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EDITORIAL

The Subsidy Grabbers' Defeat.

A few shipowners will not be given free use of the \$400,000,000 which the American people have invested in the Panama Canal. The repeal of toll exemption prevents that. The untrue and misleading statement that exemption gives "our" ships free use of our canal has failed to accomplish its deceptive purpose. So also have the false and contemptible appeals to unreasonable prejudice involved in talk about "British control." That some good men, such as La Follette and Clapp, were deceived by these transparent tricks into supporting a subsidy is as strange as it is regrettable. That some stanch supporters of predatory institutions, such as Root and Lodge, should have opposed this subsidy, indicates that there is a limit beyond which even they will not go. The victory is one that will give strength and encouragement to the war on Privilege. S. D.



Senatorial Courtesy.

Among the things that lie beyond the power of human restraint none is more firmly established than the loquaciousness of the United States Senate. Man may subdue the elements and harness the forces of nature, but he is helpless in the presence of a speech-charged Senator. Months ago, and after the public had discussed the Panama Tolls Repeal from every possible point of view, a legislative body of 435 members devoted a few hours to the bill and passed it. The Senate has taken months to discuss the bill sent to it by the House, and finally, when the last of its 96 members had said his last word, and important legislation had been rendered impossible because of the delay, it has—passed the bill. Was there one vote changed through all this delay? Did a solitary man see the matter differently after this welter of idle oratory? And the net result is that the Senate, by a vote of 50 to 35, agrees with the House that a treaty of our own making and adoption means what it says, and

that an additional subsidy shall not be given to our already highly protected coast-wise shipping. Such a grudging performance of an obvious duty awakens little gratitude.

S. C.



Carranza's Ideas.

An interview with Venutiano Carranza, reported in the Washington Herald of June 8 by its special correspondent, Gerald Brandon, furnishes evidence that the Mexican Constitutionals are not altogether hazy regarding methods of settling the land question. General Carranza is reported to have announced his idea as follows: "Where land is needed for distribution it will readily be forthcoming. The taxation of undeveloped property will make big land-holders willing to sell. And then there is always expropriation." Given the opportunity, General Carranza would undoubtedly realize that the taxation weapon is sufficient to bring about an equitable distribution.



Other remarks in the interview show a state of affairs in Mexico regarding taxation not without parallel in this country. He had found in the city of Saltillo that "the hovels of the poor were appraised at their full value while the mansions of the rich were valued at ridiculously low figures." His first official act on installing his new government, he said, would be to order an accurate appraisal of all property. "This is a social revolution," he further declared. "Madero's was a political one. He fought for free suffrage and anti-re-election. The need of the people goes still deeper." It does seem as though General Carranza, if left to work out his own ideas, will secure adoption of internal measures more nearly correct than any likely to be suggested by the Niagara Conference.

S. D.



Court Control of Popular Rights.

By a four to three vote the Supreme Court of Illinois has upheld the Woman Suffrage Act. The right to vote of more than one million citizens is thus secured, through the gracious consent of four individuals. Had anyone of these four seen fit to join with the three opponents of suffrage these million citizens would have been disfranchised. Is it not wrong that such power should be lodged in a small body? Had the decision been against suffrage there would have been no immediate redress. Illinois has neither the recall of judges nor the recall of judicial decisions. There are so many obstacles in the way of amending the constitution that it

can be blocked by a small group. So it will be well for the new voters to remember how easily a despotic power might have deprived them of their newly acquired right. That same despotic power still exists as a menace to other rights. The checking of this menace is one of the important tasks for the voters to accomplish. A majority of the Court has used its despotic power in a benevolent manner. But the possession of such power is none the less wrong.

S. D.



Justice by Four to Three.

Ignorance of the law is no excuse, runs the old adage; but how shall the ordinary citizen know the law when four judges of the Illinois Supreme Court declare it one way, and three declare the opposite way? And why should it require a unanimous decision of twelve men to apply a law when a vote of four to three is sufficient to establish the law itself?

S. C.



Woman's Emancipation.

Where is that man who said woman was not fit for, and therefore had no right to, the suffrage? Let him come forth that we may gaze upon him—if the human eye can grasp so small an object. Imagine this self-appointed arbiter of the race, this petty potentate by whose grace the present jumble of social affairs exists, determining whether or not a body of women such as met in the biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs should vote! It is possible that an all-wise Providence has provided these clogs upon the chariot of progress as a necessary factor in the eternal fitness of things. But think of a man who is willing to fill the role of a clog!



Emancipation is the everlasting cry of the goul struggling toward freedom: emancipation from priestcraft, from kingcraft, and from social, economic, and political tyranny. Some emancipations have come from the shock of war, and some from the slow but resistless appeal to reason; but all are alike in that they must await the tedious processes of the human mind. The stroke of a pen fifty years ago struck the legal shackles from four million slaves in this country; but today ten million members of that unfortunate race are as effectually bound by social shackles as were ever chattel slaves. There is no short cut to the land of freedom; nor are there any express trains. The road is the same for all, and each must tread it with his own feet.

But while there are no short cuts, and no express trains in which to ride, it is possible to aid or hinder those who pass on the toilsome way. The Negro has been doubly unfortunate. Least equipped for the journey, he has been compelled to meet the opposition of enemies, and, what is still worse, he has had to pay for the bungling of his friends. But he has been moving. His enemies, that is, his former masters have developed tolerance, and his friends are learning wisdom. He is a long way yet from the land of freedom, but he is on the way; and it is a question of patience, and of keeping on. The white man may cheer him, but white leadership is no longer indispensable. The Booker Washingtons who have sprung from the race are now taking the lead.

Woman's emancipation has been similar, both in kind and in degree. Sex prejudice was less intense than race prejudice, because tempered by personal ties; but it was very strong, and has yielded slowly before the logic of events. Still it has yielded. One has but to contrast the flippant paragrapher's fling at Susan B. Anthony thirty years ago, with the columns and pages of the press devoted to woman's affairs today, to realize the changes wrought. But the real answer to man's challenge lies in woman's achievements. In science, in art, in literature, in education, in sociology, in industry she has taken high place, and points to world-renowned members of her sex among the very foremost. And now she asks that politics be opened to her in order that she may add achievements in statecraft. What intelligent man can conscientiously withhold this right? s. c.

Disloyal Royalty.

The threat of the Liberal government to prosecute contributors to the suffragette war chest was met with taunts that the government would not dare to punish members of the Liberal party, and of royalty itself. And the capture of the militant subscription list shows that funds were contributed by the Prince of Wales, and offered by the Queen. The question arises: Was this blackmail—as hinted by royal apologists; or was it a covert attempt to embarrass the Liberal government? It is a fondly cherished English tradition that the British sovereign must take no part in politics. Yet even so conscientious a woman as Queen Victoria was not above showing her impatience when compelled to call Mr. Gladstone to her aid; and it is possible that King George would not be sorry to see the party that subjugated the lords and threat-

ens landlordism, itself overthrown. But whether royalty is so timid, or government so impotent, the fact that unexpected names were found on the militants' subscription list is no reason why English law should not take its impartial course.

s. c.

Flag Day.

Flag day has not yet become a widely observed holiday. Perhaps this is well, since the general tendency among most of those who would enforce its observance seems to be to show disrespect to the flag. This regrettable tendency is noticeable in the unpatriotic efforts to enforce salutes and other forms of mock worship. These by making a fetish of the stars and stripes, rob the national emblem of all the glory that comes only from being an object of sincere, rational, voluntary and spontaneous reverence, free from all suspicion of pretense and hypocrisy. Were Flag Day to suddenly become such a holiday as Christmas or Independence day, this method of desecration would probably become general, and the protests of the few who would save the flag from disrespect would be unheeded, if heard at all. Until the flag's worst enemies—the priests of the false worship of it as a fetish—can be debarred from seizing the day as their own, a mild or moderate observance of it is best.

s. d.

