the political rights even of a bumblebee. Whatever the Constitution may declare regarding property, or any other subject, that declaration is just as much a part of the Constitution as the clause permitting its amendment, and no more. Every citizen, natural born or naturalized, has a Constitutional right to advocate any amendment to the Constitution, and to vote for it effectively if it comes to vote by due process of law. Doesn't Judge Hanford know that? If then this decitizenized Socialist is in Judge Hanford's opinion unfit for citizenship because he advocates Constitutional amendments derogatory to certain property clauses in that instrument, what about the fitness for judicial power of a judge who virtually decides that the amendatory clauses of the Constitution are unconstitutional?



“LET NO GUILTY MAN ESCAPE.”

This is not a protest against letting guilty men escape from legalized vengeance, which is cruelty by “due process of law.” It is a talk back to men who demand that every guilty person be caught and convicted, and that every one convicted be punished “according to law”; a word to men who demand the pound of flesh, no matter how much blood or whose blood comes with the flesh; to men who deny the difference between justice and social vengeance; to men who make a fetish of “law.”

Such men are of many sorts and creeds. Some are clergymen, who prove by the Old Testament that every man who kills must be killed by society; who argue that men will lose “respect for law” unless the full measure of legalized savagery be meted out to wrong-doers,—and this regardless of the brutalizing effect upon society and the murderous effect upon the families of the wrong-doers. They sometimes tell us it is “the Father's will.”

Which is to say, “man-made law is the Father's will until the law is amended or repealed”; and that is to say—“the Father's will may be amended or repealed by the legislature.” They can prove it, too, if you don't cross-examine them.

Why demand the impossible?

Some of the guilty are not caught. We can't prove it on all that are caught. Some of the caught are hanged, others imprisoned—and then we may learn that they were “caught but not guilty.” They are forced to pay an unjust debt. But we make no restitution.



Here and there in the Old Testament we hear this blood-hungry, wolfish howl, “Let no guilty man escape.” Not in those words, but in words that mean the same thing. If one man knocked out another's eye, the offender was to lose an eye. It was payment in kind, but not in kindness.

Queer mixed ideas those old Hebrews had. They were intensely, savagely religious. They believed in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of—Hebrews. Yet if one Hebrew Brother maliciously cut off the foot of another Hebrew Brother, the Father was supposed to approve of and command payment or vengeance in kind. But common sense tells us that one maimed Brother in the family is more than enough. If half the Hebrew Brothers maliciously deprived the other half of one foot each, the law of vengeance—“the Father's will,” mind you—demanded a population of one-footed men. Can you beat that for absurdity? But it was “law and order,” wasn't it?

Well, if we don't beat that absurdity we tie the score. Recently, when a Milwaukee judge sentenced a man-killer to support the family of his victim, the judgment was so contrary to law and so harmonious with common sense that newspapers printed pictures of the murderer, the judge and the murdered man's wife. It wasn't “law and order”—just order, without law.



After many centuries of cruel experiment that unprofitable and un-Brotherly law of vengeance was still unworkable. Then out of a carpenter's shop came Jesus with the Golden Rule and the “new commandment” that was the Law of Love—and still is. We haven't used it enough to heat its bearings, but it might work if we did use it. We know the law of vengeance won't work.

Nowhere on the social bulletin board did Jesus write, “Let no guilty man escape.” You can't find that anywhere in his teachings, and no “light-of-reason”—logic of a court can fit it into the Law of

Love and make a good job. We can't drive or lead the Law of Vengeance and the Law of Love in harness together. If a law won't work, and can't be worked, it should be repealed. Jesus suggested that the Law of Vengeance be repealed and that the Law of Love be substituted for it. The suggestion is so good that for many centuries some men have quoted it in church. But some highly civilized men have grown into the belief that the church is a sort of penal institution to which the Law of Love must be sentenced for life, to keep it from burglarizing the minds of business saints in their homes and offices. When the Law of Love takes hold of a man and makes him part of itself, you know what happens to that man. A large, very dirty finger of scorn is pointed at him. The dirt on the finger is "muck." The finger belongs to the tribe of muck-makers, who suspend the muck-making operations of that finger to drive what they call a "public enemy" into the wilderness. Don't forget that the other names of muck are: "Private profit from public taxation" and "private profit from vice." Twin brothers.

The dirty finger pulled out of the muck-heap and pointed at men who teach the Law of Love is a busy finger—and a business finger. The Law of Vengeance is one of the props of the "established order," which has several aliases, one of which is "Wholesale Grand Larceny with an Immunity Bath Attachment."

What will the Law of Love do to the "established order"? You remember what happened to the walls of Jericho in Joshua vi, 20, don't you?



If we should awaken tomorrow in an era of "let no guilty man escape" enforced to the letter, how many would be left to do the hanging, the electrocuting and the locking of prison doors? Why aren't more of us honest enough to say with Steffens: "I'm guilty, but haven't been caught"? Because we don't want to be arrested on suspicion, or can't give a good account of ourselves, or haven't fixed up an alibi?

Long ago some blood-hungry men admitted, but didn't say, what all of us would say if we were honest: "I'm guilty, but haven't been caught." It was just outside the walls of Jerusalem, at the Mount of Olives. The Scribes and Pharisees brought to Jesus a woman "taken in adultery." You have read the story. But have you read all of it?

Have you read the part that isn't told? They didn't bring the man, mind you. Was it because he had a "pull," or knew too much about that crowd? Ever think of that?

You have heard ministers preach sermons on that story, haven't you? I have. But did you ever hear a preacher comment on the fact that they didn't bring the man, and try to explain that? I never did. Those old Scribes and Pharisees caught the weaker criminal and let the stronger one escape. He carried his immunity bath with him. Isn't that our way? Anyhow, they brought the woman to Jesus, read the indictment, quoted the law commanding that "such be stoned," and asked Jesus what he thought about it. He didn't answer at first. He wasn't thinking of "let no guilty man escape." Otherwise he would have asked: "Where's the man? Isn't he guilty too? Why didn't you catch him?" When they insisted on an answer to their "let-no-guilty-woman-escape" question, he said: "He that is without sin among you; let him first cast a stone at her."

Did they find a select "not guilty" few for a firing squad? Not in that crowd. The record says, with grim humor: "And they which heard it, being convicted by their own consciences, went out one by one, beginning at the eldest, even unto the last." Every one of them handed in the verdict against himself, "Guilty but not caught." And the record continues, with the same grim humor: "When Jesus had lifted up himself, and saw none but the woman, he said unto her, 'Woman, where are those, thine accusers? Hath no man condemned thee?'" No one had condemned her. The jury had discharged itself, and gone home with a bad attack of conscience-ache.

They were hungry for that woman's blood; they wanted the joy of the Manhunt; they were eager to serve God by crushing out a life with stones. But they had forgotten their hands, which looked and smelled of muck. Jesus said in effect, "What's that on your hands?" They looked, saw it wasn't a laundry mark, and sneaked away. As was right, the eldest went first, for these had accumulated more muck on their hands than had the younger ones.

"This stone-throwing business is for the innocent, for those without sin," is the answer they got. And there wasn't a Gridley among them ready to fire. There wasn't a man whose conscience would let him lie long enough to pick up a stone. And when the shamed men went away, leaving against the woman the verdict, "No more guilty than we are," Jesus didn't set aside the verdict, but told the woman to "Go and sin no more."

Honestly, do you think Jesus "encouraged law-breaking" or had "maudlin sympathy for law-breakers"? Do you think he was blowing up the foundations of civilized society? No. He was

practicing what he taught. And some ministers sometimes preach the same thing; and business men, politicians and newspapers sometimes strike that same chord, don't they?

Yes, and what puzzles me is that ministers and super-moral men and newspapers that howl against Executive clemency, and demand the letter of the "Let-no-guilty-man-escape" law, haven't the courage to denounce Jesus for setting aside the death penalty in the case of that woman. They don't even criticize his failure to demand that the uncaught man be caught.



Jesus had shamed those Scribes and Pharisees into "turning a criminal loose upon the community." Wasn't he teaching "disrespect for law"? What if the law wasn't respectable? it was law, wasn't it? Good, wholesome, fiendish, criminal law set aside by the Teacher of morals—and there's not a "law-abiding" minister or editor in Christendom with the courage to denounce His "law-defying" act.

"Thumbs down for all caught criminals—and catch all the uncaught." That's the demand.

But how many of the demanders are willing to spring the gallows-trap, be a penitentiary guard or foreman of a murderous jute room? It's no answer to say that others are appointed to perform those social functions. Are you, no matter who you are, willing to do those things? If you are not, are you ready to admit that you are governed by "maudlin sentiment"? And why demand that some of your fellow servants be compelled or ordered by law to do things you are not willing to do?

