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EDITORIAL

Alaska Favored by The Senate.

In refreshing contrast to the proposed puerile anti-trust legislation is the action of the United States Senate in passing the Alaska government railroad bill. That is true constructive legislation. Now let it be followed by legislation that will assure to the people whose money and labor builds the road all of the land values which the road will create. Otherwise an opportunity will be offered to landowners in Alaska to take from the wealth producers of the Territory all the financial benefits that will accrue from the government road. Land speculation will be encouraged and Alaska will become as the rest of the Union, a land of poverty as well as of progress.

S. D.



Protecting the Trusts.

An extended lease of life is assured to the trusts. Whatever the anti-trust bills introduced in accordance with the President's message may accomplish, there is one thing they certainly will not do. They will not solve the trust problem. If they fairly represent the line along which the administration will work in endeavoring to abolish trusts, then nothing will be accomplished during Wilson's term to lessen the evil. The result will be the same, regardless of whether the laws will be strictly enforced or whether they become dead letters. No evil can be abolished without removing its cause.



Take the Steel Trust as an example. Its power rests principally on ownership or control of coal lands and ore beds. It owns among other natural resources, sixty thousand acres of coking coal deposits in the Connellsville region. Any other producer of steel must have this coal but must agree to the trust's terms in order to get it. Now what is there in any of the anti-trust bills to put an end to this predatory power? Nothing whatever. The

bill to abolish interlocking directorates would still leave these sixty thousand acres in the control of individuals intent on preventing any competitor of the trust from getting coking coal. So would the bill to make guilt personal, or the bill to strictly define offenses against the anti-trust law, or the bill for a trade commission. Even if the latter body were empowered to regulate prices and to enforce regulations, it would fail. The trust would still control the source of supply; could therefore control production and create an artificial scarcity in the commodity in which it deals, in spite of the commission's orders. It would be the same with all monopolistic combinations. As long as they are permitted to retain possession of their privileges no commission can be strong enough to control them.



In adopting the policy of trust regulation the Democratic Congress apparently puts the seal of approval on the policy advocated by Theodore Roosevelt and the national platform of the Progressive party. It repudiates President Wilson's condemnation of government by experts. It opens the way to the danger which the President showed must follow from such government—that those controlled by the government must necessarily get closer to the government. Mr. Roosevelt and his followers may criticize certain details in those Democratic bills, but they can not consistently condemn the principle on which they are based. It is more probable that they will claim to have won a victory, that the Democratic party has surrendered to them—and the claim will be absolutely correct.



Not only the followers of Roosevelt, but the followers of Taft, may—if they are logical—find comfort in this new Democratic policy. If solution of the trust problem actually requires arbitrary regulation, then a false position was taken by the Democratic party when it placed blame for the existence of trusts on the protective tariff. If trusts, which derive power from other than tariff privileges, can be abolished without abolition of their privileges, then tariff-fed trusts can also be abolished without any interference with the tariff. Fortunately, logic is a weapon with the use of which protectionists are none too familiar—else they would not be protectionists. For that reason Democratic congressmen may hope to escape much embarrassment to which the folly and inconsistency of their party leaders now renders them liable.

S. D.

Rebating Continues.

The frequency with which charges of rebating are being brought against railroads together with occasional convictions of the offense indicates that the practice prevails probably as extensively as it ever did. For every time such an act as discovered it is not at all improbable that it has been done many times without discovery, or without legal proof being available. The practice is one of great value in maintaining trust power. It was folly to expect punitive legislation to abolish it. While public franchises remain private property, rebating in some form will continue, for the reason that it offers a possibility of profit, which no punitive legislation can destroy. This is one of the facts to which Congress in framing anti-trust laws has kept its eyes closed.

S. D.



Why Confine It to Radium?

Much ado is made in Congress, in the press, and by the public in general, over the disposal of radium deposits in Colorado. It has been proposed by some unterrified radicals that instead of conveying title as has been our custom to an inverted pyramid with its apex at the center of the earth and its base in the depths of space, with absolute possession to all things between, the Government shall reserve its right to the radium ore that may be found therein, and so prevent the monopolization of a most useful agent of nature. This is most commendable from any point of view; indeed, one wonders how any man can be found to oppose it. But after all, is the need of retaining the people's right in these lands so different from that of securing their right to lands bearing more common minerals, or timber, or even fertility? Is a million dollars' worth of coal, or iron or salt worth any less than a million dollars' worth of radium?



Should the Government continue its time-honored policy of giving to a few the lands that belong of right to all, what difference does it really make whether the land contains value of one kind or value of another kind? Whoever gets the radium lands—supposing them to be given into private hands—will put the product on the market in the same way, and with the same motive, as actuates the owners of iron or coal, wheat or cabbage lands. The fact that radium is worth millions of dollars an ounce, while coal is worth but a few dollars a ton, does not alter the principle involved. Nor does the fact that radium may be a possible cure for cancer. Should it prove to be the long-

sought remedy for that terrible affliction, it will still fall far short of coal in serving the human race. For where one needs a cancer cure, thousands need coal. It is a most wholesome sign of the times that so many public-spirited people should have come to realize the injustice involved in giving public lands, without restriction, into private hands. Once this principle becomes firmly fixed in the public mind, the people will not only conserve what is left of their great inheritance, but they will seek to recover what has already been given away.

S. C.



Bourbon Democrats.

President Wilson's achievements cannot be fully appreciated without taking into consideration what might have been were he not President. What Congress would have done had it had its own way may be imagined from what it does when acting upon its own initiative. In voting adversely on the question of recommending the special House committee on suffrage, the Democratic members of the Rules Committee demonstrated not only that they were not democrats, but that they lacked the ordinary prescience that prompts one to go in when it rains. There is no longer any question as to whether or not woman should vote. She is voting. The time is past when a few men, clothed with a little brief authority, can sit in judgment on one-half of the human race. The suffrage question has been tried at the bar of public opinion, and judgment has been rendered for the plaintiff. Unfortunately there happen to be a few men of antiquated ideas in power, elected on other issues—it is in consideration for their descendants that their names are not given—who are able to stay the execution for a few days, and so add their little mite toward convincing a predisposed public that they and the party to which they belong are incapable of keeping up with the march of progress. But there will be an election next fall; and the people can congratulate themselves that the Congressional term is for only two years.

S. C.



Illinois Democracy Menaced by Sullivan.

In behalf of Roger Sullivan's senatorial candidacy a circular, bearing the signature of J. M. Page of Jerseyville, is being sent to Democratic papers throughout the State. Its main argument is in its heading: "Sullivan Can Be Elected." That ought to be enough for Democrats who believe in democracy. The nomination of a reactionary who

can be elected is a worse menace to democratic principles than the nomination of any one who can not be. Genuine democrats should devote every effort to prevent Sullivan's nomination. A party can suffer a worse misfortune than defeat at the polls. Such a misfortune would be the election of an unworthy candidate, for whose official conduct it will be held responsible. If the Democratic party can not carry Illinois without nominating reactionaries, then it does not deserve to win.

S. D.



Jobs and the Jobless.

Much is said during the commercial solstice regarding the man out of work. During the summer when enterprises in the open are under way, and when hoboing is a pleasant diversion for the indolent, the question of the unemployed is of comparative insignificance. But cold weather stops field work, and it drives the hobo to his haven, the city, where organized charity assumes the role of a special Providence. It is then that the problem of the unemployed bulks large in press, pulpit and settlement house.

Every man out of a job is an interrogation point, propounding to society this question: "What are you going to do about me?" The answers of those who concern themselves with social problems are various. Some, their ears ringing with "the poor ye have with you always," adopt a fatalistic view, and throw themselves into the work of organized charity. A few, filled with great energy, or enjoying the success that great energy and chance have already won, deny that there is any involuntary unemployment. Any man, they declare, can get a job if he really wants it. And to prove this assertion a vigorous, self-assertive man, his own feet firmly placed on the ladder leading to higher things, got four jobs in one day.



Each of these answers is limited by so many "if's" that it is of little use to any one who is earnestly seeking a solution of the problem. Granted an economic condition in which the raw material that man must use, the land, is arbitrarily controlled by some to the exclusion of others, and most certainly the poor will always be with us. On the other hand, granted that a few men are robust and self-assertive, while the mass are not, it will be possible for those few to command jobs. But suppose all men were robust and self-assertive, what then? When Surajah Dowlah, in the Indian uprising of 1756, put 146 British subjects into

the Black Hole of Calcutta, a room eighteen feet square, and having two very small windows, it was possible for those nearest the windows to survive the night. But it was physically impossible that all should endure till morning. As a matter of fact only 23 escaped asphyxia. It is unnecessary to say which 23 survived, or why. Though all were British subjects, and all had fought shoulder to shoulder, they no sooner found themselves in the death-trap than every man's hand was against his fellow; and it was the robust, self-assertive men who got to the windows. In the open they were heroes, ready to give up their lives for their country, or for each other; in the Black Hole they were beasts struggling for a breath of air. A robust, self-assertive man might have said in the morning, "There was no need that any one should die. I had plenty of air."



