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EDITORIAL

Freedom to Teach.

Significant is the action of the Political Science Association in appointing a committee to report on freedom of speech and security of tenure for teachers of political science in American universities. The action implies an admission that there is ground for the charge that professors of political economy are not as free to teach the principles of that science as are other professors to teach facts connected with their specialties. Probably it is for this reason that political economy is represented in many universities as a vague and hazy subject instead of the exact science it is. But the very fact that professors may imperil their livelihood by teaching the truth is itself an illustration of the injustice of prevailing economic conditions.

S. D.

Immigration and Monopoly.

Wrecked sailors on an overcrowded raft in mid-ocean may be justified in refusing to take on an unfortunate struggling for life in the water. But such justification might be questioned should the crowding be due to a grant of half of the raft to one of the number, who would refuse to allow any one to use the empty space. If instead of a raft in mid-ocean we picture a great country abounding with unused natural resources the principle involved is the same. That is the case with the United States. So much of its land is monopolized and withheld from use that many believe it to be overcrowded, and demand that further immigration be stopped. Others who realize the true cause of this apparent overcrowding, nevertheless join in the anti-immigration cry. Realizing that the influence of the land monopolist is strong, the need of relief great, and the influence of the immigrant weak, they attack immigration instead of land monopoly, hoping to get quicker results. Much of the support given to the pending immigration bill is of that nature, although more of it comes from members who would defend land

monopoly under all circumstances. But the bill itself is an indictment of conditions which enable a few to monopolize the country's space. A system is indefensible which makes the coming of willing workers, not otherwise objectionable, a real or apparent menace to workers already here. When it forces the enactment of barbarous anti-immigration laws it has one more wrong to account for. Whether the law be adopted or not, why not get rid of the great evil that made its adoption seem necessary?

S. D.



A Public Product for Private Use.

Under the heading "Alaska Railroad Will Create Seattle Boom," a real estate advertisement appears in the Seattle Times of January 25. The advertisement goes on to argue that the expenditure of \$50,000,000, and unlocking of the "Treasures of Alaska" will result in doubling of land values in the north end of Seattle in a short time. The American people will do the sowing and a few Seattle landlords the reaping. The final result of such booming will be to check progress. Land owners who honestly believe values will double in a short time will feel tempted to insist on double prices now. Those intending to use land will be forced to pay exorbitantly. Investment of capital and employment of labor will thus be discouraged. Finally the boom will collapse, and then when prices of land sink low enough, some inducement to buy for improvement will be offered once more, and the slow recovery will begin.



If such will be the effect of the railroad in far off Seattle, it will surely have similar results in Alaska itself, unless the amendment should be adopted, proposed by Congressman Warren Worth Bailey of Pennsylvania, to take for public use the land values created by the railroad. Friends of the government railway project should insist that this be done.



Opening of Conserved Lands.

Said Congressman Albert Johnson of Washington in the House on January 30, as a slur on the conservation policy: "Think of it, more than 90 per cent of all of Arizona, 87 per cent of Nevada, more than 80 per cent of Idaho, 80 per cent of Utah, almost 70 per cent of Wyoming, 65 per cent of Montana, 62 per cent of New Mexico, half of Oregon, half of California, half of Colorado, and 40 per cent of my own State, Washington, all con-

served, together with their resources, for posterity." But what good would it do to open these lands without adequate provision against monopoly? Mr. Johnson should carefully read and consider the facts presented by his colleague, Representative J. W. Bryan, of Washington, in a speech delivered on June 17. Mr. Bryan tells therein about the opening to settlers in 1901 of 750,000 acres in the Olympic national forests. Then Mr. Bryan says further: "Ten years later only about 600 acres of the entire elimination had been cultivated at all, and title to 523,720 acres had passed into the hands of large owners with three companies holding 178,000 acres." What was gained by opening the land under such conditions? Would there not be a similar result if all the land mentioned by Mr. Johnson should be thrown open the same way? These lands had better remain conserved until conditions shall be made so as to ensure opening to labor instead of monopoly. What is needed is a measure like the proposed amendment of Congressman Bailey of Pennsylvania to the Alaska railroad bill. That provides for appropriation, for public use, instead of by private monopolists, of publicly created values. The same principle applied to the conserved public lands will make it possible to open them without danger of monopoly. Is Congressman Johnson ready to approve?

S. D.



Direct Election of Senators.

For the sake of the fundamental principle involved it is to be hoped that the direct vote for Senators will be held under kindlier auspices in other States than it is likely to be in Illinois. With the Republican vote divided, the success of the Democrats is almost a certainty. Hence, the real choice of Senator will occur at the Democratic primaries; and the leading candidate before those primaries is the man who personifies all the evils of the old system, and few of the virtues of the new. But through his leadership as a political boss, he will have in reality more power in this election than he had under the old system. It is an old political trick for bosses to trade votes, and this year offers exceptional opportunities. For it matters little who receives the Republican nomination, and Republican bosses will be willing to throw votes to the Democratic boss's candidate in exchange for votes for other offices. An unflinching recourse of the clever boss at all times, it becomes doubly ominous when the boss himself is a candidate. With Roger C. Sullivan of Illinois an aspirant for a seat in the United States Senate, the democracy of this State is placed on trial. From

the success or failure of this man are we to know that Democracy is still wedded to its Bourbon idols, or has seen a new light. Political bosses can do much—particularly when they are as clever and resourceful as this one—but they can do nothing when the people assert themselves in opposition. It is the indifference of the people that makes the opportunity of the boss. The direct vote will allow the people to do what they will. But the direct vote is useless without the will of the people behind it. It is not automatic, nor is it foolproof; it is merely an instrument that reflects the will of those using it. Should Illinois Democrats, with a choice of men like John Z. White and Roger C. Sullivan before them, choose the latter, it will demonstrate that the State is worthy of no better representation than it will have; and real democrats will know that Democracy is a cloak for Bourbonism.

S. C.

A Protectionist Free Trader.

It was in 1909 that Mr. L. N. Littauer, glove manufacturer and former Congressman, exerted influence which brought a heavy increase in the tariff on gloves. It was in 1914 that this same L. N. Littauer was detected in an attempt to smuggle. He would have the government rob others. He would not himself be robbed.

Ordinarily a detected smuggler need feel no more humiliation than if he had been detected in trying to escape the attentions of an illegal highwayman. But Littauer's case is different. The exposure shows what he honestly thinks of the tariff. It shows that in his heart he believes free trade to be right. It strengthens the suspicion that others prominent in fastening protective robbery on the people feel the same way. Unintentionally he has cast discredit on the policy of protection. His punishment is thus in the nature of atonement—not for his offense against the law—but for the real wrong he committed; the part played by him in securing imposition of tariff duties. If the fine he paid could be used to reimburse the victims of the high tariff on gloves the atonement would be more satisfactory.

S. D.

Bleeding Mexico.

Of all the adjectives applied to Mexico, from "barbarous" to "manana," none seems more apt than the one applied to Kansas during its struggle against the introduction of chattel slavery. Bleeding Mexico it was at the dawn of history; and

bleeding Mexico it is today. To the natural savagery of the earlier tribes that occupied the country the Aztecs added a system of human sacrifice that seems to have left its bloody trail down to the present time. The war god Mexitl, or Huitzilopochtli, who stood at the head of this heathen pantheon, could be propitiated only by liberal sacrifices of human lives. Wars were waged for the purpose of securing prisoners to offer up on their altars to this monster-deity; and it is estimated that a single year saw as many as 20,000 men, women, and children laid upon the sacrificial stone, and their quivering hearts held up to the gaze of the people. A large part of the Mexican people are descendants of the Aztecs; is it so very strange that Mexican prisoners of war today should be sacrificed to the god of war?

Nor is this propensity for shedding blood, terrible as it is, the worst feature of Mexican history. From its earliest days the country has been subject to an economic condition that has produced a handful of rich, and a nation of poor, great wealth in a few hands, and nation-wide poverty. This was the condition in the time of the Aztecs; it is the condition today, a land of peons and great estates. The conquering Spaniards added nothing in the nature of democracy, and little in the way of mercy; for it may well be doubted if to live the life of a hopeless peon is preferable to immolation on the sacrificial stone. This condition is unnatural; and the struggle to right it is inevitable. But the Mexican problem is complicated by the composition of its population. The Spaniards, owing to their superior power in warfare, have been able to hold in subjection the great mass of natives; and the slow-grown Mexican class of mixed blood has lent itself to the same manipulation, so that wealth of the mass of the people has gone into the coffers of the small fighting class. The people in general lack the sense of solidarity necessary to enable them to make head against their oppressors. But the oppression is felt; and leaders will continue to take the field in behalf of the oppressed whenever there is the least weakness shown by the governing class.