If you want the "tooth-and-claw" law enforced, but are unwilling to be the enforcing instrument, then you want some Brother to do dirty work that is revolting to you. And if you are willing to do dirty work that throws the Golden Rule and the Law of Love into the garbage can, do you think you are fit to be a "soldier of the common good" and a fellow servant with conscientious men—not caught, but guilty and sorry for it?

Our social stomach has become too squeamish to have that dirty work done out in the open. We say we hang men for *our* good, and shut them up within stone walls for *their* good. We can prove it, too—before we turn out the gas. But after we turn out the gas and get into bed we know it isn't true. It's hard to lie to yourself when you're in bed in the dark.

We want that dirty work done behind closed doors and stone walls. That's a healthy sign, for it means that we are ashamed of our savagery. The corn on our conscience is big enough to ache,

and after a time it's going to ache worse than did the conscience of the crowd that asked Jesus about stoning that woman.

And then?

We'll quit the degrading business. It not only tortures the "caught," but it brutalizes *us*. It doesn't pay in money or morals.

We are giving men *opportunity to do wrong*, tempting them to do wrong, and then rewarding them—provided they are not caught. Why not tempt them to do right, give them plenty of *opportunity to do right*, and reward them for that, even when we catch them at it? Maybe that will work better than the old way.

The old way has made us all sick, and we've been punishing the sickest. Why not try to heal the sick and prevent further sickness?

W. G. EGGLESTON.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Pittsburgh, May 12.

The primaries of April 13th last sounded the death knell to Penrose and Guffey as bosses of the Republican and Democratic parties in Pennsylvania. They were crushed so overwhelmingly by an outraged public that it is doubtful if they will ever be of any considerable significance in State political affairs again. Should the direct primary prove to be a failure in every other State in this Union, its service to the people of Pennsylvania in enabling them to overthrow these bipartisan bosses is sufficient compensation for all that has been done to place this weapon in the hands of the people.



Two weeks ago Boles Penrose went to the Republican State convention at Harrisburg, still unable to make himself believe that he would not be sole master of the situation. He summoned to his side the few old leaders who had managed to escape complete annihilation at the primaries, and although they had been masters of the political game they were absolutely powerless to stem the tide of destruction. After floundering around in this fashion for a day or two Penrose came to a full realization of what had really happened at the primaries, and without waiting to even sit in the convention he stole back to Philadelphia before the convention was called to order. For this desertion in the hour of battle he has been scathingly criticised by the few devotees whom he left behind to fight aimlessly and hopelessly.



Guffey, on the other hand, in the Democratic convention last week, remained loyal to the end and went down with colors flying in the camp of his followers. His annihilation was none the less complete, but it can be said to his credit that he did not

play the coward as soon as the opposition gave signs of strength.

Every device known to politicians was used by the "Old Guard" to befog the issue and save themselves from the political scrap heap. With the hope of confusing the issue which was clear to the Reorganizers, Guffey brought out one of the most distinguished Democrats in the State, Judge James Gay Gordon of Philadelphia, as a "compromise" candidate for permanent Chairman of the Convention. But the delegates who had met with a clear determination to build the party up were not to be fooled by any such trick. Congressman Palmer and State Chairman Guthrie who led the fight for the Reorganizers firmly resisted all compromises and deals. They knew that the time was past to make any concessions to pretending Democrats who had traded and dealt with Republican bosses for twenty years.

The test of strength came on the vote for permanent Chairman. Judge Gordon is well known throughout the State and had never been lined up with the Guffey crowd before. He pretended to be free from any entangling alliances with Donnely, Ryand or Guffey, but he could not explain to the satisfaction of the delegates why the Old Guard was so enthusiastic for him now. The Reorganization forces pitted against him Joseph O'Brien, a young but prominent lawyer of Scranton. The delegates were determined to take no chances by endorsing the man put forward by the Philadelphia leaders, so they elected O'Brien by a vote of 110 to 73.

The most interesting fight in the convention was between floor leaders of Donnely for the Old Guard and Palmer for the Reorganizers. Donnely, the absolute master of Democratic State conventions for twenty years did not, like Penrose, desert the floor, but remained fighting for every inch of ground until he was forced out of the convention entirely by Congressman Palmer. It was a wonderful battle, typical of the old forces against the new. Donnely, large of stature, shrewd, quick to take advantage of every point, always ready, always prepared. Palmer, a fine type of Quaker manhood, handsome, keen, full of enthusiasm, full of confidence and strengthened by the knowledge that he was the leader of a great cause. These two men were typical of the opposing forces on the floor of the convention. Donnely's delegate in his own district had been defeated at the primaries so he secured a proxy from another district. Palmer was opposed to Donnely's having a seat in the convention under such circumstances. The fight was bitter and Palmer was victorious, forcing Donnely out of the convention. Delegates who had been attending State conventions for years and had witnessed the absolute domination of Donnely were amazed and dumbfounded to see this one time master driven completely out of the convention. Yet after all it was a striking illustration of the new order in Pennsylvania. The people were in control and after their delegates had driven Donnely off the floor they proceeded to conduct the convention as they had been instructed by the voters at the primaries.

After the test vote on chairman the "Regulars" gave up, and from then on the Reorganizers handled things without affiliation. William H. Berry was nominated for State Treasurer and Robert E. Cresswell for Auditor General. The twelve national dele-

gates-at-large elected were instructed to use all honorable means to secure the nomination of Woodrow Wilson as long as his name is before the Baltimore convention.

It is difficult to believe that Penrose and Guffey have been driven out as leaders of their parties. For years the best citizens of the State have said "What is the use of fighting these bosses? Their power is unlimited; you can't beat them."

But that was before the people realized what the direct primary meant to them.

BERNARD B. MCGINNES.



"THE UNIVERSITY IN A NUT-SHELL."

Madison, May 10.

The students at the University of Wisconsin have conceived and worked out a bran-new idea in expositions which has out-shone in Madison's public eye the special session of the State legislature and even an athletic contest. It was the idea of Lawrence Washington, a student, and the Students' Union carried it out with the hearty approval, but not the assistance, of the University authorities.

The gym was turned into exposition booths, having electric power, gas heat, etc. The Departments of the University were then given space and each put in its own exhibit, with this common purpose: To show the other students and the general public just what useful and interesting things this particular department had to offer, to give an idea of its province in the field of knowledge. The scheme was magnificently carried out and the "explainers" in charge competed with the exhibits in cleverness and brevity of presentation of their material.

The "Agrics" had the ground floor, and they needed it; for, besides some of their farm machinery, they brought along a dozen or two prize heavy-weight animals. A Percheron horse made an enormous Holstein bull look less gigantic, and the biggest hog you ever saw stood near by. Across the aisle from two immaculate Guernsey and Jersey cows, were the latest and best things in dairy implements, and the Babcock tester for amount of fat in milk was being shown off. Here every student who came along had an admiring word for "Old Babcock," "who could have made millions out of this invention and instead just gave it to the world free. His machine's famous all over the world, and in spite of his being seventy-five years old, a big commercial concern offered him last year an enormous salary if he would leave the 'U.' and come to work for them. He just wrote back that he was in the middle of some research work that he could not very well leave." It would be hard—no, not hard, easy—to estimate whether Professor Babcock's invention or his generous spirit about it were the greater good to the students of his university and the citizens of his State.

In a neighboring section—on soils—the marvelous effect of potassium upon soil-fertility was realistically shown by great glass jars full of corn growing in soils treated with combinations of fertilizing agencies with and without potassium; this being all care-

fully explained by a student from the South where they have worn out their soil. Around the corner sat the student editor of the University's agricultural magazine, ready to tell of the process of "making-up" his paper, and to show how successful the members of the class in agricultural journalism had been in profitably placing their articles.

"Up-stairs for the Heavy Work!" said the sign on the stairway which lead away from the Agric exhibits. And one of the first things to greet you was a big sign in one of the engineering sections: "Let George Do It"—"George" being a modern little gasoline engine put to the most fascinating household and farm uses. Close by, an enthusiastic physicist—with a "patter" worth money on the stage—was freezing dandelions and crumbling ice in liquid air, while a high school parent and his children looked on and asked questions. The University Extension section over in the big corner showed an immense map of the whole State of Wisconsin, surmounted by the sign "Our Campus," and lighted and unlighted with tiny vari-colored electric bulbs to show "one week's extension work."

The attendance was as interesting as the Exposition. The students came in shoals, and critically inspected the whole affair. They asked questions of the explainers, talked over each other's work, mingling genuine, outspoken admiration with hearty laughs at all the fun going. The law student had to stand criticism because his school did not exhibit; and the "Hill" exhibits—from the regular academic school—were magnanimously praised by the usually scornful "engineers."