An economic order that is apologized for by pessimistic fatalists, and vouched for by robust, self-assertive men, may be lacking in some of the requirements for the average man. Nor would it be satisfactory if all men were robust and self-assertive. Had all of the 146 prisoners in the Black Hole been equally strong it is more than likely that some of the 23 who survived would have perished. It is possible, indeed, that all might have died. So, too, had there been no sickness or accidents among the unemployed, and no weakness, bodily or mentally from heredity or environment, and had all remained below the age of fifty, the man who secured four jobs in one day, while thousands of men were living on charity, might have had a different story to tell. Even had the unemployed escaped all the other ills that befall the flesh, still they would have grown old, and there is no place that may be claimed of right in our modern economy by the man of years. Professor Osler was right in a sense that he did not mean and possibly did not know, when he suggested chloroforming men at the age of fifty. A man who has grown up in the same employment may continue in the service one, or possibly two decades past the half-century mark. But let him lose his job at fifty, either through the failure of the company in which he served, or for any other reason, and he will quickly realize that modern economy is based on the young and strong.



The very benevolence of employers is making it harder for the man out of a job. In all the insurance benefits it is stipulated that to become a beneficiary the employe must be under 30, 35, or 40 when he begins service. This is necessary in order

that the company may get from him a reasonable amount of service before retiring at 65 or 70. Suppose for a moment that all employers had instituted such a system of benevolence, what would become of the man who for any reason lost his job after he was forty years old? It is only because such benevolence is not yet universal, and many businesses are still run on the "cut-throat" principle that the man over fifty can get a job.



How long will those who profess to be leaders of movements to help labor persist in shutting their eyes to the truth? Why will they continue to walk backward? When will they cease to see things bottom-side up, merely from standing on their heads? Their very first profession, could they really understand it, should open their eyes. They would do something for Labor! Is Labor then so weakly and so helpless that it must be nursed and coddled as a child? What does Labor want? Wealth. Where does wealth come from? From labor applied to land. Is there then no more land upon which Labor may employ itself? There is plenty of land, but— Ah, yes, but! There is more land than Labor can possibly use, but it is hedged round about by legal barriers as effectually as the Garden of Eden was guarded by the angel with the flaming sword. Yet let us not be impatient with our less fortunate brothers. There are more today who see the truth than ever before, and they are multiplying at an ever increasing rate. Let the unemployed draw their belts a notch tighter, and summon what patience they can. We have wandered a long time in the Wilderness, but the Promised Land is almost in sight.

S. C.



Is There Any Difference?

On January 22 there were held two parades, one in St. Petersburg, Russia, and another in Trinidad, Colorado. Both parades were of workers and their families. One was to express sympathy with an old woman, arbitrarily imprisoned by a military dictator. The other was to keep alive the memory of a horrible massacre perpetrated nine years ago in obedience to the orders of a despot. Both parades were attacked by soldiers with drawn sabers, ready at the command of superiors to murder in cold blood any one of the paraders, regardless of age or sex. The conduct of these soldiers is upheld and approved by Governor Ammons of Colorado and by Czar Nicholas of Russia. What is the difference between "law and

order" in Colorado, and a tyrannical despotism in Russia?

S. D.



An Old Ogre In a New Guise.

There is an old adage among a certain class of statesmen that the quickest way to allay discontent at home is to engage in war abroad. And now that modern preparations for war have become more expensive than war itself, the mere question of armaments is used to stay social progress. English politics have reached the highest point in years. One of the questions that has held the country's attention for a generation—Irish Home Rule—is on the very point of settlement; and another question of still greater importance—the land question—is in a fair way to receive consideration if the public attention is not distracted by other things. And now come rumors of a possible disruption of the cabinet over the question of increased naval expenditures. War and preparations for war! What will they not have to answer for in the final reckoning! David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill are the aggressive, fighting members of the cabinet. Should the first lord of the Admiralty insist upon his naval demands, it will seriously hamper the Chancellor's social reforms. Chancellor Lloyd George may acquiesce in the unreasonable demands, and curtail his own program; or he may stand out in opposition, and so, by forcing Churchill's resignation, jeopardize the Liberal Party's lease of power, and the policies that are at the point of fruition.

S. C.



UNIVERSITY "ECONOMICS"

"The Case Against the Singletax" by Professor Alvin Saunders Johnson, in the January number of the Atlantic Monthly, should be carefully read and studied, not only by confirmed Singletaxers and confirmed opponents, but by all who are investigating the merits of the proposition. It presents in a scholarly, concise form all that can be brought against it by one of the most able and learned of its opponents. Bearing that fact in mind the reader who will carry Professor Johnson's arguments to their logical conclusion will find it difficult to avoid a decision favorable to the Singletax. The argument, while ostensibly a reply to a previous article by Mr. F. W. Garrison, was apparently prepared independently of it.



Professor Johnson's arguments are substantially as follows:

1. Although among the Singletaxers are to be

found representatives of many intellectual groups, the one group not represented is that of the professional economists.

2. The justification of a reform depends entirely upon what class will be despoiled thereby. In the United States land values are mainly in the possession of the middle classes. Singletax would result in strife between the very rich and the very poor for possession of these land values, with the inference that the very rich would win.

3. The doctrine that property rights depend on labor "can lead to only one conclusion—communism."

4. "If we had administered our lands from the beginning according to Singletax principles" Western forests would not have been cleared nor prairies planted with grain, for centuries to come.

5. Lure of unearned increment now induces men to become farmers. This would be lost.

6. Lure of unearned increment induces builders to erect houses in cities before demand for them arises. This would be lost.

7. It would lead to Socialism.



The first argument is little more than a plea that we should accept the professional economists as authority in preference to our own judgment. It is a rather stiff request, especially in view of all that Professor Johnson goes on to say about them. The Professor admits, or claims, that of all the classes which he styles intellectual, the professional economist alone is unrepresented in the Singletax ranks. Assuming the statement to be accurate—fact to the contrary notwithstanding—the reflection seems to be on the professional economist. We have all heard the story of the eleven stubborn jurymen. That must have been a jury of intellectuals, with one of Professor Johnson's professional economists as the member who complained of the stubbornness of the others.

Moreover, Professor Johnson himself shows that these professional economists are no more fit than ordinary laymen to act as guides on economic questions. He says "all the social heresies of matter and mind find their exponents among economists standing high in their professions. Except the Singletax." Some of these, he says, defend protectionism, others approve private monopoly, others fiat money, and there are some with socialistic leanings and some who coquette with philosophic anarchy. Apologists for the Industrial Workers of the World are also not hard to find among them. Such differences would not be possible in any professional group, in which the members possess knowledge of the fundamental principles of

the science they are supposed to teach. Professor Johnson's description of this wide divergence of views indicates that most of these professional economists have failed to become acquainted with the science of political economy. That is one reasonable explanation of the scarcity of Singletaxers among them. Another explanation is suggested by such incidents as the dismissal from the West Virginia University of Professor Brinsmade, after presiding at a Singletax meeting.



One of the exceptional "professional economists" who is acquainted with political economy is Professor John Graham Brooks. Some years ago Professor Brooks published his "The Social Unrest." He showed therein that the middle class constitutes less than eleven per cent of the country's population and owns a fraction over thirty-two per cent of its wealth. Since this included wealth in all forms it rather contradicts Professor Johnson's assertion that the middle class owns three-fifths and possibly four-fifths of all land values. He is further refuted by the United States census. He estimates land values in the United States at fifty billion dollars, declares three-fifths of this to be value of agricultural land, and that two-thirds of these lands are owned by their cultivators, who are all of the middle class. Now the total of fifty billion is but a guess. Professor Johnson declares it to be a conservative estimate, and so it unquestionably is. The correct figure is probably much larger. But the estimate of three-fifths of land values being on the farms is not a conservative estimate. It is the most careless kind of statement. The federal census shows the value of all farm lands, exclusive of buildings, to be something more than twenty-eight billion dollars. But since buildings are the only improvements excluded from these figures all other improvements must necessarily be included. A conservative estimate would consequently place agricultural land values at a much lower figure than twenty-eight billion dollars.

The Professor furthermore assumes that this value is all owned by farmers. The census contradicts him. Only fifty-five per cent of the farm lands of the country are improved, says the census. That implies that at least forty-five per cent of farm lands are owned by persons who are not farming them. Thirty-seven per cent of farmers are tenants, says the census. Only sixty-three per cent of those who use fifty-five per cent of the farming area are even nominal owners. But twenty-three per cent of farmers own under mortgage—are

practically tenants. So in the end the census shows that only forty per cent of those who work the fifty-five per cent of less than twenty-eight billion dollars worth of farm lands are unencumbered owners of any agricultural land values at all. Professor Johnson's figures need considerable revision. The census indicates that the true proportion of land values owned by working farmers is less than one-fifth of three-fifths of the total, even accepting the conservative estimate of fifty billion dollars total as accurate.

However, Professor Johnson to the contrary notwithstanding, the merits of any economic measure are not to be decided by consideration of how any class may be affected by its application. The principles of political economy, like all laws of nature, are the same where ownership of land is widely diffused, as they are where it is concentrated. It would be no more ridiculous to oppose a principle in mathematics on the ground that acceptance of it would work injury to some interest, than to argue, as Professor Johnson does, against a principle of political economy on the ground that it must injure a class he holds to be entitled to special consideration. The fact is that when he declares the salvation of the middle class to depend on ability to appropriate what rightfully belongs to others, he stamps it with the stigma of unworthiness.