Of the long succession of conquerors and usurpers who have held the government at Mexico City since the republic was established ninety years ago, none has been able to do more than maintain military possession. Civil government in the sense understood by Americans, Mexico has never had. Democracy and human rights have had no

recognition, because the small dominant class, backed by custom, tradition, church, and army, has been able to maintain its position on the backs of the people. President Porfirio Diaz's long administration, which superficial observers have heralded as the ideal for Mexico, was in reality the worst possible government for the people as a whole. Peace he brought, it is true, but it was the peace of Warsaw. He held down the people while adventurers from abroad robbed them of the little their native masters had overlooked. A man of great cleverness, and possessed of all the arts of the tyrant, he was able to hold the great landed proprietors on the backs of the peons. If it be admitted that a civilization may be composed of peons and hacendados, then the Diaz system is correct; for the industrial pyramid can be balanced on its apex only by the support of bayonets.



Madero's support came from the peon class and its sympathizers. But once in possession of the government, he lacked the will or the power to right their wrongs. His administration was rendered impotent by the support of the privileged classes, as all administrations will be that receive that support. Huerta vaulted boldly into the Diaz saddle, but he lacks the ability to manage the steed. That he was unworthy of recognition by civilized governments was evident from the beginning of his usurpation; but that his opponents, the Constitutionalists, should be recognized was not so clear. The safe course for our government to pursue was that of watchful waiting. Our motives in Latin American affairs had been questioned, and certain acts had fallen under suspicion; only the most scrupulous neutrality could regain international confidence. This course has been vindicated. Huerta has at no time had any support but that of the privileged classes, who are desirous of perpetuating the military regime. But his supine inactivity stamps him as an incompetent. He is not even a successful tyrant. General Carranza, on the other hand, and his chief lieutenant, General Villa, are, if we may trust the many reports that have come in, conscious of the social and industrial problems of Mexico; and they have given some evidence of good faith by confiscating some of the great landed estates that had been stolen from the people. Mexican peace and prosperity is dependent, not upon the ability of the Constitutionalists to maintain themselves by force of arms, but upon the abolition of the twin evils: Peonage and a landed aristocracy. The industrial pyramid must be set upon its base, if there is to be permanent stability. Should Carranza and

Villa fail in this, should they permit the privileged oligarchy to get the upper hand, as did Madero, then more champions of the people will appeal to arms, and Mexico will continue to bleed.

S. C.



A Good Judicial Selection.

Cincinnati is about to be numbered among the cities whose juvenile court happens to be a useful institution. This is assured by the selection of Judge Frank M. Gorman to preside over it. Judge Gorman's previous record on the bench makes it appear probable that the Cincinnati court will take front rank. Tyrannical abuse of power, either in the issue of injunctions or in setting aside or misconstruction of legislative acts, has not been a feature of Judge Gorman's court. He has been scrupulously fair and logical in his rulings. Were his type more prevalent upon the bench there would be less need felt for the Recall.

S. D.



The Peixotto Case—A Question of Authority.

However one may sympathize with the New York teacher who is contesting in the courts the Board of Education's right to dismiss her for "neglect of duty" because, without leave of absence, she remained away from school to bear a child; however narrow-minded and mistaken one may judge the New York Board to be in its policy toward mothers as teachers—and it is mistaken; whatever one's feelings in those particulars, the truth remains that the Appellate Court's decision upholding the Board's power of dismissal is reasonable and just.



Other qualifications of two persons being equal, the parent will probably make the better teacher. Educational experience and human logic both point to that conclusion. The stand of the New York Board of Education against mothers in the schools—if the Board does take that position, as reports indicate—is not to be defended for a moment. Either the Board is incompetent in not being able to organize a school system that will admit of lengthy leaves of absence on the part of its efficient employees; or the Board is blind to the best interests of the public schools in yielding to an old sex-prejudice instead of inquiring solely into the individual abilities of its teaching staff. But neither the incompetence nor the prejudice of the Board is the point at issue. The question is this: Is this woman an employe of the Board of Education, subject as such to its stated rules? Has

she transgressed those rules? If so, the Board should have full power to dismiss her; and for the courts to order her reinstatement would be an unwarranted intrusion by the judiciary into the realm of educational business—such an intrusion as leads straight to inefficiency through that old bete noire of government, divided responsibility.



Mothers and fathers, husbands and wives, spinsters and bachelors—among us all there can be found so few good teachers that the needless loss of one competent instructor from our schools should almost be cause for dismissal of the educational authority responsible. To maintain an authority, however, in a position of responsibility and at the same time to subvert its executive power is, in public administration, a folly so habitual that it puts on all the airs of reason. In its refusal to countenance such confusion, the New York Court is entirely right.

A. L. G.



Robert G. Bremner.

Another Singletax enthusiast of distinction passed "beyond our ken" when Congressman Bremner died. To meet him was to be in communion with one of the most joyously spiritual of men. His physical suffering had been for years intense and incessant, but he seemed unconscious of it in the happiness of living and serving. His courage in bearing his pain and ignoring the steady encroachments of death was not of the negative kind which merely endures. To the last hour he was enthusiastically and unselfishly busy building for the future. With the aid of his wife, he kept up his work on the Daily Herald of Passaic, of which he was principal owner and manager, as well as editor; with that of his sister he kept up his work as a Congressman from New Jersey. Always genial and cheerful and fun-loving, he got the friendly nickname of "Smiling Bob Bremner." So confident of his good health was he that his friends in spite of all the evidence against it, got almost to believing with him that his "little trouble" was passing away. This "little trouble," of which he gave no sign in speech or facial expression, but only in a painfully distorted body, was an enormous cancer, the attempted cure of which in its latest stages by radium has attracted nation-wide attention to his case.



Congressman Bremner was born in Scotland in 1874. He was educated in Canada, and, after

working as a carpenter and electrician in New York, became a reporter in Paterson, N. J., and then proprietor of the Passaic Herald. Two years ago he was elected to Congress as a democratic Democrat by a large majority in an overwhelmingly Republican district. In his place in Congress he served especially on the District of Columbia Committee, where questions of taxation are uppermost and on which Congressman Henry George, Jr., Bremner's friend and confidant, has made a record. A measure to which Congressman Bremner devoted himself is a bill for securing safety appliances for wage-earners. He left behind him unfinished the speech he intended to deliver on the floor in support of that bill; and while consciousness and strength remained, he worked upon its preparation with all the enthusiasm and expectancy of a man with full capacity for the enjoyment of constructive service. Robert G. Bremner, who numbered President Wilson among his affectionate friends, revered the memory of Henry George as the prophet of a new crusade in which he himself was a banner-bearer. His death occurred at Baltimore on the 5th. Of no one could expressions of sympathy be more sincere than those which come from all sides now over the death of this long-suffering but ever-cheerful and serviceable soldier of the common good.

LOUIS F. POST.



THE AGRICULTURAL RECKONING

There is something refreshing, a flavor altogether unique, about the latest Annual Crop Report of the Department of Agriculture. Not the least of its claims to distinction lies in the fact that it is simply honest, merely candid. If this makes a significant difference between this first annual crop report of the Department under David J. Houston and the annual crop reports that have gone before,—then so much the worse for the crop reports that have gone before.

It is a striking and, mayhap, illuminative fact, however, that these essential differences seem altogether to have escaped the press generally, for there has been nothing but the usual loud huzzahs, over the mere aggregate of farm yields, which custom hath staled and in which there has heretofore been no variety. And, except in rare instances, there is no apparent realization of the fact that something new has been done, something worth while has been told. Analysis is not so common a habit as might be wished.



The aggregate value of farm products is esti-

mated to be the largest on record; a great and glorious fact, truly. It reaches the stupendous total of \$9,750,000,000, and this fact has been delivered with a fine fanfare of large headlines by the press which seeks, without overmuch care perhaps, to please those votaries and protagonists of large things which do not yield graciously to dissection, the live and thrifty gentlemen who sing sweet songs on the popularized theme of "back to the farm," "buy a little farm of me and be independent." But the democratization of the Department of Agriculture—which, incidentally has no reference to any partisan success—has brought the Department closer to the people, as democratizing anything must inevitably do; sufficiently so that in the first annual report under the new regime and changed conditions, facts are revealed which should never have been concealed except to foster false beliefs and boost fictitious valuations. Truths are told about the farmer and his products and his wealth which heretofore seem to have escaped the Departmental eye altogether, or have been deemed unworthy of note.

The Department announces a grand aggregate of products of a value of \$9,750,000,000, but it has the competence and the integrity to set before those who wish to know the truth the fact—along with much else equally edifying—that these reports of aggregate production value are distinctly gross—not net; that the sum includes not only what the farmer sold but what was consumed on his own farm and entered into other of his own products duly reckoned in the aggregate; that there are so-and-so many farmers in the United States among which this aggregate is to be divided, leaving an exceedingly modest average; that from this must be deducted sundry and various inevitable expenses, like hired help and taxes and interest, and so on. Even the advocates of the "two blades of grass where one grew before" doctrine as the means of salvation for the farmer receive a jolt to give them pause, for it is found that a considerably *decreased* yield of products for the year just passed has given the farmer a considerably *increased* aggregate and average of returns. These incidental facts have not heretofore been featured, I should say.

