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EDITORIAL

Another Schoolmaster Needed.

Those world-renowned diplomats of Europe who have been making sport of our Mexican policy may now reflect upon the stupidity that led to the Austro-Servian clash. A few "schoolmasters" distributed through the chancelleries of Europe would work a decided improvement in international relations.

S. C.



Armies Do Not Preserve Peace.

Once more is refuted the absurd claim that armies and navies guarantee peace. Austria's large army has incited it to attack a smaller neighbor, while Servia's large army has failed to save it from war. It does not seem credible that the prospect of a general war, involving all the great nations of Europe, is more than the product of the fertile imagination of sensational newspaper correspondents. But not even these correspondents would have considered such a cataclysm possible but for the insane big-army-and-navy policies which have so long prevailed. Armies and navies are disturbers of peace.

S. D.



A Tactical Mistake.

It is scarcely within the bounds of reason that any general should win all his battles, much less all the skirmishes. And President Wilson, as he contemplates his defeat at the hands of the Senate, in its refusal to confirm his appointment to the Federal Reserve Board, can reflect that future plans must be laid with greater care. The phenomenal success of the Administration up to this point has been due to the President's rare qualifications. As a statesman he has laid down broad policies; yet at the same time he has been enough of a politician to take advantage of his opponents' weaknesses. He has been aided in this by his own popularity with the public at large, and by the deep-seated distrust of that same public in the Democratic party, particularly as manifested

toward some of its leaders. It was this combination of circumstances that enabled him to put through the tariff bill, the banking law, the tolls-repeal law, and will put through the trust legislation. Shrewd observers predicted at the beginning of the Administration that the President would get his tariff legislation, through the usual distribution of patronage; but that after that he would get nothing, save what the leaders in Congress chose to give him. This undoubtedly was the plan of Clark, Underwood and the lesser leaders acting with them. Their plan failed because the President appealed to the people at large, and the responsive sentiment was so plain that the leaders did not dare to oppose it.



But Clark and Underwood caught the President napping when he sent in for confirmation the name of Thomas D. Jones for the Federal Reserve Board. Public sentiment is not yet able to distinguish between good and bad trust magnates; and to couple the name of a trust director with that of a Wall Street banker brought into question the judgment of even so wise a man as Mr. Wilson. This should cause no surprise. The press and the politicians have spent years in creating an anti-trust atmosphere. Just why all their spleen should have been visited upon the few monopolies that were technically known as trusts, when there were so many other worse forms of monopoly, may be due to the general ignorance of economic law; but it is a fact, and for years the trust has been made the scapegoat of special privilege. Indeed, the President himself, though endeavoring to discriminate between good and bad trusts, added to the anti-trust feeling. Then, in the face of this, he selected as members of a board that is to control the most distrusted men in the country, a man from Wall Street, and a member of a trust. The President displayed his statesmanship by selecting the best two men he could find; but he showed the lack of the politician's art in naming men identified with a most unpopular idea.



Thus did he deliver himself into his enemies' hands. They were quick to seize the opportunity. They saw that the President had at last done an unpopular thing. It mattered not how well qualified the men might be, they were already proscribed; and the opportunity to humiliate the man who had repeatedly triumphed over them was not to be missed. The President appealed to the people, but there was little response; and he went down to defeat. The lesson is plain. He must

keep in touch with the people. It is not sufficient that he do what is right; he must do it in a way that can be understood by the people. His acts must be passed upon by voters who lack his opportunities for insight and subtle analysis, but who see crudely, and feel keenly. They have been betrayed so often that they are suspicious, and their lack of understanding of details makes them an easy prey to the demagogue. It is not sufficient that the President should know a thing as it is; he must be able to see it when twisted and distorted by the opposition. And he must not neglect in the exercise of statesmanship the art of the politician.

S. C.



Senators Confess Their Unfitness.

Certain Senators whose political records consist mainly in voting power to trusts, or in resisting revocation of such power, now virtuously prevent confirmation of the appointment of a citizen who used the power granted by legislation which they favor. If these Senators reasoned correctly when they concluded that Thomas D. Jones was unfit for the position to which he had been appointed, then according to the same reasoning they have condemned themselves. Whatever Jones may be, he was made by the legislation which these Senators have helped to enact or have refused to help repeal. Senators Reed, Hitchcock, Nelson, Bristow and others have, by implication, charged themselves with creating unfitness in citizenship. While such disclosures may not be surprising it is a novel thing that it should be confessed.



It is not reasonable to suppose that these Senators believe their act to be an injury to any predatory interest. The real motive seems rather to be desire to embarrass the administration and to block its progressive policies. Jones' business connections offered or seemed to offer an opportunity for trust-serving Senators to make a show of opposition to trusts, while fighting against a President who has forced his party to be more progressive than it wanted to be. The trusts can very easily endure denunciations in long-winded senatorial speeches, and can even bear with equanimity exclusion from public office of one or more of their directors. What they can not endure is an attack on their privileges. They have reason to feel that President Wilson's influence is not to be used in favor of warding off such attacks. To injure or destroy his influence is one thing which they have cause to feel is of immediate importance to their interests. It is not probable that the rejection of Jones has had such a result. But

the hope that it would was apparently the motive back of it.

S. D.

A Bogus Anti-Monopolist.

Senator Reed of Missouri seems the most inconsistent of all Senators who joined in denunciation of Thomas D. Jones. Jones' connection with the Zinc Trust was one of the objections offered, and of this trust the opponents of Jones said that it "owns practically all the known zinc ore in the United States." If that statement is true then this trust must own practically all of the extensive zinc bearing lands in Missouri. In 1912 a constitutional amendment was submitted to Missouri voters that would have struck at this monopoly in an effective way. Where was Senator Reed when that amendment was pending? Why, with all the rest of Missouri's prominent Democratic politicians, denouncing it, urging the voters to kill it, and endorsing all the barefaced misrepresentations brought forward to deceive the people concerning its object and effect. Having done what he could to perpetuate monopoly in Missouri, he joins in denouncing an individual, who had no voice in the matter, for his connection with a monopoly. Reed is a fine example of something that a sincere opponent of monopoly does not resemble.

S. D.

The Right to Be Heard.

Senate Democrats, who refused Roosevelt's request to be heard on the proposed Columbian treaty, may be good politicians, but are very poor statesmen. Excuse themselves as they may, the conclusion can not be avoided that they were afraid. What is worse, they were afraid without good cause. Roosevelt's action in the Columbia matter was inexcusable. His explanation, boiled down, is that the end justified the means, and that is about all that he would have offered to the committee in defense. Practical politicians, with "no use for theories," are unable to realize the weakness of such a plea and were therefore afraid to meet it. As a result the public will be misled into the belief that Roosevelt's argument being quite unanswerable the Senate Democrats suppressed it. If the Senate Democrats had been real democrats the Colonel would have been invited to state his views as soon as he let his wish to do so be known. He would also have had some democratic principles presented to him for consideration of which he in common with most Senate Democrats is still ignorant. But since this course was not pursued he is in a position to construe the committee's

refusal to hear him, as a virtual admission of the correctness of his position. So-called practical politicians, perhaps even Senate Democrats, will some day learn that cowardice does not pay.

S. D.

Too Much Pork.

The rally round the pork barrel this year seems to have been a little bit too enthusiastic. Dispatches from Washington indicate that the opposition to the passage of the River and Harbor bill is likely to prove effective, unless some means can be found to placate the three or four Senators who are ready to filibuster during the remainder of the session. A great outcry is made every time the River and Harbor bill comes up in any Congress, but in reality it is typical of all the work of the Little Congressmen. Their only way of demonstrating their ability as legislators at Washington is to bring home some of the "pork." The first duty of the Little Congressman is to secure a few political appointments for constituents who will make trouble for him if not appointed. Next, he must secure appropriations of absurdly large amounts for building post offices in his district. And finally, he must secure appropriations for dredging harbors, if his district boasts a hamlet on the coast; or dredging or canalizing a river, if so much as a creek meanders across his district; or draining swamp-lands or irrigating arid lands. If all these fail, he enters into a log-rolling campaign to pension the widows and minor children of the third generation of the veterans of the Seminole war. His only interest in national legislation is to discover the most effective way to block it until his petty wants have been satisfied.

Is it not time that the labor-efficiency experts turned their attention to Congress, and to the several branches of the Federal government? In what shop or factory can such incompetency, wastefulness, and general inefficiency be found? The Supreme Court plumes itself when a decision has been rendered within two years of the beginning of the suit, the Executive departments are filled with men and women imperfectly organized, and employed upon useless work, and Congress falls in with any extravagance that promises a little patronage to its members. The evil will continue as long as the voters elect pork-barrel politicians, and tolerate the spoliation of the community for the sake of a few place hunters. A wholesome public opinion is what is needed. When Robert Baker made his public protest against the use of railroad passes by men who were making

laws for the control of railroads, the Little Congressmen greeted it with a great guffaw. But when they heard from their constituents, they stopped using passes. It is time that Congress eschewed the spoilsman's ways, and fell into step with progress. Some plan similar to that of the English budget should be adopted. Congress must necessarily determine the methods of raising revenue, but the details of its expenditure should be in the hands of experts directly in charge of the work. Until the river and harbor improvements are put in charge of the commerce department it will be hard to keep the Little Congressmen out of the pork barrel.

s. c.

ciently and at a lower price by private agencies than the government now furnishes it. But such private mail service is unfairly prohibited under heavy penalties. In leaving the express companies free to compete with it in carrying of parcels the government is unusually fair—not only to the express companies, but to shippers and consumers of merchandise. It is setting an example of a policy that should prevail throughout the mail service and throughout the business world. There would be little cause for complaint concerning unfairness on the part of government, if it were as liberal with all as it is with the express companies and allied railroad corporations.

s. d.

A Meritorious Resolution.