That the rich and poor would fight for possession of land values appropriated by taxation is ridiculous. Why any one should consider it worth while to fight for possession of something that must be turned over to the public, the Professor does not explain. All the disagreements and discussion over disposition of taxes as now collected are not frequently in the nature of struggles for possession between the rich and the poor, and the instances where this is the case would necessarily have less cause for existence under the Singletax. Attempts are sometimes made to secure expenditure of public money in a way to increase land values, and put unearned increment in some one's pocket. Such attempts could not accomplish their object under the Singletax.



Professor Johnson apparently disputes the principle that the right of property rests on labor alone. At least he warns Singletaxers against it, lest it lead them into communism or socialism. There can be but one valid objection against being led into advocacy of any idea: that it is not true. If following a true principle leads to communism or socialism then all objections to these ideas must necessarily fall. There would be little use of any

discussion of economic questions if we may be withheld from following truth wherever she may lead, by fear of being led to places we have previously held to be disagreeable. The Professor fails to throw any light on what does justify property rights, if labor does not. In disapproving of the labor test, and substituting no other, he seems to leave the property question unsettled, and rather makes it easy for the communist to quote him as authority in defense of communism.



The Professor's fourth objection might have emanated from Diedrich Knickerbocker. That eminent historian and philosopher showed the great value of swamps on the site of Communipaw, New Jersey. These beneficent swamps offered inducements to the early Dutch settlers to build dykes and dig ditches, as in Holland. Had the land been high and dry the settlers might have devoted all their efforts to raising crops or producing other forms or wealth, or might perhaps have had time to enjoy themselves. So perhaps Western forests would not have been cleared if we had had the Singletax from the beginning. But why not? Because there would have been no need. The settlers would have got all the land they needed nearer home. They would have been spared the necessity of traversing miles of good lands withheld by speculators from use to finally settle in the wilderness and endure all the hardships of pioneers. "The frontier never yielded wages commensurate with its hardships," admits the Professor. Does university "economics" actually teach that a system is beneficial which drives men to work in places where wages are not commensurate with labor performed, but offers as an inducement a chance to recoup by appropriating what others have produced? This is substantially Professor Johnson's explanation of the function of the unearned increment.



The fifth and sixth objections put farmers and builders in a class with the men of Gotham who went to the trouble of rolling huge stones up a hill in order to make the sun rise. To get unearned increment it is no more necessary to cultivate a farm or to build a house than it is to get daylight by the Gotham method. It is only necessary to wait until other people have improved nearby land. Unless others come and improve surrounding lands one's own improvements on one's own land will bring no unearned increment. If these others improve it is not necessary to improve one's own land to get unearned increment.

Here is a clear economic truth that does not seem included in the teaching of university "economics."

If men can only be coaxed to do useful things, as Professor Johnson claims, by giving them a chance to get something that they have not produced—something which others have produced—then civilization is a failure. When one man gets something he has not earned, another loses something he has earned. A civilization can not be defended which compels workers to gamble for their wages, with the inevitable result that some get more than their share and others less.

But it is not true that a chance to profit by the loss of others is a necessary inducement to labor. While it is possible for individuals to profit from the unearned increment, they will try to get it, of course. But if it should be no longer possible to get such profits will labor stop, or even slacken? For every farmer who has taken a farm in the wilderness in the hope of getting unearned increment, a dozen possible farmers have been driven by the high price of land to the cities to help force down the wages of city workers. For every builder who has put up a house in the hope of deriving unearned increment from the land on which it was built, a dozen builders have been discouraged by high land prices from building, men who might have found employment have swelled the unemployed ranks, and renters have been forced by high rents into crowded slums. Yet the Professor says: "It is almost a waste of time to inspect the Singletax project for destroying the slum." It certainly is if one insists on keeping his eyes closed during the inspection. Are university classes in "economics" taught that men will continue at great financial loss to withhold land from use after conditions arise that make the most complete use of it the only means of profit?



The Professor's last objection is based on the argument that he has advanced in behalf of his second one. If elimination of the middle class is a valid objection to anything, then there is nothing to be said in favor of the present system. It is eliminating the middle class fast enough. But why should it be taken for granted that it is desirable that society should be divided into upper, middle and lower classes? Or if it is desirable why should not the higher class be the one which derives its entire income from the earnings of its members, and nothing from the earnings of others? The more one examines the professional economist's po-

litical economy the more it appears a thing outside of the realm of logic.



"The case against the Singletax," briefly expressed, is that the reform will enable no one to get any more than he earns and will assure to each one all that he earns. That that would be a desirable state of affairs seems quite reasonable, even though, as Professor Johnson assures us, the professional economists are not prepared to admit the fact. The "Case Against the Singletax" seems rather a case against the distorted teaching which passes at so many universities for political economy.

S. D.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

MICHIGAN TAX ASSOCIATION AND SINGLETAX.

Kalamazoo, Mich., January 24.

The Michigan State Tax Association was organized in the interest of the railways and other public service corporations, together with certain prominent manufacturing and commercial interests, in order that the tax assessments should be so levied as to place an unjust share of the taxes upon the shoulders of the farmers, wage-earning home builders, and the smaller commercial houses who are not well able to organize for their protection. This Association has thus far been chiefly officered by attorneys of the public service corporations, and has been managed in their interest, and the addresses and papers which have been read at the meetings have mostly been those of attorneys or agents (the latter being called by their superiors, "Tax Commissioners") whose duty it is to keep the railway assessments as low as possible; and some professors in educational institutions who are known to be "sane and safe" are also invited.

Knowing the influences back of this organization, and feeling that its purpose was harmful to justice, I have not become a member, but being a large tax payer and the public being invited, I decided to improve the opportunity to express my views as opposed to the purpose of the organization, which I accordingly did, and am glad to say that I found the majority of the citizens who had come as visitors, were thoroughly with me.

Previous to the opening of the meeting I had a personal interview with Mr. George Lord of Detroit, Secretary of the Conference, and learned from him that he would make his address at a certain hour, and would read a letter from Mr. F. F. Ingleby urging consideration of the Singletax. But when I arrived he was speaking and said nothing regarding the letter at the close of his remarks, from which I inferred that he decided not to read it.

As there was no opportunity to introduce the question of Singletax at that session, I improved the first opportunity, and stated that I understood there were members present who were in favor of the Singletax, and also that some correspondence had

been sent in to be read, which the meeting would like to hear, and was then informed that Mr. Lord had read this letter before I arrived, but no opportunity had been given for discussion. I then made a motion that the Singletax be made one of the subjects of discussion at the next convention, when the chairman of the meeting, Dallas Boudeman, for over twenty years attorney of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad, objected to my motion as I was not a member of the Association. I replied that technically I was not, but understood that citizens had been invited to participate, but had no doubt some member would be glad to repeat my motion which had already been seconded, and instantly my motion was again made by one of the members. Just before my motion, one of the members (in the interests of the public service corporations) had got a motion carried "limiting all discussion to the subjects of the papers which had been read, that no one who had spoken should again have the floor; and that the time should be limited to three minutes each!"

This was of course intended to bar out the Singletax, and as I had occupied five minutes the previous day, it was intended also to rule me out. But after the motion for the Singletax to be made one of the subjects at the next meeting, pandemonium immediately reigned, for it instantly became evident that there were a number of Singletaxers at the meeting, and the agents of the interests acted like mad bulls in the presence of a red flag, one of whom, who had formerly been an official State Tax Commissioner, jumped to the floor and at the top of his voice denounced the principle in the most vicious and brutal manner, after which another friend of the interests, in order to shut off discussion from our side, immediately moved an adjournment which was carried.

This will give you another picture of the bigotry and cowardice of those who dare not face a free discussion on a question of political justice; their fear of the results of the public discussion and the tricks used to keep all questions of progressive politics undiscussed.

I afterwards found there were many active Singletaxers present at the meeting who desired to have the discussion.

A. M. TODD.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL.

New York, January 15, 1914.

The action of the bankers in withdrawing from interlocking directorates and the reason they give for it, do not seem any special evidence of a change of heart or of new light dawning on them, for these gentlemen are responsive exceedingly to public sentiment in the way of conceding the form and thereby saving the substance as they had done in this case. It is only some of the big constructive men like Vanderbilt and Harriman who go on the "public be damned" theory and are careless enough to avow it, but the big banking element especially are very fully aware that they have got to have public sentiment with them in order to secure and retain the clients from whom they get their business, although

of course if they can fool that public sentiment as they did with the enactment of this very Sherman Law they look on it as so much the better. This interlocking directorates affair is in fact a most conspicuous instance of it, as the mere fact of the leading bankers withdrawing from personal membership of boards, the meetings of which by the way they rarely if ever attended, does not in the slightest degree affect the influence that they have exerted in such boards. There are many cases in which the interlocking feature is distinctly useful to the public as well as to the individual interests involved, but leaving this phase of it out of consideration, the palpable purpose was to make the public think there had been a great radical change when really there had been no change whatever.

E. J. SHRIVER.



THE ISSUE IN MEXICO.