Censoring the Movies.

A vast deal of trouble is being stored for the censorially obsessed citizen. The Comstock school of art censors has been born because up to the present this has not been an art-loving nation. The post office censorship of the mails, and the police censorship of speeches, have been tolerated because they have been applied to a small and unpopular minority. But the censorship of the movies bids fair to run foul of a powerful element. Cutting out lewdness from films for public exhibition may be safely done. Scenes of murder, and of violence, such as tend to brutalize the child, may also be disposed of with a reasonable approximation to justice. But as the field of the motion picture is extended there will be developed a twilight zone in which there will be a powerful pecuniary and political interest in controlling the censorship.

The immediate prospect is the use that the Socialists may make of the new instrument. If, as has been announced, the Socialists turn to the camera as a means of propaganda, it is easily conceiv-

able that there will be many censors who will think the most effective answer is the "cut out." Whatever may be thought of the Socialist as a constructive critic, as a destructive critic he is a past master. He can kick a hole through a rotten tub as easily as the next one—even if he is a little slow about mending it. When, therefore, he puts his incisive indictments of social and industrial conditions on the screen they will hurt; and the sharpest smart will come from the consciousness that they are true. The best way to provide against the abuse of a little brief authority at a future time is to lay a restraining hand upon the censors of today. Bureaucratic judgments as to what is proper to send through the mails, or what is permissible in public speech, have no place in a free country; and the sooner the mistaken zeal of the censorially inclined is frowned upon, the briefer will be the train of evils that follows in its wake.

S. C.



Again, Trust-Busting.

What good will it do for Congress to create a commission with power to inquire into all commercial relations that are harmless, and leave it helpless in the presence of the only thing potent for evil—special privilege? Will the Interstate Trade Commission at the very best do more than "regulate" the stifling prisoners in the Black Hole of Calcutta? Discipline them it may, and reduce them to an orderly procession, so that each may get his breath of air as he passes the window. But what sort of solution is this of the economic problem? Is there a man in this day so fatuous as to think Labor and Capital can be kept at peace in the Black Hole of Privilege? The irrepressible conflict in the industrial world is not due to the fact that some business men are so much shrewder than others, or so much more unprincipled; it is due to the fact that they are fortified by legal privilege; and so long as that legal privilege remains, all regulations and restrictions will be in vain. So obvious a fact appeals little to the statesman who is bent upon relieving the victim without disturbing the beneficiary. He will come ultimately to the true remedy, but he must first try all the wrong ones.

S. C.



Colorado's Agitators.

"The law has given us power, we are going to maintain it, no government dare take it from us, and whoever will not submit must leave our domain." This is in substance, though not in words, the statement of their position filed by Colorado's

mine owners with the congressional committee. It is quite natural that they should take such a position. It is the attitude always assumed by a privileged class, confiding in its might, and blind to any possibility of overthrow. It is well that it is so. The abolition of Privilege would be a far more difficult task were its holders less inclined to flaunt their power, and more inclined to be moderate in its use. These mine owners have done much to open the eyes of many hitherto blind to the wrong of the monopoly of nature's bounties. They have done much to show the need of government action to remedy this wrong. "The real agitator is the conservative," as Dan Beard, artist and author, truly said. Colorado's mine owners are splendid agitators.

S. D.



On Dangerous Ground.

"If the State will not furnish to owners of property the protection to which they are entitled it is left to them to defend themselves and their property by whatever means they can find." This is part of a public statement made in behalf of the Rockefeller and other Colorado mining interests. Is the position assumed justifiable? Is the action outlined right? If so, then these mine owners invoke a radical principle on which others may as rightfully act. There are natural rights which neither State nor Nation at present protects, rights which are violated by grants to favored individuals of such privileges as those on which these complaining interests base their power. That is why this nation is a land of poverty as well as of progress. That is why we must contend with all the vice, crime and misery resulting from poverty or the fear of it. May those suffering from the neglect by government to guard their rights take the correction of these evils into their own hands? If not, how can the mine owners' threat be justified? If so, what may be done with the mine owners' privilege?

S. D.



The Landlord's Power.

A legal excuse for suppressing free speech in Tarrytown, New York, has been found. F. R. Pierson, president of the Village Trustees, explains it this way: "We haven't a single foot of unoccupied land in town that the community owns. The title to our streets is not in the Trustees of the Village, but is held by the abutting property owners. The rights we have in the streets are merely easements covering the right of traffic to pass over them. New York owns its streets, the property owners own ours. We have no squares, parks, or

public places." So, in spite of all Constitutional guarantees, men may only say on the highways of Tarrytown what its landowners permit to be said. Trustee Pierson calls attention to a practical illustration of despotic power in this country which landlordism confers. Henry George suggested the possibility of such tyranny as one reason why landlordism should be abolished. Now Trustee Pierson—unconsciously probably—confirms his reasoning. He makes clear that the most extreme possibility of land monopoly, preventing the exercise by landless men of any natural right, is not merely theoretical. Tarrytown will serve as a horrible example of what land monopoly can do.

s. d.



Wages and Efficiency.

The minimum wage idea receives novel support at the hands of H. A. Millis, in the *Journal of Political Economy*, where it is claimed that a minimum wage would benefit employer as well as employe, because it would compel both to adopt more efficient methods of production. Manufacturers, the writer holds, often fall into and continue slovenly methods of production when labor is cheap, and will not of their own initiative adopt improvements that will permit of the payment of higher wages. When, however, wages are arbitrarily raised, as they would be under a minimum wage, law, the employer would be compelled to adopt better methods or go out of business.



This is the very point made by the trade unionist. Raise wages to a living point and business will adapt itself to it. To advance wages twenty-five per cent does not necessarily mean paying twenty-five per cent more for labor. It means in most cases improvements in method that soon meet the increase in wages, and often result in cheaper labor than before. High wages stimulate discovery and invention, and make the cost of high priced labor cheaper than low priced labor. A business that must depend upon low priced labor, either in the form of child labor or Oriental labor, rests upon a false basis. Wages constitute Labor's share of production, and must in all reason advance as production advances; but too often contented Labor means indifferent Capital. Hence, as long as we persist in maintaining an unnaturally restrained system of industry it will be necessary for Labor to arbitrarily advance wages from time to time, not alone as a means of obtaining its share of increased production, but as a spur to lagging Capital. s. c.

WHY LABOR ORGANIZATIONS EXIST.

Labor unions have been Labor's only weapon against organizations which have been more tyrannous and longer established and are deserving of as much denunciation.

That labor unions exhibit many of the weaknesses and worse, which their progenitors, i. e., organized capital, have possessed, is but natural, but should not excite a capitalist.

Labor unions will some day disappear, but probably no one will be able to kill them off. They are unnatural, just as other conditions in capitalist quarters are, and both will have to go along together until they can both together commit hari-kari.

In the meantime the "ceaseless conflict" to which Lincoln referred must doubtless continue. Adding to this conflict is very poor business and business men had better forget as much of the crimes of labor unions, and the crimes of organized capital as they can and get along with labor as well as they can until economic conditions are such that Labor can deal with them on something like an equal footing, and will not have to try and enforce its demands by strikes, dynamite, etc.

Fundamental to all of the above are, of course, some notions of what the remedies are, but that's another story and a long one.