Congressman Bartholdt of Missouri has introduced a joint resolution for an amendment to the Federal Constitution which ought to pass. The amendment limits the power of Congress to declare war so that it may only be exercised "to repel invasion or under circumstances calling for measures of self-defense." The present Congress is not a sufficiently progressive body to adopt the resolution. But some day a similar measure will be passed and the people of that day will wonder why the opportunity to do so was not grasped by the Congress of 1914.

s. d.

Minimum Regulations.

Complaint was heard when the minimum wage law was proposed that it would be the means of preventing many persons from getting any work at all; for if employers were compelled to pay wages now received by the more efficient they would not employ less efficient labor. A similar hardship came with the employes' pension movement. Employers discharged the aged workers, in order that they might start with young workers. Again it occurs in the crusade for pure food. Many articles that may not be up to the chemical and hygienic standard, yet are used by the poor, have been prohibited; and the cost of living has thereby been materially raised. It all goes to show the universality of the law of competition. When dealers are allowed to market inferior articles they make no greater profit than those handling superior goods; for any temporary gain would be quickly dissipated by others entering the same business. If the five cent pound loaf of bread that has been gradually reduced to twelve ounces to meet the advancing cost of materials and labor, be restored by law to sixteen ounces, either the price must be advanced, or cheaper materials will be used. Dealers are now making a slender commercial profit, and any increase in the cost must be compensated for by an advance in price, or in some kind of saving. In the effort to cheapen goods recourse has been had to agents that are on the border line. Some authorities condemn, others endorse them; but while this may be interesting as an academic discussion, the cost of living hinges on the decision. Pure food has always been available for those who could pay for it; those who could not afford the real used the imitation. The real effect of the pure food legislation will be the elimination of the poor's imitation luxuries. To prohibit imitation straw-

Express Companies and the Parcel Post.

"The parcel post ruined or crippled the express companies without any compensation to them." So says the Big Four railroad in a plea for more pay for carrying the mails. How much compensation was paid by railroad companies to the owners of stage coaches displaced by them? None, of course. None was due. The railroads were able to render more efficient service than the stage coaches. The payment of tribute by an efficient worker to an inefficient one for displacing him would be a ridiculously unjust requirement. The parcel post has injured the express companies only to the extent that it offers more efficient service. If the express companies should find a way to become more efficient than the parcel post, and were thus to take business from it, they would not think of offering compensation to the government.

As a matter of fact the government is much fairer to the express companies than it is to those who try to compete with it in branches of the mail service other than the parcel post. Mail service could be furnished in many places more effi-

berry jam and glucose honey does not mean the introduction of real strawberry jam and real honey to the poor man's table, but that he will have none at all. This is not to condemn pure food legislation, but merely to call attention to the fact that it is impossible to get something for nothing. Let us by all means have the purest and best of foods, but let us not imagine that this is to solve the high cost of living.

S. C.



Setting a Bad Example.

Persons who have given hostages are supposed to act discreetly lest they be forfeited; but some of our captains of industry seem to be unmindful of their hazard. No other citizens are so entirely dependent for safety and well-being on the maintenance of law, yet they oftentimes fail themselves to observe even its forms. A common news item is that of a subpoena or warrant for some rich man who is dodging service by hiding. Not so long ago William Rockefeller escaped service in this way. At another time he escaped on the plea of ill health. His brother John is now trying to dodge the Cleveland tax gatherers by keeping out of Ohio. This is most unfortunate. It tends to bring the law under suspicion, and to furnish the I. W. W's, and various physical force advocates, with ammunition. Ordinary men know that no such technical hiding would avail them in escaping the long arm of the law. Mr. Rockefeller is an extraordinary man, and it would be hard to conceive of one more vulnerable; if he wishes others to obey the law he should set them an example. Surely the law that guards the murderer taken red-handed in the act can be trusted by a man who thinks his personal property assessment too high.

S. C.



Superfluous Questions.

Among the questions put to the witnesses who appeared before the Commission on Industrial Relations at its Chicago sessions were two that would seem to be self-evident. Is there unrest in the labor world? And, Why? The answers to the first were unanimous. The second received nearly as many answers as there were witnesses. Is there unrest among the passengers of a sinking ship, or in the audience of a burning theater? And why? Science has multiplied the power of labor in the production of wealth many fold; yet the most optimistic defenders of things-as-they-are have been unable to demonstrate that wages have risen as fast as the cost of living. And men seriously ask each other the question, Is there un-

rest in the labor world? With an ever-increasing product per man, and a constantly decreasing relative share to the producer this question is asked and answered without a smile, or even so much as the batting of an eye!



And is not the answer to the everlasting "Why" just as obvious? If a new overseer on a cotton plantation should double the crop, without bettering the living conditions of the hands that made the crop, would it be necessary to ask why there was unrest among the slaves? Speculation might be indulged in as to how the trouble is to be remedied, but how can there be any question as to the fact? In spite of the great variety of responses to the Commission's question, is not the remedy as obvious as the trouble? If two free men engage in brick-making will they not divide the tale of brick satisfactorily between them? Should either feel himself aggrieved he will withdraw from the partnership. But suppose the men are not free. Suppose one man owns the other man; the master can then divide the brick as he pleases. Or, suppose one man, instead of owning the other man, owns the bed of clay from which the brick are made. Cannot the clay-owner make the same terms as the man-owner? And is not the same remedy obvious? Brick-making is typical of all wealth production. Man fashions clay into the form of a brick. All wealth is but the materials of the earth fashioned into desired forms. And just as the man who owns the claybed can control brick-making, so can the men who own the earth control wealth production. We have abolished man-owning in this country; are we going to leave earth-owning unrestricted?

S. C.



Extravagance and Thrift.

A writer in the Chicago Herald of July 27, to show the need of thrift in the United States, says:

We spend \$8,400,000 a year for cigarets. We drank 70,000,000 gallons of whiskey last year. We chew up over \$25,000,000 worth of chewing gum annually (one concern spends \$2,000,000 a year advertising its gum.) Last year the American people paid out \$90,000,000 for candy. These figures and many more like them are the measure of what is largely popular extravagance.

Now thrift is so desirable a thing and extravagant waste so reprehensible a practice that it is a pity to see earnest writers on that important subject overlooking the most glaring examples of waste, and neglecting to urge economy where it is most needed. All of the items mentioned above

do not begin to equal the amount needlessly wasted by the American people in taxes on industry and its products. Congress has appropriated a billion dollars, every dollar of which, except what is derived from the tax on ground-rent incomes, is derived from taxes on labor. And this is by no means all. Taxes levied by states and municipalities enforce similar waste. The American people are first wasteful enough to permit socially earned values to be appropriated by a small number of individuals. Then, to make up for this loss, they allow a wasteful tax system to prevail. The first step toward universal thrift is to put an end to this foolish extravagance. While wasting is going on at the bung-hole little is to be gained by urging saving at the spigot, especially when—as is true in this case—saving at the spigot must only proportionately increase wasting at the bung-hole.



The saying, "willful waste makes woeful want," has no more striking proof than in the want and poverty bred by this wasteful system. Because we allow publicly earned wealth to be privately appropriated, and tax people according to their industry and enterprise, we encourage wasteful withholding of land from use, force extravagant payments to be made for permission to develop our resources, check and discourage production of wealth and wastefully force men into involuntary idleness who might, under proper economic conditions, be engaged in productive and profitable labor. The place where thrift is most conspicuously lacking and where the need of it is most felt is in the conduct of affairs of the social system.

S. D.



Nonpartisanship.

Mr. Roosevelt's plea for nonpartisanship in the New York state campaign would make a stronger appeal to independent voters if they could disabuse their minds of his past actions, and the efforts making toward the union of the two wings of the Republican party. Two years ago, and down to the present time, the big Moose chieftain frowned upon all compromise. If there was to be any getting together, he has repeatedly said, it must be in his wagon. But his party has not grown as some had expected. Nor has the Republican party disappeared, as some had hoped. The two are apparently deadlocked. Mr. Roosevelt was willing to stand for no compromise as long as there was a prospect of success through his own party; but when that appeared to be impossible, he

modified his stand. And just as events shaped themselves in a way that promised possible success with him at the head of a reunited party, he has looked with favor upon mutual endorsements. It is possible that Mr. Roosevelt is entirely disinterested, and that he is honestly desirous of purifying New York state politics; but when it is remembered what a Republican endorsement of him for President two years hence means, it will readily be seen why he is willing to endorse a Republican for governor now. It all goes to show that the Democrats can ill afford to play petty politics. With a reunited Republican party confronting them they will find it no child's play to carry the next election. They certainly cannot succeed with any of the leaders now in sight, aside from Mr. Wilson.

S. C.



Raymond Robbins *Deserving of Democratic Support.

Roger Sullivan's principal, if not only, opponent for the Illinois Democratic Senatorial nomination is Congressman Lawrence B. Stringer. This is disappointing to those members of the party who hoped that against Sullivan, the reactionary, would be pitted an aggressive exponent of progressive democracy. Stringer does not fill the bill. He is better than Sullivan, but that is not sufficient. He is as progressive as the Democratic party, but probably no more so. That is unsatisfactory. Though for many years in political life, there is nothing in his record to indicate that he is anything more than an opportunist. He may be depended upon to support Wilson and his policies just as he might have been depended on to support the policies of Clark, Underwood, Harmon or Hearst had any one of these become President. Still if outside of the Democratic party, there were no hope for democratic principles Stringer would be best entitled to democratic support. But fortunately democracy in Illinois has a candidate outside of the Democratic party. With the possible exception of those who must regard party regularity as of first importance, progressive Democrats will doubtless feel tempted to support Raymond Robbins, the prospective candidate of the Progressive party. Mr. Robbins, being a democrat in principle, can be depended upon to be guided in his official conduct by his principles, regardless of apparent political expediency. His candidacy offers the best opportunity for a solution in the interest of true democracy of the Senatorial situation in Illinois.

