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EDITORIAL

Condemned.

Bloodshed at Vera Cruz deeply condemns the policy of reprisal. No excuse can wipe it out. Let it also be noted that so far from being a guarantee of peace, our big navy turns out to be a breeder of war. It has driven us into trouble with Dictator Huerta because it could not influence even him. How much more absurd must be the contention that it guarantees peace with stronger powers.

S. D.



The Immediate Duty.

Although President Wilson has made clear that no war with Mexico is in contemplation, yet the war spirit has been aroused and delicate handling will be required to keep it from getting beyond control. That the President's policy will be to keep this evil tendency within bounds may be taken for granted. That he will firmly oppose demands of noisy shouters for action that will increase the seriousness of the situation may also be considered certain. That he will succeed in a task rendered difficult by unwise concessions already made by him to the war spirit, is the immediate object for the accomplishment of which all effort should be made.

S. D.



The Mexican Crisis.

It is a mad world, a very, very mad world! At a time when peace conferences and celebrations are in preparation, and arbitration and disarmament seem to be becoming hazily within the vision of the real, it all fades away into nothingness before the rude shock of war. That is what the present situation means, war. The great mass of the American people have war in their hearts, and their hands clutch eagerly for guns, that they may kill some of their fellow creatures.



But there is a saving remnant. Actual war has

not yet been declared. It is possible that it may not be. What can those who yet see, do to open the eyes of those who are blinded by passion? President Wilson stands for peace, and for the justice that can come only through peace. He may have made mistakes in his treatment of the Mexican problem, and his policies may not have been the best, but there can be no question that he has kept ever in mind the fact that Mexicans are our brother men, and that we can do more for each other as friends than we can as enemies. Nor is there any doubt that he still holds to this high ideal. But he has ventured upon a policy fraught with the gravest dangers. Powerful interests are more eager than ever to force his hand; and a war-mad people, backed by an echoing press, clamors to enter the shambles. It is the duty of every man and woman who has at heart, not alone the immediate victims of war, but those infinitely larger numbers who suffer in after days from the blight of war, to throw every ounce of weight into the scales for peace.

S. C.



Etiquette and War.

A Chinaman of the old school sees an insurmountable objection to a railroad in the fact that building of it will disturb the grave of some ancestor. Some Americans who see the absurdity of that position adhere to a similar absurdity. They hold the refusal of a Mexican official to salute the American flag to be an insurmountable objection to peace. They can no more comprehend how such a refusal may "with honor" be ignored than the Chinaman can understand of what little importance is his ancestor's grave. Because of the obsession which so greatly magnifies the importance of a rule of naval etiquette, the nation has been driven to the position of threatening or of actually beginning war on Mexico. Never again let us treat with contempt the most ridiculous superstitious rite of the most ignorant savage tribe.



It may be asked, "What should have been done?" We were insulted and defied. The apology actually tendered was insufficient. Moreover it was not the first time such disrespect has been shown us." Well, a sensible man will bear in mind the words of the poet Cowper: "No gentleman will insult me. No other can." It is true that Cowper's wisdom is still too deep for most so-called statesmen of this and other countries to grasp. But we should not wait for these to realize the absurdity of some customs of the dark ages in order to adhere to a policy of peace. We should

not be influenced by unintelligent foreign jibes and sneers. If back-number statesmen and publicists of other countries consider self restraint a sign of weakness, then the reflection is on them, not on us. So the incident at Tampico should have been treated by the nation as a sensible individual would treat an insult that had not really injured him. It should have accepted the apology offered, while the Admiral misled by a back-number education into insisting on a certain ceremony, should have been instructed to give common-sense the preference over mediaeval tradition. Surely a question of etiquette may no longer be considered justification for an aggressive war. S. D.



No Time to Pass Army Bills.

A period of war excitement is always taken advantage of by selfish seekers to gain some sinister object. The feeling concerning Mexico is now being used to push to adoption the Hay bill, the object of which is to practically increase the standing army. Those back of the measure clearly feel that calm discussion of the bill, when the war fever will have subsided, will show it to be unfit for adoption. So it has been kept in committee for months waiting a favorable opportunity when any attempt to check it can be howled down. Evidently the present is considered just such a time. That is the very reason why it should not be passed now. If the bill has merit it can stand being subjected to discussion when there is no war spirit abounding. If it can not stand such discussion, it should not be passed at all. In either case action on it should be delayed. To force it to passage now is to confess that it will not bear calm inspection. S. D.



Geographical Politics.

Of all the absurd possibilities of the protective spirit it is doubtful if any surpass its application to political representation. Avowedly for the benefit of the voters—as the tariff is for the protection of labor—it is in reality maintained in the interests of machine politics, and those businesses that make use of machine politics. Aldermen must be elected from arbitrarily prescribed wards, and Congressmen must represent districts laid out every ten years by the party that happens to be in control of the Federal government after the taking of the census. The scandal attaching to these gerrymanders is the least objection to the system. An absolutely honest apportionment, that is, one that allotted to each district the proportion of voters in each party that the party bore to the total

vote of the state, would throw the whole congressional delegation into the hands of the party that had a majority in the State. Under such a system Missouri and Kentucky would have no Republican Congressmen, while Massachusetts and Pennsylvania would have no Democrats.



Arbitrarily formed wards and districts make for small politics. Should several men exceptionally qualified for public service happen to live in the same ward, but one—or at most, two—can be used. Should a congressional district have no man of proper qualifications in a certain party, though that party had the very best of men in another district, they would be unavailable. This produces an effect on politics similar to that of a protective tariff on manufacturing. By preventing the voters from choosing as their representative whomever they please, no matter what his place of residence, the minority parties are rendered helpless, and the majority party, being practically certain of the election, quickly falls a prey to the machinations of the political machine. All the voters fall into a state of indifference, those in the minority because it is useless to contest, and those of the majority because it is unnecessary.



So ingrown is this geographical notion that men seek to apply the idea even where the law has failed to prescribe it. A good illustration is found in the Illinois Senatorial contest, where the cry is raised by some of the aspirants, that we must have a "down state" candidate. The hold-over Senator is from Chicago; and Mr. Sullivan who seeks the honor of misrepresenting the State also lives in Chicago. Hence, the "down state" anti-Sullivan candidates are making much of this feature. Not that they would go too far "down state," but just far enough to take in whatever candidate is raising the issue. But it so happens that the strongest and ablest of the candidates opposed to Mr. Sullivan, John Z. White, also lives in Chicago; and it may be suspected that a part at least of the "down state" cry has been raised for the purpose of inducing the voters to choose their Senator on geographical, instead of political grounds.



Why will men be so utterly irrational? In no other calling is such an idea applied. If one has need of the services of a physician, an engineer, an artist, or expert service in any line, the question of residence is not raised. The best available

is sought. But in politics an exception is made. No matter what a man's qualifications, he is unavailable unless he lies in a certain prescribed district. He may tower above local men as a giant above pygmies, but the law restrains the choice to the pygmies. And where the law has not yet laid down the geographical limitations, men are seeking to apply an unwritten law. Congressmen and Senators are supposed to legislate for the nation, and not for a specified number of square miles of territory; and they should stand for ideas and policies, not for postoffices and Federal marshalships. One of the reasons why the office-hunting disease has so little hold in English politics is that few members of Parliament reside in the district that elects them. It may be impracticable at present to disregard State lines in choosing Representatives, but there is no reason at all why Representatives should not be elected from the state at large, by means of proportional representation; while the Senators should be chosen from among the ablest men, regardless of their place of residence.



The objection to Roger C. Sullivan is not that he happens to live in Chicago, but that he represents machine politics and special privileged business. He would be just as objectionable from a democratic point of view if he resided in Cairo, or at any point between the northern and southern limits of the State. And the fact that John Z. White lives in Chicago is no objection to him. No man in this country, search it as you will, is better qualified to serve in the United States Senate. He is unsurpassed in intellectual power, his understanding and grasp of the new economy is complete, and he has the force and character that carry weight in a public assembly. Illinois has been humiliated as few States have; let us have one Senator of whom we are not ashamed. S. C.



True Democratic Doctrine.

Senator Gore in obtaining the views of delegates to the last Democratic national convention concerning toll exemptions received a true democratic response from Robert F. Devine of Erie, Pa., national Democratic committeeman from that district. Mr. Devine quotes the golden rule as the principle to which all platforms must conform to be considered democratic and then says:

If there be planks in the platform of the Baltimore convention that do not belong there, that do not bear inspection under the light of pure democracy, draw the spikes and pull them out, even though in doing so you make an ugly noise. Put in a plank, or better still, close the gap by shortening the plat-

form. It was natural for mistakes to be made in the Baltimore convention, not only on account of the heat and excitement of that memorable occasion, but also because there were many there who were Democratic only in name. The Bryan resolution and the Wilson nomination were its chief merits. . . . Why should ship-owners enjoy a special privilege in the use of the property of the whole people? Why should we discriminate against the people of another country, and then call ourselves Democrats? Swat the fly of privilege at every turn, and do it quick. The best reason for following Wilson is that he leads wisely and right. Why waste so much time over every little job you have to do? We cannot do it as manufacturers, we must observe the laws of progress and efficiency or go bankrupt. If you were all like the President, and your consideration of public questions were derived from the simple fundamental principles above referred to, your conclusions could be reached with less delay and less cost to the people you represent. . . . The power to tax us while you waste time over petty questions that are self-evidently right or wrong is the only excuse or reason for delay in the case of questions such as the one now before you.