Why did that afternoon's experience feel so exceptionally important? wondered a chance out-of-town visitor. Universities are not unfamiliar; good times not uncommon; trips, even short ones, always offer new bits of knowledge. The reasons lay deeper and slowly rose to consciousness.

In the first place, the spirit of comradeship was a very real presence. The atmosphere was one of joyful, human, social life and work together, men and women, "grad" and "freshie," student and townsman—for admission was open to everybody on the same terms—twenty-five cents. (Their expenses, by the way, were \$900, which meant that during the two days first planned for—Friday and Saturday, from 2 until 11 p. m.—they must have 3,600 paid admissions. By Saturday evening they had more than paid expenses, and the enterprise had proved so popular that its time was extended into the next week.) The democracy of this great State University had somehow succeeded not only in making itself strongly felt, but in setting forth clearly the real democracy of learning.

Secondly, there came boldly to consciousness in this exposition the great fact that the student who really gets anything out of his college course, learns more of it from his fellow students than from his professors and books. Here were the students all busily engaged in enthusiastically teaching one another. And the fun they had doing it, as well as the magic short-cuts in their methods, could revolutionize Pedagogy if she were not dizzy now.

This First University Exposition will surely not be the last at Madison; and other universities, if they

have any of Wisconsin's spirit, would do well to imitate her exposition.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

SUPERIOR POWER OF THE COURTS.

Duluth, Minn.

Don't be too hard on the courts. It is our fault, too.

The average man has come to think that a new law doesn't count until it has been re-enacted by the courts. Officials don't pretend to enforce a new law till it has been reviewed. A test case has come to be a matter of course whenever any new proposition is embodied in legislation. A statute is presumed to be invalid till the courts have sanctioned it.

The law-making power has been taken from the legislatures and given to the courts by this process. It can be restored by effectually believing that the law-making body is the law-making power, and that courts may be invoked only to interpret, enforce or reconcile the statutes and not to ratify or reject the acts of the legislature.

When we cease to believe that the courts are the final power in making laws, the courts will cease to exercise it.

J. S. P.

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, May 14, 1912.

Labor Strikes.

In the Chicago newspaper strike the orders of James J. Freely (International president) to the Chicago stereotypers' union to withdraw from the newspaper strike were disobeyed. He consequently ordered the charter revoked and proceeded to organize a new local union. The old union has appealed to the convention to be held in San Francisco on the 10th of June. Meanwhile the local typographical union had been called in special meeting to pass upon the question of their joining in the strike. No action was taken at the first meeting, but on the 12th, at an adjourned session of the same special meeting, they adopted the following resolution by a vote of 1,099 to 655:

Resolved, that Typographical Union No. 16 again reiterates its declaration, as often made in trying situations, that it maintains inviolate contracts entered into and underwritten by the International Typographical Union, and that, as regards the issues in the controversy between Pressmen's Union No. 7 and Stereotypers' Union No. 4 and the Chicago pub-

lishers, it refers the matter to its officers, with instructions to be guided in their actions by the International Typographical Union.

At the beginning of the present week the large daily papers of Chicago had resumed their usual appearance typographically, but they are still unpurchasable upon the streets and also at the elevated railroad newsstands. The streets have been almost completely denuded of newsstands; and where they are found in operation, only the Daily World or the Daily Socialist can be purchased at them, except that out-of-town papers can be got at some. The police still prevent the crying of newspapers on the streets, as they have done almost from the beginning of the strike. [See current volume, pages 433, 439.]



News despatches of the 11th reported that the pressmen on Hearst's "Examiner" (San Francisco) and on Hearst's "Georgian" (Atlanta) had struck in sympathy with the Chicago pressmen whose strike (or lockout) originated in the Hearst papers at Chicago. The Atlanta "Journal" and the Atlanta "Constitution" were asked by Mr. Hearst's Atlanta manager to print the "Georgian," but their pressmen refused to handle the "Georgian's" plates. These sympathetic strikes are in response to directions from the President of the International Pressmen's Union, George L. Berry, who is reported to have ordered like strikes on the Hearst papers at New York and Los Angeles as well as those at San Francisco and Atlanta.



The freight handlers' strike at Chicago, which broke out a few hours after the newspaper strike, had somewhat extended on the 8th and on the 13th it appeared to be still effective and to have been thus far wholly without violent phases. On that day, however, the strikers offered arbitration, they to resume work meanwhile; but the allied railroads refused, stating that "the situation in Chicago is now practically normal, and the places of the men who left the service voluntarily on short notice have been permanently filled," the "inconvenience to the public" having been "only of short duration." This statement is denied by the strikers. [See current volume, page 441.]



While the Chicago labor strikes were centering attention upon this particular locality and these phases of the labor war, a conflict occurred at Minersville, Pa., in the coal miners' strike. As reported by the dispatches of the 8th, it was "a pitched battle between the State police and a mob of 3,000 men." Four men were then known to have been shot, and it was supposed that three at least were fatally wounded. The immediate

cause of the fight was reported to be an attempt by strikers to prevent the superintendent of the Pine Hill Coal Company from taking two "scabs" in his automobile to the mine. One of the wounded men, Michael Mullange, died on the 9th. Intense bitterness among the foreign-speaking miners of Minersville was reported in consequence, and rioting occurred in different places in the same general region. State troopers at Dickson, near Scranton, fired at a jeering crowd of men on the 9th and seriously (probably fatally) injured a boy of fourteen who was standing in the front yard of his home, near which the crowd had assembled. A New York Sun dispatch of the 11th from Wilkesbarre stated that "the temper of the foreign miners is blazing and there are daily clashes with police all over the district." On the 12th, the 13th regiment of the Pennsylvania National Guard was ordered to be in readiness for strike duty in anticipation of the miners' convention at Wilkesbarre on the 14th. [See current volume, page 369.]



National Convention of the Socialist Party.

At Indianapolis on the 12th, the national convention of the Socialist Party of the United States began its sessions in anticipation of the Presidential election. [See vol. xi. p. 178; vol. xiii, pp. 467, 489; current vol., p. 325.]



The report of the national secretary, John M. Work, showed the membership of the party, calculated on the basis of average dues received, to have increased from 15,975 in 1903 to 84,716 in 1911, and to 125,823 for the first three months of 1912.



Nearly 300 delegates were in attendance. The convention was called to order by John M. Work, national secretary, promptly at the hour set, 10 o'clock a. m. of the 12th. Morris Hillquit of New York, was elected chairman of the convention over W. P. Collins of Colorado, and James M. Reilly was elected secretary, with John Russell of New York and Bessie Goldstein of Pennsylvania, as assistant secretaries. On taking the chair, Mr. Hillquit said that "the Socialist party has grown into a political party of the first magnitude," which the delegates and several thousand spectators adopted by their applause as the key-note sentiment of the occasion. He explained that—

the question of selecting the nominees of the different parties for the office of President of the United States, whether it be Roosevelt or Taft, whether it be Clark or Wilson, are very subordinate questions, which will not in the least affect the welfare, the actual life, of the American people; but whether the Socialist party will again double its vote, whether

the Socialist party will show up a million and a half or two million strong, will be a historical fact which will lay the foundation for a new society, for a new life in this country. My thoughts involuntarily revert to the first convention of the Socialist party, likewise held in Indianapolis. It is just eleven years ago, a very short, insignificant span of time, but within that time the Socialist movement in this country has grown so marvelous in extent, in significance, and in substance, that the convention meeting here today represents an entirely different movement from what was represented eleven years ago. We have within the last few years finally succeeded in demonstrating to a very large portion of the working class of this country that the Socialist party is the only party that truly, fully and at all times represents their interests and fights their battles, and Labor is coming into our ranks in larger and larger numbers every year—aye, every month and every day. It is not merely upon our physical growth, however, or upon our large strength that we congratulate ourselves in assembling at this convention. It is the fact that the Socialist party has at all times remained true to its trust and carried the red banner of international Socialism unsullied, unstained and aloft in this country.

Most of the first day was spent in making nominations for committees provided by the Constitution. It was decided that delegations shall not vote as a unit unless instructed by State referendums, that the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States shall take place on Friday afternoon, the 17th, and that the convention adjourn not later than Saturday night the 18th. Nominating speeches for candidates on the 17th were prohibited by a vote of 162 to 36.



An order of the local authorities of Indianapolis forbidding the carrying of the red flag of Socialism in the reception parade of the 12th was rescinded at the instance of a committee of the convention, but the storm prevented any parade at all. A mass meeting was held in the evening, however, in the convention hall which was decorated with red flags and the American flag intertwined.



Presidential Possibilities.