S. D.

Ohio's Senatorial Situation.

Foraker, the discredited reactionary, with whom even William H. Taft felt it unsafe to be publicly associated, will be a candidate for the Republican senatorial nomination in Ohio. His success is said to be probable. To oppose him, on the Democratic ticket, a reactionary and a progressive are contesting. The reactionary is the present Attorney-General of the State, Timothy Hogan. The progressive is former Congressman John J. Lentz. Should Lentz be nominated Foraker will have an opponent, competent and willing to meet him squarely on every issue. Should Hogan be nominated Foraker will have an opponent of the same mind as himself so far as the interests of predatory Privilege is concerned. So in the event of Hogan's nomination Ohio democrats must look outside of the party for the candidate coming nearest to their ideals.

S. D.



A Significant Election Result in Texas.

The success of James Ferguson in his contest for the Texas Democratic gubernatorial nomination is significant. It is the first time that the land question has been the chief issue between the leading opponents at an American election. Ferguson stood openly for the tenant farmers of Texas and against the landlord interest. His opponent, Ball, stood for the landlord and for monopolistic interests generally. The victory would have been of greater proportions had Ferguson stood for an effective means of dealing with the situation. But unfortunately he did not. His platform merely demands a legal limitation of ground rent charges, to be applied in the same way as legal limitations of the rate of interest. The practicability of such a measure is doubtful and even if practical it will not solve the land question. It will not abolish the landlord's privilege but will, at most, compel him to share it with his tenant. But, for the present, the essential thing is that Texas has declared in favor of curbing the power of landlordism. Inefficient and unsatisfactory as is the measure proposed by Ferguson to accomplish this object, yet with a little perseverance, Texas will improve on it. If Governor-to-be Ferguson will study the tax situation in Houston he will learn of a better method than he has proposed for helping the working farmers.

S. D.



The Arkansas Thomas Cat used to carry the motto, "God help the rich; the poor can beg." But the poor don't beg. It is the rich who beg—for franchises; for public guarantees of their "investments"; for privileges; for "velvet."—Kansas City Times.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

POLITICS IN OREGON.

Portland, Ore., July 20.

Of the 29 measures referred to the people of Oregon, 18 are initiative measures. The Legislature submitted 11. Five of the 29 are concerning taxation. The Legislature submitted two that would give the power of different rates on different classes of property. They were both defeated in 1912, but those of 1914 are a little worse in language because they use the vague term "reasonable," which would put any tax measure in the hands of the courts.

There is a sur-tax measure on all land assessed over \$25,000 belonging to any one person. The sur-tax begins at one mill in the dollar and reaches 30 mills on all over \$100,000. There is the \$1,500 home tax exemption measure, which exempts the improvements, personal property, tools, machinery, live stock, etc., "used in the maintaining of a home or the gaining of a livelihood."

It is supported by W. S. U'Ren, independent candidate for governor, the Scripps-McRae Daily News, and the daily with the largest circulation in Oregon, the Oregon Journal, published by that outspoken, fundamental Democrat, C. S. Jackson. The Progressive candidate for governor is said to endorse the measure, and is avowedly opposed to Singletax in his platform. The Republican candidate denounces it as "vicious," and the Democratic candidate sits on the fence; so it promises to be one of the leading issues before November.

A few days before the close of the time fixed by law for the filing of an initiative petition (July 2nd) an organization known as the Non-Partizan League bounced out with a tax measure providing that to make any change in the Constitution regarding taxation, other than \$300 exemption of household furniture, two-thirds of the voters at any election must vote thereon, and two-thirds of the vote thereon must be in the affirmative. It was loudly hailed as a measure to "kill Singletax." There is evidently plenty of money behind it and a horde of circulators made life weary to passersby during the last day or two of June. It is in reality a measure to kill the initiative so far as tax laws are concerned, and to nail down the absurd requirement in the present State Constitution that all property shall be assessed equally.

The same general interests put forward another tax measure providing that the governor appoint a commission of three to investigate taxation and report to the Legislature. As Oregon already has an expensive tax commission appointed by the governor for that purpose the object of this measure is peculiar, and apt to excite suspicion.

The existing tax commission proposes tax measures every election that are voted down by the people, and between times aids the railroads and other big land owners to dodge taxes. It also stands in with the water-power grabbers who pay almost no taxes whatever on tens of millions of dollars of special privileges, largely unused.

The socialists for the first time since the Initiative was adopted in 1902 have submitted a measure. It

is the "Right to Work" bill, and gives the State Labor Commissioner authority to employ any citizen demanding work. It also gives him an independent fund to do it with, coming from a ten per cent inheritance tax on the estates of over \$50,000. C. W. Barzee, an active socialist, has been foremost in securing the required signatures to the measure. He also helped very greatly in securing signatures to the measures providing for the abolition of the State Senate, and the election of the Legislature by proportional representation. These last two are in-dorsed by the Peoples Power League, Grange, State Federation of Labor, Farmers' Society of Equity, and Farmers' Union. It will be seen that the people of Oregon have some live questions to consider between now and November.

ALFRED D. CRIDGE.



TAXATION IN OHIO.

Cincinnati, O., July 22.

Dante tells us that over the door of hell are these words: "All hope abandon, ye who enter here." So above the general property tax may be written: "All liberty and honesty abandon, ye who enter here."

Balked and baffled in its past efforts to enforce this tax system, Ohio in May, 1913, enacted what is known as the Warnes Tax Administration Law. Under this law tax assessors for every county in the State are appointed by the governor instead of being elected by city wards and rural townships.

On account of this law Governor Cox is being attacked as a despot and machine builder, of centralizing government and violating home rule. And his assailants are not confined to opposition parties but include some influential Democrats, but with scarcely an exception those making these charges are as devoted as Governor Cox to the general property tax.

That home rule is being violated, that state appointed tax gatherers have been turned loose on the people, that a bureaucracy is in the making, is undeniable. But it does not lie in the mouth of any advocate of the general property tax to condemn these things. They are its legitimate children. Hypocrisy or tyranny, the one or the other, sometimes a mixture of both, is its certain fruit. All these evils are emphasized, when as in Ohio, such a tax is prescribed, not by local choice or authority, but by a State constitution and State laws.

The Ohio Constitution in Article 12 provides: "Laws shall be passed taxing by a uniform rule, all moneys, credits, investments in bonds, stocks, joint stock companies or otherwise; and also all real and personal property according to its true value in money." Article 2 provides that "all laws of a general nature shall have a uniform operation throughout the State."

That's the general property tax; here is the uniform rate provision: Article 13 says: "The General Assembly shall provide for the organization of cities and incorporated villages by general laws and restrict their power of taxation," and Article 18 also says that the legislature may pass laws "to limit the power of municipalities to levy taxes." The legislature has done so for over sixty years.

The State Supreme Court has consistently construed the Constitution to mean that the general property tax should obtain in every square inch of Ohio territory. In the case of Baker vs. Cincinnati, 11 O. S. 534, it said: "The anxiety was that no property should escape. The things in contemplation were property of every possible description, and an equal and uniform tax upon that property."

That the Constitution intended there should be no local option in taxation is asserted in Bank vs. Hines, 3 O. S. 1: "Unequal valuation of different classes of property for taxation, adopted by local Boards of Assessment, is in conflict with the Constitution of Ohio."

From time to time every known expedient was employed by Ohio to tax personal property. Penalties were prescribed almost Draconian in their severity, Boards of Equalization armed with large powers were established, tax inquisitors were authorized, and about three years ago the bribe of a low flat rate, the Smith one per cent law, was offered, but all to no purpose. Personal property has not been listed.

Albert J. Nock has well said: "The gentle suasion of the Smith law has failed to check human nature's tendency to dodge taxes on personal property. The velvet hand of the low flat rate is no more effective than the mailed fist of penalty or the sneaking foot of espionage."

However, the superstition that it is possible to tax all kinds of property equally was unshaken and all parties kowtowing to the low flat rate the administration imagined itself under the necessity of "vindicating the Smith one per cent law."

Governor Cox in effect said: "All you fellows have been exclaiming 'great is the personal property tax, great is the Smith law.' I'm going to take you at your word and see that both are enforced as the Constitution directs."

So with a zeal worthy of a better cause an able and honest young governor set himself to an impossible task, the taxation of personal property at a uniform rate. He saw in truth that locally selected assessors, particularly in the larger cities, had abandoned the attempt to list personal property. So it was mainly through his efforts that the Warnes law was passed providing that assessors throughout Ohio should be appointed by the Governor at Columbus.

Remembering that the general property tax and the flat rate are both State and not local enactments, the Warnes law is correct in political theory and consistent with political practice.

It is an axiom of political science that the laws of a given political unit can with certainty be enforced throughout that unit only by officers of its own selection. De Tocqueville thus states it: "It is desirable that in whatever materially affects its existence the State should be served by officers of its own, appointed by itself, removable at pleasure. Abandoned to the exertions of towns or counties under the care of elected or temporary agents, they lead to no results."

So the Ohio Supreme Court in Anderson vs. Brewster, 44 O. S. 576 says: "We may well ask what avails the power of taxation if there is no

commensurate power to collect taxes when imposed."

Hence, if a State system of taxation is right, State appointed assessors are not only right but necessary. State appointed assessors for local political subdivisions is undemocratic. But why? Only because the uniform system of taxation is undemocratic. This has long been recognized. The New York special tax commission reporting in 1907 said of the general property tax: "Such a method of collecting revenue would be a serious menace to democratic institutions, were it not so generally a howling farce."

The Tax Commission in New Hampshire in 1876 after recognizing the inefficiency of the existing laws for the taxation of personal property and "their corrupting and demoralizing influence" frankly admit that they are unable to frame any law to which a free people would submit or should be asked to submit that will bring this class of property under actual assessment more effectually than it now is."