Mr. Devine's reply is to the point and the position he assumes is the only one that can be assumed by a thorough advocate of true democracy.

S. D.



Public Service Corporations Not Starving.

In the New York Evening Post of April 6 occurs the following, under the heading of "Public Utilities": Compilations of earnings of 75 public service companies for the year 1913 show an increase of 10.4 per cent in gross earnings and an increase of 9.8 per cent in net after taxes." The figures for 1913 are gross earnings, \$91,361,574; expenses and taxes, \$50,628,730; net earnings, \$40,732,844. A correspondent in Columbus, Ohio, commenting on these figures calls attention to the fact that the steam roads now telling hard luck stories to the Interstate Commerce Commission are operating under the same business conditions. Whether the management of the steam roads is less efficient than that of these other public service corporations, or whether the hard luck stories leave something important untold, is a matter that needs satisfactory explanation before any rate increase can be justified.

S. D.



Reckoning Day.

One of the grotesque, and in some respects, pathetic, features of the railway problem, as the managers stand, hat in hand, begging the Interstate Commerce Commission for permission to raise freight rates, lies in the fact that the men who brought the roads to this pass have made off

with their swag and left the present managers holding the bag. Vanderbilt, Gould, Huntington, Harriman, and a long list of daring adventurers, withdrew their hundreds of millions, and left in their place beautifully printed stocks and bonds upon which present-day managers are expected to pay dividends and interest. How fortunate for those men that the Constitution prohibits ex post facto laws!



But the present holders of railroad securities have been most liberally treated, as compared with the general public during the earlier days of railroad construction. Men are still living who can recall the appearance of the persuasive-mannered gentry who talked railroad until farmers, village merchants, and everybody with a few dollars in savings became so enthusiastic over the building of a road that they were willing to subscribe to the stock; and those who lacked ready money gave mortgages on their farms and homes in pledge. And then, when the last dollar had been wrung from the people, the company would go into bankruptcy, be sold for a song to a new company composed of the members of the old one, and go ahead with the road without the burden of its former indebtedness. The present holders are threatened with a falling of their stocks. Those earlier holders were not only threatened, but visited, with annihilation. Stocks have gone down in former days, but there was always the expectation that they would rise again; it is the present decline without that hope that unnerves the holders. Should the general public appear unmoved in the presence of this near-tragedy, let it be remembered that this same general public has among the relics handed down from a former generation, a great quantity of paper indicative of the frenzied finance that led to the present dilemma. The feeling of the public toward these embarrassed financiers is not unlike that of a slave for his impoverished master. There may be promptings to sympathy for misfortune, but they are held in check by the memory of past wrongs; and should the relief now sought be denied, the present holders may derive some consolation in contemplating the workings of the inexorable law of cause and effect.

S. C.



Poverty a Cause of Extravagance.

When Frances Willard, the great temperance advocate, said that poverty caused drunkenness as well as drunkenness caused poverty, she brought herself within the pale of the safe and sane. The

same thought has been suggested by recent socio-logical investigations. The apparent improvidence of the poor is not entirely due to ignorance, or lack of forethought. Many of those in the lower strata of wage earners are so circumstanced that only the stoic or the miser could lay by anything from their scanty earnings. To do so would require a monotony of existence intolerably dull and stifling. The workhouse would be no worse, and death would be preferable. But these people have their little rivalries and ambitions; and the more hopeless the gratification of their desires, the more reckless they become in seeking satisfaction. Hence, the wedding that exhausts in a day the savings of a year; and the funeral that lays a crushing burden of debt upon the living. This consuming desire to outdo the neighbors in social events is the sole remaining spark of manhood that has survived the crushing weight of our modern economic condition. And it proclaims even under these untoward circumstances the persist-ance of individuality, in spite of man's bungling. If these victims of poverty were content to go on year in and year out, with no more diversion than a horse in a tread-mill, then, indeed, would their plight be hopeless. The daring to waste indicates a capacity to take advantage of wider opportuni-ties when they shall be provided.

S. C.



The Lesson of the Copper Strike.

The copper strike in Michigan was, as are all strikes, an effort of workers to overcome a heavy handicap placed upon them by law. The handi-cap has proven too strong. It always does. Even had the operators granted all demands and enforced a closed shop, the benefit of the victory being restricted to members of the organization would not have proven a solution of labor troubles. The weight of the handicap would eventually have broken the union's strength. Sooner or later the power conferred through pri-vate monopoly of natural resources together with the need of laborers outside of the union would have proven too much for the union to contend against. Perhaps the former strikers now understand that however serviceable organization may be as a weapon of defense under existing unfair conditions, it can not bring permanent industrial peace together with social justice. To secure that, monopoly of natural resources must be destroyed. If that lesson has been learned the suffering and sacrifices of the long struggle have not been in vain.

S. D.

An American "Cat-and-Mouse" Act.

The history of "Mother" Jones' illegal impris-onment shows the possibility of "cat-and-mouse" proceedings in this country, without authority of law. A person may be arrested without warrant as "Mother" Jones was and held incommunicado. Her friends may apply for a writ of habeas corpus as did the friends of "Mother" Jones. After enough red tape has been unwound to bring con-sideration of the case close to the Supreme Court, she can be released, which will give the court a legal excuse for refusing to pass upon the case, and for neglect to render a decision that would prevent similar outrages in the future. Then the victim can be arrested again, and proceedings for release must be begun afresh. All this is possible in Colo-rado anyway, unless the Supreme Court happens to consider Constitutional rights of citizens more important than technicalities or precedents. In that case it will pass on the legality of "Mother" Jones' imprisonment, regardless of her release.

S. D.



A Righteous Decision.

Credit is due the Supreme Court of New Jersey for reversing the conviction of Alexander Scott, editor of the Paterson Weekly Issue, who was con-victed last June, for referring to the local police as "cossacks," "strike breakers" and "brass but-toned anarchists." The conviction was ostensibly under an outrageous law enacted during the ex-citement following McKinley's assassination. But even the meaning of this law had to be distorted to make an appearance of bringing Scott's case within it. Had the Supreme Court upheld the conviction, freedom of the press in New Jersey would have been at an end. It is deplorable that rights of this kind must depend on the chance of a proper decision by a Supreme Court. But in this case the result has been what it should be, and the court has done well.

S. D.



Correcting Nature.

What a chaotic state of affairs this old world would be in were it not for the guidance and as-sistance of those public spirited individuals who are ready and willing to supply the deficiencies and correct the mistakes of Nature! A "radical think-er" suggests, in order to correct the present tend-ency of the native American to give way before the more prolific immigrant, that the "Federal government take steps to regulate the number of births among the lower classes." This is a propo-sition of vast possibilities. By such restraining

laws the British government could maintain the balance between the wrangling and jealous Hindus and Mohammedans of India. And by the same means a national administration in this country could perpetuate its power by cutting down the birthrate of its opponents. Regulation is the word. Regulate competition, trusts, and atomic weight; regulate everything that Nature has omitted.

S. C.



Privilege and Equal Suffrage.

A letter in opposition to equal suffrage has been issued by Archbishop Henry Moeller, of Cincinnati, and he has requested priests of his diocese to present his views to their congregations. In this he is within his rights, for he urges that all be given to understand that he is only speaking as an individual, not as a representative of the church. His arguments being the same as have been answered time and again, need not be reviewed. Archbishop Moeller's position in this matter is diametrically opposed to that of Archbishop Quigley of Chicago, who strongly urged Catholic women to vote and thus did much to confute the assertions of anti-suffragists. Archbishop Moeller is consistent, inasmuch as he has openly favored Privilege in all recent contests in Cincinnati, especially where traction interests were involved. His proclivities in that direction naturally make him an opponent of so democratic a move as that for equal suffrage.

S. D.



Why Mayor Lunn Was Obnoxious.

While the Socialist administration of Schenectady, New York, was in power two Socialist assessors endeavored to increase the assessments of tracts of vacant lands. Their two Democratic colleagues opposed their efforts, and succeeded in preventing any increase. Now, with conservatives once more in power, some of this land has been acquired for park purposes and a condemnation commission has awarded the owners many times the assessed valuation. It is easy to understand now why it was so important to Schenectady's "best citizens" to defeat former Mayor Lunn for re-election.

S. D.



A Menace to Business.

Hostility to true business interests is displayed by the Ohio State Board of Commerce and its organ, the Journal of Commerce. The State Board is an organization of privileged interests which thrive by levying tribute on useful business. It

has prepared a taxation amendment to the Constitution to be submitted through initiative petition. The amendment provides for classification of property for purposes of taxation, but cunningly restricts the classification so that while Privilege may get whatever benefits it wants, Useful Business will get as little as possible. That this will be the case is admitted by the Journal of Commerce in the issue of April 15 in the following words, "This amendment makes the singletax impossible." The Journal's statement, while not strictly true, shows further amendment will be necessary to get the singletax. By "making singletax impossible" as far as the amendment can, a severe blow is aimed at every useful industry in the State.