But bring facts like these to the attention of the bitter opponent of existing trade unions and how does he reply? Here is what a very active and prominent one had to say:

"I know that you act from the best of motives but you do not realize the falsity of your position and the harm that is sure to grow out of it in case your expressions are extended to the ears of volatile and wilful men.

"The laws of this country provide for equal opportunity and protection for every man, and when a few men band together and parade the streets and attack other men who want to work, and destroy property because they can't rule it, the time to settle the question is *right then and there*, and not have a lot of soft heads excusing them over and over again, until they think they have a right to do these things.

"Perhaps I might add that I am in sympathy with organized effort, not alone among workingmen but also among other men who may perhaps work with their minds, as well as their bodies. I insist, however, that one law shall apply to them

all, and that they be compelled to keep the peace and not unfairly interfere with one another."



This is a fair sample. Like most comments of its kind it ignores the fact that the warfare between Capital and Labor is one of the superficial effects of the social system that is entirely wrong, the basis of which is special privilege and monopoly, and until such conditions are done away with the warfare must continue under no rule, or rules that will change with change in sentiment and circumstances.

The opponent of organized labor is engaged in a scrap over what these rules shall be. What is needed is a scrap for radical change of the underlying conditions so that the Capital-Labor war will cease. While it continues one can not but feel a strong inclination to side with the under dog, and that is always the laboring man, because special Privilege and monopoly is never in his favor, and always in favor of Capital.

Labor unions are just as unnatural as monopoly, but it is not for monopoly to throw bricks at labor organizations. That means labor organizations that can do things, not merely labor organizations proposed by some opponents that will take rules from and be governed by the monopolists. The way for Labor to do things is to get together and stand together and strike; and presumably also to boycott; and though it can not and should not be advocated or defended, it is hard to look upon the overt acts of organized labor with any greater indignation or less solicitude than upon the crimes of any other class. When manufacturers study their true relation to sound economics they will understand more of their true relation toward their employes and labor organizations, and have more toleration and less of the snarling, biting and scratching quality exhibited by some manufacturers at present.

By all means crime should be dealt with lawfully. But such dealing should not be the basis of an endeavor to wipe out a system or a class to which much crime might incidentally be traced. Let us invoke the law of the land under the rules of fair play, but let's not go any farther.



To the intimation that such a position is dangerous to society it need but be said that the type of agitation carried on by some capitalists is extremely dangerous, promoting class hatred in such a degree as to make wide-spread results possible under unfavorable conditions. The burden of that philosophy which would abolish Privilege

is Peace. The burden of that which ignores fundamental causes is distinctly War, and if the employers who fight organized labor succeed in ever starting it it will make quick work of them and their industrial enterprises. They, indeed, are playing with fire, and their failure to realize it is indeed a public misfortune.

CHARLES H. INGERSOLL.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE SEIZURE OF VERA CRUZ.

Mexico, June 6.

The attack on Vera Cruz was a complete surprise to all in the interior, as there had been so many "crises," with no result, during the past year that any reprisal for Huerta's impudence by the Americans was thought to be a remote contingency.

The American daily, however, the Mexican Herald, had been warned on April 20 of the impending event, and that same night it transferred its staff and presses on a special car from Mexico City to Vera Cruz, where it has since appeared regularly. After joyfully letting itself be influenced for years by Porfirio Diaz and Huerta, to whitewash or to conceal the crimes of Mexican despotism, this shameless sheet has now suddenly discovered that Mexico is unable to rule itself and is outdoing Hearst in its demand for an immediate invasion and annexation.

After the seizure, all private mail and messages were stopped by Huerta and the Mexican populace was then bombarded with official bulletins. In the Federal district Huerta's bulletins were unopposed but in the States the municipal authorities endeavored to counteract the danger to resident Americans inherent in the venom and mendacity of the Federal placards. The disgraceful conduct of the Spaniards during the excitement enabled us to better understand General Villa's antipathy to them.

On Wednesday, April 22, the Spaniards had Huerta proclaim that the Americans had sunk their warship, the Carlos V., at Vera Cruz. The same day the placards stated: "That Zapata had joined Huerta with his 20,000 men, that Villa had embraced General Velasco and the new friends had at once captured El Paso and Brownsville, that the Sonora rebels had invaded Arizona, and that all rebels were again brothers to Huerta and would sustain him against the hated invader." That afternoon there was some marching, and at night the Federal officers met the local Spanish leaders and planned big demonstrations for Thursday, a holiday.

The chief features of the Thursday processions of "patriots" were huge banners, bearing the device, "Muera a los Invasores." The marchers were government employes, students and some of the middle class; the masses held aloof. Most of the enthusiasm had to be manufactured by brass bands, and by the Spaniards who dragged American flags through the mud from their feet or from wagons. Some Spaniards even ventured to incite the mobs to anticipate the invasion and attack resident Gringos at once.

Luckily, the Spanish advice was unheeded and,

beyond some broken windows in the American stores of Mexico City, little damage was done to Americans in the big cities. Not only were the lower class against Huerta but the native reactionary party, his supporters, did not dare let loose a criminal mob onto the Americans for fear their own palaces might suffer from the riots. Besides, the main object of the demonstration was not to frighten resident Gringos but to recruit the Federal army.

As a recruiting ruse the provocation of the Americans to seize Vera Cruz had tangible results. Hundreds of the unsophisticated, especially students, enlisted "to repel invasion" during the first week of official deception. Later, when the trapped patriots found themselves being transported north to fight Villa, they realized their mistake, but it was then too late, for desertion was punished by death. A few companies, formed entirely of Spaniards, succeeded in escaping near San Luis Potosi by deserting en masse.

As the workmen were generally against Huerta and refused to enlist, even "to repel invasion," the levy was again put in force, and in a dreadful way. In Mexico City, itself, hundreds of factory hands were rounded up at the noon hour and boldly transported in street cars to the barracks, under guard of their soldier captors. In the country districts the levy has long been conducted in the style of an African slave raid. A peaceful village suddenly finds itself surrounded by soldiers, and all the folk must submit at once or perish. The desirable men are then rapidly picked out and before the women folk can realize what has happened, the troop is far away with their brothers and husbands. When the stolen recruits arrive at the big city they are announced by the press as "captured bandits consigned to the army."

Of the great Capital dailies, *El Pais*, *La Nacion* and *El Diario* have been extinguished, and only the obedient *El Imparcial* and *El Independiente* are now allowed to appear. Many of the attacks of *El Imparcial* on President Wilson and the Yankees during the first week were not only mendacious but vilely abusive, while the following is quoted from an official placard posted in Tlaxcala, dated April 30, and signed by Rafael Hernandez.

The same Yankees who robbed us in 1847 have arrived to despoil us again. If Admiral Fletcher's statement that he has come merely to inspect our government were true, it would be outrageous, for what right has he to meddle with our politics? But it is false, for the vile Yankees have come to enslave us as they have already enslaved millions of their Southern Negroes. They have also come to steal our Tehauntepec railroad, our Magdalena Bay, our Northern States containing our best gold and silver mines, and our oil fields, the richest of the world. The crisis demands the cessation of our discords and the support of our heroic President Huerta in his resistance to the wicked invaders. Death to the Gringoes!

When first blockaded the whole stored stock of crude oil from Tampico was thought to be necessary as a reserve for the military trains, so all other traffic was stopped. After a few days, when it was found possible to bring in oil from the Tehauntepec isthmus, via the Pan-American railroad, and to run some trains with coal or wood, the passenger traffic was resumed, but restricted to one train a day on each line.