Indeed efforts have more than once been made in the past to induce the Department to present with the statement of the annual aggregates of production the facts relative to its proper division, but the efforts did not meet with overmuch success. Even individual effort to present the facts through other channels than the Department were not encoered or even encouraged.

Nor is it so very long since the solicitation of

the Department of Agriculture for information as to the average of farm incomes elicited the somewhat amazing statement that the Department could not say because it did not know; that even the farmer himself did not know. There are only two classes of persons who do not know what their incomes are, those whose wealth is so great and so constantly and rapidly increasing that they cannot keep track of their incomes, and those whose net possessions are so relatively small, whose incomes are so pitifully trifling that it is not worth while keeping track of them. There is not the slightest evidence that the farmer belongs to the former class, and the failure hitherto to give all the facts germane to the matter has aided in making many thoughtful persons wonder if he did not belong to the latter.



To deal more specifically with the annual statement of the Department of Agriculture referred to, this latest report tells the farmers of the country—and any others who are deeply concerned with the welfare of the agriculturists—that of the grand total of production for 1913, amounting to nearly ten billions—being \$6,100,000,000 for crops and \$3,650,000,000 of animal products—the net cash sales of both crops and animals amount to only \$5,847,000,000. Five billion plus does not ring nearly so loud and hence is not nearly so popular a figure for "what the farmer got for his crops last year" as ten billions, but it possesses the essential quality of accuracy and aids considerably in assisting the average citizen in understanding what the farmer does with his money. The method of computing the farmer's productions heretofore prevailing—a method which seemed to have the endorsement of previous administrations of the Department of Agriculture—has been to assume, for instance, that when a farmer had raised three hundred dollars' worth of corn and fed that into four hundred dollars' worth of hogs and converted the hogs into five hundred dollars' worth of ham and bacon he would be receiving for his product three hundred plus four hundred plus five hundred, or a total of twelve hundred dollars, which only demonstrates again that a neat fabrication rigged up to resemble the truth is a snare and a delusion.

Of the crops, valued at \$6,100,000,000, approximately fifty-two per cent were not and will not be sold at all. They have been or will be consumed, used up, in other products on the farms. Even of the animal products, full twenty per cent will never leave the farms that produced them.

The number of farms of the United States at the present time is approximately 6,600,000. Simple analytical mathematics, a none too popular pastime, by-the-by, reveals the fact that the average annual income per farm then is less than nine hundred dollars. Obviously no farm is owned by less than one person. Many farms are owned and worked by more than one person. There are practically no farms upon which all of the work is actually done by one person. So we must pare down considerably this average as an income *per farmer*. But more than that, at the very outset, as the Department's report lucidly shows, this nine hundred dollars is but the gross income from which must be deducted all the cost of hired help, the cost of machinery and its up-keep, the cost of feed bought for stock, the taxes of every sort, the cost of fertilizers, and all the other inevitable expenditures, to say nothing of interest on his investment.



Truly, to those who will look, and who have not looked before, this latest annual statement of the Department of Agriculture must be something of a revelation.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY.



MINES AND MINING OPPORTUNITIES.

Objection is made by a valued correspondent to the statement of the Public that the Calumet Mining Company does not have to come to terms with the striking miners, because "they control the opportunities bestowed by nature," and the inferred assumption that "under the Singletax the opportunity would be as open to the man having only a pick and shovel as to the capitalist." The correspondent continues:

I confess I cannot understand this reasoning. A mine is no more an opportunity bestowed by nature than is a factory or an office building. The difference is that the mine is constructed under ground, instead of upon the surface, but it is just as much a construction as the factory or the office building is. An ore body in itself is not a mine; it does not become a mine until it has been "developed," or in other words, not until shafts have been sunk, headings run, and the machinery installed for the economical handling of the ore and the waste material, for ventilating the workings, and carrying on the various processes that are required. The construction of a mine is an expensive undertaking. In most cases the expenditure of a considerable amount of capital is necessary before any return can be expected. The existence, or supposed existence of a body of "pay ore" in a piece of ground does not constitute that ground an opportunity, so far as mining

is concerned, for any one save a capitalist, and even for him the risk is so great that his profit needs to be most extraordinary to be justly regarded as disproportionate.

In discussing the particular questions raised by a miners' strike it is well to bear in mind that were there no mining companies to furnish the capital and to take the risk of developing the ore bodies, and making mines of them there would be little or no work for miners anywhere or upon any terms. The cases where a man with pick and shovel can attack an ore "prospect" on virgin ground and earn even a day laborer's wage are too few to signify.

The distinction between an undeveloped ore body and a mine is one which, so far as my observation goes, is not commonly made by the advocates of the Singletax. Yet it is not merely a question of choice of words; it is a vital difference, the difference between land and "improvements" so called. And if the sound rule of taxation is that the tax should be assessed against land values, and that improvements should be exempt, would not the impartial application of the Singletax result in taxing mines at only the value of the land before the mines were developed?

This raises the issue, not only between university economics and the Singletax, but also between Socialism and the Singletax. The opportunity to produce wealth, our critics say, is not an opportunity to Labor, but to Capital; and it matters not how free land may be, Labor still remains helpless without tools—which, in the case of mines, means expensive machinery—and therefore, subject to the terms offered by Capital. University economics holds that Capital must enjoy abnormal profits in order to induce it to engage in production; and that the only redress that Labor can have, or is entitled to, must come from organization on its own part, and through industrial commissions and sumptuary laws. Socialists hold that the antagonism between Labor and Capital is of the same nature as that between Labor and Land, and therefore, permanent relief can be had only through public ownership of the tools. The one would have the industrial system remain substantially as it is, modified by such palliatives as profit-sharing, increased efficiency, and government supervision. The other, ignoring entirely the basic motives of human nature, would reverse the present industrial order, eliminate Capital and make the State the employer. This is not to say that the correspondent belongs to one or the other of these schools; but his criticism might have come from either.



The question raised seems to be due to the confusion that comes of indefinite terms. Political economy based upon indefinite terms is indeed a dismal science; but when its terms are defined

with precision, and so used, it becomes as certain as mathematics. Labor and Land are generally agreed upon; but Capital, though it be understood in common speech, tends to vagueness and uncertainty when it is brought into the social problem. And because of this vagueness and uncertainty it has unconsciously been clothed with the attributes of Land, and thus has led to confusion of thought.

Labor and Capital, in themselves so far from being antagonistic, are mutual in their interests, and both are opposed to Land. The returns to Labor, wages, and to Capital, interest, rise and fall together; and both rise as rent falls, and fall as rent rises. This is not always so apparent under present conditions, because of the arbitrary interference with production and exchange by labor unions and sumptuary legislation; but the tendency over a wide territory, or during a considerable period of time, is true. Labor and Capital are the active factors in production. Being perishable by nature, they waste away when unemployed. Land is passive and fixed. In a growing community it increases in value whether employed or idle.

With these definitions in mind, what will be the result of a free bed of ore? Labor, possessing only pick and shovel, cannot earn even a day laborer's wage, it is true; but neither can Capital, without Labor, earn interest. Labor may exist without Capital; but Capital without Labor is absolutely helpless. Land also is useless without Labor and Capital, but it is not perishable, and can await future development, whereas Labor and Capital perish if unemployed.

What terms under these conditions will be struck between Labor and Capital under free conditions? Will not the higgling of the market determine? If Capital offers a smaller wage than it should, its gains will be greater than those commonly prevailing, and other Capital, seeking gain, will raise its offer. Labor will not stand helpless before a free bed of ore, because Capital is as eager for gain as Labor. And if each be free to engage or withdraw, the bargain struck will be a just division of the joint product. But the bed of ore today is not free, either in the Calumet or elsewhere; and as Land it dictates terms to both Labor and Capital.

Suppose, however, that Capital should hold title to the land, as is often the case under modern production, their interests will merge; and Labor will be unable to secure fair terms, not because of the power of Capital, but because of the power of Land. By destroying land monopoly—which is

based entirely upon statutory law—the toll taken by Land will go to Labor and Capital; and if they be free, the division between them will be in proportion to the contribution of each toward production.



Will the Singletax destroy land monopoly to the extent of making the bed of ore free to Labor and Capital? It is generally conceded that, since a tax on land values cannot be shifted, such a tax on agricultural lands or building lots will, by forcing lands held for speculation into the market, break the monopoly. Will the same result follow its application to mineral lands? Though the Singletax be laid upon land used for agricultural purposes according to its value for farming purposes, it would bear an added tax the moment it was known to contain minerals. In other words, it would be valued for taxation exactly as a buyer in the market would value it.

Not only is it theoretically possible to separate the agricultural value from the mineral value, but they are now actually separated. Owners of land rent its surface to one tenant for agricultural purposes, or for building purposes, and to another for mining; and the price in both instances is determined by competition. Should a higher grade of ore be discovered, or more extensive deposits, that also is taken into account in determining the land value, just as the buyer and seller would if a sale were made. The possible product, less the value of the plant, determines the land value.