"Making singletax impossible" means making it impossible for Ohio industries to be relieved of unjust and burdensome taxation. It means that every manufacturer, merchant and other business man must continue to pay heavy taxes on the building he occupies. It means continuation in some form or other of taxes on machinery, stock, fixtures and output. It probably means that odious license and occupation taxes must be levied. It means discouragement of useful industry and a premium on idleness. It means subjecting of business men to payment of exorbitant rents and inflated prices for land. It means that they must continue to be objects of extortion on the part of privileged monopolies. "Making singletax impossible" means making it impossible to tax properly the franchises of monopolistic corporations. It means insufficient taxation of the vacant land owner who holds up the manufacturer or merchant in need of additional room for his business. It means limiting the purchasing power of consumers and consequent limitation of business. It means, in short, continuation of the struggle of the average business man to make ends meet and avoid bankruptcy. All this—that holders of franchises and of unused and partially used lands may not be disturbed in drawing of unearned profits. How do the business men of Ohio like it?



It is not only the business men whose interests would be betrayed. Farmers and laborers would suffer even more. The system would be continued under which farmers must list for taxation their crops, live stock and other labor products. Yet one of the objects of announcing that it "makes the singletax impossible" is to fool the farmers. It is based on the belief that farmers are under the absurdly false impression that singletax will in-

crease their burdens when it would, in fact, lighten them. It is thus a demagogic appeal to ignorance, and known to be such by prominent officials of the State Board of Commerce and by the Journal of Commerce. Land values on farms, exclusive of improvements, are very small compared with land values in cities and values of franchises. So, of course, under the singletax the smallest share of taxation will fall on working farmers. Now, Ohio farmers are asked to support a proposed amendment on the ground that it will make a system impossible that would lighten their burdens. Laborers are asked to vote for an amendment that will make impossible a system opening to them more opportunities for employment and increasing the purchasing power of their wages. If the proposed amendment has any merit at all the Journal of Commerce does not mention it. It only points out a very serious objection and tries to palm it off as a recommendation. S. D.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE PREFERENTIAL VOTE IN NEW JERSEY.

Trenton, N. J., April 14.

The New Jersey Legislature, a few days ago, passed an act which has been signed by the Governor and now is a law, providing for the election of Commissioners in all Commission governed cities in the State, by what is substantially the Spokane system of preferential voting. The Commission Government Law of New Jersey before this supplement was passed, provided for the election under the Des Moines system of a double election, the first, called the primary election, being held to select the highest ten from whom five would be chosen at a subsequent election. This law places, at one stroke, all cities in the State which have adopted Commission Government, and all which may hereafter adopt it, under the system of election by preferential voting and is perhaps the most important step that has been made in that direction because of the number of municipalities affected. The cities which have adopted this form of government and come under this act include Jersey City, Trenton, Atlantic City, Bordentown and a number of smaller municipalities in the State. LINTON SATTERTHWAITE



"Write a short paragraph about the Mayflower compact," said a teacher in a certain high school, "telling for what group of people it was drawn up, why it was drawn up, and giving the main provisions of the compact."

This is one pupil's answer:

"The Mayflower was a ship that the Pilgrims used. It was drawn up for the Pilgrims in 1830. It was drawn up because the Pilgrims could not get along with the people who lived by them. The provisions were roasted corn and wild turkey."—Judge.

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, April 21, 1914.

Mexico and the United States.

The flag salute incident has steadily grown in importance until it has assumed the possibility of war. General Huerta at first declined to order the firing of the salute to the American flag at Tampico. A long conference of the Cabinet on the 14th led to President Wilson's ordering the Atlantic and West Indies fleets, as well as those of the Pacific to proceed to Mexico. General Huerta agreed on the 16th to fire the desired salute, on condition that the United States return the salute. This offer was accepted by President Wilson. But on the 17th General Huerta conditioned his offer with the stipulation that the Americans should answer his salute gun for gun, as fired. This was held by President Wilson to be an evasion of the point at issue, and General Huerta was given until 6 o'clock of the 19th to make final answer. General Huerta refused to recede from his position. [See current volume, page 369.]



President Wilson laid the matter before a joint session of Congress on the 20th, delivering in person the following message:

It is my duty to call your attention to a situation which has arisen in our dealings with General Victoriano Huerta at Mexico City, which calls for action, and to ask your advice and co-operation in acting upon it.

On the ninth of April a paymaster of the U. S. S. Dolphin landed at the Iturbide bridge landing at Tampico with a whaleboat and boat's crew, to take off certain supplies needed by his ship, and while engaged in loading the boat was arrested by an officer and squad of men of the army of General Huerta. Neither the paymaster nor any one of the boat's crew was armed. Two of the men were in the boat when the arrest took place, and were obliged to leave it and submit to be taken into custody, notwithstanding the fact that the boat carried, both at her bow and at her stern, the flag of the United States.

The officer who made the arrest was proceeding up one of the streets of the town with his prisoners when met by an officer of higher authority, who ordered him to return to the landing and await orders, and within an hour and a half from the time of the arrest orders were received from the commander of the Huertista forces at Tampico for the release of the paymaster and his men.

The release was followed by apologies from the commander and later by an expression of regret by General Huerta himself. General Huerta urged that martial law obtained at the time at Tampico; that

orders had been issued that no one should be allowed to land at the Iturbide bridge, and that our sailors had no right to land there.

Our naval commanders at the port had not been notified of any such prohibition, and, even if they had been, the only justifiable course open to the local authorities would have been to request the paymaster and his crew to withdraw and to lodge a protest with the commanding officer of the fleet.

Admiral Mayo regarded the arrest as so serious an affront that he was not satisfied with the apologies offered, but demanded that the flag of the United States be saluted with special ceremony by the military commander of the port.

The incident cannot be regarded as a trivial one, especially as two of the men arrested were taken from the boat itself—that is to say, from the territory of the United States. But had it stood by itself it might have been attributed to the ignorance or arrogance of a single officer. Unfortunately, it was not an isolated case.

A series of incidents have recently occurred which cannot but create the impression that the representatives of General Huerta were willing to go out of their way to show disregard for the dignity and rights of this government and felt perfectly safe in doing what they pleased, making free to show in many ways their irritation and contempt.

A few days after the incident at Tampico an orderly from the U. S. S. Minnesota was arrested at Vera Cruz while ashore in uniform to obtain the ship's mail, and was for a time thrown into jail. An official dispatch from this government to its embassy at Mexico City was withheld by the authorities of the telegraphic service until peremptorily demanded by our chargé d'affaires in person.

So far as I can learn, such wrongs and annoyances have been suffered only to occur against representatives of the United States. I have heard of no complaints from other governments of similar treatment.

Subsequent explanation and formal apologies did not and could not alter the popular impression, which it is possible it had been the object of the Huertista authorities to create, that the government of the United States was being singled out and might be singled out with impunity for slights and affronts in retaliation for its refusal to recognize the pretensions of General Huerta to be regarded as the Constitutional provisional President of the Republic of Mexico.

The manifest danger of such a situation was that such offenses might grow from bad to worse until something happened of so gross and intolerable a sort as to lead directly and inevitably to armed conflict.

It was necessary that the apologies of General Huerta and his representatives should go much further, that they should be such as to attract the attention of the whole population to their significance and such as to impress upon General Huerta himself the necessity of seeing to it that no further occasion for explanations and professed regrets should arise. I, therefore, felt it my duty to sustain Admiral Mayo in the whole of his demand and to insist that the flag of the United States should be saluted in such a way as to indicate a new spirit and attitude on the part of the Huertistas.

Such a salute General Huerta has refused, and I have come to ask your approval and support in the course I now purpose to pursue.

This government can, I earnestly hope, in no circumstances be forced into war with the people of Mexico. Mexico is torn by civil strife. If we are to accept the tests of its own Constitution, it has no government. General Huerta has set his power up in the city of Mexico, such as it is, without right and by methods for which there can be no justification. Only part of the country is under his control.

If armed conflict should unhappily come as a result of this attitude of personal resentment toward this government, we should be fighting only General Huerta and those who adhere to him and give him their support, and our object would be only to restore to the people of the distracted Republic the opportunity to set up again their own laws and their own government.

But I earnestly hope that war is not now in question. I believe that I speak for the American people when I say that we do not desire to control in any degree the affairs of our sister Republic.

Our feeling for the people of Mexico is one of deep and genuine friendship, and everything that we have so far done or refrained from doing has proceeded from our desire to help them, not to hinder or embarrass them. We would not wish even to exercise the good offices of friendship without their welcome and consent.

The people of Mexico are entitled to settle their own domestic affairs in their own way and we sincerely desire to respect their right. The present situation need have none of the grave complications of interference if we deal with it promptly, firmly and wisely.

No doubt, I could do what is necessary in the circumstances to enforce respect for our government without recourse to the Congress and yet not exceed my Constitutional powers as President; but I do not wish to act in a matter possibly of so grave consequence except in close conference and co-operation with both the Senate and the House.