After the resumption of travel and the extent of the official mendacity during the first week became generally known, it reacted on the government and lost it some of its few remaining friends. For as said one former Huertista: "Can I longer risk supporting a man who does not scruple to jeopardize my family by inducing me to join the army by lying reports?" This growing enlightenment caused the complete failure of the anti-Gringo manifestations organized for Sunday, April 26, and none have since been attempted.

The actual barbarity of the Federal regulars equals anything reported of the bandits. I recently, in a country district, encountered a Federal troop on the march who were straggling along a mile of road in a drunken condition, due to their looting of several rumshops in the last village passed. This troop had just returned from a punitive expedition through the Indian country of northern Pueblo, and the troopers told me that they had burned the houses, and shot down the unarmed villagers like rabbits, over a strip of land 50 miles long.

The few remaining resident Yankees are now more popular among the Carranzista masses of Federal Mexico than either the British or the Germans. The former are disliked because of the subsidizing of Huerta by Lord Cowdray, while the Germans are hated because of their bloodthirst exhibited in their pursuit of the Covadanga (Pueblo) murderers. The Covadanga atrocity was committed on German subjects by drunken Maderistas in 1911. The resignation of Rudolf Reyes, Huerta's first minister of justice, a year ago, was said to have been a protest against the execution, at the behest of the German consul, of six Covadanga suspects when only three had been proven guilty.

Not only has Huerta terrorized his subjects but also his ministers. Even a hint in favor of President Wilson's request for resignation is believed to have caused the downfall of Dr. Urrutia, Gamboa, Aldape and Portilla y Rojas. Huerta's plan of unlimited greenbacks was luckily frustrated in April by the big banks which persuaded him to accept instead a donation of \$45,000,000 (paper), a new unsupported issue of bank notes which they gave up in exchange for \$50,000,000 of unsold Federal bonds.

Two precautions must always be taken by a Latin-American dictator if he wishes to escape to Paris and live happily ever after; he must first secure a fortune in keeping with his sybaritic tastes, and then destroy any witnesses to crimes which might be extraditable under international law. Judging from recent events, Huerta is preparing for Paris.

Private pickings were scarcely overlooked by Huerta even in pre-Presidential days, but recently his "squeeze" has become unblushingly bold. A favorite trick is to scare a corporation manager with the threat of an excessive fine for some alleged infraction of the excise law, and then to compromise for a fraction of the huge fine, on condition of payment in cash with no receipt asked.

The destruction of confidential agents who might become dangerous witnesses is proceeding apace. General Zepeda, former drinking chum and governor of the Federal district, was murdered last winter; Chavez, the head of the secret police, disappeared in May; while Dr. Urrutia, minister of the Interior during last summer's slaughter of Federal

deputies, was recently proscribed, but, being warned in time by his friend, General Blanquet, he fled to Vera Cruz last month, and took ship for Europe.

Huerta's preparations for escape seem well timed, for a plot to assassinate him in the capital on May 24 was only discovered by an accident, and involved the death of ten Federal mutineers at Tacuba, D. F. When even the Pretorian guard begins to mutiny, it is time for a tyrant to take heed. Hitherto, Huerta has exhibited the utmost recklessness to personal danger; he has ridden around without guards and could be seen often of mornings at the Globo public cafe in Mexico City, drinking brandy with one or two companions only. This careless conduct perhaps indicates more shrewdness than bravery on Huerta's part as he well understands the degeneracy and cowardice of the populace of Mexican cities.

RESIDENT OBSERVER.



McNAIR'S VICTORY.

Pittsburgh, Pa., June 11.

It appears to be popular to be known as a Singletaxer in Pennsylvania. During the recent primary campaign the Palmer-McCormick-Rowley ticket was supported by the National Administration. The Budd-Ryan-McNair ticket was actively supported by the old reactionary element. Of all these candidates but one was openly radical, namely McNair. McNair was the conspicuous Singletaxer. When at a meeting of the Singletaxers Mr. McNair proposed to enter the campaign as a Singletaxer he was strenuously opposed by our local Singletax leaders on the ground that it would hurt rather than help the cause.

Here is what happened:

On the Administration ticket were Palmer, McCormick and Rowley; on the opposition ticket were Budd, Ryan and McNair. Palmer beat Budd by 49,050, McCormick beat Ryan by 20,270; but McNair turned the table around and beat Rowley by 32,080. The newspapers of Pennsylvania were so sure of the complete sweep of the Palmer-McCormick-Rowley ticket that for nearly a week they kept on printing Rowley's name as among the winners. McNair's Singletax activities gave the unpopular Budd-Ryan ticket thousands of votes, and likewise Budd's anti-Wilson speeches on the Panama toll question, and Ryan's "afraid-as-death" attitude to say something radical lost McNair many thousand votes. If McNair's name had been associated with the administration side it is safe to say he would have led the ticket.

The Democratic ticket as it stands is: For Senator, A. Mitchell Palmer; for Governor, Vance C. McCormick; for Secretary of Internal Affairs, William N. McNair.

H. W. NOREN.



Willis: What's the election today for? Anybody happen to know?

Gillis: It is to determine whether we shall have a convention to nominate delegates who will be voted on as to whether they will attend a caucus which will decide whether we shall have a primary to determine whether the people want to vote on this same question again next year.—Puck.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

REFORM IN ASSESSMENTS SPREADING.

Cleveland, O., June 11.

The city of Austin, Texas, will hold an "informal" election some time during the month of July, at which the citizens and taxpayers will, upon the request of the City Council, vote on the question of the adoption of the Somers System for the re-assessment of the real estate of that city. The City Council by a vote of 3 to 2—the 2 votes being in favor of accepting the proposal for the installation of the System—at first decided to submit to a referendum an ordinance for the adoption of the Somers System and the making of a contract for its installation. It was afterwards provided, however, to hold an "informal" election which would not be mandatory upon the Council. Although the election will not be mandatory, three of the five members of the Council declare that they will be bound by its results.

Mayor Wooldrige is a very strong supporter. He declares that the city cannot continue to prosper and progress unless there is more money raised for general expense purposes. The campaign in behalf of the system in Austin has been directed by the Young Men's Business Club. Editor A. C. Baldwin of the Austin Tribune has taken a very active part in the movement, and declares that he anticipates the election will result in a 6 to 1 affirmative vote on the adoption of the proposal.

San Antonio and Corpus Christi are the two latest Texas cities to adopt the Somers System, the reassessments in those cities having been completed within the last week.



In Multnomah County, Oregon, the commissioners having charge of the assessment of the cost of good roads have adopted the Somers depth percentage, as used for measuring the depths of city lots, as the basis for distributing the cost of the roads to land lying a mile on each side thereof. Lands nearest the good roads are of course benefited more than those at a distance, and it was found that the Somers depth percentage used for measuring values of inside lots in cities presented a very fair relation for the computation of benefits.

Assessor Henry E. Reed of Portland, Oregon, last November invited a proposal for the installation of the Somers System, with the result that it was accepted and the work of reassessing the entire city is well under way at this time. Of the 50,000 buildings in Portland more than 40,000 have been measured and appraised; of the 120,000 lots in the city about 30,000 have been computed, the basis of such computation being the judgment of the assessor of the values of the Somers unit-foot upon the various blocks. There has been no opposition in Portland, but the most cordial co-operation has been shown by the owners of real estate throughout the city.

Under direction of the State Tax Commission of Arizona the Somers System has recently been used for the revaluation of the land in Phoenix, Tucson and five other cities in Arizona. The members of the Tax Commission recently visited the various

cities where the work was undertaken, and supervised the work in all of its phases—the holding of public meetings for the discussion of street values, the computation of lot values, and the review of the computed values. There is a local Maricopa County Taxpayers' Association in Phoenix, of which Mr. Dwight B. Heard, capitalist and newspaper owner, is the head, which has taken the initiative in bringing about equity in assessments in that state.