Thomas Jefferson complained that those taxes "covering our land with officers, and opening our doors to their intrusions, had already begun that process of domiciliary vexation which, once entered, is scarcely to be restrained from reaching successively every article of produce and property."

But is the Warnes law succeeding in "bringing out personality"? This year to some extent, yes, but in the big cities far below expectation, and the big cities and large school districts are facing bankruptcy. By next tax collection day it will be found that personal property is as mobile as ever. Just to the degree that such a law is a "success" it will be a "failure." Just to the extent that a law might uncover personal property if in the State, just to that extent will that property not be in the State.

"The assumption," said David A. Wells, "that it is necessary to assess everything in order to tax equitably involves an impossibility, and therefore unavoidable inefficiency, injustice and inequality in administration."

Governor Cox is really doing a great public service in trying to assess the general property tax for the surest way to repeal a bad tax system, as of any other bad law, is to enforce it. It is the grossest hypocrisy to in one breath praise the rigid State system of prescribing the subject matter and the rate of taxation and in the next breath condemn the only machinery that can by any possibility administer that precrustean system.

Home rule in taxation means not merely the local selection of tax administrators but local selection of the kinds of property to be assessed and taxed and also the local fixing of the rates of taxation.

ALFRED H. HENDERSON.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

STATE CONTROL VERSUS HOME RULE.

Nisswa, Minnesota, June 27.

State control of utilities in Wisconsin has "set back" the former legal position of cities and towns in dealing with these local problems, and merely

delays and complicates their solution. Now I propose to ask—

1. What is the attitude of the commission toward its place in government?
2. Is it infallible in either science or ethics?
3. Is state regulation desirable, even though true to label?

In the first place the attitude of the commission is that of a dictator. At every session of the Wisconsin legislature it seeks, directly or indirectly, to add to its own power, although already so overburdened with powers, big and little, that it must assign important decisions to individual members, and keep the public waiting years for its oracles. And for the same reason it is jealous of outside initiative. It has an itch for petty interference. Even after it has rendered a decision which it may not enforce, it doesn't want the individual to be given the right to take enforcement into his own hands. Again, it not only applies the rules of utility-regulation, but makes the rules too—instead of insisting that the legislature do that, as it should. And it invariably shows a self-righteous spirit, taking credit that belongs partly to others and hiding the new financial burdens which it is saddling on the state and its communities. And finally it goes out of its way to discredit views opposed to its own, even sending its men out of Wisconsin virtually to propagandize in other states.

Now if its decisions were invariably accurate and fair, they would at least offer better excuse for this dictatorship under men appointed, not elected, and that for long terms. But the actual fact is that these decisions are by no means unimpeachable, either as to their science or ethics. Engineers of equal standing and ability have taken strong issue with some of their technical findings. And thinking men all over the state protest vigorously against their arbitrary ideas of justice. The old limited charters, for instance, did not promise that the income which a company might develop before the time of expiration should continue indefinitely afterward. Part of that later income may be regarded as making up for early losses or small returns, and as therefore abnormal. But the commission ordains that such losses, real or alleged, must come out of future buyers (e. g. the cities) instead of from income developed before the expiration of old franchises. It thus relieves corporations of risks voluntarily assumed in past days, thus sometimes capitalizing stupidity and bad judgment as well as bad luck. Throwing all this protection around utilities and making them such invariable "sure things," we should suppose the commission would stop there. But no, it also capitalizes the exact opposite of stupidity, namely, "superior foresight." Heads I win, tails you lose.

And it protects them not only with income and valuations they were never promised, but also sometimes by granting immunity from competition which they were never promised. Antiquated electric plants have profited especially by this high-handed policy, which is not only questionable morally, but has a pernicious influence in holding back the conservation of Wisconsin water-power. And the same brand of ethics has shown up too in the gross exaggeration of certain items of cost (e. g. paving

over mains that were never disturbed) in making valuations. But perhaps this is enough to show that commissions, no matter how smug, complacent and cocksure in their attitude, are of the same clay and the same infirmities as the rest of us. Yet if anyone still believes its judgments to be infallible let me remind him that it has disproved that claim by reversing itself within a short time on several occasions. The Wisconsin supreme court has also done some reversing, although sparingly.

But even though the commission were what its advocates claim, unambitious and all-wise and unerringly just, the question remains, is that kind of government in harmony with the ideals of American democracy? Emphatically no! We don't believe the Superman exists and we don't want to wither under his benevolent wings if he does. We don't want to be saved from above—we can't be. Conscience is not the monopoly of "experts." Let them report on facts and we'll do the rest. Popular rule (and municipal Home Rule) may make mistakes, but that boots nothing—for paternalism makes more. Self-government does develop citizenship; "Regulation" kills it. The contracts clause of the Constitution protects these utilities against "the passing whims of the mob." But don't try to chloroform it; that won't work. It isn't working in Wisconsin. The public is probably more restless over utilities issues there than ever before. Instead of settling everything all nice and lovely the commission has simply added one more source of irritation; that is about all.

Now let us consider:

Is the experience of Wisconsin with "Regulations" typical of that in most other states which have tried it?

What guarantee can be offered that it will give any more genuine or permanent satisfaction elsewhere than it has in Wisconsin?

Do we want more understudies to the misnamed National Civic Federation, and more state training schools for utility employes, to get footholds in other states?

F. F. ANDERSON.

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, July 28, 1914.

Europe Under Arms.

Austria on the 23d sent an ultimatum to Serbia, giving that country forty-eight hours in which to disclaim all responsibility for the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand. The Austrian note demanded punishment of all accomplices of the assassins, the suppression of all societies that have fomented rebellion in Bosnia, and the official disavowal of any connection with the anti-Austrian propaganda. The note even specified the terms of the apology. The Servian government must publish on the from

page of its official journal a long formal declaration, condemning the subversive propaganda, deploring its fatal consequences, regretting the participation of Servian officers, repudiating any further interference with Austro-Hungarian interests, and warning all Servian officers and functionaries and the whole Servian population that rigorous proceedings will be taken in the future against any persons guilty of such machinations. The declaration must also be officially proclaimed to the Servian army. [See current volume, page 713.]



This was taken by the nations of Europe to be the climax in the Pan-Slavic movement, of which Russia is the head, and the Balkan states, the disturbing members. Russia is supposed to be backing Serbia, while Germany supports Austria. And back of these stand Italy's alliance with Austria and Germany, and France's alliance with Russia. England stands somewhat aloof, but is thought to incline toward Russia rather than toward Germany.



Servia's reply to Austria on the 25th, after the Austrian Government had refused an extension of time, was considered unsatisfactory. Servia expressed a willingness to punish those concerned in the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, and to do everything in the matter that a civilized state could do without permitting an infringement of its sovereignty. The other demands could not, it was claimed by Servia, be disposed of on such short notice.



Strict censorship is exercised by Russia and Austria over all military matters, but mobilization of armies in both countries is reported to be in progress. Austria gave the Servian minister his passports on the 26th, and issued a formal declaration of war on the 28th. The Russian ambassador at Vienna will take charge of Servian interests. Reports state that Austrian troops have invaded Servia at Mitrovicza, fifty miles northwest of Belgrade. Other unconfirmed reports are that the Servians have blown up the bridge across the Danube at Belgrade and that there has been fighting on steamers in the river.



Sir Edward Grey, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, announced in Parliament on the 27th that he had asked Germany, France and Italy to confer with Great Britain through their ambassadors in London with a view to arranging the difficulties between Austria and Russia. The German government on the 28th returned an unfavorable reply to the Secretary's invitation, and made the counter suggestion that negotiations for

peace be conducted between the cabinets instead of by a conference.



English Affairs.

The conference of eight leaders, two each from the Liberals, Unionists, Nationalists and Ulstermen, that took place in Buckingham Palace at the invitation of the King, came to naught. Meetings were held on the 21st, and on the three following days, but no agreement was reached. The Ulstermen insisted upon the exclusion of the whole of Ulster, while the Irish Nationalists demanded the two Catholic counties of Fermanagh and Tyrone. The deadlock of the conference leaves the whole Irish question in a state of doubt and uncertainty. [See current volume, page 710.]



What was called "King's interference" in calling the conference, brought hostile criticism from all quarters, the Liberals criticising him for overstepping his prerogative, and the Conservatives for allowing himself to be drawn into party strife. The comment of many Liberal papers was veiled, lest it embarrass the party leaders. But a few spoke with great freedom. In answer to parliamentary critics, Mr. Asquith assumed full responsibility for the action, declaring: "The speech was sent to me in the ordinary way by his majesty the day before it was delivered." The Daily News, in commenting on the explanation, said:

The speech of the king is the speech of his ministers, approved by the king. On this occasion it was the speech of the king submitted to his ministers. This new departure suggests the relations of the German emperor to his ministers rather than of the relation of our monarch to his ministerial advisers. There are those who are anxious to implicate the sovereign as well as the army in the quarrel, but it cannot too clearly be understood that intervention of the crown in politics can only be followed by consequences which no one with any sense of responsibility would wish to contemplate.

The London Nation said:

We do not quarrel with the king's idea of calling on both parties, with some solemnity and authority of phrasing, to find a remedy, but in his summoning of the chief rebels to the palace and in his flattering speech about them there is so much indorsement of a certain kind of treason of which the higher powers seems to approve that we wonder where British sovereignty and British constitutionalism are being led.



Three men and one woman were killed and more than sixty persons were wounded in Dublin on the 26th when the soldiers fired into a mob. A gun-running exploit took place at Howth, nine miles from Dublin, where 10,000 rifles and 70,000 rounds of ammunition were landed from a private yacht

at noon on the 26th. A battalion of British troops was sent to capture them. The soldiers did not get the arms, but such ill-feeling was aroused that they were attacked by mobs on their return to Dublin, and the shooting followed.