The case of the Colby iron mine at Bessemer, Michigan, described by the Chicago Inter-Ocean, October 11, 1885, offers a striking example of the relations of Labor, Land and Capital. The land was owned by people who got it from the Government at \$1.25 an acre. The ore lay so close to the surface that it could be loaded into cars by means of steam shovels. The Colbys secured the right to take out the ore by payment of 40 cents a ton to the owners of the land. But they sub-leased to Morse & Company for 52½ cents a ton. Morse & Company contracted with Captain Sellwood to put the ore on the cars at 87½ cents a ton. Sellwood sub-let this contract for 12½ cents a ton, which netted a profit of 22½ cents a ton. The ore as mined was worth \$2.80 a ton. In this phenomenally rich mine the total return to Labor and Capital amounted to 12½ cents a ton, while the return to Land amounted to \$2.67½ cents a ton. Morse & Company and Captain Sellwood were not capitalists, but landowners—through lease and sub-lease—and contributed no more toward the

production of iron ore than those who owned the land in fee. The sole capital invested was embraced in the steam shovels, tracks, and the necessary tools. Labor might complain of its wages, but Capital could say it was not its fault; it was dividing fairly what it got. But suppose a single company owned both land and machinery. It could then pay higher wages if it chose. But it would not. It would pay the prevailing rate in the open market, and its power to keep \$2.67½ cents plus its share of the 12½ cents, would be due to its power as a landowner, and not as a capitalist. And the value of its property, both land and capital could be determined as accurately as they were when separated in the Colby mine.

There are vast areas of mineral lands of known value, that are bought and sold on that value, yet are held undeveloped. The Singletax laid upon those known values would force them into use. Their use would necessitate the employment of capital and labor. The increased demand for labor would advance wages, not only of the newly employed, but also of those already employed. Hence, The Public feels warranted in saying that the Calumet mining company does not, because of its ownership of the opportunity, have to make terms with its laborers; but that if the Calumet mining company's opportunity—that is, its beds of ore—and all other mining opportunities, were taxed at their annual rental value, the Company would have to make terms with its men.

s. c.

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, February 10, 1914.

Congressional Doings.

The Burnett Immigration bill passed the House on February 4 by a vote of 241 to 126. The bill provides a literacy test to the effect that all immigrants hereafter admitted to the United States must be able to read English or some other language. Originally it contained a clause forbidding admission of all Asiatics, but this was eliminated to avoid diplomatic difficulties. Parties and factions were divided in the vote on the bill. Reactionaries and progressives split on the question, as also did the organized parties. The bill now goes to the Senate. [See vol. xvi, pp. 179, 203.]

The Smith-Lever Agricultural Extension bill was passed by the United States Senate on February 7 with an amendment against race discrimination in the carrying out of its provisions. The bill, which was passed by the House on January 19, now goes to conference. It provides for demonstrations on the farm of approved methods and scientific discoveries as to farming and home economics made in the State agricultural colleges, experimental stations and in the Federal Department of Agriculture. The Secretary of Agriculture and land-grant agricultural colleges are to outline plans for carrying out the demonstrations. The bill appropriates unconditionally \$10,000 annually to each State. In addition a sum of \$600,000 for the coming year, with a yearly increase of \$600,000 for the next seven years, is to be provided for distribution among the States on a basis of rural population, conditioned on each State appropriating a sum equal to its portion of the Federal funds and after seven years a permanent appropriation of \$4,800,000 annually. [See vol. xvi, pp. 128, 638.]



The Senate on February 4 refused by a vote of 32 to 31 to accept the credentials of Frank P. Glass, appointed to fill a vacancy by Governor O'Neal of Alabama. The rejection was based on the ground that since the adoption of the direct Senatorial election Amendment no authority has been given the Governor to fill vacancies by the Alabama legislature. [See current volume, pages 134, 82.]



The House Committee on Mines and Mining favorably recommended on February 3 a bill for control of radium but not, as originally planned, for withdrawal of radium lands from entry. \$150,000 is to be appropriated to build government factories for its manufacture and \$300,000 to extract the radium. [See current volume, page 82.]



Wilson Opposed to Toll Exemption.

That President Wilson favors repeal of the exemption from toll for American vessels passing through the Panama canal was made clear by the publication of a letter on February 6 to William L. Marbury of Baltimore. In this letter, after paying a personal tribute to Secretary of State William J. Bryan, President Wilson says:

With regard to the question of canal tolls my opinion is very clear. The exemption constitutes a mistaken policy from every point of view. It is economically unjust; as a matter of fact, it benefits for the present, at any rate, only a monopoly; and it seems to me in clear violation of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty.

Tax Reform News.

Tenant farmers of Texas are circulating the following petition, which is said to have already received 40,000 signatures:

To Hon. O. B. Colquitt, Governor of Texas:

We, the undersigned citizens of _____ County, Texas, hereby join with the Renters' Union of America in a petition to you to call a special session of the legislature to submit to a vote of the people an amendment to the State Constitution, providing for a tax equal to its full rental value on all land held for speculation or exploitation—excepting homestead reservations only—all to the end that use and occupancy shall become the sole title to land in the State of Texas.

Texas has 167,000,000 acres of land; 27,000,000 acres are improved; three-fourths of these improved acres are either rented or mortgaged. Out of the balance there are over one hundred million acres suitable for cultivation—all held up by speculators, and the people are suffering from the scarcity of products, and high cost of living and ever increasing land prices and rentals. So we have three-fourths of the State locked up in the hands of the speculators, while tenantry has increased 129 per cent in the last twenty years.

Mexico is now bathed in blood because the lands of the nation are in the hands of the few, until 7,500 families control the land upon which 15,000,000 people dwell. We are approaching that stage in Texas, but believe our people have enough education and enlightenment to prevent bloodshed on this side of the Rio Grande. Instead of a State of rebellious tenants, we should have a State of patriotic home owners. This situation can only be grappled with and Texas turned loose for home builders by such a constitutional amendment.

The headquarters of the Texas Tenant Farmers' Union are at Hallettsville.

A letter accepting Singletax endorsement of his candidacy for Governor of Pennsylvania was sent to the Philadelphia Singletax Society on February 1, by Michael J. Ryan, city solicitor of Philadelphia, and president of the American Section of the Irish National League. Mr. Ryan is a candidate for the Democratic nomination at the direct primaries to be held in June. In his letter he says:

I hope to deserve your continued confidence. Men like you who struggle for the triumph of truth and "who share her wretched crust, ere her cause brings fame and profit and 'tis prosperous to be just", have a joy in life denied unto others whom the world may regard as more practical and your disinterested commendation is therefore to be all the more highly prized. I have seen in my own day Michael Davitt's cry of the "Land for the People" proclaimed as "Anathema," and yet it is now conservative if not Orthodox. The great doctrines given wider currency and more attractive form through the splendid diction, superb eloquence, and dauntless courage and self-sacrifice of Henry George are sweeping triumphantly over the earth; and the intellect of mankind,

as evidenced particularly by the declarations of Asquith, Lloyd George and Churchill in Great Britain, is fast giving them adhesion.

Railroad Abuses.

A protest against a proposed advance in grain rates was lodged by farmers and grain dealers of Illinois on February 3 with the State Public Utilities Commission at Springfield. Attorneys for the protestors declared that until a physical valuation of the railroads had been made, the increase should not be allowed.

An increase in Pullman rates, beginning on March 1, was announced February 5, subject to approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The new tariff applies only to compartments and drawing rooms. There will be fifty per cent increase in fare for compartments and nearly one hundred per cent for drawing rooms.

An investigation of free rail services given to large industrial plants will be investigated by the Interstate Commerce Commission, according to an announcement made on February 3 by Commissioner Harlan. On February 4 a protest against the proposed five per cent advance in freight rates was lodged with the commission by Iowa merchants and manufacturers. These declared that the increase would mean 14 cents advance on each ton of soft coal imported from eastern States. [See current volume, page 129.]

The resolution of Senator Norris of Nebraska was adopted by the Senate on February 7, calling for an investigation of the New Haven railroad affairs. The information called for is:

What became of the funds of the New Haven invested in various enterprises and corporations mentioned in the recent report of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Whether the person or persons authorizing investment of those funds and the persons receiving the benefit are liable to punishment under existing laws.

Whether under existing law these funds can be recovered in behalf of stockholders of said company.

What legislation, if any, is necessary to prevent the recurrence of similar transactions?

Federal Judge Smith McPherson on February 7 signed the decree allowing the railroads of Missouri to appeal from his order dissolving the injunction against the attorney general of the State, who has brought suit for return of excess fares collected by the roads involved. [See current volume, page 129.]

Mexico and the United States.