Letter From a Man Standing High in the United States Military Service on the Borders of Mexico, Written January 8, 1914.

The Mexican situation at present looks very bright for the Constitutionalists. They undoubtedly have a great many men among their leaders who are inspired only by personal ambition. They also have many who are fighting for a great cause. As nearly as I can ascertain Carranza and Villa are both honest, and will do the best they can for the general good of the masses. The revolt seems to be a part of the general awakening of the people. The "peons" seem to understand that they are oppressed by landlordism, but have no definite idea what the correct remedy is. Many of them have a vague idea of dividing up the estates among the tenants.

It has been suggested to me by a gentleman who is well informed in Mexican affairs that the time is opportune to press the Singletax propaganda among the Mexicans in general, and particularly among those of the North. He suggests a succinct statement of the Singletax in pamphlet form, printed in Spanish, to be circulated among the people, and particularly among the soldiers in Northern Mexico. It is believed that this would receive strong cooperation from General Villa. It appears to be the time to move. Fifty to one hundred thousand pamphlets would be needed. The gentleman referred to will subscribe, as well as myself.



Oil in Mexico is not reducing the amount of friction.—Philadelphia Record.



When taxes are proposed, the country is amused by the plausible language of taxing luxuries. One thing is called a luxury at one time, and something else at another; but the real luxury does not consist in the article, but in the means of procuring it, and this is always kept out of sight. I know not why any plant or herb of the field should be a greater luxury in one country than another; but an overgrown estate in either is a luxury at all times, and, as such, is the proper object of taxation.—Thomas Paine.

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, January 27, 1914.

Senate Passes Alaska Railway Bill.

The bill for a government owned railway in Alaska passed the Senate on January 24 by a vote of 46 to 16. Thirty Democrats, fifteen Republicans and one Progressive voted in the affirmative, and four Democrats and twelve Republicans in the negative. The bill appropriates \$1,000,000 to begin work and provides for issuing of \$40,000,000 bonds. The money may be used in purchase of existing lines as well as in construction of new ones. The President is empowered to select the route from tidewater to any point in the interior. In purchasing existing lines, the bill forbids payment for anything else than physical property. A redemption fund is to be provided either from sale of public lands or from sale of coal or other minerals contained therein. On completion of the road the government may either operate or lease to a private company. The bill now goes to the House. [See vol. xvi, p. 1161, 1177.]



Prospective Trust Legislation.

The text of four of the five bills, to be introduced as a result of the President's trust message, was made public on January 22 by Chairman Clayton of the House Committee on Judiciary. The first bill strikes at interlocking directorates. It prohibits directors or other officers of corporations engaged in coal mining, banking, or manufacturing of railroad supplies from serving as directors of railroad companies or other interstate public service corporations. The second bill endeavors to accurately define the meaning of such terms as contracts, trusts, restraint of trade and monopoly, as used in the Sherman law. The third bill extends the scope of the Sherman law. Mine owners will not be allowed to refuse to sell to responsible persons wishing to buy their product. Manufacturers are to be prohibited from fixing different prices for their products in different districts, so as to unjustly discriminate against purchasers. Persons bringing suit under the Sherman law may submit government proof as evidence, and will thus be relieved of the expense and trouble of gathering the evidence themselves. The statute of limitations will be suspended during pendency of Sherman law prosecutions, and the issue of injunctions is authorized against threatened damage by trusts or combinations. The fourth bill creates an inter-

state trade commission of five members. All corporations engaged in interstate commerce, other than common carriers, must fully inform this commission regarding their business methods, the extent of business operations, and the character of the business. The commission may or may not make this information public according to its own judgment. Members of the commission will hold office for seven years and receive a salary of \$10,000 a year. A fifth bill is being drawn by the committee on interstate commerce, and relates to control of railroad finance. [See current volume, page 80.]



Investigation of Railroad Abuses.

The investigation at Chicago on January 21 by the Inter-State Commerce Commission of private car lines—which are said to furnish the meat packing and other interests with a legal substitute for rebates—met an obstacle in the refusal of Frederick W. Ellis, vice-president of the Armour lines, to testify. Solicitor Patrick J. Farrell of the commission has prepared to institute contempt proceedings against him. On January 27 A. W. McLaron, manager of the railroad department of Morris & Co., testified that his company made but \$15,000 profit during 1913 from its private cars. A different kind of story was told by Charles M. Secrist, manager of the Pacific Fruit Express Company, whose profits for the year had been \$1,500,000. [See current volume, page 80.]



In the meantime the Federal grand jury at Chicago is busily engaged in investigating charges of rebating involving Swift & Co., and the Ann Arbor railroad, and the David Rutter Coal Co., and the Chicago and North-Western railroad. According to the Government claims Swift & Co. profited \$60,000 a year by rebating on shipments of beef to Michigan, and the Rutter Coal Co. to the extent of \$12,000 to \$15,000 a year on coal shipments.



That the United States Steel corporation, known as the Steel Trust, has, during the past six years, received \$75,000,000 in rebates is a charge made by Senator Lane of Oregon on January 25. Senator Lane has introduced a resolution providing for an investigation.



A report of the Inter-State Commerce Commission on the cause of insolvency of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad was sent to the Senate on January 26. The report shows that the road had been wrecked by financial syndicates which had made a profit of \$8,000,000. The road was bonded to such an extent that its indebtedness exceeded its capital stock by 375 per cent.

That the proposed 5 per cent increase in freight rates would benefit the Standard Oil Company at the expense of independents was an argument presented to the Inter-State Commerce Commission on January 26 by F. W. Boltz of Cleveland, traffic manager of the National Petroleum Association, which comprises about forty independent concerns. Other independents testified to the same effect. They said that the Standard controls the market through its ownership of pipe lines. The independents, more dependent upon the railroads, will find their narrow margin of profit entirely wiped out by the proposed increase. The price of crude oil to independents from the Pennsylvania fields has increased in the last twenty months from \$1.30 a barrel to \$2.77 with no advance in sales price. [See current volume, page 9.]



The Joseph Fels Fund Conference.

The Fourth National Singletax Conference, under the auspices of the Joseph Fels Fund Commission met at Washington on January 15, remaining in session until the 17th. Mrs. Alice Thacher Post was elected chairman. An address of welcome was made by Charles G. Nesbitt, representing District Commissioner Newman, and the response thereto was made by Congressman Edward Keating of Colorado. The Conference then proceeded to hear reports from participants in work that has been done and to discuss plans for the future. The report for California was made by J. Stitt Wilson of Berkeley and Miss Helen Todd of San Francisco; for Colorado by J. G. McGauran of Denver and George J. Knapp of Pueblo; for Missouri by Vernon Rose of Kansas City and J. P. Hermann of St. Louis; for Pennsylvania by W. D. George of Pittsburgh; for New Jersey by Charles O'Connor Hennessy and Edmund B. Osborne, for New York by F. G. Leubuscher; and for Rhode Island by former Governor Lucius F. C. Garvin and A. B. Johnson. [See current volume, page 78.]



Resolutions on many subjects were introduced. These were first referred to the committee on resolutions and those reported out were discussed and voted on. Those adopted were the following:

Offered by Mr. F. G. Leubuscher of New York:

Resolved, that this conference expresses its approval of the manner in which the Single Tax Review has been conducted, and its appreciation of the unselfish and self-sacrificing work of Joseph Dana Miller, its publisher.

Resolved, that this conference recommends to the Joseph Fels Fund Commission its continued and increased support of the Single Tax Review.

Offered by F. W. Garrison:

Resolved, that the Joseph Fels Fund conference send to the Land Values Group in Parliament

(through the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values) a fraternal message of encouragement in the great fight now in progress in Great Britain for the restoration of the land to the people through the rating and taxing of land values.

Offered by Miss Doris Stevens of Omaha:

Whereas, the largest liberty, the broadest democracy, is a fundamental principle of the Singletax philosophy;

Whereas, one-fifth of the Senate, one-seventh of the House and one-sixth of the Electoral College hold their power through the votes of women as well as men;

Whereas, the Democratic party now in power claims to stand for the fundamentals of democracy;

Whereas, there is at present no committee in the House of Representatives with sufficient time to consider properly so important a question as Woman Suffrage;

Be it resolved, that the men and women of the Joseph Fels Fund Singletax Conference call upon the Rules Committee of the House to return a favorable report at once on the resolution to create a permanent committee on Woman Suffrage in the House.

Be it further resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to every member of the House Rules Committee.

Offered by Governor Garvin:

Resolved, that in order to make Washington a model city, its revenue should be derived solely from land values.

Offered by S. A. Stockwell:

Whereas, there is a nation-wide movement promoted by the public utility corporations to take from the cities the right to control their local public utilities; and,

Whereas, State control of local public utilities is wholly undemocratic, therefore

Be it resolved, that this conference urges all supporters of the democratic movement to actively oppose the creation of state-wide commissions that in any wise infringe upon the fundamental democratic right of home rule and local self-government.