The effect of the clash between the soldiery and the Dublin mob is such as to interrupt the parliamentary program. The Amending bill was to have come up for consideration by the Commons, on the 28th, but the Irish members were so exasperated over the killing of men in Dublin that the Premier realized they were in no frame of mind to make concessions to Ulster. The Laborites and many Liberals supported them. Premier Asquith declared the government was impartial in its dealings with Ireland. The deputy police commissioner who ordered out the Dublin troops was suspended. John Redmond demanded the suspension of Sir John Ross, police commissioner of Dublin, as a man unfit for his office.



Titles for Women.

A petition has been addressed to King George of England, asking that "no further list of birthday or New Year's honors may be issued without recognition of the highest degree being conferred upon members of both sexes equally." The Women's Freedom League has prepared the following list of names to be recognized in the distribution of honors hitherto confined on men alone:

Imperial Service—Lady Lugard, Miss Meriel Talbot, Lady Henry Somerset, Mrs. Annie Besant, Miss Haldane and Miss Agnes Weston.

Social Service—Miss Margaret Macmillan, Councillor Margaret Ashton, Mrs. Bramwell Booth, Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Sidney Webb, Miss Eva Gore Booth, Miss Esther Roper, Miss Mary MacArthur, Mrs. Creighton and Mrs. Barnett.

Writers—Flora Annie Steel, Olive Schreiner, Alice Meynell and Lady Gregory.

Art—Ellen Terry, Lena Ashwell, Miss Horniman, Mme. Clara Butt, Dr. Ethel Smyth and Lucy Kemp Welch.

Science—Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, Lady Huggins, Dr. Annie Porter, Mrs. Gordon Oglivie, Dr. Scharlieb and Dr. Garrett Anderson.

Education—Emily Davies, Frances Dove, Isabella Cleghorn, Miss Jones, Louisa Lumsden and Sophie Bryant.

Distinguished Service—Mrs. St. Clair Stobart, ambulance and military service; Miss Violet Markham, publicist and philanthropist; Miss Edith Durham, war correspondent; Lady Aberconway, politician, and Maude Royden, speaker and writer.

Matrons of hospitals—Miss McIntosh, Miss Lloyd Still, Miss Louise Victoria Haughton, Miss E. C. E. Luckes, Miss E. McCall Anderson, Miss Young, Miss M. McEvoy, Miss A. M. Bird, Miss I. C. Bennett, Miss B. Sherratt and Miss Garrett.

New York Politics.

In a public statement issued on July 23 Theodore Roosevelt endorsed the candidacy of former State Senator Harvey D. Hinman, who is seeking the Republican nomination for Governor of New York, and expressed the hope that the Progressives would nominate him also. In national politics, Colonel Roosevelt declared he would strive for the success of the Progressive party's principles and would "oppose the policies of the present administration, which I regard as deeply injurious alike to the honor and the interest of the American people." But in State politics, he declared that he hoped for a "good citizens' movement of all parties to overthrow the bi-partisan control of Barnes and Murphy. [See current volume, page 709.]



On the same day Chairman William Barnes of the Republican State Committee announced that he had instructed his counsel to bring suit for libel against Colonel Roosevelt. Mr. Barnes denied the truth of Roosevelt's charge that he has aided and abetted Charles F. Murphy and his sub-bosses. In answer to this announcement Colonel Roosevelt stated his intention to continue his attack on Barnes and that at the proper time he would prove every statement in court.



On July 24 Job E. Hedges announced his candidacy for the New York Republican nomination for Governor and further declared that he would accept no other nomination.

**Commission on Industrial Relations.**

The Commission on Industrial Relations began investigation of Chicago conditions on July 22. Mr. Charles Piez of the Link Belt Company told of trouble he had in dealing with unions. He had made contracts in New York with the structural iron workers while Sam Parks was business agent. He had agreed to employ members of that union for structural work and was to be allowed to employ his own machinists. But these machinists, he said, were interfered with, assaulted and abused by the structural iron workers. Finally tiring of this he started to do work in that territory with non-union men entirely. He told of a similar experience in Philadelphia. In his Chicago shops he had made agreements with the machinists' union and the molders' union and conducted a closed shop. The result, he said, was a reduction of 35 per cent in the output. He further claimed that the men were being continually called out on strike on the flimsiest pretexts. Finally a great strike occurred in 1906, since which time he has conducted an open shop. With the carpenters' and millwrights' organization he had maintained amicable relations for years. [See current volume, page 707.]

John H. Walker, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, followed Mr. Piez. The cause of industrial unrest he declared to be the double standard. A working man, he explained, is not supposed to ask more than a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. He is not supposed to ask for more wages than enough to support his family. While the business man is supposed, as a matter of course, to get as much as he can, and is given credit for getting the greatest amount of money with the least work. In answer to questions Mr. Walker told of a strike at Mt. Vernon, Illinois, on account of the discharge of two men for attending service at a church, in disobedience to the manager's orders—where a labor sermon had been announced. He further declared that the courts were largely to blame for industrial disturbance. In Great Britain, he said, every case is decided absolutely on the law and the evidence; but that is not so here. He further said that the courts had protected bribe-giving employers.



On July 23, Dudley Taylor, counsel for the Employers' Association, declared labor unions to be unpatriotic and un-American. Speaking of the strike of waitresses at Knab's restaurant in Chicago, he said that Knab had declined to renew his agreement with the union because it failed to supply him with competent help. He was contradicted in this by Miss Elizabeth Maloney of the Waitresses' Union, who said that Knab refused to renew because compelled to do so by the Restaurant Keepers' Association. On July 24 John G. Shedd of Marshall Field and Co. ascribed industrial unrest partly to agitation by politicians and by irresponsible agitators; and partly to desire for better conditions. His experience with collective bargaining, he said, has convinced him that it binds the employer but not the employe. He thought that organization of his employes would be detrimental to his business. Miss Agnes Nestor of the Women's Trade Union League attributed unrest to the fact that workers have nothing to say about working conditions. She advocated self-government in the workshop as the remedy. "We must educate the employer," she declared, "to where he sees he must deal with the worker." Concerning the waitresses' strike, now going on, she said, "The judges have ruled that the girls can do peaceful picketing. Silent picketing with no personal solicitation is going on, but the girls are arrested. The big abuse is the terrible police situation, the constant unjust arrests. The effort is to get the girls into court so that their resources will be used up in fees and in other ways."



George McReynolds, president of the Continental and Commercial National Bank, declared industrial troubles to be largely mental ones. American

conditions, he declared, to be so much better than in other lands that so much criticism is unwarranted. Troubles like those in Colorado he attributed to agitators. Charles W. Gindele of the Building Construction Employers placed the blame for business troubles on the uncontrolled business agent of the unions. James Mullenbach, superintendent of the Cook County Institution, advocated an impartial tribunal to hear and pass on the facts in labor disputes. Miss Grace Abbott of the Immigrants' Protective League advocated a national labor exchange.



On July 25, Mr. Charles W. Fry, business agent of the machinists' union, criticized the testimony of Mr. Piez. He declared that though the Link Belt Company claimed to run an open shop it discriminated against union men. The cause of industrial unrest, he attributed to the feeling that the employers have the benefit of the courts which favor big business in strike cases. George W. Perkins of the Cigarmakers' Union attributed unrest to immigration from southeastern Europe.



The commission adjourned on July 25 to meet again at Lead, S. D., on August 3 and 4.



Governor Harrison and the Anti-Imperialists.

The Secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League, Mr. Ewing Winslow, has received the following acknowledgment from Governor-General Harrison of the Philippines:

Permit me to thank you, and through you the Anti-Imperialist League, for your letter to me of March seventeenth conveying the sentiments of the Anti-Imperialist League upon the present current of events in the Philippine Islands.

Your letter reached me last week upon my return from a trip in the Mountain Province, and it was a very great gratification to me as an official and personally to receive the appreciative and complimentary approval you expressed. The presence of the two races here in the Islands renders the conduct of an administration in the Philippines subject to unusual difficulties, and there is need for all of us here to exercise great calmness and prudence in the handling of the many questions that are presented to us. We have all done our very best to carry out the announced policy of President Wilson in the Philippine Islands, and your words of appreciation are a very great satisfaction indeed to me. An extraordinary amount of misrepresentation of the accomplishments of this administration in the Islands has appeared in some of the newspapers in the United States, but I am glad to see that you and your associates have not been misled by the publication of these inaccurate reports.



Mexico and the United States.

Quasi recognition was given the Constitutionalist

cause on the 21st when President Wilson received Fernando Iglesias Calderon, a special commissioner of General Carranza, and named for minister for foreign affairs in the Constitutionalist government. It was strongly impressed upon the commissioner's mind that there must be peace among the Constitutionalist, before anything can be done for the country. Particular stress was laid on the recent friction between General Carranza and General Villa. General Villa must be placated in order to prevent a revolt in the north. [See current volume, page 705.]



An armistice between the Federals and the Constitutionalist was reported on the 22d. Dr. Reginaldo Cepeda, one of the three commissioners named by Provisional President Carbajal to arrange for the transfer of the government, met General Carranza at Tampico on the 27th and agreed to hold the conference with the whole commission at Saltillo. General Lauro Villar and Judge David Guterrez Allende are the other two Federal commissioners. Carbajal waives all demands except two: Complete amnesty for political offenders, and guarantees of protection for the lives and property of the Mexican people generally. General Carranza is not disposed to make any agreement of general amnesty before entering into possession of the government, though he promises to establish peace, order and justice.



General Zapata has promised to co-operate with the Constitutionalist in the work of pacification, which makes the fourth principal military agent to put itself in harmony with the Washington Administration, the other three, Provisional President Carbajal, General Carranza and General Villa, having already signified their intention of working in harmony with each other.



Investigation of the Huerta administration by President Carbajal, according to report, indicates that gross mismanagement obtained. Warrants have been issued for the arrest of the former general treasurer, charged with misappropriating 2,000,000 pesos.



Washington Happenings.