I, therefore, come to ask your approval that I should now use the armed forces of the United States in such ways and to such an extent as may be necessary to obtain from General Huerta and his adherents the fullest recognition of the rights and dignity of the United States, even amid the distressing conditions now unhappily obtaining in Mexico.

There can, in what we do, be no thought of aggression or of selfish aggrandizement. We seek to maintain the dignity and authority of the United States only because we wish always to keep our great influence unimpaired for the uses of liberty, both in the United States and wherever else it may be employed for the benefit of mankind.

The House of Representatives adopted by a vote of 337 to 37 the following resolution:

"Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, that the President of the United States is justified in the employment of the armed forces of the United States to enforce the demands upon Victoriano Huerta for unequivocal amends to the government of the United States for affronts and indignities commit-

ted against this government by General Huerta and his representatives."

The Senate passed the resolution on April 22 by a vote of 72 to 13.



Vera Cruz was taken by the fleet under Admiral Fletcher on April 21. Four Americans and 200 Mexicans are reported killed and twenty Americans wounded.



General Carranza and General Villa met in Chihuahua on the 20th to discuss future policies. This is the first meeting of the two men in four years, but there was every appearance of friendliness and accord. It was given out after the conference that the revolution would be prosecuted regardless of the action of the United States, so long as Constitutional territory was not invaded or threatened.



Six days' fighting between the Federals who evacuated Torreon, and the troops under General Villa, reported to number 12,000 of the former, and 10,000 of the latter, ended in the routing of the Federals at San Pedras de las Colinas, forty miles east of Torreon. The final battle was very severe, and is reported to have resulted in 5,000 killed and wounded.



Militaristic Measure Held Up.

The Hay bill which passed the House December 3, 1913, was suddenly reported out of the committee on Military Affairs to the Senate with some amendments on April 20 by Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, chairman. The bill makes the militia of each State subject to call for service as part of the regular army. It gives the President, instead of the Governors, authority to appoint volunteer officers. Militia organizations would be taken over bodily with their officers. The Senate promptly passed the bill without opposition. But before it could be sent to conference, Senator Reed of Missouri moved a reconsideration and this probably will delay final action for several days. [See vol. xvi, p. 1188.]



Miscellaneous Congressional Doings.

Chairman Clayton of the House Judiciary Committee introduced on April 14 a revised administration anti-trust bill. It contains a prohibition of interlocking directorates described as being less drastic than any formerly proposed. Banks of less than \$2,500,000 capital are excepted from its provisions. It allows a corporation to acquire the stock of a competitor for investment purposes, but not to such an extent as to create a monopoly. It provides that labor unions and other mutual organizations "not having capital stock or conducted for profit" shall not be re-

strained from carrying out their "legitimate objects." But they may be prosecuted if they commit acts held by the bill to be illegal. The bill establishing an Interstate Trade Commission with very limited powers of control over corporations doing an interstate business was favorably reported to the House on the same day by the Committee on Inter-State Commerce. [See current volume, page 275.]



The House on April 17 put an end to the allowance of twenty cents a mile for traveling expenses to members of Congress. This allowance has been the custom ever since the formation of the Government. The appropriation just made, however, only allows members actual traveling expenses.



Oscar S. Straus, Secretary of Commerce and Labor during Roosevelt's administration, appeared before the Senate Committee on Inter-Oceanic Canals on April 15, to urge repeal of the tolls exemption clause of the Panama Canal act. He held the exemption to be an indefensible subsidy to the coastwise shipping trust and a violation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. He declared that the exemption would not lower rates but would give to the shipping trust \$1,500,000 or \$2,000,000 annually. [See current volume, page 323.]



English Politics.

Little or no progress in the Home Rule movement is apparent. The Unionists in general are still humble from their blunder, but Sir Edward Carson is fast recovering his fighting spirit and is busily engaged in drilling his Ulster volunteers. Premier Asquith, upon his re-entry into Parliament after his election for East Fife, was greeted with an inspiring ovation. [See current volume, page 369.]



The Independent Labor party, at the closing session of its annual conference at Bradford on the 14th, adopted a resolution by a vote of 233 to 78, instructing the Labor members in Parliament to act independently of the Liberal party. Cabinet rule was denounced by the resolution, as suppressing the right of individual members of Parliament to voice the policy of his party. Members of the Labor party in the House of Commons were requested to vote on all issues in accordance with the principles of the party. A resolution to readmit the Socialist party to the ranks of the Labor party was voted down.



The Labor War.

"Mother" Jones was released on April 16 from military imprisonment at Walsenburg, Colorado. The Supreme Court had cited General Chase to

produce her on April 17 for a habeas corpus hearing. But Governor Ammons recalled the militia from Walsenburg, which ended martial law there and automatically released all military prisoners. It is doubtful now whether the Supreme Court will proceed with the case. On being released "Mother" Jones left for Denver at once. A request was made of the court by her attorneys on April 20 that it proceed with the hearing in spite of her release. [See current volume, page 372.]



What is described as a battle between militia and strikers in the Ludlow strike district of southern Colorado took place on April 20. Associated Press reports concerning the affair are so vague as to indicate that a number of important details are unknown, or have been withheld. All that is definitely stated is to the effect that the battle lasted fourteen hours, that the militia swept the strikers' tent colony with a machine gun, that the tents were all destroyed and that thirteen persons were killed, including eleven strikers, one non-combatant and one soldier.



In behalf of the twenty-seven labor leaders sentenced for complicity in a dynamite conspiracy a delegation of Senators and Representatives called on President Wilson on April 16. They urged him to request Attorney General McReynolds to secure a reprieve from the Circuit Court of Appeals at Chicago. [See current volume, page 301.]



Tax Reform News.

The proposed Home Rule in Taxation Amendment to the California Constitution was endorsed on April 8 by the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco. This action was taken after discussion of two committee reports, one favorable and the other hostile. [See vol. xvi, p. 1213.]



Horace Hervey and Louis Josephson, imprisoned in Trenton, New Jersey, since February 13 for non-payment of poll tax, were released on April 16 on account of payment of the tax for them by some unknown individual. [See current volume, page 253.]



A taxation amendment to the Ohio Constitution to be submitted through initiative petition has been prepared by the State Board of Commerce. It limits tax levies to ten mills unless voters authorize an increase. Property is classified for taxation into real estate, tangible personality and intangible personality. In its announcement the

State Board says: "This Amendment makes the Singletax impossible because writing classification into the Constitution precludes the adoption of Singletax, and with a one per cent tax limit Singletax will not produce revenue enough to support government. The amendment does not seek to exempt bonds from taxation."

NEWS NOTES

—A bust of the late William T. Stead, the English writer who was lost on the Titanic two years ago, has been unveiled in the Palace of Peace at The Hague.

—Frank McLees of Rutherford, New Jersey, well-known as an advocate of Singletax, was on April 7 appointed by Governor Fielder a member of the Bergen County Tax Board.

—A proposed increase of two per cent in freight rates between the Middle West and the Atlantic Coast was suspended on April 17 by the Interstate Commerce Commission pending investigation, until August 13.

—Mayor Mitchel of New York City was shot at on April 17 by a demented man named Michael P. Mahoney. The bullet missed the Mayor, but slightly wounded Corporation Counsel Frank Polk, who was with him at the time.

—Germany's toy production amounts to \$29,750,000 annually, of which \$21,420,000 worth are exported, and \$8,330,000 are used at home. France manufactures about \$9,520,000, and the United States about the same amount.

—Under orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission passenger rates on all railroads will be readjusted to conform with the long and short haul provisions of the law. The new rates will become effective on May 1, and according to reports will result in a general reduction of tariffs.

—The Federal grand jury at Washington returned indictments on April 16 against four of the witnesses who refused to testify to the Interstate Commerce Commission concerning relations of the Billard Company with the New York, New Haven and Hartford railway. [See current volume, page 374.]

—The Supreme Court of the United States upheld on April 20 the right of a State to regulate insurance rates. The decision related to the fire insurance law of Kansas. In dissenting Justice Lamar declared that the decision upheld in fact the right of a State to fix the price of every article on the market.

—Lee Merriwether, former State Labor Commissioner of Missouri, announces his candidacy for the Democratic Congressional nomination from the Twelfth district, in the city of St. Louis, at the primary on August 4. In his declaration of principles, Mr. Merriwether opposes toll exemptions and other subsidies, endorses President Wilson's policy, denounces protective tariffs and declares for the initiative, referendum, direct primaries, old age pen-

sions, workingmen's compensation acts and prevention of child labor.

—A measure to regulate gambling by licensing bookmaking has been adopted by the German Federal Council, and is now awaiting the action of the Reichstag. It is estimated that there are 200,000 betting places in Germany, and since 6 per cent of every bet entered will go to the government, with an additional tax of from 6 per cent to 30 per cent on the winner, considerable revenue is likely to be found.

—The second national Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits, called by the Western Economic Society, met in Chicago on April 14. It remained in session until April 17. Resolutions were passed expressing distrust of pending rural credit legislation. Other resolutions declare that "The Sherman act as it is now construed is a serious menace to the progress of organization and confederation," and ask for "legislation which will not hinder or forbid such legitimate organization and which will prevent unfair practices by all organizations as well as protect such organizations from unfair discrimination and practices directed by great or small combinations or dealers." [See vol. xvi, p. 374.]