President Wilson on the 3rd lifted the embargo on the exportation of arms from the United States to Mexico that had been in force since March 14, 1912. Heretofore the Huerta government, which controlled the coast cities, could buy arms wherever it wished; but the Constitutionalists, lacking a seaport, had to depend upon what arms they could capture from the Federals, and such as could be smuggled across the border. Now that the embargo has been removed, large quantities of arms and ammunition that had been intercepted by the American authorities, or that were held subject to this act, are being rushed forward. General Carranza and General Villa have issued statements expressing gratitude to the Government at Washington, and promising that the war shall now be brought to a speedy end. General Huerta also issued a statement, declaring that his army would immediately be increased to 189,000 men, and that he would drive the rebels from the field. Meantime he stays close within the City of Mexico. Constitutionalist activities about Tampico and the oil fields have limited the supply of fuel oil for the railroads to a degree that permits of only a limited service on the line between Vera Cruz and the capital. The Federal forces at Torreon are given as 6,000 men, at Monterey 4,000, and at Tampico 2,000. Huerta says he will raise the force at Torreon to 10,000. [See current volume, page 133.]

Mazatlan, an important Pacific seaport of Sinaloa, is reported to have been taken by the Constitutionalists. Should this be true it will give them their first seaport. For months they have battled for Guaymas—which at one time was reported captured—but have been unable to take the city.

Maximo Castillo, formerly chief of Madero's bodyguard, but of late operating in Northern Mexico as a bandit, undertook to destroy the Great Cumbre tunnel on the Mexican Northwestern railroad by firing cars loaded with lumber, and running them into the wood-sheathed bore. A train bearing six Americans and about fifty Mexicans was wrecked in the tunnel, and all perished. General Villa has dispatched a large force in pursuit of Castillo, with orders to execute him when caught.

Haiti Has New President.

General Oreste Zamor, formerly governor of the northern department, entered the revolutionary melee with an uprising in the City of Gonaives in January, defeated the forces of Senator Theodore on the 3rd, and led his victorious troops to Port au Prince on the 8th. Congress met at 2 o'clock

on the same day and elected General Zamor president by a vote of 93 out of 105 ballots cast. The troops under President Zamor occupy all the military stations. Announcement was made that after the election the troops from the foreign ships that had been guarding the city, would return to their ships. General Theodore has returned to Cape Haitien, where he has set up a provisional government. [See current volume, page 134.]

Revolution in Peru.

Lima, Peru, astonished the world by launching a complete revolution without preliminary announcement. President Guillermo Billinghurst, who assumed office in the fall of 1912, was taken prisoner on the 4th by military revolutionists, and removed to Callao, from which port he will be sent into exile. The revolutionists attacked the presidential palace at 4:30 in the morning, under the leadership of Colonel Benavides. General Enrique Varela, premier and minister of war, was killed in the fight. Dr. August Durand, a former revolutionary leader, is in command of the palace, and it is expected that he will organize a new government. So unexpected was the uprising that the United States had no vessel south of the Equator. The cause of President Billinghurst's overthrow is attributed to his unpopularity in antagonizing French, English and American interests by refusing to comply with the terms of railroad and irrigation concessions and loan contracts made by his predecessor, Leguia. The Administration at Washington does not look for further disorder. An extraordinary session of the Peruvian congress has been called to meet March 1.

English Affairs.

The opening of Parliament on the 10th for the 1914 session was accompanied by intense feeling regarding the immediate future of British politics. The Liberal party must now pass for the third and final time its Irish Home Rule Bill, thereby eliminating the House of Lords as a veto power; or, failing in this, it must yield to the Conservatives, and see the Lords restored to their old place. There seems to be no reason why the Liberal program should not succeed. The only serious rift in their ranks is the growing naval expenditures, and that rift seems to be smaller than a few days ago. The Conservatives, however, are at cross purposes on many points, including the Ulster question, and tariff reform. [See current volume, page 132.]

Lloyd George's land reform program continues to hold attention for constructive legislation. His promise to deal with the question of taxing land

values in every speech is taken as an earnest that this reform will occupy an important place in the Government's land policy. But the best evidence of the popularity of the subject lies in the concessions made by the Conservatives. They are doing the Chancellor of the Exchequer the honor of imitating his program. Whereas, three months ago they were denouncing Lloyd George for his proposed relief of town tenants as interfering with freedom of contract, they now admit the need of legislation to give tenants security of tenure, compensation for improvements, and relief from unreasonable covenants.



Militarism in Sweden.

The Russification of Finland, and the discovery of Russian espionage in Sweden has made acute the question of national defense in the latter country. On the 6th a great demonstration was made at Stockholm in behalf of the increase of Swedish armaments. King Gustave said that the problem of defense was one to be solved at once. This speech led to serious friction in the cabinet. On the 8th thirty thousand Socialists held a demonstration in front of the government offices in opposition to increased armaments. They demanded that the ministers should work instead for peace and fraternity. The premier, M. Staaf, replied that in spite of his deep sympathy in the cause of international peace, he felt it was absolutely necessary for the Swedish people to make new and great sacrifices for the defense of the country.



China's Waning Liberties.

President Yuan Shi Kai on the 3d dissolved all the district councils in the provinces of China. Each district council consisted of the chief official of the province, known as the controller, who took the place of the governor under the old rule, four administrative officials appointed by him, and ten members of the provincial assembly elected by ballot. Its duties were to investigate bills passed by the assemblies, and to veto them if it saw fit. The provincial assemblies consist of a minimum of fifty members and a maximum of 100, according to the population of the province. Their powers are confined to local legislation, control of the local budget, and the collection of provincial taxes. A mandate is reported to be in preparation by the President to disperse these provincial assemblies. Should this be done, there will be little left of the Republic but the name. [See current volume, page 134.]



The Labor War.

Testimony regarding the killing of two striking miners, Aloise Tijan and Steve Putrich, at Houghton, Michigan, was taken on February 5

and 6 in the trial of the deputies and Waddell-Mahon men charged with their murder. At the time of the shooting on August 11, the men were at the home of Mrs. Antonio Putrich in Seeberville. Seven witnesses testified that the firing was all from outside of the house, and none of it done by any one within. One of the witnesses, Sanko Stepeck, who had been shot in the arm, testified that the officers, who had come to make arrests, started to beat one of their prisoners, John Kollun; that one of them also struck him and pointed a gun at him. He ran into the house when he heard firing, and was himself shot. Mrs. Putrich also testified regarding the shooting, and said the powder from the officers' pistols had burned the face of a baby she was holding in her arms. [See current volume, page 132.]



Albert Jay Nock, after investigating conditions in the copper region, gives the result of his investigation in the Detroit Saturday Night of January 31. Mr. Nock declares that there is much misrepresentation concerning the strike. He says the operators have conceded everything except recognition of the Western Federation of Miners, and that their reason for refusing this is belief that "the Federation is bent on carrying out the doctrine of confiscation of private property, especially of private property in natural resources." The Calumet and Hecla company, he says, has produced enormous dividends, but none of the other mines have paid as well. The whole question, he says, is "whether the United States will or will not continue to acquiesce in an industrial despotism," which potentially exists in unlimited private ownership of natural resources, although he has no reason to believe that unusual benevolence has not been employed in exercising the despotism. That the constitution is not in force in the copper country, he considers a fair statement. He declares the deportation of Moyer to have been without justification, and that it should create sympathy for the Western Federation.



Congressional investigation of strike conditions in Michigan began at Hancock on February 9. Attorney O. N. Hilton, for the Western Federation, in his opening address declared that many of the miners had worked for years at starvation wages, and that miners had to trade at certain stores to obtain work. A. L. Rees, counsel for the operators, denied the truth of Mr. Hilton's statements, placed responsibility for the strike on the Western Federation, which only represented 25 per cent of the miners. The first witness told of having gone to work in the mines when eleven years old for twenty dollars a month, which was later reduced to eighteen. The pay envelope of another miner, introduced as evidence, showed \$1.61 for

twenty-six days' work in June, 1910. From this \$1.50 was deducted for the hospital and the air fund. Chairman Taylor of the investigating subcommittee read a letter from Governor Ferris of Michigan, declining to attend the hearings, and saying that his own investigation had showed that elimination of the Western Federation would have ended the dispute long ago.



Congressional investigation of the Colorado strike situation also began on February 9, at Denver. The first witness, Eli Gross, superintendent of the State Free Employment Bureau, charged that peonage is practiced in the coal fields. He also declared that prisoners are mistreated by the military authorities. One man arrested as a suspect, he said, was kept awake five days and nights. Edward V. Brake, deputy labor commissioner, testified as to illegal practices of employers. On being asked why he did not prosecute he is said to have answered: "Most of these cases are in Las Animas and Huerfano counties. You can't prosecute anybody in those counties. Jeff Farr, the sheriff of Huerfano county, selects the jury, and they're picked to convict or acquit, as the case may be." [See current volume, page 108.]



The right of military authorities to arbitrarily arrest and detain individuals in connection with strike troubles was upheld at Trinidad, Colorado, on February 4, by Judge A. W. McHendrie, in denying a writ of habeas corpus. "Mother Jones," still held as a military prisoner at Trinidad, became ill on February 9. Her physician, Dr. Harvey, declares that the troops denied him permission to attend her.