President Wilson withdrew on July 23 the nomination of Thomas D. Jones for member of the Federal Reserve Board. At the same time the President made public an interchange of letters with Mr. Jones. Writing from Chicago, under date of July 20, Mr. Jones asked that his name be withdrawn on account of the unexpected bitter contest that had arisen which he felt would impair his usefulness as a member of the board and make him a cause of embarrassment to the administration. In

a personal word to the President, Mr. Jones said further:

I hardly dare trust myself to say how deeply I prize the confidence you have shown in me and your endeavors to carry the matter through. It will always be a matter of real and deep pride to me.

With light apparently ahead in Mexico and with achievements already accomplished which even the most sanguine could not have anticipated a year and a half ago, you can afford to face minor irritations with entire equanimity.

If from now on you are to be beset with controversy and difficulties you can, in my opinion, rely with entire confidence upon the fact that your past achievements will rank among the highest achievements of the holders of your great office.

In replying, the President expressed regret that "The country should lose the invaluable services of such a man," and regret for the unpleasant experience brought upon Mr. Jones in which there was "gross and manifest injustice." Denying that the affair had caused him embarrassment Mr. Wilson said in part:

I have no moment of hesitation or flagging enthusiasm in standing by men whom I honor and believe in. It gives me nothing but pleasure and exhilaration to stand by them at any time and to any extent. You may leave feelings (my feelings for myself) out of the reckoning. . . . I believe that the judgment and desire of the whole country is to cry out for a new temper in affairs. The time has come when discriminations against particular classes of men should be absolutely laid aside and discarded as unworthy of the counsels of a great people. The effort for genuine social justice, for peace—the peace which is founded in common understandings—and for prosperity—the prosperity of co-operation and mutual trust and confidence—should be a united effort, without partisan prejudice or class antagonism. It is only of such just and noble elements that the welfare of a great country can be compounded. We have breathed already too long the air of suspicion and distrust. The progress of reform is not retarded by generosity and fairness. . . . It is already clear that the country comprehends and will itself redress the injustice which has been done you.

[See current volume, page 682.]

Immediate suit against the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Company under the Sherman law was ordered by President Wilson on July 21 of Attorney-General McReynolds in the following letter:

My Dear Attorney-General: I have your letter of today inclosing a copy of your letter of July 9 to J. H. Hustis, president of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, which together disclose the failure of the directors of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company to comply with the terms of the settlement proposed by them and accepted by us in the matter of their railroad holdings.

Their final decision in this matter causes me the deepest surprise and regret.

Their failure, upon so slight a pretext, to carry out an agreement deliberately and solemnly entered into and which was manifestly in the common interest is to me inexplicable and entirely without justification.

You have been kind enough to keep me fully informed of every step the department took in this matter and the action of the department has throughout met with my entire approval. It was just, reasonable and efficient. It should have resulted in avoiding what might now be done.

In the circumstances the course you propose is the only one the government can pursue. I therefore request and direct that a proceeding in equity be filed, seeking the dissolution of the unlawful monopoly of transportation facilities in New England now sought to be maintained by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company and that the criminal aspects of the case be laid before a grand jury.

The suit was accordingly filed on July 23 by the Attorney-General in the New York Federal District Court. In the brief filed the road is charged with being an unlawful monopoly controlling more than ninety per cent of the railroad and trolley traffic of New England and more than eighty-five per cent of steamship transportation. [See current volume, page 541.]



Treaties with twenty nations embodying the Wilson-Bryan plan of insuring peace were sent to the Senate for ratification on July 24. The treaties are with Salvador, Guatemala, Panama, Honduras, Nicaragua, the Netherlands, Bolivia, Portugal, Persia, Denmark, Switzerland, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Italy, Norway, Peru, Argentina, Brazil and Chile. The three latter were signed on the day they were sent to the Senate. Similar treaties with Great Britain and France have not yet been signed. [See current volume, page 327.]



Congressman James T. McDermott of Chicago, a Democrat, resigned on July 21 to escape the reprimand recommended by the judiciary committee for his part in the scandals disclosed by the lobby investigation. He thus escaped not only the reprimand but a motion for expulsion, which Congressman McDonald of Michigan has prepared to press. McDermott declared he would seek vindication at the polls. [See current volume, page 418.]

NEWS NOTES

—The Democratic Executive Committee of Siskiyou County, California, adopted at Yreka on July 15, a resolution strongly endorsing the pending

Home Rule in Taxation amendment. [See current volume, page 465.]

—Sultan Ahmed Mirza, the 16-year-old Shah of Persia, took the Constitutional oath of office on the 21st on attaining his official majority.

—To save the heavy taxes on the plant of a cement factory in Switzerland, the syndicate that had bought it, blew up the buildings with dynamite.

—The Union of Canadian Municipalities will hold its fourteenth annual convention at Sherbrooke, Quebec, August 5th, 6th, and 7th. [See vol. xvi, p. 664.]

—Sulgrave Manor, the home of George Washington's English ancestors, which was purchased by public subscription, in commemoration of the hundred years of peace between England and the United States, was presented to the American people on the 25th.

—Secretary Garrison has announced that the Panama Canal will be opened to the world's commerce August 15. The official opening of the Canal, which will involve the participation of an international fleet, will take place in March, 1915. [See current volume, page 586.]

—Germany's population in 1914, according to the latest year book, was 67,812,000, which is an increase of 831,000 over the previous year. During the last forty years Germany's population has increased 26,000,000, while that of France has increased 3,000,000, in the same time.

—Twenty lynchings, according to Booker T. Washington, have taken place in the United States during the first six months of 1914. Two of the victims were white, the rest colored. Two of the colored were women; and of the sixteen colored men only two were charged with rape or attempted rape.

—The sympathetic strike in St. Petersburg, called as a protest against the drastic measures of the government at Baku and other places, grew to such proportions as to lead to serious rioting on the 22nd and 23rd. Leniency was shown by the troops while President Poincaré of France was present in the city; but when he had departed, severer measures were taken on the 24th, and peace restored.

—The Democratic State Convention of Washington, on July 18, declared for the Recall of Judges and for making more efficient the present Initiative and Referendum provision. It also declares for "the immediate survey and taxation of the millions of acres of unsurveyed lands now in this state in the hands of great corporations and others." It further denounces the present tax system as antiquated and demands a change that "will empower the people to enact a revenue system that will be in harmony with changed economic conditions."

—Kosti Leo Aryan, the enlisted man sentenced to seven months' imprisonment at Alcatraz, California, for refusing to act against his religious convictions, was released on July 22. He had served his time, less allowance for good behavior. His sentence also included dishonorable discharge. The latter part he construes as follows: "At the game of preparing to murder his fellowmen Aryan did act very dishonorably, refusing to take part, saying that his contract calls for 'faithful and honest service,' and this can

only be rendered in harmony with the Law of God." [See current volume, page 605.]

—The Texas Democratic primary on July 25 resulted in the nomination of James E. Ferguson for Governor over Thomas H. Ball, by about 40,000 majority. Ferguson's platform contained a plank demanding legal limitation of rent charges and this was one of the principal issues. His opponent, Ball, urged as a counter-proposition a plan of State loans to tenant farmers to help them to buy farms. Ball was said to have had the support of the railroad corporations. A proposition to submit a prohibition amendment was defeated by about 30,000 majority.

—Seizure by the federal government of the Colorado coal mines was advocated in resolutions adopted at a mass meeting in Webster Hall, New York City, on July 17. The meeting was held under the auspices of a committee of which Amos Pinchot was chairman. Other members were: Dudley Field Malone, collector of the port of New York; John J. Hopper, register of New York county; Dr. Henry Moskowitz, civil service commissioner; William Dean Howells; John Moody, editor of Moody's magazine; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; Miss Ida M. Tarbell; Raymond V. Ingersoll, park commissioner; Miss Melinda Scott, president of the women's trade union league; Miss Rose Schneiderman, vice-president women's trade union league; Hugh Frayne, New York representative of the American Federation of Labor; Frederick L. Cranford, contractor; John J. Murphy, tenement-house commissioner; Dr. Walter E. Weyl, economist and writer; F. C. Leubuscher, president of the society to lower rents and reduce taxes on homes; Alfred J. Boulton; Calvin Tomkins, former dock commissioner; John W. Brown, organizer of the united mine workers of America; J. Aspinwall Hodge, trustee of the people's institute; Timothy Healy, coroner of New York county; Darwin J. Meserole, attorney-at-law; Edward Polak, register of Bronx county; Mornay Williams, president of the New York child labor committee; Max Eastman, editor of the Masses; Crystal Eastman Benedict, member executive committee congressional union for woman suffrage. [See current volume, page 540.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Economic Determinism.

New York Call, July 16.—We admit that on numberless occasions we have editorially lambasted Democrats as fools and idiots, but there are exceptions, and no one is quicker than we are to note and acknowledge them. These Democrats, of course, are not as the others, or rather the bulk of the others. Consequently they are known by a distinctive name—Sugar Democrats. What is a Sugar Democrat? Well, these Sugar Democrats are people who own the sugar area in Louisiana, a comparatively small patch of ground, that with careful cultivation (by "niggers," mainly) and the help of a government bounty, earns them some \$100,000,000 annually. . . . These Sugar Democrats made the welkin ring when Wilson was elected. They did it, or said

they did, and no doubt they helped mightily. All was politically lovely until—ah, the shame and sorrow of it!—until Wilson went back on sugar. Actually went back on sugar, sah! Tinkered with the tariff until he put sugar on the free list. What was to be done under such appalling circumstances? Clearly Democracy was a failure. They reached that conclusion instantly, and at once went over bag and baggage to the Bull Moose. And "Louisiana," of course, went with them. Democracy, they felt, was a mere mockery, a vain and futile thing, without profits on sugar. Right into the Bull Moose went those Sugar Democrats—into that abominably radical party which many estimable people think means to plunge us all into the horrors of Socialism. Was there a man dismayed? Nope. Wilson went back on sugar, but maybe Roosevelt will help it out. It's a forlorn hope, but desperate occasions demand desperate remedies. . . . How we wish the workingmen of this country were as wise and as prompt as these Sugar Democrats! As quick to scrap their traditional politics as they were, when those politics no longer subserved their sugar interests.