A furious intra-party campaign for Presidential nominations is raging in Ohio. President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt are repeating there their Massachusetts campaign against each other in the Republican party; and Senator LaFollette is about to lead his own campaign. All are supported by bands of vigorous and experienced campaigners. On the Democratic side Governor Harmon is campaigning for his own nomination and Wm. J. Bryan against him. Mayor Baker of Cleveland is opposing Governor Harmon and supporting Governor Wilson. [See current volume, pages 395, 418.]

In Maryland, it is now settled that ex-President Roosevelt carried the preferential vote for the Presidential nomination, and the Taft managers there concede his right to the vote of the delegation at the national convention. [See current volume, page 443.]



During the current two weeks the States of California, Ohio and New Jersey—with a total of 102 members of the national conventions—will hold Presidential preference primaries. In addition nine Republican States will name 92 delegates, namely, Idaho 8, Kansas 6, Michigan 2, Minnesota 24, Montana 8, Utah 8, Washington 14, West Virginia 16, and Wyoming 6. Six Democratic States will in the same period elect 86 delegates, namely, Arkansas 10, Arizona 6, North Carolina 20, Oklahoma 2, Tennessee 8, and Texas 40. An analysis of the delegations chosen up to the 12th, made by the Chicago Record-Herald (anti-Roosevelt) of the 13th, and apparently fair and well considered, is as follows:

Republican—

Taft	*411
Roosevelt	265
Cummins	10
LaFollette	36
Uninstructed	64
Necessary for nomination.....	540

*Roosevelt supporters concede to Taft, says the Record-Herald in connection with its analysis, only 169 delegates.

Democratic—

Clark	223
Wilson	126
Harmon	8
Underwood	86
Burke	10
Marshall	30
Baldwin	14
Uninstructed	105
Necessary for nomination.....	720



Tariff Agitation in New York.

In New York on the 11th the Reform Club gave a dinner at the Hotel Astor, at which Governor Wilson of New Jersey, Senator Gore of Oklahoma, Congressman Henry George Jr. of New York and Charles S. Hamlin, assistant secretary of the treasury, were the principal guests and speakers. Calvin Tomkins presided and letters of regret at inability to attend were read from Governor Foss of Massachusetts, Governor Harmon of Ohio, Speaker Clark and Congressman Underwood. The subject of discussion was the tariff question in the pending Presidential campaign. Senator Gore declared that "no government has the right to give a man the power to charge more for an article than that article is worth," and argued that if protected industries

"must have alms," they should "come as beggars and not as hypocrites pretending that they are beneficiaries of the people." By Governor Wilson "the whole tariff policy" was denounced as "a huge scheme of make believe." Saying that "there was a time when the theory of protection was useful and attractive," he declared that "all this has changed with the development of the country," and that "laws that were meant to stimulate everybody are now plainly seen to redound to the advantage of a smaller and smaller number of persons in whose hands the larger masses of capital have steadily accumulated." Proceeding, Governor Wilson urged that—

the small manufacturer fights for his life and goes down before competitors combined against him. The farmer has an abundant market for what he produces, but finds that he does not get very much more for it than he used to get, and that the little he does get will purchase much less than it once would have purchased in prosperous America. The laborer finds that his wages do not rise with the manipulation of tariff duties. It begins to dawn upon the country that the tariff is no longer a statesmanlike plan of protection, but a privately managed game for profits. A big game, a huge scheme, carried out through the votes of enormous numbers of men who are deceived by the old phrases and do not face the new facts, a game in which the powerful, the subtle and the unscrupulous are more likely to prevail than any others. It stands as ugly and as full of unwholesome secrets and hiding places to which the light has never penetrated as the old Bastille. The beneficiaries of the government's policy have become its masters, and the government itself is as much under their guidance and control as the stock market and the prices of staple goods. The government is dominated and the opportunities of politics are determined by the men who get great private fortunes out of the tariff policy. The tariff is the chief issue of this Presidential campaign, and until that question is settled no other question can be. We should address ourselves to the question of the tariff with a determination, first, to strip it of all make-believe and then calmly, prudently, but without hesitation or fear, deal with the facts themselves if we are to acquit ourselves like true Americans in seeking to establish once more a system that will be for the benefit and encouragement of all.



Democratic Politics in Pennsylvania.

In the war between the democratic Democrats and the reactionary Democrats of Pennsylvania, there was another battle on the 7th. It occurred at the State convention at Harrisburg. Both factions had endorsed Governor Wilson for the Presidential nomination, but J. M. Guffey (reactionary) asserted rights of leadership and the two parties were opposed on the question of Initiative and Referendum policies. The factions met in one convention to nominate candidates for Treasurer and Auditor and twelve delegates at large to the national convention. They agreed on William

A. Glasgow for temporary chairman, but for permanent chairman the reactionaries named James Gay Gordon, and the "reorganizers" (as the democratic Democrats are called in Pennsylvania) named Joseph O'Brien. O'Brien was elected. The platform adopted endorses the Initiative and Referendum, and demands that the judiciary be stripped of all legislative and executive powers. Delegates to the national convention were instructed for Governor Wilson for Presidential nominee; and William H. Berry, one of the most distinguished democratic Democrats of Pennsylvania and formerly State Treasurer, was nominated for that office at the head of the ticket.



Progressive Duluth.

By the largest vote ever polled in Duluth (Minnesota) at a special election, an amendment to the city charter was adopted on the 7th which adds provisions for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall to its system of local government. The adoption was by a vote of four to one—5,331 for the amendment and 1,296 against it.



Testimonial to Margaret Haley.

At the dinner given by the Chicago Singletax Club to Margaret Haley on the 10th at Kimball's Cafe, Chicago, as a testimonial upon her return from the Pacific Coast and especially in recognition of her service in the Singletax campaign of last March in Seattle, a verbal tribute to Miss Haley was formally paid by the diners whose guests she was. It was in part as follows:

For nearly twelve years Margaret Haley has been a thorough-going and useful Singletaxer, and in respect both of what she has tried to do and what she has actually accomplished she has been one of the best citizens of the city of Chicago. Her service in connection with taxes for the use of the public schools is too well known to call for more than mention. But that is by no means her only nor her best public service in this community. Since she began to take an active interest in public affairs she has been an efficient factor in more than one great struggle, and always on the right side. By no means least important in the list of her public services is that of having created a civic spirit among the teachers in our public schools. Not only in our view of the matter, but upon the assurances of one of the most distinguished educators in the United States—perhaps the ablest and the best—the bringing of the public school teachers of Chicago into active participation in public affairs has had the effect of making them better teachers as well as better citizens. For this result the credit is largely due to Margaret Haley and Catharine Goggin, her coadjutor in the management of the Teachers' Federation. We of the Chicago Singletax Club, in common with all others holding our views regarding the normal relations of the people to the planet upon which they live and the social opportunities of the community

of which they are a part, have the further reason now to be grateful to Margaret Haley for her service in our cause on the Pacific Coast. Letters from friends in that region—some of them men of high standing in the Singletax movement throughout the United States, and justly so from their long and judicious and efficient service—are full of praise of Margaret Haley for her work in the Singletax campaign at Seattle, and we are glad of the opportunity to add our expressions of appreciation of her and her public service to theirs.

Charles Frederick Adams of New York was one of the speakers besides the guest, and George V. Wells presided.



Direct Election of United States Senators.

By a vote of 237 to 39 in the House of Representatives on the 13th, Congress completed all the preliminaries for submitting to the States for adoption an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of the Federal Senate by the people instead of the legislatures of the several States. Federal supervision of the Senatorial elections is provided for. As adopted by both Houses the Amendatory resolution reads as follows:

That in lieu of the first paragraph of Section 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution of the United States, and in lieu of so much of paragraph 2 of the same Section as relates to the filling of vacancies, the following be proposed as an Amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States: The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate the Executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies, provided that the legislature of any State may empower the Executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct. This Amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.



Progress of the new Mexican Revolution.

Dispatches of the 9th from Washington told of the imprisonment of "Provisional President" Gomez at Juarez, and subsequent reports under date of the 11th were to the effect that he had disappeared, having left his provisional capital "as silently, unostentatiously and mysteriously as he had entered" it from El Paso (Texas) the week before. His reappearance in El Paso was reported on the 12th.