PRESS OPINIONS

The President's Mexican Policy.

The Christian Science Monitor (Boston), April 17. Things have gone far enough, we think, to justify the United States in insisting that the reparation for the kind of treatment to which it has been subjected should be made at once, not for any mere triviality of ruffled feathers, but as an earnest that whatever authorities have set themselves up in the distracted republic to the south shall, in dealing with civilized peoples, bring themselves into accord with that procedure which alone, when relations are strained, has enabled the agents of rival nations to act and interact without precipitating trouble. Were the public and congress informed as to the tenor of Special Commissioner Lind's face-to-face talk with the President relative to affairs in Mexico City, and were all other evidence on the situation open to the world, no doubt it would be apparent that the sudden alteration of policy has sufficient moral justification and can be made consistent with the President's prior policy of "watchful waiting." It is with this conviction strong within them that many persons will refrain from criticism of the more aggressive mood, who cannot contemplate with approval any acts that are likely to cause war, even though they may be justified by precedent and by international law. That a majority of citizens of the United States and of their congressional representatives support the administration in its present demand for an apology from the de facto Mexican government is beyond doubt. A minority, while not withholding approval, will give it solely because of confidence in the President's judgment and because they are sure that he has no such belligerent ends in view as some reports accredit to him. Such observers will recall that he is deeply committed to a pacific policy toward Iberian America by his memorable speech

at Mobile. . . . Expansion of territory for the sake of territory, war for the sake of war, military strife without in order to suppress political strife within, all these are motives lacking in a majority of citizens' desires as they face the complex, strained situation in which the republics that should be good neighbors find themselves. It is a time for continued patience, good will and emphasis on idealism as well as for affirmation of national rights and the letter of the law. The highest interests of the United States are against war or annexation, or any additional burdens of racial assimilation and imperial rule.



What Gold Lace Has Done for Us.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat, April 15.—What childishness is this upon which Washington seems to be insisting. War with Mexico unless an admiral's demand for a salute to the Stars and Stripes? That is gravely declared to be the alternative. An officious underling at Tampico arrested a paymaster and a squad of marines, and held them for a few minutes until called down by his superiors. This is interpreted by the American admiral—and apparently by Washington—as an "insult"; an insult to be retrieved by the firing of a salute of twenty-one guns to the flag. Failing that—war! That is the gold lace notion of maintaining the national honor. That is the bureaucratic conception of what the United States must resort to when some fool foreigner either ignorantly or maliciously gives an affront which officialdom has magnified into a mortal assault on national dignity. Yet Mexican officials were swift to deny any intentional courtesy. They were quick to express their regret and their purpose properly to discipline the petty officer who committed the blunder. . . . This should have settled the matter there and then. But our great admiral would not let slip so good a chance as this to jump into the center of the stage. The flag must be saluted or war resorted to as the alternative. Only thus can the insult be wiped out and the dignity of the great republic upheld! What rot. What besotted devotion to a false conception of national dignity and honor. What stupid following of autocratic precedent. For an offense that at the very worst was merely venial it is proposed that a bloody war shall be precipitated in the absence of a ceremony sealing an apology already offered. The lives of hundreds, or possibly thousands, of American men are to be sacrificed to wipe out a fancied insult. Hundreds of millions of treasure are to be poured out to satisfy the punctilio of an admiral whose vanity outweighs his patriotism and whose sense of honor has been blunted by a too serious view of himself. But for the horrible gravity of it all it would be excruciatingly funny.



Silly Enough as It Is.

The Day Book (Chicago) April 18.—I don't just get that saluting the flag business, unless it is pretty much the same thing as not only making a boy apologize for doing something, but making him get down on his knees to do it. . . . But why waste all that good ammunition? It would have been much more theatrical and spectacular to make Huerta stand on his

head and recite the Declaration of Independence backwards. Or to stand on one leg and sing "Marching Through Georgia" in the key of X. Either of these would have been inexpensive and both sides could have saved their powder. . . . But what the dickens would become of us if Huerta made a mistake and fired off twenty-three guns instead of twenty-one? And what if the gun busted? Anyhow and nevertheless, Hurrah for Our Side, Doggone it! When you are ready, Huerta, you may salute.



Conquest Impossible.

Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 16.—If Huerta is seeking to unite all Mexicans to resist a war of conquest he may as well desist at once. Such a war is an impossibility—at least during the lifetime of the present administration at Washington.



Still Impossible to Refine War.

Cleveland (O.) Press, April 3.—"Our women and children have as good a right to fine things as the women and children of the United States have; and it's the fault of the Mexican men that they haven't got them." So Pancho Villa once replied to an American who asked him why he was on the war-path. In other words, his insurgency rests upon precisely the same basis of motive as the politer progressive movement in the United States, differing only in circumstances. The rebel chief expresses a feeling which is the chief mainspring of human progress. . . . Don't let the shock of Villa's crudities and much exaggerated cruelties close your mind to the possibility—nay, we believe, the certainty—that underneath them is a human soul flaming with righteous wrath at acute injustice. A Mexican man out to do, as best he may, a man's job in behalf of the weak, the poor, the wronged.



President Wilson and Congress.

McGregor in Harper's Weekly, April 18.—What is the secret of President Wilson's overwhelming influence with Congress? First, let it be said that it has not been the use of the patronage. When the tariff bill was under discussion the two senators from Louisiana, voting against the bill, testified that they had been treated just as other senators had been treated, their wishes being consulted to the same degree about the appointments to office from their state. Williams in the Senate and Glass in the House have challenged so peremptorily the proof of the insinuation that the President was purchasing votes by using the patronage, that no one has had the hardihood to make the accusation since. After all, simplest explanations are the best. A Senator, returning from his state, recently offered an entirely reasonable solution of the problem. He said: "The fact is that Woodrow Wilson is stronger with the people of any congressional district and of any state than the representative from that district or the senators from that state, and we all know it." The people have, with a considerable degree of unanimity, come to the conclusion that the President is a friend of theirs, that he knows what he

is about, and is willing to work untiringly for their benefit. And they let their impressions about Woodrow Wilson percolate into the congressional mind. It would not be fair to many independent members of both houses of congress to leave the impression that they are persuaded against their convictions by what they find the people want them to think. For their case it is sufficient to say that President Wilson has displayed political genius of the highest order in frankly arguing the case with those who differ with him. He is so intellectually honest that he will admit the force of any argument that he cannot answer, and adopt the other man's point of view. Some one asked him if his mind was closed about a certain proposition. "Closed, but not locked," was his reply. But after he has heard all sides of a question he takes his little notebook into his private study at night, and there makes up his mind finally. And then he is able, with his clear thinking and apt choosing of words, to convince another sincere man. "How can we help it?" said one who had just announced his change to the President's point of view. "He knows more than any of us, and he shows us that he is right."



Aftermath of the Milwaukee Election.

Milwaukee Leader, April 18.—The "nonpartisans" who have money and want to make more and spend it in their own way without any interference by the state, are now directing their attention to the "Progressives" at Madison. . . . The Sentinel, which takes the temperature of Big Business the first thing when it gets up in the morning and the last thing when it goes to bed at night, is quite convinced that Wisconsin is suffering from too much "Socialism." It tells us:

There is undoubtedly a statewide revolt in Wisconsin against governmental extravagance. The tendencies of government and political thought at the state capital for the last twelve years have unquestionably been Socialistic—though of course not avowedly so. . . . All this so-called "progressivism" at Madison is Socialistic, and it has been running up the bills for cost of government until the taxpayers are at last thoroughly awake to the fact that they are paying a ruinous price for the Socialistic frolic at the state capital.

The election is over. . . . It was not fear of high taxes that excited the alarms of the street railway company and the capitalistic interests. It was loss of power in the municipal government that aroused them to a realization of the "disgrace" which had fallen upon Milwaukee. If it had been merely a question of taxes, the Social-Democrats had by far the better record. But the high tax cry was a pretense two years ago as it will be a pretense in the fall campaign to capture the state. What the capitalistic interests want is to be let alone. Constant governmental meddling makes them nervous. They don't like to have so many inquisitive professors on the State pay roll. They prefer politicians who have no theories.



Illinois Equal Suffrage Test.

Elkhart (Ind.) Progressive Democrat, April 15.—The women of Illinois certainly have demonstrated that they are interested in the ballot when the ques-

tion at issue is one which touches them and their homes. In a greater majority of communities where the liquor question was an issue at the election of last week, the drys won because the women voted that way. . . . We believe their position in this respect is a mistaken one. We think equal freedom is the object of sound legislation, and that goodness and order will flow spontaneously from free conditions. It is because we believe in equal freedom that we believe in woman suffrage. Women are entitled to the ballot because they are human beings and it is their own business to determine how they shall use it.



A Press Monopoly.