Common Sense Versus Demagogy.

Cleveland (Ohio) Press, July 13.—The main objection against Jones of Chicago for the federal reserve board seems to have been that he went into a zinc trust and got a fortune. Naughty, naughty! True, there oughtn't to be zinc trusts—the folk should own their own minerals. But if we let a few take control of these treasures of nature and tax the rest of us what they wish, can you think of a single reason why Jones of Chicago shouldn't own zinc stock as well as anybody else? Bet there isn't a senator at Washington who'd run away from doing as Jones did; and some would run mighty fast to get the chance. Let's not get silly, brethren. You can't find many men of practical experience and ability, men fit for big administrative jobs, who haven't at some time or place taken a bite of privilege—they don't grow. It ought to be enough if the \$100,000-a-year man who's willing to work for Uncle Sam for 90 per cent discount is honest, dependable and on to the fact that privilege must go. There's no reason at all why the greediest plute, if intelligent, shouldn't find more fun serving the public than he ever found in serving himself. They're just human, these rich fellers, like the rest of us; and some, even yet, can be saved. Don't forget Tom Johnson.



A Tip to the Pullman Co.

Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 13.—It is scarcely surprising to find a high official in the Pullman Company defending tips for car porters. Without such tips the company would be obliged to pay higher wages. If the company can shift to the traveling public part of this burden there seems little reason for the company to object. So, one finds the general manager of the company telling the California Railroad Commission that tipping on Pullman cars cannot be stopped. "It's human nature to bid for good service," the manager declared. The argument, however, seems not to have impressed the

commission. "It is up to you to stop these practices and to pay your men decent wages," the president of the commission told the manager. The order follows months of agitation and a careful inquiry into conditions. The public will approve the commission's stand. For a corporation to indorse tipping looks much like an admission that it is unwilling to pay its help the wages to which they are entitled. It is a shifting of burden which the public endures because there seems no way to organize opposition to it.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

ILLUSIONS OF WAR.

By Richard Le Gallienne.

War

I achor,

And yet how sweet

The sound along the marching street

Of drum and fife! And I forget

Wet eyes of widows, and forget

Broken old mothers, and the whole

Dark butchery without a soul.

Without a soul—save this bright drink

Of heady music, sweet as death;

And even my peace-abiding feet

Go marching with the marching street;

For yonder, yonder, goes the fife,

And, what care I for human life!

The tears fill my astonished eyes,

And my full heart is like to break;

And yet 'tis all embannered lies,

A dream those little drummers make.

O, it is wickedness to clothe

Yon hideous grinning thing that stalks

Hidden in music, like a queen

That in a garden of glory walks,

Till good men love the thing they loathe!

Art, thou hast many infamies,

But not an infamy like this,

O, snap the fife, and still the drum,

And show the monster as she is!



DUTY.

Parts of a Scene From the "Terrible Meek."

By Charles Rann Kennedy.

(A wind-swept hill at night. The soldiers have just executed a man).

Soldier: Wot was it 'e done, Captain?

Captain: Don't you know?

Soldier: Not exactly. I got enough to look arter with my drills an' vittles withaht messin' abaht with politics an' these 'ere funny foreign religions.

Captain: And yet you, if I mistake not, were one of the four men told off to do the job.

Soldier: Well, I 'ope I know my duty, sir. I on'y obeyed orders. Come to that, sir, arskin' your pawdon, it was you as gave them orders. I s'pose you knew orl right wot it was 'e done?

Captain: No, I don't know exactly either. I am only just beginning to find out. We both did our duty, as you call it, in blindness.

Soldier: That's 'strange langwidge to be comin' from your lips, Captain.

Captain: Strange thoughts have been coming to me during the last six hours.

Soldier: It's difficult to know wot's wot in these outlandish places. It's not like at 'ome, sir, where there's Law an' Order an' Patriotism an' Gawd's Own True Religion. These blarsted 'eathens got no gratitude. 'Ere's the Empire sweatin' 'er guts aht, tryin' ter knock some sense inter their dam' silly 'eds; an' wot do you get aht of it, orl said an' done? Nuthin'! Nuthin' but a lot of ingratitude, 'ard words, insurrections, an' every nah an' then a bloody example like this 'ere today! Oh, these foreigners mek me sick, they do reely!

Captain: Yes, perhaps that has been the real mistake all along.

Soldier: Wot 'as, Captain?

Captain: Taking these people—men like this one, for instance—for foreigners.

Soldier: Well, you'll excuse me, sir, but wot the 'ell else are they?

Captain: I'm not quite sure; but supposing they were more nearly related? Supposing, after all, they happened to be made of the same flesh and blood as you and me? Supposing they were men? Supposing, even, they were—brothers?

Soldier: Brothers! Why, that's exactly wot 'e used ter say—'im up there. . . .

Did you ever 'ear 'im, sir?

Captain: Once. Did you?

Soldier: Once.

They remain silent for a little.

It was politics when I 'eard 'im. On'y it sahnded more like some rummy religion.

Captain: When I heard him it was religion—sounding curiously like politics.

Soldier: Them two things don't 'ardly seem to go together, do they, sir?

Captain: They don't. Perhaps they ought to.

Soldier: I don't know. Seem to 'ave led 'im into a pretty mess. . . .

It's a queer world! . . .

I wonder wot it was 'e reely done.

Captain: It's rather late in the day for us to be considering that, seeing what *we* have done, isn't it?

Soldier: Well, I don't know. P'raps it's funny of me, but I never done a job like this yet witaht thinkin' abaht it arterwards. . . . An' I done a few of 'em, too.

If you arsk me, sir, it was them—well, them long-faced old jossers dahn there as begun the 'ole beastly business. You know 'oo I mean.

Captain: Yes, I know whom you mean. But haven't they a name?

Soldier: Well, I 'ardly know *wot* ter call them, sir. They're like a lot of old washerwomen. Allus jawin'. We got nuthin' exactly like that sort at 'ome, sir.

Captain: Oh, I don't know that there's all that difference.

Soldier: They was allus naggin' the pore fellow, one way an' another. Couldn't leave 'im alone. They started the 'ole business.

Captain: Why, what fault did they find with him? What was it they said he did?

Soldier: It wasn't nuthin' 'e done, far as I could mek aht. It was summat as 'e said, wot riled them.

Captain: Something he said?

Soldier: Yes, summat 'orrible; that's wot they said. Summat too bad ter be spoken, summat they wasn't a-goin' ter stand from anybody. Least, that's wot I 'eard. . . .

Wasn't so very 'orrible, neither. Not ter me. Sahnded a bit mad, that's orl.

Captain: Oh, then you know what is was?

Soldier: Yessir. They 'ad a name for it, too; on'y I can't quite remember. One of them big jawcrackers, you unnerstand. Seems a bit orf for a bloke ter come ter this, just for usin' a few words.

Captain: There is great power in words. All the things that ever get done in the world, good or bad, are done by words.

Soldier: Well, there's summat in that, too. On'y this thing 'e said—blimey, it was nuthin'! There ain't a loony alive wot doesn't say the same thing 'e said, an' more, a thasand times a day, when 'e's reel bad in 'is 'ead. At the most, it sahnded like a bit of langwidge, that's orl.

Captain: And *you* don't mind that, do you?

Soldier: Me? 'E could 'a'done it till 'e was blue in the face an' welcome, far as I'd care.

Captain: You yourself, of course, had nothing at all against him? Nothing personal, nothing political, I mean. No more than I had.

Soldier: Lor' bless you, no, sir. Rawther liked 'im, the bit I saw of 'im.

Captain: Only they—the long-faced gentlemen—found him guilty. So, of course, they had to hand him over to the magistrate.

Soldier: Yes, blarst them. What did they want ter go an' do that for?

Captain: It was perhaps their—duty, don't you see?

Soldier (taken aback on the sacred word): Oh, was it? Well, since you put in that way, o' course. . . .

Captain: Then, again, came the magistrate's duty. I suppose he found he had some duty in the matter? Did *he* very much object to this horrible thing that had been said?

Soldier: Not much! 'E ain't that sort, nor this fellow! . . .

That's the funny thing abaht it. Far as I could 'ear, there weren't no mention of that, by the time the case came into 'is 'ands. No, it was riotin' an' stirrin' people up agen the government, as 'e on'y 'ad ter deal with.

Captain: Was that charge proved against the prisoner?

Soldier: They 'ad witnesses, I suppose. On'y you know wot witnesses are, in a case like this, sir. Got their orders, you unnerstand.

Captain: And, of course, they all did their duty. That sacred obligation was attended to. They obeyed.

Soldier: I don't know. Don't arsk me. I know nuthin' abaht it. (He is a little nettled at the turn conversation is taking.) . . .

Captain: I'm trying to make up my mind. I don't know. I'm blind. I don't think I know what duty is.

Soldier: It's perfectly plain, sir. Arter all, duty is duty, ain't it?

Captain: Yes, it doesn't seem to be very much else.

Soldier: 'Ow do you mean, sir?

Captain: Well, for instance, it doesn't seem to be love or neighborliness or pity or understanding or anything that comes out hot and fierce from the heart of a man. Duty! Duty! We talk of duty! What sort of devil's duties are there in the world, do you think, when they lead blindly, wantonly, wickedly, to the murder of such a man as this!

Soldier: Well, far as I'm concerned, I on'y obeyed my orders.

Captain: Orders! Obeyed orders!

Soldier: Well, sir, it was you as give them to me.

Captain: Good God, man, why didn't you strike me in the blasphemous teeth, the hour I gave them?