Offered by Governor Garvin:

Resolved, that we favor the following amendment to the Federal constitution: Congress shall have power to levy and collect a direct tax on land values without apportionment to the several States and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Offered by W. C. Lee:

Whereas, the present system of support of the government of the District of Columbia by revenues drawn equally from federal and local sources is before the country; and

Whereas, the present condition of taxation in the District favors land speculation, as shown effectively by Congressman Tom L. Johnson and again by Congressman Henry George, Jr.:

Be it resolved, that now is the time to advance the principle of land value taxation and demonstrate its merit by supporting the local government of the national capital through taxation of no other property than land values, whether governmentally or

privately owned, in which franchise values are to be included.

Offered by A. B. Johnson:

Resolved, that Congress be and hereby is requested to instruct the Industrial Commission to investigate and report upon the merits of the taxation of land values and its relation to labor troubles and labor necessities.



At the propaganda meetings held on the evening of the 15th and 16th the speakers were Henry George, Jr., J. H. Ralston, Charles O'Connor Hennessy, Samuel Gompers, Frederic C. Howe, George Lansbury, Bolton Hall, Frank Warren, Grace Colbron and others. Before final adjournment a vote of confidence in the work of the Commission was given and a vote of thanks extended to the chairman and the local committee. A banquet at the Raleigh was the closing feature of what all who attended declare the most successful national Singletax gathering yet held in the United States.



An affair supplementary to the Washington Singletax gathering was the dinner given to members of the Joseph Fels Fund Conference at New York on January 22 by the Manhattan Singletax Club. The toastmaster was William Marion Reedy of St. Louis and the speakers were Charles T. Root, Bolton Hall, J. Stitt Wilson, J. B. McGauran, George J. Knapp and Joseph Fels. Daniel Kiefer was prevented by illness from attending.



New York Graft Investigation.

Since the election of last November, a graft investigation has been conducted by District Attorney Whitman of New York. Little of interest had developed until January 21 when the deposed Governor, William Sulzer, was called upon to testify and told the story of his personal relations with Boss Murphy. Before testifying, the ex-Governor signed a waiver of immunity, as all other witnesses had done. At the beginning of his administration he had fallen out with Murphy over the appointment of the highway commissioner. Murphy wanted the place given to James Gaffney. The Governor had refused because he had been informed by Senator O'Gorman that Gaffney was Murphy's "chief bagman," and tried to hold up a contractor named Stewart for \$100,000 after he had put in a lower bid than any competitor for a canal contract. Before taking office in December, 1912, while the bids of Stewart and others were before the canal board, he had been informed by George H. McGuire of Syracuse that there was a probability of Stewart's bid being rejected, although it was the lowest, and that this would be an injustice. On the strength of this he had sent a telegram to the board, asking that action be deferred. At a subsequent meeting with Murphy

at Delmonico's hot words passed between them. Sulzer testified before the grand jury also. One result of this testimony was the serving of subpoenas on every bank in New York State in which Murphy and Gaffney have had accounts, ordering them to produce transcripts of records of the last five years covering their dealings. [See vol. xvi, pp. 1018, 1062, 1090.]



The Labor War.

Through a strike of 5,000 men on the Delaware and Hudson railroad on January 19 the entire road was tied up for nine hours. The strike was due to the discharge of an engineer and fireman for carelessness. Through the intervention of the Federal board of mediation, the road consented to reinstate the men and the strike ended.



The United Mine Workers' Association met in national convention at Indianapolis on January 20. Reports showed the membership to be 450,000. Resolutions were adopted on January 22 favoring Government ownership of coal mines and of all public utilities, urging the passage by Congress of an old age pension law, recommending the formation of a political labor party and demanding investigation by Congress of conditions in Colorado and Michigan. On January 26 resolutions were passed endorsing the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, the Gateway amendment to the Federal Constitution, and removal from judges of the power to declare legislative enactments unconstitutional.



On January 22 at a caucus of the Democratic congressmen, investigation of the situation in the strike districts of Colorado and Michigan was decided upon by a vote of 149 to 17. By this action the Democratic members of the committee on rules, who had attempted to block the step, were overruled. The investigation will be made by the Committee on Mines and Mining. [See current volume, page 83.]



A parade at Trinidad, Colorado, on January 22 of strikers and sympathizers, including many women and children, was dispersed by a group of militia with drawn sabers, under the personal direction of General John Chase. Seven women and thirteen men were arrested. The parade was a demonstration of sympathy with "Mother" Jones held incommunicado in prison. [See current volume, page 61.]



The grand jury at Houghton, Michigan, declined on January 24 to present indictments against any one connection with the deportation

of Charles H. Moyer. A motion to quash the indictments presented against labor leaders was made by their attorney in the Houghton County Circuit Court on January 26. The grounds were that the grand jury had been illegally summoned, and that its deliberations had not been conducted in secret. [See current volume, page 83.]



Mexico and the United States.

Watchful waiting continues to be the attitude of the United States, and the gradual disintegration of the Huerta administration that of Mexico. The Dictator makes generous protestations of his ability to maintain himself in power, but revenue is harder and harder to get, and supporters are falling away from him. France has protested against the suspension of payments of interest on the Mexican national debt, but at the same time made it plain that she would not exercise her privilege of forced collection of Mexican customs duties. This leaves the Mexican situation entirely under the control of the United States. [See current volume, page 83.]



The International Peace Union, whose headquarters are in Brussels, is arranging to have all the peace societies of the world send telegrams on the same day to President Huerta and to Venustiano Carranza, Constitutionalist leader, requesting them to agree to an armistice, "pending which their rival claims and the real interests of Mexico shall be submitted to arbitrators."



General Villa continues his preparations to invade the Huerta territory to the south. He must, however, first take Torreon, which is strongly garrisoned, and after that maintain a long line of communications through an uncertain territory. This makes him cautious and slow to advance.



The refugees from Ojinaga, nearly 4,000 in number, soldiers and civilians, have been interned at Ft. Bliss, Texas, where General Mercado, who commanded at Ojinaga, is in charge of the camp under the United States authorities.



Another plot to depose Huerta was discovered in Mexico City. The ramifications are extensive and a number of important men have been arrested, including General Fernandez Gonzales, a veteran follower of ex-President Porfirio Diaz and General Eugenio Rascon.



British Affairs.

Labor matters are so unsettled that keen interest is felt on all hands in the fourteenth annual con-

ference of the Labor Party at Glasgow on the 29th, where will be announced the result of the poll that has been in process on the question of political action. Under the Trade Unions Act of 1912, the unions recovered the right to levy assessments for political purposes, but with limitations protecting minority members. The union must ballot its members. If a majority are in favor, the levy may be made, but individuals may claim exemption from subscribing, or from having their subscriptions applied to political purposes. The vote of the Miners' Federation, the Northern Counties Weavers Amalgamation, the amalgamated Society of Engineers, and some others that have been announced, has been in favor of political activities; but the total vote will only be given out at the Glasgow Conference. [See vol. xii, p. 1256; vol. xiii, p. 900; vol. xiv, p. 852.]



Little has come of the conferences between Liberal and Unionists on Home Rule. Ulster is less militant but still remains intractable. Rumors of growing friction in the Cabinet over the naval estimates of Winston Churchill serve to revive the hopes of the Unionists. It is suspected that the first lord of the Admiralty is awaiting a propitious moment to return to the Unionist Party. But while the possibility of his desertion is recognized by the Liberals, they profess indifference as to the effect. [See current volume, page 84.]



German Affairs.

Rumblings and mutterings over militarism continue to be heard in connection with the clash between soldiers and citizens in Alsace. Colonel Reuter, commanding the regiment that was responsible for the trouble, was acquitted by courtmartial, and has since been raised a grade in the Order of the Red Eagle. The Socialist deputies in the Imperial Parliament who have continued to nag the Government because of its defense of the army, were bitterly denounced by the Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, when they put questions to him regarding the Zabern courtmartial. The Chancellor declared them to be "underminers of the throne and preachers of republicanism." Dr. Franck, who introduced the interpellation in regard to the Alsace affair, said the Socialists were grateful for the "mischievous" telegrams passed between the Crown Prince and General von Diemling and Colonel von Reuter, commander of the regiment at Zabern. He concluded by saying: "We are already in the midst of a fight against reaction, and will fight through to the end. The conservatives get their right to rule out of the dust of the past; we get ours out of the necessity of the time. We are the real smiths of Germany's future." [See current volume, page 59.]

Disappointment is felt by German free traders on account of the stand-pat attitude of the Government in regard to a downward revision of the tariff. Dr. Delbruck, Imperial Secretary of the Interior, speaking in regard to expiring commercial treaties, said the Government was prepared to advance duties if foreign countries did anything prejudicial to German commerce.



A Correction.

The statement in *The Public* of January 16 at page 58 regarding the charges of graft in Chicago school land purchases, "during Mr. Lipsky's chairmanship of the Sites Committee," was incorrect. Mr. Lipsky writes *The Public* that he never has been chairman of the Sites Committee of the Chicago Board of Education, nor ever "a member of the Buildings and Grounds Committee, of which the Sites Committee is a sub-committee," but merely "a member of the Sites Committee, because it is customary to have one member of the School Management Committee appointed by the chairman of that committee to act with the Sites Committee to give it the advantage of having some one especially interested in the educational side of the Board's work and assist in the choice of sites." The editors of *The Public* regret the error and gladly make correction.

NEWS NOTES

—Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, High Commissioner for Canada, died at London on January 21 at the age of ninety-three.