Reedy's Mirror (St. Louis), April 11.—Samuel Untermyer, in the North American Review, suggests that Congress, while it is about curbing and abolishing combinations in restraint of trade, should annihilate the Associated Press. He is right. The Associated Press is a news monopoly. It makes such conditions for services that daily journalism in the United States is become an exclusive privilege. No man can get the news for sale save upon the terms made by those with whom his entrance upon the business of dispensing news would make him a competitor. The Associated Press enjoys special rates and rebates from a public service corporation and common carrier. No paper can join the Associated Press by simply paying the cost of the news service, or paying his proportion of that cost. He can only join upon the unanimous consent of those members of the Associated Press who have already pre-empted the field into which he would venture. This news monopoly is a bad thing. The people who control the news may color it. And while members of the Associated Press are of all parties, they are still, as owners of big properties, members of one party, the plutocratic, and their servants leap to that interest in dealing with matters connected with vital economic issues other than the empty disputes of party politics. The Associated Press should be made to let every publisher in upon payment of reasonable pro rata of cost of service. But it will be a long time before this is done. Congress is afraid of the newspapers. And President Wilson is seeking no issue that will make trouble for him with all of the biggest papers in the country.



Make for thyself a definition or description of the thing which is presented to thee, so as to see distinctly what kind of a thing it is, in its substance, in its nudity, in its complete entirety, and tell thyself its proper name, and the names of the things of which it has been compounded, and into which it will be resolved. For nothing is so productive of elevation of mind as to be able to examine methodically and truly every object which is presented to thee in life, and always to look at things so as to see at the same time what kind of universe this is, and what kind of use everything performs in it, and what value everything has with reference to the whole, and what with reference to man, who is a citizen of the highest city, of which all other cities are like families; what each thing is, and of what it is composed, and how long it is the nature of this thing to endure.—Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A PRAYER FOR PEACE.

God of the nations, near and far,
Ruler of all mankind,
Bless Thou Thy people as they strive
The paths of peace to find.

The clash of arms still shakes the sky,
King battles still with king—
While through the frightened air of night
The bloody toxins ring.

But clearer far the friendly speech
Of scientists and seers,
The wise debate of statesmen and
The shouts of pioneers.

And stronger far the clasped hands
Of labor's teeming throngs,
Who in a hundred tongues repeat
Their common creeds and songs.

From shore to shore the peoples call
In loud and sweet acclaim,
The gloom of land and sea is lit
With Pentecostal flame.

• O Father! from the curse of war
We pray Thee give release,
And speed, O speed the blessed day
Of justice, love and peace.

—John Haynes Holmes.



THE BEST WAY TO HELP MEXICO.

By Frederick Starr.

*Final Chapter of Professor Starr's Recent Book,
"Mexico and the United States."*

Should we intervene? Must we intervene? No, a thousand times no, for their sake and for ours, we should keep hands off. Every right thinking American who knows Mexico, and who knows the points involved, must thank the President for his insistence upon maintaining peace. We may regret the exact form of his policy, we may feel that he has made mistakes, but his fundamental principle is right—there ought to be no war—and intervention is war.

It is impossible for us to march to Mexico City, seize it, appoint a provisional President, and withdraw. There is no use of trying to deceive ourselves and others. If we go to Mexico, we must occupy the whole Republic. There is no possible alternative. To enter Mexico and occupy will take time, money and frightful toll of human life. It would be unjust aggression. Its final result would involve land grabbing. We would either hold the whole of the Republic, or we would cut

off the northern States and add them to our area. There are of course plenty who look upon this as our manifest destiny. It is unfortunate if it should prove manifest destiny, because it would spell our ruin.

To add Mexico to our republic or to add the northern tier of States would be infinitely bad for us. It would be the greatest of misfortunes for Mexico and the Mexicans. We are fond of talking of assimilation. We have never assimilated anything. We have not assimilated Arizona and New Mexico after sixty-five years of ownership. We have not assimilated the millions of Negroes in the South. We have not assimilated the Filipino, nor the Hawaiian, nor the Porto Rican. We have not only not assimilated them, we are nationally today the weaker for their presence.

To take over all or part of Mexico would be no advantage to its people, would harm us, and would profit only a handful of individuals to whom we owe no great consideration.

The war for the conquest of Mexico has been much discussed. Some claim that it would require 600,000 soldiers and a period of ten years; others claim that it could be done with 150,000 men and two years' time. This is not the actual question, but only selfish and commercial features of the problem. It is not the size of the army, nor the expense, nor the time involved which are significant. Far more important is the fact that such a war of conquest is unjust in itself. There is nothing in the conditions of the moment to excuse it. The price of war is not a mere question of dollars and time—it is more seriously a question of blood and brutalizing. A nation which issues from a war of conquest against a smaller, poorer nation suffers far more than it inflicts. Its ideals, its character, its life are lowered. How heavily has our nation paid for its inglorious war with Spain! Not only did it cost money and time and blood. Its toll of disease and weakened moral fiber is a far more serious matter; and by it we lost those ideals for which our nation stood through more than a century of independent life. This last was the heaviest part of the price.

It is no accident that our Scandinavian immigrants drift to the moraine country of Minnesota; that the Hollanders settle down upon the flat, green fields and pastures of Michigan; that the Scotch-Irish settle in our eastern hills; it is just as certainly no accident that Spaniards drifted to Mexico. They are at home in those surroundings. We never would be. We shall never fill up Mexico. Our migrations will be isothermic and latitudinal. If we should attempt the occupancy of Mexico by means of actual colonization, we should again pay a frightful price, physically, intellectually, morally. We would be changed. Is it worth while for a considerable portion of our pop-

ulation to become Mexican? We have stated the improbability of this migration taking place upon a large scale. To whatever extent it would occur, the American aggregate would lose.

The only influence active toward producing intervention and a war of conquest is the investor. We are constantly informed that we must protect American financial interests in Mexico. The investor in Mexico puts his money there because he hopes to gain a return larger than his money should produce. He has a right to do so if he chooses, but he should carry his own risk. He knows there is a risk; he has no right to ask us to carry that risk for him. If every penny of American capital invested in Mexico were wiped out of existence, there should be no armed interference on our part. Two other points affect the question. We are often told that \$900,000,000 of American capital is invested in Mexico. It is certain that much of this is fictitious value. There are plenty of companies in Mexico capitalized at \$100,000 which have never had \$20,000 actual money put in the enterprise. As Turner says, "oceans of water" in the great railway merger. We of course think of piling up claims against Mexico to the extent of \$900,000,000. How much legitimate claim would be left after a Hague Court investigated that? Again, it must be remembered that a very large amount of this American capital is invested in "tainted" concessions. Most of the foreign enterprises favored during the regimes of Diaz and Madero were never submitted for approval to the Mexican people and are not to their advantage. It is interesting by the way to notice that the Constitutionalists threaten to deal seriously with this whole matter of tainted concessions. Would that they might! But if they should, will our Government support them?

The investor in Mexico deserves no sympathy from us; to the degree that he places his money yonder, he is unpatriotic. He has a right, of course, to place his money where he pleases, yet a true patriotism and an enlightened appreciation of conditions would lead him to keep money here. There is not as yet a single State in our whole Union, not even New York, Pennsylvania, or Ohio, which is legitimately developed. We have, as yet, no genuine conception of the development of any area. We have always been cursed by the fact of greater opportunity in a new section. We have drifted here and there in the hope of getting sudden wealth with small outlay of labor. It has been a great misfortune to ourselves. It has had a frightfully destructive influence upon the world at large. It will be a good thing when we are more confined in our possibilities. Real patriotism, not the blatant kind, would lead men to utilize their capital in the development of the region in which they were born.

Mexico and the Mexicans ought to work out their own salvation. It sounds well in newspapers

to say that we desire to help Mexico to solve her problems. It is the White Man's Burden. It is meddling. Mexico knows her problems as no outsider can. If they are to be solved, she must solve them. We can best help by solving our own problems, and heaven knows we have enough of these.

Mexico is what it is because of its geography, its climate, its streams, its mountains, valleys, deserts, forests. Its altitudes, its atmosphere, make a people different from ourselves. Its people are Indian, or a mixture of Indian with Spanish. The race qualities are different from ours; feeling is different; sentiment is different; point of view is different. It is impossible for us to think for them, feel for them, act for them, decide their questions. All that we need to do is to keep hands off. •

Mexico will never be at peace until a middle class arises. It has been a land of very rich and very poor, of masters and slaves. A middle class is rising; it will come. The common people of Mexico are thinking, reading, talking—more than they have ever done before. Before the conquest, Mexico was occupied by many small tribes, absolutely separated and hopelessly divided. They were ridden by their rulers and their priests. That was in the old days of paganism. Mexico of today is still a people divided. It is still ridden by rulers, and by priests. If it is to become a great nation, it must be unified. It can only be so through education, thought and struggle. Its greatest curse has ever been personal polities. In the direction of political parties with definitely presented platforms of principles, much of its hope of advancement lies. Notwithstanding the discouraging aspect of the moment, notwithstanding the Madero failure, the Juarez failure, the Guerrero failure—it has made progress, and it will make progress in these directions.

But no matter how Mexico may advance, it will never be like us—it ought not to be so. Latin America does not admire our style. She does not look northward for her patterns. James Bryce, in his book on South America, strongly emphasizes the fact that the republics to our south look to Europe for advice, direction, pattern and example. They look to Spain and Portugal, Italy, and above all, to France. There are two types of republics conspicuous in the world at present. When Mexico reaches an equilibrium, and she will if we permit, she will present a nation like the French Republic—not like the United States.