In the first annual report of the Department of Labor on February 3, Secretary Wilson recommends that Congress regulate interstate transportation of arms and armed men during labor difficulties. He declared the use of firearms to be a species of private warfare. Conditions in Michigan and Colorado were used as examples. He further asked that Congress define more clearly the function of the Department in mediation of labor disputes.



In an address at Springfield, Massachusetts, on February 8, Secretary Wilson opposed compulsory arbitration, holding it "contrary to the spirit of human freedom." "Peace will come," he said, "whenever the problem of distribution is solved. Within the last 150 years the problem of production has been practically mastered, but methods of equitable distribution still are to be devised. When that is done and the spirit of fair play has been

absorbed by both capital and labor the world will have industrial peace."

NEWS NOTES

—The funeral of Congressman Robert G. Bremner of New Jersey took place at Passaic on February 9. [See this Public at page 149.]

—The Kenyon bill aimed at the red light district of Washington was signed by President Wilson on February 7. [See current volume, page 134.]

—Bernardino Machado, former Portuguese Ambassador to Brazil, has formed a new cabinet at the request of President Manoel de Arriaga, to replace the ministry that resigned January 27. [See current volume, page 37.]

—A Lincoln's birthday dinner at New York will be given on February 12 by the Women's Henry George League. Arrangements are in charge of Miss Amy Mali Hicks, 400 West 23d street. The dinner will be at 987 Eighth avenue. Among the speakers will be John S. Crosby, Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, Dr. John Lovejoy Elliot and Frank Stephens.

—To obtain commission government for Kansas City, Mo., the Non-Partisan Commission Government League of that city decided on February 2 to circulate an initiative petition for an amendment to the State Constitution, removing all restrictions against such reform. Initiative, Referendum, Recall, Preferential Vote, non-partisan ballot and civil service reform are included in the League's plans.

—Four anti-Sullivan candidates for United States Senator from Illinois attended the banquet of the Wilson-Bryan League on February 9 at Springfield. These were John Z. White, Carl Vrooman, Frank D. Comerford and W. Duff Piercy. Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma was present and delivered an address calling attention to the need of the preferential vote in a direct primary. Committees on campaign and organization were named. [See current volume, pages 34, 99.]

—Appointment to the Interstate Commerce Commission of Winthrop Moore Daniels of New Jersey and Henry Clay Hall of Colorado were sent to the Senate on February 3 by President Wilson for confirmation. An attempt to act promptly was prevented by Senator Cummins on February 4, who declared he spoke for Senator La Follette also. A number of protests against confirmation are said to have been received, according to which both Daniels and Hall are declared to be reactionary Democrats.

—Three initiative petitions under the Public Policy law have been filed in Chicago to be voted on at the city election on April 7. One, known as the comprehensive subway plan and backed by William R. Hearst and the city administration, calls for a \$130,000,000 bond issue to build a subway system throughout the city. The second, known as the initial subway plan and favored by other than Hearst papers, calls for the expenditure of \$14,000,000 already in the city's traction fund, to build subways in the downtown district for surface cars, the object being to relieve congestion of traffic within the "loop." The

third petition asks for an amendment to the State Public Utilities law restoring to Chicago home rule in control of public utilities. [See vol. xv, p. 877; vol. xvi, pp. 611, 636, 653; current volume, page 35.]

—Attention to the National Conference on Unemployment to be held at New York City on February 27 is called by the American Association for Labor Legislation. The notice declares that "the principal emphasis of the conference according to the program will be on constructive proposals for prevention of unemployment." The International Association on Unemployment joins with the American association in calling the conference. The headquarters of the American Association is at 131 E. 23d street, New York City, with Dr. John B. Andrews, secretary, in charge. [See current volume, page 134.]

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department for December, 1913 (being the tenth month of President Wilson's administration), shows the following for that month. [See current volume, page 37.]

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash.....	111,854,317.93
Total	\$261,854,317.93
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1913.....	314,703,683.52

Decrease for first six months of fiscal year ending June 30, 1914.....\$ 52,849,371.59

—Tax Commissioners Fackler and Agnew of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, containing the city of Cleveland, demanded on February 3 of John D. Rockefeller that he make a personal property tax return. Mr. Rockefeller, however, left the State before the five days allowed to make the return expired, and thus escaped the necessity of stating under oath the amount of his personal property. The commissioners must now fix their own valuation. They are reported to have declared they will make his assessment \$500,000,000. Mr. Rockefeller's attorney, Virgil P. Kline, claims that his client is a resident of New York State and not liable for personal taxation in Ohio.

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States [See current volume, page 37] for the twelve months ending December, 1913, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce for December, 1913, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise....	\$2,484,311,176	\$1,792,183,645	\$692,127,531 exp.
Gold	91,798,610	63,704,332	28,093,778 exp.
Silver	62,776,631	35,867,819	26,908,812 exp.

Total\$2,638,886,417 \$1,891,756,296 \$747,130,121 exp. The imports of December, \$183,732,736, are larger than those of any previous month. The share of imports entering free of duty in December, 1913, was 63.86 per cent, against 58.42 per cent in December, 1912.

—Gifford Pinchot was invited on February 5 to become the candidate for United States Senator in Pennsylvania of the Progressive party. The invitation was extended by party leaders. On the same day former Mayor James D. Phelan of San Francisco announced his candidacy for the Democratic Senatorial nomination in California, and former Congress-

man John J. Lentz of Ohio announced that he would contest for the Democratic Senatorial nomination from that State. Robert Hunter was nominated on February 5 for United States Senator by the Socialist party of Connecticut. On February 8, Chester H. Rowell of Fresno, California, announced that he would contest with Francis J. Heney for the Progressive Senatorial nomination.

—In the case of the dismissed school teacher of New York City, Mrs. Peixotto—whose reason for absence was the birth of a child—the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court on February 6 nullified the mandamus for reinstatement which Justice Seabury had issued on November 14. The decision was unanimous in upholding the power of dismissal of the New York Board of Education, the court stating in its opinion that Mrs. Peixotto's counsel seemed to contend broadly that the Board of Education was in no circumstances "warranted in removing a married woman teacher on account of absence from school through illness incident to bearing a child, no matter how long such illness incapacitates her from performing her duty as a teacher." "That is a doctrine," the court continues, "to which we cannot subscribe, for we think that while the defendant is vested with authority to excuse a teacher absent on the ground of illness, it may in some circumstances find that absence for alleged illness constitutes neglect of duty." The court further stated that Mrs. Peixotto's appeal against dismissal should have been made not to the courts but to the highest educational authority possible, in this case the State Commissioner of Education, whose decision "shall be final and conclusive and not subject to question or review in any place or court whatever." Counsel for Mrs. Peixotto made it known that he had no intention of regarding the Supreme Court's decision as final. [See vol. xvi, p. 1116.]

PRESS OPINIONS

"If" Congress Is Free.

Cleveland (O.) Press, January 29.—In the city of Washington more than a million dollars a year are being extracted from the pockets of street car passengers to pay dividends on watered stock. Congress has before it a bill, introduced by Representative Crosser of Cleveland, empowering the commissioners of the District of Columbia to buy out the two private street railway companies at a negotiated valuation or by condemnation on a government bond issue at 3½ per cent, merge them and operate on the basis of the best service at the least possible cost. Conditions in Washington are favorable to a successful fare plan at least as low as Cleveland's 3 cents. The average haul is short, traffic is steady, and there are no morning and evening peak loads to make frantic the thousands who in most cities at these times have to hang on straps. The Crosser proposal is worth trying out. If Congress is really free of special interest control, it will turn the job over to the present competent commissioners and let them show the nation what public ownership can do.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE ROMAN TWINS.

By Augustine Duganne.

'Twas told by Roman soothsayers
(What time they read the stars),
That Romulus and Remus
Sprang from the loins of Mars;
That Romulus and Remus
Were twin-born on the earth,
And in the lap of a she-wolf
Were suckled from their birth.
By heavens! I think this legend—
This ancient Roman myth—
For mine own time, and mine own clime,
Is full of pregnant pith.

Romulus stood with Remus
And, ploughed the Latin loam,
And traced by yellow Tiber
The nascent walls of Rome:
Then laughed the dark twin Remus,
And scoffed his brother's toil,
And o'er the bounds of Romulus
He leapt upon his soil.
By Heaven! I think that Remus
And Romulus at bay,
Of Slavery's strife and Liberty's life
Were antetypes that day.

The sucklings of the she-wolf
Stood face to face in wrath,
And Romulus swept Remus
Like stubble from his path:
Then crested he with temples
The Seven Hills of his home,
And bulld round, by Tiber,
The eternal walls of Rome!
By Heaven! I think this legend
Hath store of pregnant pith:
For mine own time, and mine own clime,
'Tis more than Roman myth!