—Mayor Mitchel of New York has reappointed Lawson Purdy president of the Tax Board, and John J. Murphy Tenement House Commissioner. (See current volume, pages 36, 37.)

—Colonel George W. Goethals declined on January 25 to accept the post of Commissioner of Police of New York which Mayor Mitchel had offered him. [See current volume, page 37.]

—A disastrous flood in the neighborhood of Los Angeles, California, on January 26, caused the loss of four lives and much property. Washouts on railroad lines are reported and traffic throughout the section tied up.

—The Iceland women have not, after all, gained suffrage on the same terms as men, the *Woman's Journal* reports. Women—and men-servants—cannot vote until they are forty years old. [See vol. xiv, p. 1018.]

—A resolution favoring repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution granting suffrage to Negroes, was adopted on January 22 by the lower house of the South Carolina Legislature. [See vol. xv, p. 1185.]

—The Panama Canal now has a depth of thirty feet through the Cucaracha slide in Culebra Cut, and it is announced as Colonel Goethal's intention to

send a Panama railroad steamship through the canal in April. [See vol. xvi, p. 997.]

—General Georges Picquart, famous for his indefatigable and finally successful efforts for the release from exile and the complete vindication of Major Dreyfus, died at the age of sixty in Amiens, France, on January 19. (See vol. ix, p. 370; vol. xi, p. 252; vol. xvi, p. 59.)

—Up to January 23, 5,007 of the 7,505 national banks of the United States had formally applied for membership in the reserve associations provided for in the new currency law; 169 others have announced their intention of joining, as have also 106 state banks and trust companies. [See current volume, pages 8, 33, 86.]

—During the debate in the Hungarian Parliament on the 23rd, members of the opposition became so violent in opposing the press reform bill—really a press censorship law—that the Government called in armed guards to eject unruly members, who defied the president's ruling. The bill was carried when order had been restored.

—The New York State inheritance tax of the heirs of John Jacob Astor was fixed on January 23. Vincent Astor, whose share of the bequest is \$68,995,190, must pay a tax of \$2,743,307. Mrs. J. J. Astor, the widow, must pay \$246,691 on a bequest of \$6,599,777. Mrs. Ava Willing Astor, divorced wife, must pay \$177,570 on a bequest of \$4,851,758.

—English engineers who have investigated Dettorfoss, Iceland's greatest waterfall, report that it has more power than any fall in Europe. Its location is said to be suitable for a great electric plant and nitrate factory operated after the Norwegian Birke-land-Eyde method. An English company has obtained the concession, and will begin building in the spring.

—King Gustave of Sweden in his speech from the throne to Parliament on the 16th announced it to be the intention of the Government again to ask Parliament to grant women the full franchise and the right of election to all offices on the same terms as men. Following a similar announcement in 1913 the Ministry introduced a bill which failed of passage. [See vol. xv, pp. 85, 349.]

—A committee of 100 women, appointed in December by the women's organizations of Chicago to watch and report upon the activities of the various public administrative bodies of the city, effected permanent organization on January 17 under the name of the Committee on Public Affairs. Mrs. George Bass, president of the Woman's Club, and Mrs. Harriet Vittum, president of the Woman's City Club, were elected co-chairmen. [See vol. xvi, p. 1209.]

—Upton Sinclair published a reply on January 26 to Vincent Astor's declination to become a Socialist. He criticized Astor for accepting the views of officials of the American Federation of Labor as authoritative, showed that Astor had ignored entirely the arguments he had presented in his original letter, and asks for a specific answer in these words: "You do not say anything about my contentions as to the fundamental moral wrong involved in the private ownership of the natural sources of wealth—the land, the mines, the oil wells, etc.—which were created by na-

ture and which are necessary for the existence of every human being." (See current volume, pages 62, 75.)

—The revolution in Haiti has received new life from the victory of the rebels over the government troops near Cape Haytien on the 20th. President Michel Oreste, who was chosen to the chief executive office by the National Assembly on the death of President Tancred Auguste May 2d, 1913, was ready to resign in favor of General Beliard, the successful leader of the revolution, but now that Senator Theodore has aspired to leadership of the rebels, President Oreste announces his determination to retain his office. [See vol. xv, p. 778; current volume, page 685.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Fallacy of Proposed Trust Legislation.

Philadelphia North American, January 23.—As a complete trust program . . . the propositions fall lamentably to meet the great problem. They would define and prohibit many of the grosser evils of trust domination; they would make convictions easier; they would provide deterrents by establishing the principle of personal responsibility and facilitating the suits of anti-trust litigants. But beyond these things the system would be left exactly where it was under President Taft. The issue in each case is left to the courts, and finally to the attorney general for the time being. To this single official, whether his economic views be sound or unsound and whether they controvert those of his predecessor or are doomed to be overturned by those of his successor, is committed the final arbitrament of the conflict between each trust and the public. The fatal defect of the President's plan is that it treats symptoms and not the disease. It does not approach the root of the disorder. There is no finality or permanency about it. It simplifies the processes of litigation, but leaves business and the nation still at the mercy of uncertainty and changeable individual judgment.



True in Theory, True in Practice.

Harper's Weekly, January 24.—After the Galveston flood, Texas set an example which has been followed by cities all over the United States. Texas is now at least one of the leaders in another experiment which, if it also succeeds, will affect the whole population. A half dozen cities in Texas have already adopted, with slight modifications, the Houston plan of taxation. J. J. Pastoriza, of the Board of Commissioners of Houston, under whose leadership the plan was put into operation in that city, is now working for an amendment to the Constitution to give to cities entire home rule in matters of taxation. Advertisements are being put in the papers, and leaflets are being sent around to business men, declaring that in the first six months of 1912 there were two hundred and nineteen more buildings erected in Houston than in the first six months of 1911; that the value of these buildings amounted to three times the value of the buildings erected in 1911; that the new system increased the number of land sales without lower-

ing the price of land; that cash, evidence of debt, furniture and other household effects are totally exempt; that, in short, Houston offers to manufacturers and merchants a perpetual bonus. When Henry George first put his ability behind the recommendation of this idea, the world laughed. It laughs no longer.



Interested in Pueblo.

Ohio State Journal (Columbus), January 6.—We are to have a trial of the Singletax theory at Pueblo, Colorado, the first city in the United States to try it on. Under this regulation, after a certain period, real estate improvements and personal property will not be subjected to taxation. It is well that this single tax doctrine be tried by one community at least, to determine whether or not all the fine tributes to its fairness and efficiency are true. There is no question of the strong argument for it, but this has to run against a strong feeling that it is impossible. So the thing to do is to bring on a practical test. That is the only thing that will suffice and we are glad that it is to be made. Who knows but it will be the solution of the whole tax problem? We can hardly believe it has that virtue, but we are willing that it shall prove itself, and to abide by its judgment, especially as it is regarded quite as much a social uplift movement as it is a taxation experiment. We will look to Pueblo with some interest and await its judgment with no little anxiety.



Pays in San Francisco Apparently.

The Star (San Francisco), January 10.—The cost of operating the Geary street Municipal Railway during the first year of municipal ownership and operation was about \$180,000, which gives a net profit of about \$266,000. Which proves that "municipal ownership doesn't pay," doesn't it?



One Cause of Disasters to Lake Ships.

Coast Seamen's Journal (San Francisco), December 24.—During the month of November, as a result of one storm on the Great Lakes, 30 ships were wrecked. Twelve of these foundered, every person on board being lost. Nearly 300 lives were sacrificed. Most of the vessels involved were modern steel steamships. What caused these disasters? Undermanning and its attendant evils. Ships on the Great Lakes are navigated with such small crews, composed largely of inexperienced men, that proper precautionary measures, necessary to prepare any vessel for bad weather are neglected. A few months ago the passenger steamers "Iowa" and "Sheboygan" collided at the mouth of the Chicago River. The "Iowa" sank almost immediately. Fortunately no passengers were on board. What if that collision had taken place a mile or two outside the harbor, in deep water, with several hundred passengers on the ship? In 1910 the passenger steamer "Pere Marquette No. 18" foundered in Lake Michigan, drowning 27 of her crew. Up to within a few days of the time she disappeared that vessel had been in the excursion business, carrying thousands of passengers out of Chicago daily. What if the usual great crowd of excursionists had

been on board when the disaster occurred? A few years ago the passenger steamer "City of Cleveland" was afire at the dock in Detroit, Mich. The fire burned so furiously that it was necessary to sink the steamer. What would have been the result if that vessel had been out of port with a couple of thousand men, women and children on board? A law should be enacted to compel the proper manning of every ship, and its equipment with seaworthy lifeboats sufficient in number to carry every person on board such ship in event of disaster. The Seamen's bill (S. 136) provides for such proper manning and equipment.



British Party Policies.