AN ELDER SISTER.

For The Public.

She was the eldest daughter and many burdens fell on her shoulders. Her parents were plain honest people; they had managed to get three girls through High School one after another. The

three boys, as so often happens, did not develop any desire for more than a common-school education, and got jobs as soon as they could. One drove a delivery wagon, one was an office-boy, the third wore the uniform of a big hotel and sat in a row with other bell-boys under the clerk's watchful gaze. Two of the girls soon found schools, continued to study, succeeded beyond their modest hopes; the third became an assistant in the public library, studied cataloguing, began to specialize on "books for children." A hard-working young reporter recognized her worth, found someone who could introduce them, made the never-out-of-date romantic-practical courtship which lasts forever and a day. So these two were married on a hundred dollars of savings and made a most enchanting success of life, croakers to the contrary.

Then the father, whose business was with horses, road-making and small contracts, was thrown from a wagon, crippled for months, got "out of the swim," and was never again able to earn much. In a year or so the mother needed care and the two daughters who taught, consulted together. The eldest one secured a school where she could be at home every night, paid the bills and practically ran the house; the other contributed the greater part of her salary. The two of them were simply doing their duty as they saw it, and they were contented.

They especially wanted to make a home for the three boys who had somehow missed fire so far, because they were drifting, spending, getting into debt, picking up bad acquaintances, and yet lavish with promises of reform, flowing with evanescent hopes and full of day-dreams.

The elder sister studied all three of her brothers, made them a sweet and gentle home, full of quiet beauty, knew the people they worked for, strengthened her hold on them in every possible way. Two of the boys responded slowly but surely to all this affection, and began to contribute to the family exchequer, helped to read books aloud in the evening, became interested in Sarah's expense accounts and patient, cheerful economies. She began to be very proud of them.

The third brother had worked up to a place of some responsibility, and he embezzled money from his employer. Sarah rose to the situation, believing with all her heart that he ought to have a second chance. She and her sister took every dollar they had, sold their little libraries, and made up the sum needed. Then Sarah went to see the head of the firm in that quiet straightforward way which was her heritage.

"Mr. Day," she said, "You do not yet know it, but my brother has stolen two hundred and fifty dollars of your money. Here it is. He came to me and told it himself. Be good to us, let him resign and keep this matter quiet. We shall make a man of him and this will be the new start."

Of course he acceded; not one man in a thou-

sand could have done otherwise. Henry came home, worked in the garden, went to night-school, studied under Sarah's guidance, found where he belonged, got in a machine-shop at last, struck his gait, and held it.

Mr. Day heard of all this, watched Henry's progress, saw that he was offered a junior partnership five years later. Then he met Sarah on the street one afternoon and made an explanation: "Perhaps you think it odd that I urged Brown to take your brother into the firm and guaranteed him. Well, I certainly owe it to you and to him. I found out afterwards why your brother went wrong. My head clerk, a much older man, made a lot of him, taught him expensive tastes, let him into the whole thing; that man injured a dozen young fellows and I fired him good and quick. You knew this?"

"Yes, sir," she replied.

"Then why not have told me?"

She looked at him, this little woman, so loved at home and in her school-room. "You know, Mr. Day, that I could not inculpate any other person at such a time. But I do think that all business men ought to study the character, the habits, and the associates of every one of their people. It isn't so hard to keep in touch with young men. Build them up, physically, mentally, morally. It pays!"

"Just what can I do in this matter?"

"Perhaps you, and more men like you, can help the mothers, sisters, teachers in their efforts to transform hobble-de-hoys into reliable young men fit to carry the world along. Be more interested in them than just to give them orders and pay them wages."

"You are right!" he said. "I can look back at my own boyhood and see just what you mean. My wife and I will take hold of this and cultivate our young men a little better in the future." Then he went off and Sarah, smiling to herself, climbed the steps of the High School building to her classroom.

CHARLES H. SHINN.



AN ECONOMIC MONTROSITY.

For The Public.

The other evening I attended a Chamber of Commerce banquet in a town of about five thousand population. The President, a good, solid merchant, read his report. The toastmaster was introduced, and there was the usual grind of toasts—"Our City," "Our Resources," "Good Roads," and the like—and the interurban promoter, inevitably fat, made his rousing appeal to the little community to do its part in the great work of constructing an interurban from X to Y, picturing in glowing terms the benefits that would accrue in the form of increased business, rise in land values, and so on.

Before the middle of the program was reached, I began to notice that every local speaker, no matter what the title of his toast, would, before he closed, work around to a subject that was evidently near to the heart of the community and intensely interesting to the members of the organization, as was apparent from their ready applause. The subject might be stated concretely as follows: "The Decline in the Business of the Town Due to Increase in the Size of Farms and the Importation of Low-class Foreign Tenants." There was a disposition on the part of the older speakers to hark back to fifty years ago when land was cheap, and was held in fifty and one hundred-acre tracts by American families who, with the help perhaps of an American hired-hand, farmed it themselves. It seems that the American farmer owning fifty or a hundred acres, his family and his hired-hand, made ideal customers in that day for the village merchant. Their standard of living was high, the goods they demanded were of the first class, the pay sure, and the profit legitimate. Besides, these small independent American farmers with their schools and churches helped the tone of the citizenship.

However, the good old days are gone. All these small holdings have gradually become consolidated, and now the farms range in size from one thousand to five thousand acres. All up and down the fertile, beautiful valley, instead of the neat, comfortable cottage of the American farmer, you now find the dirty, lop-sided shack of the Mexican peon. It is only a hundred miles from the Mexican border, and the Republican Party, during its long period of power, carelessly overlooked putting a prohibitive import duty on peons. Consequently, large landholders have found it profitable to import them, because that benevolent despot, Diaz, has taught these poor people to be satisfied with less; their scale of living is lower, they are willing to work longer hours than is the American, and they buy their merchandise uncomplainingly from the commissary, and in other and further ways are preferable, from the landlord's standpoint, to the American tenant. So when the landlord acquired the farm from the small American farmers, he didn't turn around and rent the land to them, but he imported peon families from Mexico, moved the American cottages to town to rent to American laborers, built a few shacks for his imported tenants, and began the profitable industry of manufacturing raw cotton and corn in the ear, with cheap foreign labor.

All of this came out in the discussion. I could see the transformation occur before my eyes just as plainly as if I had lived there for fifty years. I saw the prosperous little town of twenty years ago decline, the worm of landlordism gnawing at its root. But do not think that the word "landlordism" once occurred in the speeches that were made. The curse of large farms and peon tenants

was referred to constantly, but no "ism" was applied to this condition. The feeling was bitter, and the large landholders came near being openly denounced once or twice, and an entirely personal matter made of it. Evidently, none was present—it was a meeting composed chiefly of men engaged in some form of business in the town. They yearned for the old times to come once again. They had a bitter personal feeling against the large landholders. They were fired with community spirit; they wanted to boost their town, make it grow, and bring more people into its corporate limits. They wanted bank deposits to increase, the interurban built, factories located there, and more educational institutions established. It was the policy of the organization to advertise the town widely and attract desirable immigration. And with these announced planks in their platform of progress, it would appear that the landlords would be liberal in their support. Not so. No single large landholder was present or even a member of the organization.

But how were all the activities of the Chamber of Commerce to solve the primary difficulty? Here is the proposed solution. Here is the Economic Monstrosity that slowly stuck its slimy head above the deadly dull surface of the discussion. If I could draw a ring around it, carry it with me over the country, exhibiting it as Barnum would a pair of Siamese twins, there are enough Singletaxers in the world who would want to see it at ten cents apiece to make me rich. Gaze while I slowly draw the curtain: According to the collective intelligence of X—, the influx of population, due to the activities of the chamber of commerce would make farms simply too valuable to be held in large tracts and worked with peon labor. When land becomes worth \$500 per acre, we were told, the big landholder simply can't afford to own it. His taxes will be too high, and the same money invested in something else will bring greater return. The more imaginative speakers saw the landholders selling out their high-priced lands to independent farmers in small tracts, and with the money so derived, building factories in the town of X—.

Do you get the point? The way to overcome landlordism is to make the land of the landlords so valuable that they will be moved to sell out the land and invest the money in something beneficial to the community. Here is John Jones, for example, owning five thousand acres of land near our beautiful little city. He bought it for twenty-five and could sell it now for a hundred dollars per acre. At \$100 per acre, it will yield about four per cent on the investment, net; but bring about conditions which will make that land sell for \$500 per acre, compute the increased taxes, deduct from the gross earning, and see the microscopic amount of interest such an investment will yield! No man can afford to hold

land that yields so little on the investment; ergo, he will sell it and invest the money in factories—and the commercial future of X— is assured. The landlord was simply to be exterminated with an excess of riches.