Like Romulus and Remus,
Out of the loins of Mars,
Our Slavery and our Liberty
Were born from cruel wars:
To both an Albic she-wolf
Her bloody suck did give;
And one must slay the other,
'Ere one in peace can live!
By Heaven! I think this legend
Straight to our hearts comes home:
When Slavery dies, shall grandly rise
Freedom's Eternal Rome!



A PEASANT REVOLT IN ITALY.

Translation by Robert W. Hall, of an Article in the
Neueste Nachrichten of Munich, January 17.

In the delightful little mountain town, Paliano, near Frosinone, scarcely an hour and a half by rail from the capital, Rome, occurred a few days ago

one of those peasant revolts, for which Italy—particularly middle and southern Italy—was once so famous. Those revolts had much more resemblance to the German Peasant War than to the French Revolution; for the poor Italian peasants desired no passionately announced "Rights of Man" or similar fine things; they desired only a little air and bread, so as to live and not actually starve to death.

They have not air, or at least a very insufficient supply in their wretched, damp stone huts, which are crowded together in the smoke-blackened mountain villages, like sheep in a storm. And the bread. Who gives it to the South Italian helots of the South Italian countryside? The lordly great estate owners, who pose as cheap nationalistic patriots and grind down their day-laborers? Or the Sicilian mine owners, whose performances caused in its time the insurrection of the "Fasci"?* Who in the south of beautiful Italy thinks at all of the poor uneducated masses, that in reality are nothing but picturesque accessories for a country nobility, which in spite of some pretensions to democracy, is far below the North German feudal aristocracy?

Medievalism, nothing but medievalism is what we find in the Roman, and in all the South Italian country districts, in spite of all the so-called peasant emancipation. In the north of Italy and down through beautiful Tuscany, we have modern civilization and modern ideals of life, and the agrarian-social struggle inspired with socialistic ideas. But in the South only dull discontent, which breaks out from time to time, like Aetna and Vesuvius in wild, elemental explosions. The great estate owners in the Year of Grace 1914 are exactly the same feudal lords as in the years 1200 or 1400. Furthermore, in South Italy, as in Italy in general, the free agricultural peasant is an unheard-of rarity; the peasants, in an absolute, crushing majority, are simply bondsmen, who are in the service—in the specially miserable service—of a small number of great estate owners, and are more wretched in it than were the Helots of Sparta, who at least were fed, like beasts of burden, by the State at the expense of the State.

In Paliano, near Rome, there is now a movement among the poor fellows, who are asking their employers to relieve them of at least one of the taxes which press on the day laborers, namely, the contribution which the laborers must pay their lords, in order that the lords may maintain watchmen to guard their properties! In every other country in the world it is to be presumed that the great estate owners meet this expense out of their own pockets. Not so in South Italy. There the poor two-legged beast of burden must come forward to pay it out of the few cents he earns daily.

The great estate owners of the little town, the

*Laborers' Union.

Prince Colonna and other gentlemen—some of whom find it necessary to live on a great scale in Rome and other places—declined without hesitation any concession, and the result was that the peasants marched before the palaces or residences of the gentry with threatening cries. They marched in this way before the residence of two of the richest men in Paliano, the brothers Tucci. These gentlemen are of a somewhat nervous disposition, it seems, for as the despised mob roared and shouted, each of the brothers seized a gun and began a rapid fire on the crowd, which in a few minutes brought down about thirty persons. A young girl was shot through the head and a number of peasants severely wounded. At this stage the police intervened, arrested the gentlemen who were so ready with their guns, and with no little difficulty preserved them from lynch justice.

And with this the revolt in Paliano is over for the present, and the tax will probably continue. It is characteristic of the grade of civilization of the little town, that the beaten populace revenged themselves on the Tucci brothers by destroying in the course of the night, their family burying place.

As one can see down there, though so near Rome, much of the work of civilization is yet to do. And many, very many decades will pass before the various Palianos of South Italy rise from the year 1200 to the year 1914.



SOME FRIENDS OF OURS.

No. 5. The Woman Who Held Mortgages.

Part Two.

For The Public.

Angevine Miller settled down in North Chowchilla, and her letters to the wise old lawyer tell the story better than any synopsis. Here are six extracts, placed in order of dates, ranging over a period of about six months:

"This problem is a hard one. I have become at home in the Finch family; I help Sabra Finch with the dresses and go to camp meetings with the bunch; she calls me Angevine and I call her Sabra; she has told me all about the mortgage."

"Amos Finch owns 460 acres of rough land, a few poor cattle, shabby improvements. There is no local market for products. His knowledge is defective; he works tremendously, but is past his prime and is discouraged. The five children are well brought up. We must give them a chance."

"I have read the books on the land question, and on agriculture you sent me. Hire the most practical and the best educated young expert you can find. Give him a gun and a good outfit, including horse and buggy. Let him spend a month or three

months up here, shooting, fishing and photographing. Let him quietly size up the possibilities of these farms and make a full report to me—Amos Finch's farm first."

"Mr. Jaynes, the expert, sure knows his business. He says that we can safely lend more money to Amos Finch, and put his farm into productive shape in five years. But he says that we must control the entire situation, must direct his expenditures and his work, must finally sell off a large portion of the land to new and actual users. He believes that Finch's land can be made to pay the mortgage of \$2,000, also \$2,000 more, and in time can be subdivided into five places, according to the lay of the land, one of which the Finch family will continue to hold. He says 'dairying, apples and walnuts'; but he adds that I can't possibly persuade Mr. Finch to give us control. Perhaps he is mistaken!"

"Now you write Mr. and Mrs. Finch that the late Zoeth Raeburn was a good man, not a mean one, and that he left a large sum to be lent by you for 'improvements' in order to enable all of his debtors to get even again. Explain about mortgages, chattel mortgages and deeds of trust. Ask them to take a month and think up ten people living in this region from whom you can select three to whom they shall deed everything in trust with full power to subdivide and sell at any time, to direct improvements, and to arrange for a monthly allowance for the family as well as full protection of their equity. I'll see that Sabra and Amos Finch name ten men and women from whom we can easily pick out three corking good people for the game."

"Send the papers. All arranged. The names of the three trustees are on an enclosed slip. This deal shows us how to handle a lot of others. Keep me supplied with books and papers on money, taxes, interest, land, how to educate farmers and all the rest that I must know about. I feel about twenty years old; part of it is my study, part is Sabra Finch. She is both good and far-sighted. She knows things, although she never had but four months in school—as her letters show; she is the wisest person I ever knew."

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



NEW SCHOOLS AND TRUE DEMOCRATS.

II. Culture and Agriculture.

Lincoln Steffens, in *Harper's Weekly* of January 10.

My plea is for culture in colleges, and especially in the agricultural colleges. Any college has a clue to the way to it. Interest in the beginning—any interest. . . . The agricultural

schools have the first requirement for culture. They have students who want to learn. The average student at a "regular" college is one of the funniest things on earth. He has no interest in learning; he is hardly willing to be taught. . . . I will recall that one can get culture by starting with any subject and following it through all its relations to life: languages, ancient or modern; history; physics; art or music—anything. And so students can get culture from agriculture or engineering.

But there's a chance to use these two fields for a peculiarly rich and modern culture. Take engineering first. Professor Johnson of Harvard gives his students of engineering the culture of his subject by showing them that what they learn of physical forces is probably true of social and political forces. He has written a pamphlet on "Political Engineering," and it is sound. And his students see it. They are interested in political and social questions because they see, what we all need to see today, that it is forces, not men, that we are up against. The colleges are turning out thousands of men every year who carry into politics and life the old, dead cultural notion that bad men make bad government and that good men would make government good. A cultural school of engineering, which would do what Professor Johnson does, would apply its knowledge not only to professional use, but to the practical use of the politician, reformer and sociologist; it would interest its students in the search for the unmoral and impersonal cause of all our evils: political, industrial and social. And if that general, human interest were fed and cultivated by a wise faculty, such students could be led on to want to know anything; just what the old Roman muck-rakers said in the original Latin; just why and when art comes and why it doesn't; and just what the matter is today with poetry.

And as for the agricultural schools, they can reach out in the same way. All they have to do is to teach that all they are learning about pigs and oats is true of men. They know, too, what the old moral culturist doesn't know: that if you want a good crop, you must select the seed and prepare the soil. That is true of men. Ignorance and disregard of that knowledge are causes of the slums of cities. . . . All I want to suggest is, that if faculties of our agricultural schools would take the utilitarian interest of their students in the course of agriculture and would show them the human, social significance of all they are learning, they could not only give them a very modern and a sadly needed culture, but they could easily incite them to an interest in life which would carry them through any of the subjects known to the old culture of the old schools. What they need, really, is not only this hint, but some of the conceit of our great universities; the proud

sense that they indeed have something fine and enlightening and humane—as they have.

BOOKS

BLOCKING LEGISLATION.

Story of the California Legislature of 1913. By Franklin Hichborn. Published by the James H. Barry Co., 1122 Mission St., San Francisco. Price, \$1.50.