The policy of the State Tax Commission of Ohio, which under the Warnes Law has the full power of direction and control of the methods of assessment, has been to make few changes in the real estate valuations this year. However, Tax Commissioners William Agnew and John D. Fackler of Cuyahoga County, in which Cleveland is located, have used the Somers System for revision of the land values in practically all of the suburban towns and cities adjoining Cleveland, including Lakewood, East Cleveland, Chagrin Falls, Berea, Rocky River and other places. They have very successfully used the Somers principles in the valuation of farm lands, holding public meetings at which the relative values of lands located upon the various highways were discussed.



In Dubuque, Iowa, at the April election two proposals were presented at a referendum vote affecting the question of assessments. A year ago an Equitable Assessment League was organized in Dubuque, with Dr. Eugene Lewis at its head. The City Council, preferring that any radical change in the assessment situation should first have the definite approval of the citizens, submitted two questions. The first question was as to whether a scientific assessment of the real estate of the city should be made. This question carried with a vote of 3,678 for and 947 against. The second question was whether the Somers System should be used for a re-assessment. The vote on this question was 3,627 for and 940 against. There was no agitation at the time of the election, and the decisive result was a very great surprise, even to the members of the Equitable Assessment League.

WALTER A. POLLOCK.



Why We Oppose Pockets for Women.

1. Because pockets are not a natural right.
2. Because the great majority of women do not want pockets. If they did, they would have them.
3. Because whenever women have had pockets they have not used them.
4. Because women are expected to carry enough things as it is without the additional burden of pockets.
5. Because it would make dissension between husband and wife as to whose pockets were to be filled.
6. Because it would destroy man's chivalry toward woman if he did not have to carry all her things in his pockets.
7. Because men are men and women are women. We must not fly in the face of nature.

8. Because pockets have been used by men to carry tobacco, pipes, whisky flasks, chewing gum, and compromising letters. We see no reason to suppose that women would use them more wisely.—New York Tribune.

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, June 16, 1914.

The Illinois Suffrage Law.

The Constitutionality of the Illinois Woman Suffrage act was sustained in its entirety by the State Supreme Court on June 13 by a vote of 4 to 3. In a suit brought in the name of a Chicago citizen, William J. Scown, December 10, 1913, arguments in which were heard by the Supreme Court on February 13, the validity of the act had been questioned on three principal grounds: (1) That the act violated the Constitution because it amended the general election laws but did not contain the section amended, in answer to which the Court found that—

This act does not purpose to amend or revise any other act and it is complete within itself. Its only object is to extend to women the right of suffrage so far as the offices and subjects mentioned in it are concerned.

(2) That the Legislature had no power under the Constitution to extend the franchise to women. In answer, the Court replied that—

If an office is not of constitutional origin it is competent for the legislature to declare the manner of filling, how, when and by whom the incumbent shall be elected or appointed, and to change from time to time the method of election or appointment;

and cited as precedent the two cases of over 20 years ago, namely, *People vs. English and Plummer vs. Yost*, when the right of women to vote at school elections was questioned, and was upheld as Constitutional by the State Supreme Court. (3) That the granting to women of the right to vote on questions of public policy was unconstitutional, in answer to which the Court ruled that—

In attempting to give to women the right to vote upon all questions or propositions submitted to the voters or electors in the municipalities or political subdivisions of the State the Legislature exceeded its power. There are many questions and propositions, however, not mentioned in the Constitution which may be submitted by the Legislature to a referendum at which women may be authorized to vote.

It is a well settled rule that a statute may be in part constitutional and in part unconstitutional and that in such cases the constitutional part of the act will be given effect and the unconstitutional part disregarded unless the unconstitutional part is of

such a character that it may be inferred that without it the Legislature would not have passed the act. The decision, therefore, pronounces the act as a whole Constitutional and construes it to mean that women may vote on all offices and public policy propositions, local or State-wide, except those specifically named in the Constitution. The majority opinion was written by Justice Frank K. Dunn and concurred in by Justices Orrin N. Carter of Chicago, James H. Cartwright of Oregon, and Alonzo K. Vickers of East St. Louis, all Republicans. The minority three judges were Justice George A. Cooke of Aledo, Justice Charles C. Craig of Galesburg, and Justice William M. Farmer of Vandalia, all Democrats, each one of whom filed his own dissenting opinion. Attorneys for the appellant were reported as announcing that a petition for rehearing would be filed before the ten-day time limit should expire. [See vol. xvi, p. 584; vol. xvii, pages 11, 178.]

Important additional voting power was decided to belong to Chicago women when on June 3, at the request of the Board of Election Commissioners at Chicago, County Judge Owens ordered that women be allowed to vote for State, Senatorial and ward committeemen of all political parties at the September primaries, that is, that women be treated as possessing precisely the same rights as men in whatever party they may enroll themselves as members. On the next day the question as to whether Chicago woman might vote for county commissioners, upon which Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch had requested a ruling, was taken under advisement until after the Supreme Court decision on the Constitutionality of the suffrage law should be announced.

Woman Suffrage at the Biennial.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs for the first time took official action in favor of suffrage when, on the morning of June 13, at its twelfth biennial convention, in session at Chicago June 9 to 13, the following resolution was presented by the resolutions committee in a special report and passed by an overwhelming viva voce vote:

Whereas, The question of political equality of men and women is today a vital problem under discussion throughout the civilized world, therefore,

Resolved, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs give the cause of political equality for men and women its moral support by recording its earnest belief in the principle of political equality, regardless of sex.

At the afternoon session of the same day, a telegram announcing the Illinois Supreme Court's decision in favor of the Constitutionality of the State equal suffrage law called forth a jubilant demonstration. And that evening, at a banquet

given by the Illinois Equal Suffrage League to the visiting club women, the double victory for woman suffrage was joyously celebrated. Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Mrs. Ella Flagg Young were among the prominent suffragists who spoke. [See vol. xv, pp. 638, 659.]

Congressional News.

The Panama Toll Exemption bill passed the Senate on June 11 by a vote of 50 to 35, having been amended on the previous day by adoption of the following paragraph known as the Simmons-Norris proviso:

Provided, that the passage of this act shall not be construed or held as a waiver or relinquishment of any right the United States may have under the treaty with Great Britain, ratified Feb. 21, 1902, or the treaty with the Republic of Panama, ratified Feb. 26, 1904, or otherwise to discriminate in favor of its vessels by exempting the vessels of the United States or its citizens from the payment of tolls for passage through said canal, or as in any way waiving, impairing or affecting any right of the United States under said treaty, or otherwise with the respect to the sovereignty over or the ownership, control and management of said canal and the regulation of the conditions or charges of traffic through the same.

Several other amendments had been previously offered and rejected. The Simmons-Norris amendment was adopted by a vote of 50 to 24. On final passage 37 Democrats and 13 Republicans supported the bill and 23 Republicans, 11 Democrats and one Progressive opposed it. The bill went at once to the House, which concurred in the amendment on June 12 by a vote of 216 to 71. The bill was signed on June 15 by President Wilson. [See current volume, page 561.]

According to the House program, June 8 was District day to be devoted to local affairs of the District of Columbia. But, on motion of Congressman Mann, the Sundry Civil bill was taken up instead. This action was denounced by Congressman Bryan of Washington, who intimated that it was part of a plan to postpone consideration of the Crosser bill to municipalize the street railways of the District. The Crosser bill is not yet before the House, but the District committee has decided to report it favorably. Mr. Bryan made clear that postponement of District day meant postponement of the committee's report, and consequently less time for action on the Crosser bill and less chance of bringing it to a vote. [See current volume, page 561.]