The (London) Nation (Lib.), January 3.—Ireland is going to have self-government. Of that there is no question. If the Unionist leaders are willing, they can contribute something to the form of that self-government, and can help to mould the institutions that are designed at once to protect a minority and to free a nation. But the politics of the future do not turn on this particular issue. They are concerned rather with the great problems of social action, the demands made upon statesmanship by the diseases and weaknesses and abuses of social life, questions that in Ireland itself are at this moment more absorbing than the particular Irish question with which the Unionist leaders are engrossed in their messages. The Libera Party, then, starts on the New Year in good heart, because, as the Prime Minister says in his message to the "Liberal Magazine," having accomplished great reforms, it has others before it. Politics are redeemed from those vices of intrigue, jealousy, unreal combat, and mean ambition, that are inseparable from public life and seem to some pessimistic and mistaken observers to envelop and overwhelm the inspirations of great causes. When a set of men devote themselves to some great public object, demanding for its attainment a great deal of patient toil and persevering courage, an atmosphere is generated unfavorable to the baser elements of politics. Mr. Lloyd George has put before the nation a policy that concerns the fundamental realities of social life. For some months all those persons who are chiefly interested in social problems, whether they are Liberal, or Labor, or Unionist, or unattached to any party, will be giving their minds to this leading topic. The Government's policy has been outlined in several speeches, and it has received a warm welcome.



Travel invariably adds charm to the conversation of an agreeable person, but sometimes renders a bore more tiresome than ever.

"And I stood there, Aunt Bessie," said the old lady's slow-speaking but long-winded nephew, who had been talking on incessantly for the past two hours about his summer in Switzerland, until the old lady's eyes began to droop in the lamplight—"and there I stood, Aunt Bessie, with the abyss yawning in front of me."

"Francis," said Aunt Bessie, speaking as one who has kept long silence, "was that abyss a-yawning before you got there, or did it begin to yawn afterward?"—Lippincott's.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE LOST TRAIL.

Arthur Ketchum in *The Atlantic Monthly*.

Green woodland pity heals the ancient scar;
Spring after spring, through still unresting years,
In little saplings and the tufted pine,
The old trail disappears.

Forbidden vine and fern-brake come once more;
Brown leaves have hid the secret deep and well;
Only the scattered blaze-marks, blurred and dim,
A fading message tell.

One coming here might seek for it in vain;
There is no sign above the guarded gate
To point the path, to where the still wood keeps
Its heart inviolate.

The old path fades, forgotten; only guessed,
And scarcely found and once more lost again.
No record serves to show the long-healed wound
Of havoc and of pain.

God send all trails forgetfulness as this!
Such healing pity of the kindly years,
That no swift-footed memory may find
Lost places of old tears!



SOME FRIENDS OF OURS.

No. 4. The Unhappy Man.

For The Public.

The person of whom this tale is to be told was brought up a shy, reserved, lonesome, sensitive child, with few companions and almost no friends. He was wholly without the genius of Robert Louis Stevenson, and yet he was in many ways as that great man might have been without his loving Scotch mother and his faithful nurse "Cummy." Stevenson, left to such a father as the methodical old engineer and light-house builder would have been if suddenly left a widower, would probably have developed the characteristics of our hero, who when twenty-one was selfish, headstrong, handsome and interesting in a way, but was utterly unrelated to life, and felt himself universally misunderstood.

He had a lot of ability, and soon made a fair living for himself. Next he married. Lastly he broke down in health, lost every dollar he had, was finally indebted to a distant connection of his wife's for his daily bread, his clothes, his doctor's bills. Thus, at the age of thirty—with a loyal wife (who was almost an invalid herself) and two little children—our friend's secret pride, secret pains and passions of self-love came crashing up against these adamant facts and fought them with

fierce hatred. He would not give up, he could not rest and let nature build him up again; he simply mulled along, threshing over old straw for the thousandth time—a hard invalid for his wife to keep on loving, for her connections to provide with the necessaries of life. Finally he made up his mind that the Almighty was punishing him for his many sins.

There was a school teacher in the neighborhood—a middle-aged woman—a toiler and helper of others all her life, and she, in silence, had seen and considered this most every-day situation, which steadily grew worse. She fell into the habit of passing by the little house in the village, and telling this and that for ten minutes almost every night; she slowly drew the invalid into her own realm of thought—and still it was not advice nor preaching.

One day this tall, dark-haired woman of forty, whose loved husband and son were no more with her visibly, said to the invalid: "I had a big lesson once; an old poverty-stricken man who lived in a hut gave it to me."

The invalid looked interested, and she went on: "There was a revival and many people were coming under an intense conviction of sin. This old man told me that the wisest of the Greeks had learned to live cheerfully day by day, letting the dead past bury itself, letting the future unfold. 'But did they have no sense of sin?' I asked. Then the old cabin-dweller answered me: 'No, they did not believe in sins, or punishment. If a man did wrong, they merely told him it was a very poor shot, and he could mend it next time.' I thought this over until I saw an Altrurian world in which we had no jails, no punishment, no useless wails over the past, only the determination on the part of every mortal to better the misses and become a good marksman."

"I like those Greeks," the invalid remarked. He turned over and went to sleep; he began to get stronger; his mind and soul came slowly out into the open, shivered, ran back, came out again. In ten years he was a well man, and almost like one of the old Greeks.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



THE BETTER SAMARITAN.

For The Public.

A certain man went down from New York to Jericho, and fell among thieves, as often comes to pass with travelers, which stripped him and wounded him and departed, leaving him half dead.

And there came down a bishop that way, and when he saw such cases he passed by on the other side, lest he should be detained as a witness.

And likewise a policeman, who profited by the thieves, looked at each one and passed by on the other side.

But the Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where the man was, and when he saw he had compassion on him. And he went to him and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and brought him to the Inn and took care of him.

And when he departed he gave money to the Innkeeper and said unto him, "Take care of him and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again I will repay thee." And he organized a Society to care in this way for all travelers.

And the owner of the Inn heard thereof and raised the Innkeeper's rent.

But another Samaritan, when this was reported unto him, said, "I must clear the road of thieves lest others be also slain." And this he did.

And the landlord raised the rent again.

Which of these, thinkest thou, was neighbor to him that paid the rent?

BOLTON HALL.



EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITIES, NOT OF INCOMES.

From Lincoln Steffens' Prize-Winning Answer in the February Metropolitan Magazine to Bernard Shaw's "The Case for Equality" in the December Number.

"When I speak of the case for equality," he [Bernard Shaw] says, "I mean human equality; and that, of course, can mean only one thing; it means equality of income." And . . . he adds: "The fact is you cannot equalize anything about human beings except their incomes." . . .

Mr. Shaw says every other kind of human equality is impossible. Scientists say no precise equality occurs in Nature; not even among crystals; and, as for incomes, the inhuman inequality between thrift and joyousness would spoil that arrangement, unless economic opportunities were equalized. He says most human beings get "equal pay" now; and he refers to the wages of labor, and the army, navy and civil lists. And he observes the leveling process of redistribution in pension legislation, in income and all super-taxation. There is no denying these facts; the tendency of political and social reform is toward the redistribution of wealth by force through confiscation. But all this makes, not for equality of incomes; not precisely; it makes only toward approximate equality. And in the wrong way; and here is where I take issue with Mr. Shaw on his whole case, whether he is for human equality, as he says, or for human inequality, as he also says.

Our evils are due, not to private wealth, but to excessive wealth and power in the hands of individuals. Equally bad, both must be prevented. Mr. Shaw would not prevent either. He proposes to redistribute accumulated wealth by some power greater than the state puts into the hands of states-

men now. This is implied in "precisely equal incomes," which only a highly organized governmental machine could establish. And even if that were done, it wouldn't stay done unless we had economic equality. And why attempt the impossible?

We can prevent excessive individual wealth by socializing the sources of unearned money. These are either natural resources or leaks through which social value flows into private pockets. In a word, we should abolish privileges; and, for the rest, let Labor democratize industry. These two courses would not increase centralized power; they would give us what Mr. Shaw wants: economic democracy; by giving us what he despises: equal opportunities—not to get rich, but to develop each his own gifts or inequalities freely. No man could get rich if he had access to no value except that which he produced, and I think that few would want to.

Men's activities and desires are determined, not only by economic conditions, but by resultant social ideals, and long before economic equality was reached; with the passing of the sources and example of distinguishing riches, we would be free; free from the fear of poverty and power; free to form some other ideal than money. The aristocratic few seek distinction or satisfaction now in service or skilful work. Some such ideal would soon spread through a free society, and free the sex instinct to further by natural selection, human, instead of economic, inequalities.



PROPERTY IN LAND.

A Doom Song.

There's Property in park and hall, in mining-plant and farm,—
In all that's wrought by human brain, skill'd hand or stubborn arm;
Exchange or gift or heritage—their title still will stand;
But there's no such thing as Property—in God Almighty's Land.
* * * * *
You say, "This land is mine; I work'd, and bought it:"—nay, not you.
You did but buy the claim to filch its Rent—the people's due.
You bought what ne'er was man's to sell; more prudent, had you scann'd
The signs, which doom that spacious lie—of Property of Land.

A. C. AUCHMUTY.



Returning from school the other afternoon, a little girl informed her mother that she had learned how to "punschate." "Well, dear," said her mother, "and how is it done?" "Why, when you write 'Hark!' you put a hatpin after it; and when you ask a question you put a button-hook."—Unidentified.

BOOKS

MEMORIES OF WILLIAM T. STEAD

My Father: Personal and Spiritual Reminiscences.
By Estelle W. Stead. Published by George H. Doran Co., New York. 1913. Price, \$2.50 net.