Soldier: Me, sir? Strike my superior orficer!

Captain: You struck this defenseless man. You had no scruples about his superiority. You struck him to the death.

Soldier (hotly): I on'y did my duty!

Captain: We have murdered our brother! We have destroyed a woman's child.

Soldier: I on'y obeyed my orders. When my superior orficer says, *Kill a man*, why, I just kill 'im, that's orl. O' course I kill 'im. Wot's a soldier for? That's duty. (With sullen lust.) Blood an' 'ell! I'd kill 'im soon as look at 'im, yes, I would, if 'e was Gawd aht of 'Eaven, 'Imself! . . .

Not as I 'ave anythin' personal agen this pore devil. On'y I *do* know my duty.



The poorer the soll the better the crop of wild oats.—Leavenworth (Penitentiary) New Era.

THE GOOD OF WAR.

By Bolton Hall.

(Reprinted from the "Independent.")

"I want to buy military glory," said the Nation. "Your advertisement says that the price is Taxes and Blood and that you give Business Opportunities as a premium."

"Quite so," replied the Devil; "the Opportunities is a recent inducement, because only soldiers and contractors want war for itself."

"But," said the Nation, "how do I know that you will collect no further price?"

"Ah, well," said the Devil, "of course there is a little vanity; you know 'he that soweth iniquity shall reap vanity,' but you won't mind that."

"No-o," said the Nation, "but I have heard that you are a liar from the beginning; what guarantee have I that I shall not get more than I bargain for?"

"Why, my dear," said the Devil, "you are guaranteed a fair deal by God, 'the righteous shall eat of the fruit of their doings and the reward of his hands shall be given the wicked.' Isn't that plain?"

"Then War be it," said the Nation.

After the Victory the Nation began to take account of stock, and found Monopoly and Bonds and the Man on Horseback and Imperialism and Corruption among the fruits of the war.

"Here," said the Nation, "you Devil! these don't belong to me. I was to have only the goods I ordered."

"Why," said the Devil, "be reasonable. Those are not the goods, those are only the wrappings that you took off."

"But where is the Business Opportunity?"

"Oh, the Monopolists appropriated that," said the Devil.



POLITICAL DEFINITIONS.

For The Public.

Economic determinism—The theory which explains why a hen crosses the road when she sees a grain of corn on the other side.

Paternalism (German)—A predicament of statesmen, in which after all the employers' monopolies and all the workingmen's jobs have been nicely regulated, the jobs stop and there is nothing to regulate.

Syndicalism—A system under which men threaten to ruin industry unless the government yields to their demands.

Big Business—See above.

Protection—A theory under which the government takes property or earnings from one group of citizens and bestows them upon another group.

Communism—See above.

CRAIG RALSTON.

BOOKS

RETROSPECT AND FORECAST.

The Man of Tomorrow. By Floyd B. Wilson. Published by R. F. Ferno & Co., 18 E. 17th St., New York. Price, \$1.00.

Mr. Wilson, in his latest volume, takes up the inspiring study of evolution viewed largely from the individual plane of thought, though with generous acknowledgment of authorities in the sciences and philosophies that have paved the way to his conclusions.

Though he has sent forth several books on kindred subjects, his conviction "that only a few have discovered the key to greatness and that it may be seized and used by the million is really the true incentive for the writing and publishing of this work."

Not to follow too closely the path of evolution from "The Dawn of Humanity" to the present unfoldment, the reader, aspiring to become "The Man of To-Morrow," will find in the three chapters, "Potentiality of the Will," "Methods of Educating the Will," and "Discipline of the Will," some very practical suggestions for the awakening and use of his own neglected faculties.

As a business man who had won his success through such methods, only to come to failure when he, in intellectual pride, departed from them, he was forced back to his own philosophy in "Paths to Power," which is one of his text books on self-mastery and self-unfoldment. And from his own experience (and observation as well) he draws this conclusion: "Correct auto-suggestion carries one over the success line, and the auto-suggestion of doubts and fears binds him to the line of failure and disaster. Life's failures and life's successes are due to the inevitable results which follow wrong and right thinking."

As to the nature of the success or failure—who, without limitless vision, may define it?

A. L. M.



HUMAN POETRY.

Poems of Human Progress. By James Harcourt West. Illustrated. Boston: The Tufts College Press. Price, \$1.50 net.

Scholarship with simple-heartedness, love of nature serving love of man—these are qualifications for a true democratic poet, and such is James H. West, as long-time readers of *The Public* well know. A vision for man, seen with nature-loving eyes, is embodied, for example, in these lines from "Courage, O Workers!"

Truth shall be gained, and mankind through the truth shall be victor.
Not for a few, but for all, are life's heights and life's splendors—

Summits of thought and of will! of the soul! of the spirit!

Hasten, O earth, to Equality, Brotherhood, Freedom!

Beautiful and expressive lines are to be found scattered everywhere through these pages. The falsely "great"—Alexander, Caesar, Frederick of Prussia—are impressively described as

A wan, deluded army, vulture-haunted.

Of his own, and truly every man's past, Mr. West vividly recalls:

—the goblins of the soul

Which hoary Credence fastened on my youth—

The Past's rude superstitions taking toll
Of ardent years which else had served the Truth.

"Ours, ours!—not mine or thine, but ours!" is a fragment that holds within itself all the essential spirit that is changing the economic aspect of the world.

Mr. West describes the "blest fields" of the Mississippi Valley in the coming time

Where bitterness of Dead Sea fruit shall cease
And life grow rich on mingled oil and wine.

And this advance is to "bring the Age of Man from Age of Stone."

When such ease and strength of diction are combined with such accuracy of observation, such love of mankind, and such a sense of future good, the result is a poet who is worth while.

ALICE THACHER POST.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**The Great Society.** By Graham Wallas. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1914. Price, \$2.00 net.

—**The Minnesota Legislature of 1913.** By C. J. Buell, published by the Author, 1540 Laurel Ave., St. Paul, Minn., 1914. Price, paper, 50 cents; cloth, \$1.00.

—**Reconstruction in North Carolina.** By J. G. de Rouillac Hamilton. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Whole Number 141. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1914. Price, paper, \$4.00; cloth, \$4.50 net.

—**Fabian Essays in Socialism.** By Bernard Shaw, Sir Sydney Olivier, William Clarke, Hubert Bland, Sidney Webb, Annie Besant and Graham Wallas. Reprinted with a new preface by the Editor, Bernard Shaw. Published by the Walter Scott Publishing Co., London and Felling-on-Tyne, 1911. Price, paper, 6 pence net.



Pamphlets Received.

Preliminary Report of the Efficiency and Economy Committee of the State of Illinois, Created by the Illinois General Assembly, 1913. Walter I. Manny, Chairman. John A. Fairlie, Urbana, Ill., Director.

Legislative Program of the Socialist Party: Record of the Work of the Socialist Representatives in the State Legislatures of the United States, 1899-1913: With Account of Efforts of the Party in Direct Legislation. By

Ethelwyn Mills. Bulletin No. 1, Information Department, Socialist Party of America. Published by the Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago. 1914. Price, 25 cents.

\$28,000 From Idle City Land. Seventeenth Annual Report of the Philadelphia Vacant Lots Cultivation Association, Season of 1913. By James H. Dix, Superintendent, 1122 Land Title Bldg., Broad and Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

Immigrant and Library: Italian Helps. By John Foster Carr. Published by the Immigrant Education Society, 241 Fifth Ave., New York. (In co-operation with the Publishing Board of the American Library Association.) 1914. Price, paper, 35 cents, postpaid.



"He who puts his hand to the plow," screamed the cross-roads orator, "must not turn back!"

"What is he to do when he gets to the end of a

furrer?" asked the auditor in the blue jeans overalls.—Christian Register.



Fred Bromley was an artist of the impressionist school. He had just given the last touches to a purple and blue canvas when his young wife came into the studio.

"This is the landscape I wanted you to suggest a title for, dear," said he, standing aside and proudly surveying his work.

"Why not call it 'Home'?" said she, after a reflective look.

"Home? Why?"

"Because there is no place like it," she replied, meekly, as becomes a wife who is entirely without the finer feelings of imagination.—Lippincott's.

ANNOUNCEMENT

H. W. MCFARLANE

one of the earliest and most active Chicago single-taxers, has resigned his position of assistant auditor passenger accounts of one of the great railway systems of the country and changed his residence and occupation, having leased the

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IMAGINE what would happen if ten thousand readers of The Public each handed his copy to someone every week. Will you be one of the ten thousand?

We read of a negro who was asked if he would volunteer to fight for the country, answering: "I lives in de city, boss."—Hollo Enterprise Press, Panay, P. I.

A canny young canner of Cannee, One morning observed to his granny, "A canner can can A lot of things, gran, But a canner can't can a can, can 'e?" —Tit-Bits.

A minister, spending a holiday in the north of Ireland, was out walking, and, feeling very thirsty, called at a farm house for a drink of milk. The farmer's wife gave him a large bowl of milk, and while he was quenching his thirst a number of pigs

got round about him. The minister noticed that the pigs were very strange in their manner, so he said: "My good lady, why are the pigs so excited?" The farmer's wife replied: "Sure, it's no wonder they are excited, sir; it's their own little bowl you are drinking out of!"—Tit-Bits.

In the Family Motorcycle: "Quick, Mary, pinch the baby. The horn won't work."—Unidentified.

When a lady patient living far from town had to telephone for her physician she apologized for asking him to come such a distance.

"Don't speak of it," said the doctor cheerfully; "I happen to have another patient in that vicinity and so can kill two birds with one stone."—Ladies' Home Journal.

"The Mexican People: Their Struggle for Freedom"

By Gutierrez de Lara and Edgcumb Pinchon

The publishers report that the first big edition is already sold out.

Evidently this book is getting at least a small measure of the recognition it deserves.

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