Amendment of the La Follette Seamen's bill as demanded by the steamship owners was decided on by the House Committee on Marines and Fisheries

on June 12. The amendments modify especially the provisions regarding life-saving appliances. They provide that during the summer months on the Great Lakes only enough life boats need be carried to accomodate 50 per cent of those aboard ship. The provision in the bill, as it passed the Senate, requiring two able seamen for each lifeboat was eliminated. [See vol. xvi, p. 1043.]



A further move toward impeachment proceedings against Judge Alston G. Dayton of West Virginia, was made by Congressman Neeley of the same state, in the House on June 12. Mr. Neeley charged Judge Dayton with using his office to aid the coal operators in their fight against the United Mine Workers of America. He also charged him with partiality to his son, a lawyer, in the trial of cases in his court, with denouncing the President from the bench, with conspiring to form a trust, and with refusing to enforce laws. The impeachment resolution was referred to the Judiciary Committee. [See current volume, page 491.]



A brief was filed on June 13 with Chairman Martin Foster, of the House Committee on Mines, by attorneys for the Colorado mining interests involved in the present strike. It takes practically the same position assumed by John D. Rockefeller Jr. It declares that there is no strike but "an armed insurrection against the sovereign authority of Colorado." Both Federal and State authorities are declared to have failed in their duty to enforce laws and protect property, and the following warning is given:

If the State will not furnish to the owners of property the protection to which they are entitled, it is left to them to defend themselves and their property by whatever means they can find. Today with our idle armies marching through the country, overriding the laws and breaking the peace of communities and agitators, calling themselves hoarse with charges of violated statutes, abusing every privilege guaranteed them in the freedom of press and speech, we certainly have a sufficient premonition of what is to come and a sufficient admonition of timely action to prevent it.

[See current volume, pages 437, 540.]



Nominations of the members of the Federal Reserve Board were sent to the Senate by President Wilson on June 15. In place of Richard Olney and Harry A. Wheeler, who had declined proffered appointments, the President named Thomas D. Jones of Chicago for the six-year term and Charles S. Hamlin of Boston for the two-year term. Prior to appointing Mr. Hamlin the place had been offered to E. C. Simmons of St. Louis, who declined. The other members named are Paul Warburg for the four-year term, W. P.

G. Harding for the eight-year term and A. C. Miller for the ten-year term. [See current volume, page 491.]



Another Plot to Block Legislation.

The existence of a conspiracy to hasten adjournment of Congress and block passage of the anti-trust bills was charged on June 15 by President Wilson in a statement to the press. In proof of his charge he submitted copies of a letter sent broadcast by the Pictorial Review Company of New York, and of a similar letter circulated in the same way by the Simmons Hardware Company of St. Louis, of which E. C. Simmons is a member, who had declined appointment on the Federal Reserve Board. The Pictorial Review letter signed by W. P. Ahnelt, president, submitted a form for the recipient to adopt as his own and mail to Senators, Congressmen and the President. The form letter protested against "experimental legislation" and said further that "The granting of the petition of the eastern railroads for a five per cent freight increase will do more for the prosperity and development of the country than all legislation against unlawful restraints and monopolies."



The Simmons letter was sent to all customers of the concern. It declared the obstacles to prosperity to be the Mexican situation, the awaited advance in freight rates and continued hostile legislation in Congress. The recipients were urged to write to Congressmen urging them "to shut up shop and go home."



Industrial Relations Commission.

The Industrial Relations Commission heard on June 10 at New York the testimony of Miss Gertrude B. Beeks of the National Civic Federation concerning her study of department store conditions in New York and Brooklyn. Miss Beeks declared that conditions in these stores varied. In some, excellent conditions prevailed, while against others severe indictments could be drawn. The minimum wage on which a woman can live in New York in decency, she said, is \$8 a week. Testimony concerning wages paid employees in various stores was given by employers or their representatives. In one store \$9 was the average weekly income of sales women, including commissions. The minimum wage for employees under 16 was \$4. In another store the average wage for saleswomen was \$13.50. [See current volume, page 562.]



Pinchot Attacks Perkins.

That George W. Perkins be asked to resign as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Progressive party, was the demand made of the National Committee in a letter written on May 23

and published on June 10, by Amos Pinchot. A copy of the letter was also given to Colonel Roosevelt before sailing for Spain. Therein Mr. Pinchot declares that Mr. Perkins "favors the protection of private monopoly in American industry and since the party's formation has been taking active steps to commit the party to that policy." Another charge brought is that he "is actively opposed to the recognition of Labor's right to organize and deal with Capital through labor unions, and has frequently gone on record to that effect." Mr. Pinchot says further that—

Mr. Perkins has conducted an extensive pro-trust propaganda calculated to convince the party and the public that the trusts are useful and sacred institutions; that those who attack them are bent upon the destruction of all healthy industry on a large scale, and, finally, that the Progressive party fully agrees with him in these views. The result is that we have been placed in a false and fatal position. Our sincerity has been attacked. Our energy is largely expended in defending ourselves.



Some inside history of the Progressive National convention of 1912 is given in the letter. Mr. Perkins had opposed endorsement or approval of the Sherman law. In spite of this the Committee on Resolutions adopted a plank endorsing the law and recommending that it be strengthened. Although the convention adopted this plank yet, Mr. Pinchot declares, it was omitted from copies of the platform furnished the press and copies printed and issued during the campaign from Progressive headquarters. This expurgation, he does not charge Mr. Perkins with having had made. But he says that Perkins' fight against an anti-trust plank created a misunderstanding leading to the unintentional omission of the plank. After citing some public expressions of Mr. Perkins in favor of perpetuating monopoly, Mr. Pinchot suggests action as follows:

I think I am warranted in saying to you, gentlemen of the national committee, that, in view of these facts and in view of the approaching elections, the rank and file and a large majority of the leaders of the party feel that Mr. Perkins' resignation as chairman of the executive committee is necessary. I am sure that upon reflection you will agree, as will Mr. Perkins himself, that the success of the party demands such action immediately.



Progressive Connecticut Democrats to Organize.

A state conference of fundamental democrats of Connecticut has been called to meet at Lake Compounce on June 27. The call for the meeting is addressed to "you who believe in capacity of Connecticut people to govern themselves." and is as follows:

Connecticut Democracy is facing a crisis. With party lines everywhere giving way, we have unmis-

takable assurance that thousands of our fellow citizens, hitherto Democrats, will no longer submit to reactionary leadership. Determination to support only forward-looking men for State, Congressional and local office is deep and widespread. As fundamental democrats, we believe that our party can be made the most effective agency for social and political progress. To this end it needs only to stand square and honest upon the principles professed for a century. Democratic success in other States and in the nation absolutely proves this. The undersigned have, therefore, accepted the duty of summoning the progressive Democrats of central Connecticut to meet in conference at the time and place above mentioned. In the interest of genuine Democracy, with its assurance of victory in the Fall, your presence is desired.

The secretary of the committee issuing the call is Raoul W. D'Arche, 95 Barker St., Hartford. Other members are James F. Connery, Middletown; Willard C. Fisher, Middletown; Christopher M. Gallup, West Hartford; George W. Hull, Bristol; George M. Wallace, New Haven.



Mexico and the United States.