No carping questioner arose to ask how it was that this consolidation of small farms occurred while land was rising in value all the time, pointing out that it was while land was ridiculously cheap that it was held in small tracts by independent farmers. No village historian arose to cite the example of England where vast deer-parks yield nothing whatever upon the investment, and yet the land is not for sale at any price; nor did any traveler point out that the highest-priced agricultural land in California and on the Pacific coast generally, is not that held in small tracts by independent American farmers, but on the contrary is that held in large tracts and farmed by the cheapest labor. And no economist declared judicially that cheap land is an inevitable concomitant of dear labor, and high-priced land is just as invariably the companion of cheap labor.

And yet X— is an educational center. Her people are of ordinary intelligence. It just happens that it is one of the many communities into which the philosophy of Henry George has apparently never penetrated. But the seed-bed is in prime condition in this community for the planting of Singletax doctrine, as it is in thousands of other communities over the United States. The soil is ready for the Singletax propagandist, and the season is spring.

R. BEDICHEK.



MY CITY.

For The Public.

City of porphyry and amber,
Stained by the dying sun,
Canyoned and vaulted and mighty,
What is the race that you run?
Fair as the tower of Heaven,
Under the flaming sky,
Reaching your spired arms aloft,
Bearing your soul on high!

Beautiful, rare and holy,
Just for a sunset's breath,—
Then back to your festering caves of pain,
Back to your tunnelled death!
Year upon year ye broaden,
Flinging your heights to the stars,
Year upon year the hordes go down,
Cursing your prison bars.

City of porphyry and amber—
City of nameless shame,
Rearing your fluted beautiful walls,
In greed's remorseless name,
Under your massive girders,
Grinding the souls of men,
Narrowing, blighting and blinding,
Again and forever again!

So rose the walls of Athens,
So gleamed the marble of Rome,
Jerusalem, Carthage and Florence,
A tyrant but never a home,
Made by the hands of the many,
In toil and fear and love,
Bartered by grim tradition,
To iron hands above.

Your streets disgorge the builders,
In shabby hungry mass,
In solitude the owners—
They count them as they pass.
And in the market places,
The people kneel and bend
Before the bloody bearded gods
Of Rent and Dividend.

City, O my city!
When shall you learn at last,
To build for the sunset's glory,
And build for the mouths that fast.
Build for the fluted beauty,
And build for the human soul,
Till the one shall greet the other,
In God's immortal whole!

STUART CHASE.

BOOKS

PRACTICAL MUNICIPAL REFORM.

European Cities At Work. By Frederic C. Howe. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1913. Price, \$1.75 net.

The traveler in foreign lands who is not particularly interested in the cafés and "night-life" of the great cities of Europe and who has become surfeited with the endless exhibition of museums and antiquities, will find an inexhaustible source of pleasure and profit in a study of the people themselves, their ideals and their strivings. It is in such a spirit that Dr. Howe approaches his study of European cities. Most of the book is devoted to German cities, those marvels of modern organizing efficiency.

One who has never seen what is being done to make life in the city devoid of many of its modern disadvantages, might suspect the author of indulging in the wild extravagances of an enthusiast; but those who know of the conditions he describes will realize that his work is the cold analysis of the trained observer. We read of Frankfort resolving to make of itself a Rhine port and so spending eighteen million dollars in creating a navigable channel to the Rhine, in developing docks and harbors and providing sites for factories and workmen's homes. "And the whole undertaking is being paid for in a manner quite usual in Germany. Officials and the public generally seem to resent the idea of enriching private speculators by the community's activities. So the city is financing the project by retaining the unearned

increment which the improvements create. Sites are being sold or leased on a basis which is expected to reimburse the city for the undertaking, and to leave the harbor and all of the improvements in the possession of the city without any indebtedness whatever. And in order that the land may be used for industry rather than speculation, the city provides in the contract for sale or lease that the site must be used for the purpose agreed upon, while the buyer is required to improve the property within a certain period of time previous to which the land must not be sold." This accounts for much of the spirit pervading the administration of public works in Germany. The privileges of the individual are always subordinated to the rights of the community, even though that individual be a man of wealth and influence.

Singletaxers will be most interested in the chapter on the Unearned-Increment Tax. This, as Dr. Howe explains, is not an approximation toward the Singletax, but is simply an appropriation by the cities, and for some years by the Empire, of a part of the unearned advances in land-values. This new conception of a public function has spread throughout Germany with amazing rapidity, and while of comparatively slight practical importance, has been a tremendous force in educating the communities in the practicability and justice of the taxation of land values, or, as the Boden-Reformers call it, the *Gemeinenwert* (community-value), which is perhaps a more exact term.

The author analyzes the German city and seeks an explanation for it. His psychological investigation leads him to the belief that after crediting much to a national love of accuracy and efficiency, much to inherited traditions from feudal times of the duties of public service, the fundamental cause is freedom. The German city, though part of the State and the Empire, is permitted to conduct its internal affairs with almost no interference from the central governments. It is almost an *imperium in imperio*. And being free, the city realizes its dignity and responsibilities; its citizens feel a love and patriotism for the city as they do for the Fatherland; so its aspirations are unlimited, its achievements truly great.

JOSEPH DANZIGER.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—*Mexico and the United States.* By Frederick Starr. Published by the Bible House, 443 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, 1914.

—*Annual Magazine Subject-Index and Dramatic Index, 1913.* Edited by Frederick Winthrop Faxon. Published by the Boston Book Co., Boston, 1914.

—*Final Report of the Departmental Committee on Local Taxation: England and Wales.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament, and printed under the authority of His Majesty's Stationery Office. For

sale by T. Fisher Unwin, London, W. C., and other agents. 1914. Price, 1 shilling.

—The United States Federal Internal Tax History from 1861 to 1871. By Harry Edwin Smith. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1914. Price, \$1.50, net.

—The Land: The Report of the Land Enquiry Committee. Volume 2, Urban. Published by Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1914. Price: paper, 1 shilling; cloth, 2 shillings, net.



HUMBLER HEROES.

Edmund Vance Cooke in the Saturday Evening Post.

It might not be so difficult to lead the light brigade,
While the army cheered behind you, and the fifes and
bugles played;

It might be rather easy with the war-shriek in your
ears

To forget the bite of bullets and the taste of blood
and tears.

But to be a scrubwoman, with four
Babies, or more,
Every day, every day setting your back
On the rack,
And all your reward forever not quite
A full bite
Of bread for your babies. Say!

In the heat of the day

You might be a hero to head a brigade.

But a hero like her? I'm afraid! I'm afraid!

It might be very feasible to force a great reform;
To saddle public passion and to ride upon the storm;
It might be somewhat simple to ignore the roar of
wrath,

Because a second shout broke out to cheer you on
your path;

But he who, alone and unknown, is true
To his view,
Unswerved by the crush of the mutton-browed
Blatting crowd,
Unwon by the flabby-brained, blinking ease
Which he sees

Throned and anointed. Say!

At the height of the fray,

You might be the chosen to captain the throng.
But to stand all alone? How long? How long?

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PAMPHLETS

The Children's Bureau.

The Children's Bureau began its work on August 23, 1912, with an appropriation of only \$25,640. Its first annual report, which covers the period down to June 30, 1913, reads like an account, writ large, of one of those familiar miracles, a mother's home-making on the penny basis. Both are amazing accomplishments; but the rare and undeniable abilities they disclose should, for the sake of our national future, be supplied with ample funds. Four bulletins, (1) on the need for birth registration, (2) on the baby-saving campaigns in some of our cities, (3) on prenatal care, and (4) a child census, have been published, and others are ready, one of particular value on infant mortality, the result of a house-to-house investigation in Johnstown, Pa., of the first year's life history of more than 5,500 babies, and another, a summary of American Child Labor laws, are useful small beginnings of important big projects. Miss Julia Lathrop, the Children's Bureau Chief, has asked of Congress, under the direction of the Secretary of Labor, an additional yearly appropriation of \$139,000—and has been refused. Can it be that any sections of the country or any classes of the people fear thoroughness and dread efficiency in the care of our 31,000,000 children?

A. L. G.



"Do you believe, sir, that on Election Day the women should be at the polls?"

"Yes, sir," the crusty bachelor unexpectedly replied—"at both of 'em—north and south."—Harper's Monthly.



"You go to hear music that you don't understand?"

"Yes," admitted Mr. Cumrox.

"And pay good money for it?"

"Well, I pay good money for an income tax that I don't understand, either."—Washington Star.



Secretary Daniels thinks Admiral Badger's remark, "We do not know what we will be called upon to do, but we are ready," a deathless utterance. Be

where boys learn by doing. Actual contact—under competent instruction—with the tilling of the soil, growing and harvesting of crops on a 670-acre farm. As the seasons change, every day brings new and real experience. Put the whole boy to work where he will get the "how" as well as the "why." Shops, work with tools and animals, deep woods, a beautiful lake, tramps, boating, bathing, sports, right associates, with an exceptional school and camp equipment—just the thing the city boy most needs—vigorous, healthful, out-of-door life in the sunshine. The Summer Camp Session opens June 15th. Get catalog and particulars from **The Interlaken School**, Edward A. Rumely, President, Rolling Prairie, Ind.

that as it may, it surely ought to rank with the splendid sentiment, "I don't know where I'm going, but I'm on my way."—Chicago Record-Herald.

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Advertise in The Public

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