Reports of the 9th from Bermejillo, Mexico, told of skirmishing between the vanguard of Gen. Orozco's insurrectionary army and Federal troops in front of Torreon, the objective of the insurrectionists. These reports were confirmed by New York Herald dispatches of the 10th from Escalon, which stated also that the fighting had been resumed on that date with satisfaction to the Federals but without decisive advantage to either side. The line of battle was described by the Herald as extending from Conejos, on the main line of the National Railroad and north of Bermejillo, to Truhuelo, twenty miles south of Conejos. The Federal force was estimated at 4,000 and Orozco's at 6,000. Hard fighting on the plains about 300 miles south of the American border was reported on the 12th in news dispatches which stated specifically that "the fighting began at day-break, and at nightfall the sandy mesas between Conejos and Yermo, fourteen miles north, where the insurrectos were gradually forced back, were covered with dead and wounded." These dispatches, which were from the Federal front, gave the victory to the Federals under Gen. Huarta. The revolutionists were at that time believed to be completely surrounded, and it was supposed that the next day's fighting would annihilate their army. Dispatches of the 13th from General Orozco's headquarters at Jiminez admitted defeat but expressed confidence in ultimate victory. He was then retreating northward. [See current volume, page 441.]



Land Values Taxation in South America.

An editorial report of progress in the use of land value taxation in the Province of Buenos Aires (Argentine Republic), is made by the Buenos Aires Standard of April 3d. From this editorial it appears that—

the important question respecting the valuation of land in the Province of Buenos Aires which produced last year strong protests from the leading estancieros of the Province has been settled by a decree issued by the Provincial government on the 1st instant making regulations for the execution of the law of the 15th of March last. The decree requires the Director-General of Revenue of the Province to propose to the Ministry of Finance the names of four resident taxpayers in every Department, who, together with the official valuer, are to form part of the valuation committee of the locality, representing its rural and urban property, its commerce, and industries. In fixing the valuations of the rural properties, the committees are to take into account what they produce or are susceptible of producing, exclusive of the value of the buildings, fences, trees, drainage, and other important works effected for improving the conditions of the land. The valuation of unused land ("baldios") in urban centers or in the immediate suburbs is to be made with a discount of 20 per cent on the selling price of land for cash down. In case no such sales

should have been made, the pieces of land which may be sub-divided in order to be sold for monthly payments of the purchase-money shall have a discount of 50 per cent. . . . The local committees are to commence and complete the valuations during the month of May. The "boletas" (notices of the particulars of the valuation) must have been completely distributed by the valuers on the 10th of June, the taxpayers may present their objections on or before the 20th of that month and on the 30th the "juntas" (committees) will have given their decisions on the objections made, which must be notified by the valuers to the taxpayers on or before the 10th of July. The latter may appeal from such decisions to the Junta till the 30th of July and within ten days afterwards the juntas must present to the central jury for final decision all the objections that have been made to the valuations accompanied by their reports on the same. The central jury referred to in Art. 9 of the law may act with three of its members, in order to take into consideration the protests presented and its decisions thereon must be given on or before the 30th of September next. . . . The regulations appear to have been carefully prepared with the view of ascertaining the real value of the land to be taxed and of enabling the owners to dispute the correctness of the valuations. . . . The committees will find it difficult to estimate what rural properties would produce (by selling or letting them, we suppose is meant by the regulations) apart from the improvements of the same which may have been effected for many years. We consider that the valuation should be made according to the present condition of the land. As to vacant land, the owners should be stimulated to utilize it by higher rather than by lower taxation, and as to land sold on the system of monthly payments for the same, the discount of one-half the tax would only benefit the sellers by enabling them to obtain higher prices.



Home Rule for Ireland.

On second reading the Irish home rule bill passed the British House of Commons on the 8th by a larger majority than on the first reading—the vote being 372 for it and 271 against it. An analysis of the vote discloses the significant fact that the bill would have had a clear majority without the votes of any Irish members. It now awaits third reading in the Commons. [See current volume, page 421.]

NEWS NOTES

—The annual meeting of the General Convention of the Church of the New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian), met at Washington, D. C., on the 11th.

—The eighteenth annual meeting of the National Municipal League will be held at Los Angeles on the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th of July. [See vol. xiv, p. 1196.]

—John Grier Hibben was inaugurated president of Princeton University on the 11th. President Taft participated, but Governor Wilson (Dr. Hibben's im-

mediate predecessor) was unable to be present. [See current volume, page 63.]

—At the ninety-sixth annual diocesan convention of the Episcopal church of North Carolina, in session at Durham, N. C., women were given the right to vote on church affairs in the diocese.

—The second national conference on Industrial Diseases will be held under the auspices of the American Association for Labor Legislation at Atlantic City, N. J., June 3, 4 and 5. [See vol. xiii, p. 468.]

—Henry W. Thurston of Chicago, superintendent of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, has been selected as head of the children's department of the New York School of Civics and Philanthropy.

—The German Reichstag adopted on the 13th the anti-duelling resolution introduced on May 9, and with an amendment proposed by the Socialist members providing that army officers who refuse to accept a challenge to a duel shall not therefore be dismissed from the army.

—Tom Mann having been convicted of inciting British troops to mutiny when called upon to shoot strikers, and consequently sentenced to six months imprisonment, an enormous popular meeting was held in Trafalgar Square, London, on the 11th to protest. [See current volume, page 324.]

—An effort is to be made to secure from Congress a Federal charter for the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. At a meeting of the executive committee on the 8th a sub-committee was appointed to make formal application for the charter to Congress. [See current volume, page 421.]

—The twenty-ninth annual convention of the Kansas Equal Suffrage Association met at Wichita on the 7th. The principal subject of discussion was the pending referendum vote on woman suffrage in Kansas, and the speakers included Jane Addams, the Rev. Olympia Brown Willis, Mrs. Belmont and the Rev. Anna H. Shaw.

—The judiciary committee of the Senate of the United States decided on the 13th to report favorably the Works resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States by extending the Presidential term to six years and prohibiting re-elections. A minority of the committee favor the prohibition, but with a four-year term. [See vol. xiv, p. 771.]

—Three subordinate railways of the New York Central system were fined on the 7th by Judge Carpenter in the Federal court at Chicago for having favored certain theatrical companies in transportation rates. They were the "Big Four," fined \$20,000; the Michigan Central, fined \$10,000; and the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, fined \$10,000.

—At the recent primaries in Nebraska the Republicans indorsed the Initiative and Referendum amendment, submitted by the legislature in 1911, by 41,029 to 6,658 (Douglas county not yet reported), and the Democrats indorsed it by 28,446 to 3,859. The effect of this is to credit to the affirmative at the election in November all the straight votes of both parties. [See current volume, page 395.]

—A dinner to "the old guard," participants in the campaign of Henry George for Mayor of New York in 1886, was given at Kalil's restaurant, New York City, on the 11th by the Manhattan Singletax Club.

Over 300 were present. Dr. Elizabeth E. Bowen presided as toastmaster and addresses were made by the Hon. Henry George, Jr., Whidden Graham, Sylvester Malone and Louis F. Post. [See current volume, page 372.]

—At a conference of the Conservative and the Liberal-Unionist parties of Great Britain in London on the 9th, an organic fusion was effected under the name of the National Unionist Association. The Conservative party is the old organization commonly known as "Tory;" the Liberal-Unionist party originated in the secession from the Liberal party which Joseph Chamberlain led in opposition to the Gladstone policy of home rule for Ireland.

PRESS OPINIONS

Fair Treatment for the Convict's Family.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (Dem.), May 9.—The story is told of a prisoner in an Indiana jail, detained on some petty charge, who was seen to pass to a caller some mysterious-looking bundle. Investigation showed that the package contained the man's allowance of food which he was sending by a friend to his wife that she in her poverty and illness might not starve. An investigation persuaded the authorities that the man deserved freedom and he was paroled. Such an incident is unusual, but it emphasizes a situation that is not at all unusual. Under average conditions when the state detains an offender in jail or sends him to the penitentiary it takes no heed of the man's family. Often it is not the prisoner himself whom the state chiefly punishes but the prisoner's wife and children. It is not a fair proposition. Not sympathy for the criminal prompts the observation, but mere ordinary fairness and decency for those who happen to be dependent on his exertions for their daily sustenance. When society locks up a man for its own protection against his further depredations, or for his own reformation, it should not neglect the obvious duty of seeing that the man's family does not suffer through the deprivation of his services. It is hardly more than a matter of fair dealing between the state and those in whose personal affairs it has been forced to intervene. . . . Penal reform is a live topic in every State. Old systems are giving way and the humanity of man toward man is asserting itself in the prisons of the land. Nothing could be clearer, it would seem, than that part of the money earned by convicts should go to the support of their families.



A Boy's Honor.