In her foreword Miss Stead explains that she has aimed only at showing the beginnings of some of her father's activities which relate largely to human service in many important directions. But she gives an extremely interesting story of a life actuated by the highest motives and the purest devotion in all philanthropic and educative work undertaken and pursued with characteristic zeal and fearlessness.

No more unique figure has appeared in private and public life than this man, who dwelt in two worlds and strove to change the discords of one into the harmonies of the other. The materialist may scoff at the visions and premonitions of the idealist, but if they lead to noble endeavor and splendid accomplishment who shall assail them?

From his youth the record of Mr. Stead is one of pure service to humanity at large with no taint of self-seeking. In his crusade against legalized vice in the city of London, he suffered arrest, conviction and imprisonment as a criminal, in a spirit worthy of the Master he served. As he said in a Christmas letter to his family during his incarceration, "If any of you imagine that I, being a prisoner, am needing consolation and that you ought to address me in accents of crape—don't!"

His soul was fired with a zeal of helpfulness that made him impatient with the time-serving Christianity that moves not a finger to lift the grievous burdens bound on the shoulders of men. "I think," he adds, "Christ must be mortal sick and a little mad at the way people who call themselves by His name and go bowing and scraping and singing to a dead idol which they call Christ, and all the while never say a word or give a sixpence, or shed a tear or take a single step toward those whom Christ left us to take care of."

No more fearless exponent of evil in high places, no more vigorous worker for the establishment of moral law and order in civic and national governments ever appealed by voice and pen to the conscience and power of men. Both the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *The Review of Reviews*, under Stead's guiding hand, were strong champions of needed reforms, world-wide in their bearing.

The "Peace Crusade," in which he took a leading part, was never more strenuously pressed by an advocate who missed no opportunity to urge upon rulers and nations the wisdom of peaceful arbitration. His conferences with sovereigns and councils with eminent men might make in them-

selves a volume of peculiar interest to those who are seeking to abolish the horrors of war.

In fuller biographies, which will doubtless follow this loving tribute to the memory of William T. Stead, we may look for a more complete record of his public work. But the present volume, written by one who knew and shared the inmost life of the subject, has a distinct interest and charm for those who have been comforted by a faith in the close relation existing between the worlds of cause and effect. Whether or not the evidences which were sought were as indisputably established as the patrons of "Julia's Bureau" believed, it is clear that only the purest instructions of love and duty came from the invisible source, whatever its claim and however criticized and condemned. In such matters the rational human faculty approves or denies, though the soul that went out on the Titanic returns to say, "All that I told you is true."

A. L. M.



WAGES AND STANDARDS OF LIVING.

Financing the Wage-Earner's Family. By Scott Nearing. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1913. Price, \$1.25 net.

It is not necessary for the average wage-earner to read a book to find out how little he can do with his income. But there are people in better circumstances who do need instruction as to the painful struggle that is going on around them. On some of these, emotional appeals would be wasted; but if they could be induced to give attentive consideration to a calm, dispassionate statement of facts their interest and sympathy would be aroused.

Such a statement of facts is to be found in Dr. Nearing's book. He finds that "among the wage-earners engaged in American industry not one in ten has an income of \$1,000 or over, while fully half fall below \$600." He shows what \$600 means in food, clothing and shelter; how many meals and what kind of meals and how they compare with prison meals; what specific articles of clothing and what kind of clothing; and what kind of living accommodations. Dr. Nearing is not talking of applicants for charity who plead that they can find no work, but of people who have work and who do work every day the mill or factory is running. There is no rhetoric in the book and it is all the more effective on that account. The man is not to be envied to whom the facts and figures make no appeal.

"Available data," says Dr. Nearing, "indicate that a man, wife and three children under fourteen cannot maintain a fair standard of living in the industrial towns of Eastern United States on an amount less than \$700 a year in the Southern and \$750 a year in the Northern States. In

the large cities where rents are higher this must be increased by at least \$100."

Advocates of the minimum wage movement will find in this book ample material to support the contention that wages are too low. But they will also, perhaps, find food for thought as to the possibilities of their remedy.

WILLIAM E. MCKENNA.

PERIODICALS

Chicago Schools Under Mrs. Young.

George H. Mead in *The Survey* (New York) of January 10 writes on the recent school crisis in Chicago. Mrs. Young is, in Professor Mead's opinion—and few men, if any, know her work and the Chicago school system more thoroughly—"one of Chicago's greatest and most competent servants." His brief statement of what Mrs. Young's superintendency has meant to education in Chicago will be enlightening to non-Chicagoans who, from certain more or less recent Chicago newspaper articles, may very reasonably have concluded that this city is an educational laggard in the modern school world:

During Mrs. Young's superintendency the Chicago public schools have faced about and come into active touch with the growing community at the most important points at which the schools and the community should directly co-operate. The limitation of the school funds in Chicago forbids expensive and wide-reaching changes; yet the technical high schools have not only perfected their technical work, but have enormously widened their vocational field. They have taken classes of retarded children of the sixth, seventh and eighth elementary grades, and held them in school beyond the compulsory period by the attractiveness of the school work. In sixteen or eighteen elementary schools industrial courses in the upper grades, in which only half the time is given to academic subjects, have been introduced with striking results, both in awakening backward pupils, and in holding children in school beyond the fourteen-year period, and even in passing them on to the high schools. Carpenters, masons, and electrical apprentices have regular instruction in the technical high schools, not only in academic subjects, but also in their own callings. The night schools have developed both in giving pupils who had not graduated from the elementary school an opportunity to complete their course, but also in giving older children and adults the sort of instruction they need to meet their immediate concrete problems. This year there have been opened three night high schools. The two-year vocational courses in the high schools have improved, especially the commercial training. This was an improvement needed not only for the effectiveness of school training in this department, but especially important in a city where so vast a force of clerical employes is found. The school board has allowed the vocational guidance work already commenced, largely through the activity of women's clubs, to be carried on through the superintendent's office, and Mrs. Young has asked for an appropriation of ten thousand dollars for pushing this work next year. . . . In the meantime, continued work in reform and reconstruction of the so-called academic subjects has been going on through the work of effective committees of teachers and principals throughout the system. . . . It is not too much to say that the superintendent of schools has proved herself an educational statesman. Nor can we believe that if the sober intelligence of the city were allowed to express itself it

would ever permit her to lay down her task while she continues to have the vigor and health which the office demands.

A. L. G.

Electoral Reform.

The progress of Direct Legislation during the last three months of 1913 is recorded by States in the January number of *Equity* (Philadelphia), which prints also an unusually clear explanation of a Proportional Representation election, and gives, too, some samples of "Gateway" Amendments other than La Follette's.

A. L. G.

Where Industries Are Not Taxed.

John T. McRoy in *Harper's Weekly* (New York) of January 24 writes briefly on Singletax in Canada, concluding as follows: "The situation almost tempts one to say that the beneficence of exemption of industry has been proved. Perhaps its success may not be so marked in older and more staid communities, but no one can any longer afford to neglect a proposition that has beyond all question 'made good' in the region where it has been tried. No party and no body of men in Canada has agitated for a return to the old system."

A. L. G.

Houston Enterprise Again.

The second number of *The Houston Municipal Journal*, January 5, is full of the Houston System of taxation and examples of its direct results. The cover picture is the big hotel "that Houston's plan made possible," another illustration being a photograph of J. J. Pastoriza's famous log cabin with its Singletax signboard.

A. L. G.

In Praise of the Department of Agriculture.

"What Uncle Sam Will Do for You," in the January number of *Suburban Life* (Suburban Press, Harrisburg, Pa.), is the first of a series of articles by Elna H. Wharton about the activities of the United States Department of Agriculture, and about just concretely how this great service bureau may be used to solve the everyday home-keeping problems of the town and city dweller as well as of the farmer.

A. L. G.

The story is told of a former member of the Jersey City Board of Education, who, upon a visit to one of the schools, took a reader from the teacher's hand, and addressed the nearest little girl.

"My dear, can you spell 'eggpit'?" he said.

The little girl didn't recognize the word, but was willing to take a chance, so she said:

"E-g-g-p-i-t."

"Erroneous—can anybody else spell it?" the inquisitor asked, looking over the room.

Other children tried. Some spelled it with one g; others with two t's. Still wrong. The member of the board had his big finger on the word, and knew. He turned to the teacher:

"Of course, ma'am, you know how to spell it?"

The teacher blushed and confessed that, while she

was not familiar with the word, she would expect it to be spelled as it sounded—"e-g-g-p-i-t."

"Not familiar with it!" roared the guardian of the public instruction. "Not familiar with it—it's right here in the book!"

The teacher looked, and saw the word—EGYPT.—N. Y. Evening Post.



Professor: Define Democracy.

Student: Lower case or capital?

Professor: Explain yourself.

Student: If you spell it with a small d, it means

rule by the people; but if you spell it with a capital, it means putting a \$10 man on a \$50 job.—Buffalo Express.



"Children," said the teacher to his pupils, "you should be able to do anything equally well with either hand. With a little practice you will find it just as easy to do anything with one hand as it is with the other."

"Is it?" inquired the urchin at the foot of the class.

"Let's see you put your left hand in the right-hand pocket of your trousers."—Ladies' Home Journal.

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