Another week's negotiations at Niagara Falls have brought a better understanding of the Mexican situation, but no definite settlement. President Wilson's insistence on a hearing for General Carranza has been the main difficulty. The tentative agreement with General Huerta's delegates involves the setting up of a provisional government composed of five commissioners. Of these the United States has held that three must be of Constitutionalist sympathies. An acceptable man for President has not yet been found. The Mexican delegates claim General Huerta's right of approval of the man chosen, and President Wilson insists that nothing shall involve a recognition by this country of General Huerta's administration. [See current volume, page 561.]



The Mediators, in deference to the Washington government, again invited General Carranza to participate in the conference, but insisted upon their original stipulation that an armistice should first be declared. General Carranza on the 12th named as the three commissioners to represent the Constitutionlists, Fernando Iglesias Calderon, leader of the liberal party, now at Saltillo, Luis Cabrera, and Jose Vasconcelos, confidential agents of the Constitutionlists in Washington. General Carranza's message was answered by the Mediators with a statement that there is no word in regard to the cessation of hostilities during the conference, and that they will give no official recognition to the Constitutionalist delegates until an armistice has been declared.



The steamship Antilla with a consignment of

arms and ammunition from New York for the Constitutionalists, discharged its cargo at Tampico on the 11th. General Natera attacked the Federals at Zacatecas, but was repulsed with heavy losses. General Villa will go to Zacatecas as soon as possible with his army. As he will have 32,000 men in his command, he will endeavor to take the city and cut off the retreat of the Federal army. Mazatlan, on the west coast, though hard pressed from a long siege and repeated assaults and bombardments, continues to hold out against the Constitutionalists. The military governor of the city, in response to a large delegation of starving women, has issued an order permitting non-combatants to leave the city.



Ring Challenges Opponents.

The following challenge to debate the merits of the Houston plan of taxation has been issued by H. F. Ring of Houston under date of June 11:

Under the Houston, Texas, plan of taxation which has been in force here for three years land is assessed at 70 per cent of its value and building improvements and merchants' stocks at 25 per cent. Nothing else except the franchise value of public service corporations appears on the assessment rolls. Personal property of every other description, including so-called "credits," is ignored. Nine-tenths or more of the taxpayers favor the plan. A few large owners of vacant lots have organized the so-called Harris County Taxpayers' Association and are threatening to apply to the courts.

I hereby challenge the Harris County Taxpayers' Association, individually and collectively, to a newspaper debate, articles to be limited to 500 words each. I lay down and stand ready to prove the following propositions regarding the Houston plan of taxation, most of which are self evident.

It lessens taxes on a majority of homes in Houston, for as to the majority, the improvement values exceed the land values. It will also ultimately lessen office rent and the rent of stores and dwellings, if it is not already doing it.

In the long run, the exemption in whole or in part of building improvements from taxation will neither benefit nor injure the owners of office buildings, apartment houses and dwellings for rent. The saving to them in taxes will be offset by the reduction in rents caused by increased competition among landlords resulting from an increased number of buildings to rent, for the Houston plan greatly stimulates the construction of such buildings. Ultimately it benefits renters only, and not landlords.

It makes Houston famous all over the country. It advertises the city favorably as a place where capital may be used in the employment of labor in factories and stores without being fined by onerous and annoying taxation. It acts as a perpetual bonus, attractive to all enterprises which tend to make a city great and prosperous.

While the Singletax idea carried to its logical conclusion would, of course, ultimately impair land values, its partial and moderate application as now applied by Pastoriza will greatly enhance land values in Houston, because it accelerates the growth of the

city. It will be time enough for owners of unimproved and but partially improved land to appeal to the courts when Pastoriza attempts to so raise the tax on land values as really to depress the price of land.

To tax property according to the constitution and laws of Texas is utterly impossible. A tax on personal property catches the poor man all right. He has so little he can only hide a small percentage of it. Not so, however, as to the rich man. The most drastic laws ever framed have failed to put 5 per cent of a millionaire's personalty on the assessment rolls. The man unwilling to pay a far greater tax in proportion to his wealth than his neighbor is compelled in self-defense to commit perjury every time he lists for taxation his personal property and credits and swears to his assessment rolls. A serious and determined effort to tax credits and personalty with anything like uniform impartiality, including bank deposits and money loaned by banks and individuals as the constitution and laws require, would greatly increase interest rates, result in the withdrawal of bank deposits, bring ruin and destruction upon any community attempting it, and cause three-fourths of its taxpayers to be sent to the penitentiary for false swearing.

To kick up a row in the courts in connection with the matter as it now stands would be suicidal. To cast doubt upon the validity of the Houston tax rolls by an effort of that kind would lead to chaos and confusion highly detrimental to the growth of the city. It would kill the goose which under the present plan will continue to lay golden eggs for Houston real estate owners if let alone.

Taxes on things produced by human labor are passed on to the user or consumer and increase living expenses; taxes levied on land values, which are the gifts of nature, cannot be shifted, and tend to reduce the cost of living.

[See current volume, page 563.]



Tax Reform News.

The Cleveland Singletax Club has addressed a communication to the Municipal Finance Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, which is considering the constitutional amendments proposed by the Ohio Tax League and by the State Board of Commerce. The letter, signed by Henry P. Boynton, president, speaks concerning the propositions as follows:

The Ohio Tax League Proposal: This proposal, while apparently not drawn or initiated with due care, has the merit of giving the legislature broad powers to exempt from taxation such classes of property as it sees fit. This would break down the uniform rule which is the chief obstacle to tax progress in Ohio.

The Ohio State Board of Commerce Proposal: Two emphatic criticisms are registered against this proposal. 1. The proposed ordinary limit of the tax rate, one per cent, is so low that it precludes the untaxing of industry and will probably necessitate an even greater burden upon intangible personalty than is now levied. Quite aside from the question of the moral right to tax industry, it seems

clear to us that stocks, bonds, etc., are not wealth, and that their taxation is double taxation. 2. The classification proposed is not a natural classification. The substantial difference between land and buildings (here classed together as real estate) is much greater than the difference between buildings and tangible personalty and no rational classification can overlook the distinction between property created by labor and that not created by labor. The untaxing of industry is thus precluded. This proposal gives no substantial relief from the rigidity of Ohio's constitutional tax provisions and such changes as it proposes will do more harm than good.

We believe it to be obvious, and experiment elsewhere supports the conclusion, that nothing can so attract industry as perpetual freedom from taxation of anything but its site, and that nothing can prove such an incentive to production of wealth as the diversion into the channels of industry of wealth now paid and received in the barter for site privilege.

[See current volume, page 394.]



Labor Riot in Butte.

Two thousand miners who had seceded from the local union of the Western Federation of Miners at Butte, Montana, attacked the headquarters of the union on June 13, took away the safe and either overpowered or overawed the police. The residence of one of the union officials was dynamited. The rioters are said to be I. W. W. members who left the Western Federation on account of heavy strike assessments which for some months past have been levied on members. On June 15, Governor Stewart of Montana, sent a message to President Wilson seeking information as to the possibility of securing federal troops should they be wanted.



Balkan Rumbblings.

A renewal of hostilities between Turkey and Greece seems imminent. Turkey, smarting under her recent defeat, and with covetous eyes on Saloniki and her lost islands of the Aegean Sea, is apparently engaged in driving all Greeks from her dominions. Greece protests against this treatment of her citizens; and the relations between the two countries are strained to the breaking point. Americans are interested by the proposal of Secretary of the Navy Daniels to sell to Greece two of our old battleships, the Idaho and the Mississippi. The price agreed upon for the two ships is \$12,000,000 with which it is proposed to build one first class battleship. The Senate has agreed to the sale, and the matter is now before the House. Turkey protests against the sale. [See vol. xvi, pp. 973, 997.]