Ottawa Evening Citizen (Lib.), May 11.—When shall we realize that a boy's honor is the greatest asset in human worth and the strongest force in human life? That we have not yet so realized is very evident from the conditions disclosed by recent investigations made into the methods adopted by Canadian institutions that have for their purpose the treatment and supposed reformation of wayward boys. . . . However we may express it, we must surely all believe in the fundamental goodness of a human life. We must recognize the existence of that

new force that more than all else distinguishes a boy from a brute. Unless we believe in a crass economic determinism that takes no cognizance of spiritual forces, we must know that in the life of every man and every boy is that subtle quality among whose many names may be included the "sense of honor." In every case there is a higher self to which appeal may successfully be made. Where the lower self would resist in mutinous dissent, the higher self would respond to an appeal sufficiently high to reach it. The whip and the handcuff of Mimico are the survival of an age where man was but a human brute; they have no place in a civilized community. Their appeal is to the lowest to do its worst, and generally the appeal succeeds.



To Beat Judge Lindsey.

Denver (Colo.) Express (ind.), May 7.—The Republicans, when they met, named no candidate for juvenile judge, asserting to the delegates that there was no necessity for an election at this time. That view of the law was probably correct, but it was not the reason no nomination was made. The Democrats named Justice Gavin, whose methods of dispensing justice to vags are hardly those which fit him for dealing with the boys and girls of Denver. For weeks friends of Gavin have asserted that the telephone and gas companies, at the proper time, would place the name of Gavin on the Republican ticket. The scheme is simple. The corporations hope, by centering their fight on the candidates for Mayor and Sheriff, to cause their own voters to forget that there is a candidate for Juvenile Judge. They hope that the straight votes of the combined Republican and Democratic tickets will be larger than the straight Citizens vote on which the name of Lindsey appears. The party machines hope to bunco their own voters. They know that in any open race the people of Denver are behind Lindsey. . . . The corporations have learned that they cannot defeat him in the open. The battle this time is one of stealth; of fraud upon the voters of the old parties who would rebel against the scheme to "lose" Lindsey by the combination.



The Democracy in Human Nature.

The Coming Nation (Socialist).—We might rest our whole cause upon what happened that night on the Titanic. . . . Will you tell me that a race at heart so magnificent and so fine is so selfish that without the incentive of appetite and personal gain it will not carry on the ordinary affairs of life? Will you say that a race like that deserves no better than it should maintain a frightful system of organized plunder and turn the earth into a battlefield where every man lives upon the sufferings of his fellow? Superficial observers tell us that without a change in human nature the thing we are attacking can never be abolished. We point to that night on the Titanic and say that for human nature so noble and good to be perverted and dragged in the mire and slimed in the filth and hardened in the fires of Capitalism is the most unspeakable of crimes and that the race had never better friends than those that are trying to rid earth of such a monster.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A SONG FOR THE FALLEN.

For The Public.

We sing of those who fight,
Give tears for those who fall;
For who would prize the Light
If Darkness brought no pall?
And e'en the seeds that die in earth
May fertilize the ball.

If one with keener mind
For highest honors seek—
O brother, be not blind,
Thy contrasts are the weak;
The World e'er builds her mighty seats
From tribute of the meek.

A few may wear the crown,
But most shall bear the cross;
And each abundant harvest mown
To some means utter loss;
A few shall find the veins of gold,
While many sift the dross.

And he who rules today
May bite the dust tomorrow;
And those who chase the time in play
From Toil and Care must borrow.
The Power which made the eyes to weep
Saw time and place for sorrow.

Ah! who would laurels seek
If none were wont to fall?
So One who weighs both strong and weak
Hath mercy over all.

JOSEPH FITZPATRICK.



THEIR BROTHERS' KEEPERS.

Governor West and the Oregon Penitentiary.
Extract from an Article by Jennings Sutor in The
Pacific Monthly of October, 1911.

"Hello, penitentiary? This is West speaking. Send '3615' up to the capitol. I want to see him in my office."

"But, Governor," came the troubled voice of the Warden, "I've no guard to send now—they are all busy. I'll send him down this afternoon, when I can get some one to go with him."

"No, you won't. Tell him to get on the car and get off at the capitol."

"Alone! Why, he's one of the worst men we've got. He's a life-termer. I don't dare do it, Governor."

"I'll take the responsibility. Send him along," said the Governor of Oregon.

So they called "3615" from the shoe shops, where he was at work helping to turn out the heavy black footwear that the 400-odd men in the Salem insti-

tution use, told him to clean up, and gave him his carfare for the trip into town.

"I'm not going alone?" he asked of the Warden in as surprised a tone as that official had used to the Governor a few minutes before.

"That's orders," said Warden Curtis.

And "3615" walked down the steps, along the path where the roses and the brave hollyhocks try their best to overcome the grim background of the turreted red brick prison, on through the swinging iron gates that bar the jail-yard from the street and then, in due course of time and by the aid of the jerky little trolley that runs from the penitentiary into the city of Salem proper, he came to the capitol building.

It had been eight years since he had seen the world outside the penitentiary. In that time he hadn't proved a model prisoner. He had worked hard, it's true; he had a natural aptitude for mechanics that easily gave him the lead in the shops. But he had also used his ingenuity in trying to escape the barriers that man and the law had built around him, the last almost successfully.

They caught him after he had made his way through the sewer and almost into Mill Creek; caught him and brought him back to his work in the shop.

Governor West knew "3615's" record when he sent for him. If he felt any personal gratification when that gentleman walked into his office half an hour or so after, he concealed it: He treated him as he might have any other acquaintance.

"How'd you enjoy the trip?" he asked.

His visitor eyed him for a minute—neither was much in the mood for joking—and replied that it was a novelty.

"Now, you're in for life, a murderer," the Governor said. "You have tried to get away before. Why didn't you this time? How do you know I didn't send for you to give you a chance to skip?"

No. 3615 hesitated a minute or two before answering.

"Well, I'll tell you, Governor. I've tried it before. This would have been a pipe for sure. But it's the first time since I can remember that a man's trusted me. I couldn't throw you down."

"All right," said West, "go out and see the town for an hour and then go back to the Warden."

He did. He went back to work and stayed with his job for a week when another summons came to call on the Governor. He went, visited a while and went back to the penitentiary and to work again.

The third time his curiosity was relieved.

"I'll tell you what I want you to do," said the Governor. "Our shoe shop is in a bad way. We make scarcely enough to supply the men in the prison. They're poor shoes at that. We ought to manufacture shoes enough to fit out every person in these State Institutions around here. There's

the Insane Asylum, the Home for the Feeble-Minded, the Asylum Farm, the Industrial School, with several thousand people for whom the State has to buy shoes. There's no reason why you boys shouldn't be making shoes for this entire lot, excepting that your machinery is old-fashioned and worn out. Take some of the money you have saved up and go down to Portland, where there are shoe factories, go through those factories and see what machinery we need and how we can improve our shops and come back and tell me about it. The State will take care of your expenses."

Perhaps there was a dry lump in his throat—who knows?—but anyway the two men didn't waste words. He came to Portland that afternoon. It so happened that it was the week of Portland's annual Rose Festival. The streets were gay with bunting and decorations, bands and parades. It must have been a strange sight for the man who had spent the last eight years in prison. Out at the aviation field aeroplanes were flying. There were automobile races. Everywhere the carnival spirit had play. But "3615" went to the shoe factories, watched the men work, examined the types of machinery, spent two days and two nights in the city, and went back to the Governor with the information that he had learned much, but that the most modern plant to be found was at Oregon City. Should he go there and see that, too?

Governor West told him to find out exactly what the prison needed and when he found out, to order it. So he went to Oregon City, studied the machinery there, placed the order for the State of Oregon and returned to Salem.

The future history of "3615" doesn't matter so much. He had proved that one of the men regarded as most dangerous, as a drag upon society, had that in him which could be turned to the profit of himself and his State. He has been paroled, since, and is working honestly at the employment the Governor secured for him. But, more important than that, he settled once for all, any fears Oregon's Governor may have had concerning his "Honor System" at the State penitentiary. He was the prophet of the new order of things that has resulted in fifty per cent of the convicts of that State being trusted to go about their work outside the prison walls without a guard to watch them.



From a Letter Written by A. D. Cridge of Portland.

None of West's boys have been in mischief yet. West gets them a job where they are not known, corresponds with them, advises them, helps them and gets others to do so. "Most of them are young fellows," said West. "Just made a mistake. We would all be in trouble if we had what was coming to us. I made mistakes, and

keep on making them. So have you made mistakes."



The County Jail at Montpelier, Vermont.

From "Humanizing the Prisons," by Morrison I. Swift in *The Atlantic Monthly* of August, 1911.