Rudyard Kipling's "Jungle Book" is a series of good stories mined out of an imagination full of rich ore. Franklin Hichborn's story of the California Legislature of 1913—like his books on the Legislatures of 1909 and 1911—is a series of "Jungle Book" stories taken from life, without a line of fiction. As is well known to every man who has ever reported a State legislature, a legislative session is a real jungle; and an Indian or African jungle has nothing on it in the way of a zoological collection. From ape to zebra it is complete, and replete with everything covered with feathers, fur or scales.

"A Guide to Legislative Inefficiency" might have been the title of Hichborn's book. Then, again, if a member of a legislature, or a candidate for the legislature wishes to know the ropes and to be efficient, he may take the book as a "Guide to Legislative Efficiency." It depends on how one looks at it. The California Legislature of 1913 was not inefficient because it was "bad," but because of circumstances over which it had no control. The People can control those circumstances.

By knowing the facts before he meets them, the individual legislator may make himself efficient; but individual efficiency doesn't mean good team work; and first-class team work is almost impossible under present conditions.

The 1909 Legislature of California was the last of the machine-controlled legislatures of this State. Hichborn wrote a book about it, and that book had something to do with the political revolution in California in 1910, which gave the State a legislature that did splendid work in the way of clearing away some of the obstructions to constructive work. Then it was up to the people to elect a legislature that would do some really constructive work. The People did their part in that election, but there was something that was not on the ballot.

The most efficient corn-sheller will soon lose its efficiency if a mischievous or malicious person puts a stone into the hopper. Under present conditions, the most efficient body of legislators will fail to be efficient if Special Privilege feeds stones into the hopper. By hard work the California Legislature of 1913 did some things that should have been done; but no American legislature is going

to give The People one cent's worth of service for every dollar expended so long as anything remains of Private Monopoly. That is one of the big lessons of Hichborn's book.

From the adjournment of the 1911 session until the 1913 Legislature met, Special Privilege in California was collecting the stones to feed into the hopper; not a collection of "bad bills," but obstructions to the good bills that it saw coming. Special Privilege had more than two years to hire its agents and keep them at work collecting the stones; it had the money to pay for the work—was collecting the money from The People in the high rates it was charging for various services. Then it used the money taken from The People to fight The People in 1913.

Hichborn says that one of the most important problems before the 1913 Legislature, if not the most important, "was that of the legislature itself." That is true, and it's true of any legislature. Hichborn makes a splendid argument for legislatures of one chamber. One of the chief troubles of the American legislature is the two-chamber arrangement. That arrangement suits Special Privilege.

But who is Hichborn? He is the legislative correspondent of The Sacramento Bee. If you know The Bee, that's enough to know about Hichborn. When he signs his name to a statement about politics and politicians, the burden of disproof is on the other man.

V. G. EGGLESTON.



TRUSTS.

Trusts, Good and Bad. Reprinted from "The Ethics of Democracy." By Louis F. Post. Published by The Public, Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago. 1914. Price, paper, 15 cents postpaid.

The trust problem has given rise to at least two great schools of thought. One advocates compulsory competition. We are to dissolve the combinations into their constituent concerns and force these concerns to struggle for the privilege of selling us what we need. The other philosophers scorn this view and say that combinations have come to stay, but that we can secure the benefit of their economies by regulating them and compelling them to deal with us on equal and reasonable terms. And here is Mr. Post, unmoved, apparently, by the arguments of both schools, reprinting these chapters from "The Ethics of Democracy" just as they were written ten years ago, changing not a word.

What, then, is Mr. Post's solution of the trust problem? It is simply free competition. "To make competition free, therefore, is to apply the natural remedy to the ills that flow from monopoly—free competition must be established." That is all.

Mr. Post would protect nobody against competition. He would abolish the tariff, as most of us

know, but that would be a mere incident in his program. He would root out the protective idea wherever he finds it.

To the small storekeeper who fears the great department store and would welcome legislation to restrict its activities, he says that "such legislation would be in effect legislation against buyers to prevent their economizing," and he will have none of it. To the workman who objects to labor-saving machinery, he says that we might as well think of interfering with the railroad for the benefit of the wheelbarrow industry. To the small farmer who may be driven out of business by the bonanza farm,—though Mr. Post doubts if he will be—he says that if bonanza farming "can produce more economically, then it is destined to be the farming of the future." If concerns combine and discharge laborers whom they do not need, Mr. Post will not interfere with them. To Big Business he has no objection based on its size.

Would he allow the combinations to take in as many concerns as they wish or can get, to sell goods as high as they can, to buy goods and material as low as they can? That appears to be his view. Only, he would remove the special privileges they have—monopolies of natural resources, coal and iron, and all the rest, monopolies of transportation, rights of way and terminals, railway discriminations, and everything else that forces consumers to do business with some concerns, and prevents free competition.

Mr. Post thinks that with special privileges removed, concerns could only grow to that point, whatever it might be in a given case, at which combination or large-scale production ceased to be economical. He believes that no concern, however large, could stay in business without special privileges, unless it served the public better than smaller concerns would. If its prices were too high, competition would reduce them—and it must be kept in mind that, in Mr. Post's scheme, competition would be entirely free.

With competition free, Mr. Post evidently believes, it would be as needless to make it compulsory as it would be to compel a healthy man to eat his meals. And if competition is free, Mr. Post thinks, monopoly is impossible.

"A combination of fishermen, for instance, could not, merely as fishermen, make a fishing trust. They have no monopoly. Their only advantage would be their fishing skill and equal skill could soon be acquired by others. Even with the advantages of such special privileges as dockage rights and transportation opportunities it has been found impossible to make an invincible fishing trust." But there are to be no such special privileges in Mr. Post's scheme, so that if a later effort to establish a fishing trust under present conditions should prove successful it would not decide the case against free competition.

Whether a combination without special privi-

lege can establish a monopoly, will probably remain one of the disputed questions until it is settled by experiment. Mr. Post thinks not. The Socialists think otherwise. But why not make the experiment?

Competition should be free; combination should

be free; large-scale production should be free. Let us make them free and see what will happen.

WILLIAM E. MCKENNA.



"It's curious," said Brown, "how coming events cast their shadows before them. I'll wager a fiver

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If you believe in the triumph of democratic principles; if you believe that the democratic party should be given the fullest opportunity to demonstrate its ability to serve the people of this country, you should do your part to bring about the endorsement of its program by helping to elect a democratic congress this fall. Every democrat, in every state, in every district, should take a hand in the work. Let the indorsement of the democratic administration be as emphatic as possible.

In response to many requests THE COMMONER has commenced the campaign of education and organization for an indorsement of the democratic administration by the election of a democratic congress. We desire the assistance of every loyal democrat in carrying out the plans we have formulated. THE COMMONER has a special plan that will be of interest to every democratic county chairman and precinct committeeman in promoting the work of education in each congressional district and the raising of congressional campaign funds. Democrats are urged to write us for the plan or have their committeemen do so.

Another plan provides for the circulation of THE COMMONER for educational work among the doubtful voters. To those who will co-operate with us in this campaign we have prepared subscription cards, each bearing Mr. Bryan's autograph and each card being good for one year's subscription to THE COMMONER when returned to our office, bearing the subscriber's name. For this educational work THE COMMONER makes a special congressional campaign rate of 60c for a year's subscription. We are also arranging to distribute other literature, covering the debates in congress on important measures. Will you not join in our plan at once? THE COMMONER will be glad to receive additional suggestions from democrats everywhere as to methods and means of insuring the return of a democratic congress this fall. Address

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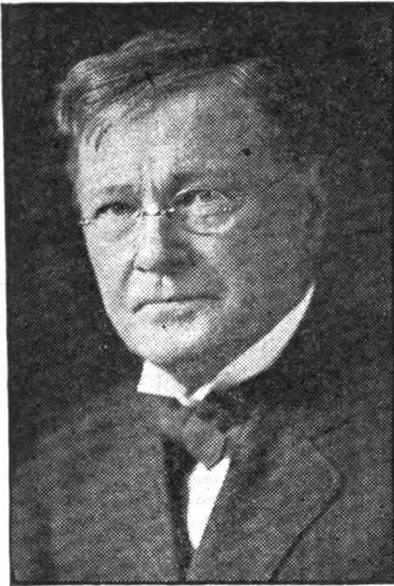
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JUDSON GRENELL, Author, *The Single Tax—What It Is and What It Will Accomplish.*

HENRY GEORGE Lecture Association

FREDERICK H. MONROE, President
538 S. Dearborn Street

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Chicago, Ill., Feb. 13, 1914.

To the Readers and Friends of the Public, Greeting:

We are writing you today in regard to Mr. Judson Grenell's little booklet, entitled, "THE SINGLE TAX—WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT WILL ACCOMPLISH." Nearly two hundred thousand copies of this booklet have been printed and circulated throughout the United States and Canada during the past few years. This is probably the largest circulation of any booklet or pamphlet issued in the United States on the Single Tax. This

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