The State of Vermont contains a prison where the inmates are treated upon a novel plan. They are trusted and treated like other human beings; they come and go almost as freely as the members of the jailer's own family; so far as possible whatever suggests punishment or disgrace is banished; and they are made to feel that their imprisonment is designed to improve them as men, and to restore them to social life not only with full self-respect but with the cordial respect of the community. . . . This great innovation in prison practice was made possible by a State law authorizing all sheriffs to set their prisoners at work either inside or outside the jails. . . . It happened that the sheriff of Washington County, in which Montpelier is located, Frank H. Tracy, was moved to apply the law to large purpose, not merely to save money for the State, which at first was the best popular appeal, but to regenerate the prisoners who came under his care. . . . One dollar a day is set aside from the wages of each for the State, while all in excess of that belongs to the earner. As it works out in figures, every man in ordinary health earns the full laborer's pay of \$1.75 a day, of which seventy-five cents is his, the sheriff acting as his banker and keeping the accumulation until he leaves the prison, when it is given to him in a lump sum. The profits accruing to the State from the experiment have steadily increased. . . . As a rule the men have carefully saved their money, limiting permitted purchases for themselves, to send it home to those dependent on them. . . . The financial side of the undertaking, brilliant as it has been, is but the smallest part of the good it accomplishes; its real value is to be measured by its effect upon the characters and lives of the prisoners. On this point only one view is possible, and when it is understood, there can be no excuse for perpetuating the old system anywhere.



An Interview with the Warden of the Colorado Penitentiary.

From *The Reflector** of November 4, 1911.

"Criminal nature! That's the kind of talk that makes me sick. I tell you, there isn't any! Come right down to it, and this thing they call 'criminal nature' is only human nature at its worst. Look at those men! Take 'em one at a time. Honest to goodness, I've been on many a camping

*The *Reflector* is edited and published weekly by the inmates of the North Dakota Penitentiary at Grove, N. D.

trip with fellows that weren't half as fine and likeable and square. When theorists talk to me, I tell them that the real 'criminal problem' is to get rid of these criminologists that fill the people with a lot of solemn dope about criminal eyes, criminal ears, criminal mouth, and that sort of stuff. It's all poppy-cock. . . . It establishes hard and fast preconceptions in the average mind, and makes for instinctive prejudices and fake conclusions. Every man who gets arrested is necessarily a criminal, the place for criminals is the penitentiary, and the purpose of the penitentiary is punishment. It's all wrong. History doesn't hold an instance where cruelty ever cured an evil. . . .

"After all, what is a penitentiary but the human record of society's own crimes and failures? Would God have taken such pains to make the world beautiful if He had meant to put evil into the hearts of men? The prison, with its wretched huddle of unfortunates, is the result of our greeds, rapacities, cruelties, and ignorances. Slums, saloons, predatory wealth, social and industrial injustices, debasing environments, lack of opportunity, corporation corruption—these things make crime and criminals. We must get at the social and economic causes—remove the curse of involuntary poverty, equalize opportunity.



The Workhouse at Toledo, Ohio.

From a Sketch by George Creel in the *American Magazine* of October, 1911.

Charlie Stevens, superintendent of Toledo's workhouse, is a sort of denatured Falstaff. He copies the figure with wonderful fidelity to detail, but has managed to exclude Sir John's faults without any loss of lovability. A circus man all his life—a happy-go-lucky follower of fortune in many lands—he went into office without the slightest knowledge of the "criminal problem" or "police methods." That was exactly why Brand Whitlock appointed him.

No one is often in a workhouse from other cause than poverty. The sentence of the police judge is generally alternative—a certain number of dollars or a certain number of days. Those with money to pay the fine go free—those without money go to prison. Insomuch as Mayor Whitlock does not believe that involuntary poverty is a crime, he holds that all workhouse inmates should not be treated as criminals. . . .

On the first morning, as he walked around testing the floors with reference to his weight, the prisoners went marching by, each man's hands on the shoulder of the man in front, their feet clanking a ponderous and despairing rhythm.

"Gee!" exclaimed the new superintendent, turning the preternatural gravity of his big round face upon the carefully uniformed turnkey. "All cripples, eh?"

"Cripples!" The man's jaw sagged. "Sure not." "Well, then, what makes 'em lean on each other that way?"

"It's the lock step." The turnkey said it very proudly. By treating the workhouse inmates like real convicts, and giving the place all the airs of a real penitentiary, he hoped to become a real warden some day.

"Don't say!" exclaimed Charlie. "I'll bet it's fine for fellows with bum legs, but I don't seem to get it as the right glide for able-bodied men. Hey, boys. Just cut out the kangaroo lope and walk natural."

Walking into a little side room in the course of his exploration he came upon the workhouse barber carefully removing all human suggestion from a new prisoner. After watching the operation for a few moments, he poked the scowling victim in the ribs.

"Say," he murmured, "excuse me for buttin' in, but I shouldn't think you'd want it that short."

"Want it!" exploded the man. "I'd like to know what my wantin's got to do with it."

"Good gracious!" He turned a pained visage full upon the barber. "You don't mean to say you poodle these chaps whether they like it or not?"

"Sure. It's the custom to—"

"Pass it up. Pass it up quick. Shaving don't reform men. If it did we'd cut out the churches and build barber shops."

Up and down the line he went—ruthlessly eliminating all attempts at aping penitentiary punishments and discipline—atmosphering the whole place with his simple kindliness. . . . Intensely human is Charlie Stevens—absolutely at one with his fellows—and it is out of this perfect understanding that he works more real uplift than many professional uplifters put together.



The Work of Henry E. Owen at Columbus, Ohio.

From The Columbus Citizen of July 19, 1911.

There is one community in Ohio where the principles of Initiative and Referendum, the Recall and direct primaries for all elective offices has been in effect for the past six months; where every public official is directly amenable to the people whom he, in reality, serves, and where every advanced principle of progressive government has been given full sway—and where every single elector is so tickled with the proposition that he, or she, wouldn't go back to the old-time "boss rule" regime for anything. It is in the Columbus workhouse. . . .

Here is the system: When Owen went in he organized the men into seven companies. Then he told the men to meet him every Sunday afternoon and hold a "business meeting." There he put to them the

plan of progressive self-government. Each company was to have a captain and a lieutenant. He said that the men were to elect these themselves. There are two other responsible positions at the institution—hostler, particularly desirable, because he is permitted to drive the officers around town, and prison librarian. These, Owen announced, would be elective as well. Anybody, he said, would have a chance. . . . "The rule of these men will be absolute as long as they suit the majority," Owen told the prison body. "If you have any reforms to suggest or any kick to make bring it up in the Sunday afternoon business meeting, and I'll see that you get a square deal."

That made the official responsible to his constituents. If a company becomes dissatisfied with its captain or lieutenant, a complaint is lodged. His company votes on the question, and if the majority is against the official, he is fired forthwith. The recall works perfectly and has been used effectively.

If a prisoner has a suggestion for the betterment of things, he brings it up. The prison body takes a vote on the project. If the majority accept it, it is at once instituted. This initiative is absolute.

If the superintendent institutes a new wrinkle—for instance, if he should want to organize a football team or a quartet; or if one of the captains has a plan to suggest out of the regular routine, the scheme is laid before the whole body. A vote is taken. If they accept it, it is adopted forthwith. The referendum has full sway.

The result is that the men take an active interest in the affairs of the institution. When a man fractures the slightest rule he isn't beaten. Instead, he is in disgrace. His fellows look upon him as one unworthy of their friendship. He is an outcast. . . .

Owen's whole idea is to give his charges a square deal. "Most of these men are here because they're poor and uneducated," he declares. "They're guilty, and they've broken the law—but what is the use of rubbing it in?"



WILLIAM MORRIS ON PUNISHMENT.

Extracts out of "News from Nowhere."

"Yes," I said, "but consider, must not the safety of society be safeguarded by some punishment?"

"There, neighbor!" said the old man, with some exultation. "You have hit the mark. That *punishment* of which men used to talk so wisely, and act so foolishly, what was it but the expression of their fear? . . . When any violence is committed, we expect the transgressor to make any atonement possible to him, and he himself expects it. But again, think if the destruction or serious

injury of a man momentarily overcome by wrath or folly can be any atonement to the commonwealth. Surely it can only be an additional injury to it. . . . In a society where there is no punishment to evade, no law to triumph over, remorse will certainly follow transgression."

"You think that enough?" said I.

"Yes," said he, "and moreover it is all that we can do. If in addition we torture the man, we turn his grief into anger; and the humiliation he would otherwise feel for *his* wrong-doing is swallowed up by a hope of revenge for *our* wrong-doing to him. He has paid the legal penalty, and can 'go and sin again' with comfort. Shall we commit such a folly, then? Remember Jesus had got the legal penalty remitted before he said, 'Go and sin no more.'"



FREEDOM FOR THE MIND.

High walls and huge the body may confine,
And iron gates obstruct the prisoner's gaze,
And massive bolts may baffle his design,
And vigilant keepers watch his devious ways:
Yet scorns the immortal mind this base control!
No chains can bind it, and no cell inclose:
Swifter than light, it flies from pole to pole,
And, in a flash, from earth to heaven it goes!
It leaps from mount to mount—from vale to vale
It wanders, plucking honeyed fruits and flowers;
It visits home, to hear the fireside tale,
Or in sweet converse pass the joyous hours.
'Tis up before the sun, roaming afar,
And, in its watches, wearies every star!

—William Lloyd Garrison.

BOOKS

TO FATHERS, ABOUT THEIR BOYS.

The Boy and His Gang. By J. Adams Puffer. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston.

To any one at all interested in boys this book will appeal very strongly. It is "addressed first of all, to fathers, with the hope that it will, in some sort, serve to revive memories of boyhood days, not so much of specific acts of boyhood as of long-dead impulses and past ways of envisaging the world. Every man who sits down and thinks out for himself, not only what he did as a boy, but how it feels to be a boy, and how the world and the people in it appear through a boy's eyes, has taken a long step toward the understanding and the control of his own sons."

The book deals with the boy at the gang age, from ten to sixteen, and gives the result of a careful study of sixty-six gangs in which the author was personally interested—gangs "large or small, good or bad, long-lived or evanescent." As three boys out of four belong to a gang of some kind,

it is evident that it is a part of a boy's life which must be reckoned with and "the problem is to suppress the undesirable activities with as little damage as possible. . . . For there must be a pretty accurate balance between the life of the home and the life of the gang if the boy is to get the best training out of both. The boy must, for the most part, make this social adjustment for himself, and the safest time for doing it is while he is still in the home. Boys who have been kept too close up to the time when they go away to make life for themselves, too often afford most striking lessons in how not to do it. In college and in business, under their unaccustomed liberty, they go all to pieces for lack of the education which they should have had as boys in the gang."

Mr. Puffer considers the "group games," such as tennis, baseball, hockey, swimming, etc., as a necessary part of a boy's training, as they teach quickness of thought and action, courage, loyalty, and at the same time give physical training. The gang is, therefore, a natural and a necessary stage in normal development. Carefully watched and wisely controlled, it is both the most natural and the least expensive instrument that we can employ to help our sons through one of the most critical periods of their lives. Nine-tenths of the gang's activities depend on primitive, instinctive impulses which cannot be suppressed, and which need only to be sanely guided to carry the boy along the path which nature has marked out and bring him out at the end a useful citizen and a good man."

Mr. Puffer and Mr. E. T. Brewster, who so ably edited the book, have not only a deep sympathy with boy nature, but a knowledge of boy psychology, which together make the book a valuable addition to the meagre literature on this subject, especially as it is written in a clear, interesting style and has a flavor of freshness and enthusiasm throughout which holds the reader to the end.

That some of the ideas expressed will be criticized by conservative parents and teachers goes without saying, more especially those on religious and school training. But every advance has been criticized and this book is in line with the most modern thought as to child education.

FLORENCE A. BURLEIGH.



ON IMPRISONMENT FOR CRIME.

An Open Letter to Society. From Convict 1776. Published by Fleming H. Revell Co., Chicago. 1911. Price, 75 cents net.

The author, who has served time in more than one penitentiary, has drawn from the bitter well of his experience some humane conclusions about punishment and criminals, and speaks for their acceptance by society. Crimes against property are the only sort under consideration.

There can be, he writes, only three motives for punishment: Revenge, repression, reform. Revenge, while not acknowledged as a motive under our laws, is nevertheless the sole explanation for the severity of many sentences and much prison discipline. The cited instances curdle and convince every civilized drop of blood within us.

About punishment for repression the author agrees with the criminologists that the main weakness of our penal law is "the uncertainty with which punishment follows crime"; and he states as the "Law of Repression": "Punishment as a deterrent from crime can be efficacious only when the benefits, real or imagined, which the would-be criminal may expect to reap from his meditated crime, are outweighed by the *least* punishment which you inflict for that crime."

That punishment is not for reform, thinks the author, our penitentiaries as a whole are living proof. Prison life affords association with criminals, hardens in crime, breaks down will-power, causes work to seem slavery instead of the means of salvation it is. The very convicts most able to reform are most hampered, the very methods that make against reform are practiced by prison officials. "Under childish restrictions, strong men are troublesome. Yet the man who is courageous enough to resent unjust punishment is quick to recognize justice and fairness. Of all your convicts, he would make the most desirable citizen, but he is the very one whom prison officials stamp as incorrigible without considering the value of courage and will-power, or the stupidity of the rules under which he frets." The desire to reform, this man has remarked, is usually strongest after only a few weeks in prison, and just then must the man be given work and gradually increasing liberty with guardianship against temptation, if he is to be reformed.

In brief, our laws declare reform to be the motive for imprisonment; but the machinery of the law, from police to prison warden, from warrant to release, seems run for mere repression of crime, and public opinion is shifty, even veering now and then toward revenge. Meantime in our jails and penitentiaries and reform schools, boys grow worse and men despair.

This convict's book, with its introduction by Maud Ballington Booth, seems utterly sincere, and written with admirable self-restraint. A curious—or natural?—accompaniment of its reading is one's observance of the precise fitness of these thoughts on the treatment of criminals, to the "disciplining" of children.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.



How many times social problems center about the necessity of rousing man from a state of "obedience" which has led him to be exploited and brutalized!—*Maria Montessori.*

ECONOMIC REFORM.

Our Economic Troubles and the Way Out. An answer to Socialism. By Wm. H. Berry, ex-State Treasurer of Pennsylvania, Chester, Pa.

Mr. Berry's book, while hardly effective as an answer to Socialism, makes a clear presentation of several important elementary principles of social life. These form a basis for the author's suggestions for abolishing monopoly in land, transportation and currency. By far the larger part of the book—the whole of which, however, is comprised in 147 pages—is devoted to currency monopoly. Land monopoly is disposed of by the Singletax, and transportation monopoly by government ownership and operation of monopolistic transportation facilities. Mr. Berry dissects and condemns the Aldrich central reserve plan of currency control, and offers in its place a plan of his own of which he says that it requires no new machinery, that it abolishes the public interest-bearing debt, and that it widens the basis for safe circulation of bank credits.



HINTS FROM WISCONSIN.

The Wisconsin Idea. By Charles McCarthy, Chief Wisconsin Legislative Reference Department. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1912. Price \$1.50 net.

Not one idea but many constitute the Wisconsin Idea, which is summed up in these words by Theodore Roosevelt in his Introduction to Mr. McCarthy's book: "Thanks to the movement for genuinely democratic popular government which Senator La Follette led to overwhelming victory in Wisconsin, that State has become literally a laboratory for wise experimental legislation aiming to secure the social and political betterment of the people as a whole." Not the least, however, of the many ideas in one which Mr. McCarthy here explains, is his own of the Legislative Reference Department. This department furnishes information, drafts legislative measures, and otherwise assists legislators to enact into efficiently workable shape the reforms they wish to legalize. To all reformers, the author gives this excellent advice, that "they can progress much further if they really build well as they proceed," and he touches bottom when he attributes the gross disparities of wealth in our day to "unequal conditions of contract."

PAMPHLETS

The Single Tax Messenger.

The Correspondence Committee of the Women's National Single Tax League has just sent out a leaflet in which is an alphabetical list of the names, officers and principal activities of local Singletax

organizations in the United States and Canada, printed with the object of bringing these organizations into closer touch. All such associations not herein listed are invited to communicate with the committee, of which Grace Isabel Colbron, 250 W. 78th street, New York, is chairman. "Later numbers," The Messenger announces, "will be devoted to local organizations in Europe."

A. L. G.



Pamphlets Received.

History Versus Histerics: An Open Letter to the Vigilantes and the I. W. W. By the Sage of La Jolla.

Memorial Relative to a Postal Express. By George P. Hampton. Presented in the United States Senate by Mr. Owen, April 12, 1912. Printed by the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

The Rating of Land Values. The Case for Hastings, Harrogate, Glasgow. By R. L. Outhwaite. Published by the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, 376 Strand, London, W. C. 1912. Price, one penny.

Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the County Assessors of the State of Washington, in the City of Olympia, January 15-18, 1912, containing an address by W. H. Kaufman, Assessor of Whatcom county, entitled "Taxes That Bless and Taxes That Curse."



Owing to the increased cost of everything, the doughnut had become too valuable to eat. Accordingly it was being financed.

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is it to be financed, too?" So the courts were appealed to.

"The hole," these decided, after three or four

years, "is the equity, and as such it may not be financed."

U. S. Doughnut fell off a point or two, but speedily

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