Labor Trouble in Italy.

The general strike which began in Italy on the 8th soon led to rioting in various parts of the country. Clashes with the soldiery resulted in

several deaths, and numerous woundings. The leaders on the 11th declared the strike ended, but the populace had become so inflamed that the supreme directorate of the Socialist party at Rome assumed the responsibility for the strike. The trouble is confined mainly to the towns and provinces along the northwest shore of the Adriatic Sea. The rural communities around Ancona, where communication with the outside world was cut off, a red flag was raised and the Italian Republic proclaimed. The appearance of the troops and the resumption of communications have served to restore order and to awaken the peasantry from their dream. Fourteen churches have been burned, trains have been stoned, tracks torn up, and telegraph wires cut.



English Affairs.

The Plural Voting bill, introduced in the Commons in April, 1913, and rejected by the Lords, by a majority of 124, was again passed by the Commons on the 15th by a vote of 320 to 242. This bill provides for "one man, one vote," instead of the present law, which allows a man to vote in as many places as he has residences and tax-paying qualifications. Since most of the plural voters are in the Tory party the Lords are likely to continue their opposition until the bill carries under the Parliament Act. [See current volume, page 734.]



Peace reigns in Ireland, but there is a welter of talk. Ulstermen declare they never will take orders from Dublin, and the Nationalists, with equal fervor, stand for a united Ireland. Heretofore Ulster has basked in the limelight because of its bold defiance of the Liberal party, and its spectacular volunteer troops. But of late the Nationalist volunteer troops have become active in their organizations. So long as Home Rule was making headway in Parliament the Nationalist volunteers were kept as much as possible in the background, for fear of adverse effect upon England; but now that affairs approach the point where Ulstermen declare they will fight rather than submit to Parliament, the Irish volunteers have assumed their former activity. [See current volume, page 565.]



Premier Asquith continues his overtures of peaceful settlement, going so far as to promise on the 11th to introduce his amending bill offering concessions to Ulster, before the Lords have acted on the Home Rule bill. The Home Rule bill cannot be amended by the Lords, but the amending bill will be open to their amendments and is likely to express, when returned to the Commons, the full demands of Ulster. These will be rejected by the Irish members of Parliament, and opportunity will then be given for a final compromise. The

amending bill is expected to reach the Lords the week beginning the 21st.

NEWS NOTES

—Ex-Vice President Adlai E. Stevenson died at Chicago on June 14. He was in his 79th year, having been born on October 23, 1835.

—The Common Pleas Court of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, on June 9 enjoined the Cleveland Board of Education from enforcing a resolution forbidding teachers from joining a labor union.

—At the Maine State primaries on June 15, Mayor Oakley C. Curtis of Portland received the Democratic nomination for Governor. The Republicans renominated Governor William T. Haines.

—Mount Lassen, near Redding, California, was reported on June 13 in violent eruption. Ashes fell at Mineral, a distance of sixteen miles from the peak. No damage to property or loss of life has been caused.

—A constitutional amendment providing for the Initiative and Referendum was favorably reported on June 10 by the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Legislature. [See current volume, page 231.]

—In an endeavor to enforce the Illinois general property tax law, State's Attorney Hoyne of Chicago has caused the indictment of fifty-seven residents of that city, said to have "wilfully refused to schedule under oath their holdings as required by law."

—An initiative petition has been filed in Pueblo, Colorado, for abolition of the commission form of government. The movement is said to be engineered by the public utility corporations. If carried it will deprive Pueblo of the right of home rule and nullify all that has been done under this right.

—The Socialists and other liberal parties in the Prussian Diet are protesting against the government's inactivity in reforming the franchise. Six years ago the Emperor, as King of Prussia, promised a modern electoral system to replace what Bismarck called "the most iniquitous system in the world." Minister von Loebell, the new incumbent of the ministry of the interior, announces that no change will be made this year.

—A bill abolishing all property qualifications for electors of members of the Danish Senate, and extending the suffrage to women, passed the lower house on the 9th. The bill also took from the King the right to name twelve of the sixty-six Senators. The conservative members, joined by the twelve nominated by the King, refused to vote when the bill came to the Senate, and the King broke the deadlock between the two houses by dissolving the Senate on the 12th. [See vol. xvi, p. 1022.]

—Five Chicago banks, said to be controlled by former Senator William Lorimer, were closed by the state bank examiner on June 12 and 13. These are the La Salle Street Trust and Savings Bank, the Illinois State, the Ashland-Twelfth, the Broadway State, and the State Bank of Calumet. Bank

Examiner Harkin claims to have reported in January to State Auditor Brady that the principal bank of the chain, the La Salle Street Trust, was in bad condition. Brady denies that he received such a report.

—Owing to the lack of a decisive political force in the present French Chamber of Deputies, the cabinet formed by Alexandre Felix Ribot, was forced to resign. The policy announced by the cabinet favored the rigid application of the three-year military service law. Rene Viviani, Socialist Deputy, and former minister of labor, who had already attempted to form a cabinet, made a second attempt on the 13th. The new cabinet has been well received, but political prophets do not give it long life. [See current volume, page 565.]

—United States Minister to Greece, George Fred Williams, has announced in a circular to the representatives of the European powers, that the United States is ready to offer its good offices for the restoration of peace in Albania. The Moslems of Albania refuse to recognize William of Wied, nominated by the powers, as their ruler. Prince William, personally heading his troops on the 15th, repulsed a Musselman attack on his capital, Durazzo. Men-of-war in the harbor landed bluejackets to guard the foreign legations. [See current volume, page 565.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Tarrytown Disgracing the Nation.

Chicago Evening Post, June 10.—We never think of objecting to "freedom of speech" until some one starts to say something disagreeable. We are most annoyed by it and are blind to its invasion by abuse of the police power when these disagreeable things are things with which we utterly disagree. It is much more convenient to pretend that we are "acting for law and order," or some good, safe generality like that, than it is to admit to ourselves that "shutting up" the I. W. W. ranters is an invasion of the rights of "free speech." For this reason the protest of a man like Mr. Georg Brandes is always worth while. . . . The Brandes letter was based on the charge that fifteen people had been arrested in Tarrytown for attempting to speak and that one of them had been sent to jail for three months. "The right of the people peaceably to assemble" and to employ the freedom of speech which their English forefathers made the corner stone of democratic government is something as inherently important to us as it ever was. It is a great deal more important than the suppression of what this newspaper believes to be the vicious and irrational doctrine preached by the I. W. W. Civilization automatically protects itself against error and untruth. But civilization cannot climb so steadily the peaks of the future if error and untruth are simply to be ignored instead of being freely met and openly repelled.



They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

—James Russell Lowell.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

AT THE CLOSED GATE OF JUSTICE.

To be a Negro in a day like this
 Demands forgiveness. Bruised with blow on blow,
 Betrayed, like him whose woo-dimmed eyes gave
 bliss,
 Still must one succor those who brought one low,
 To be a Negro in a day like this.

To be a Negro in a day like this
 Demands rare patience—patience that can wait
 In utter darkness. 'Tis the path to miss,
 And knock, unheeded, at an iron gate,
 To be a Negro in a day like this.

To be a Negro in a day like this
 Demands strange loyalty. We serve a flag
 Which is to us white freedom's emphasis.
 Ah! one must love when truth and justice lag,
 To be a Negro in a day like this.

To be a Negro in a day like this—
 Alas! Lord God, what evil have we done?
 Still shines the gate, all gold and amethyst,
 But I pass by, the glorious goal unwon,
 "Merely a Negro"—in a day like this!
 —James D. Corrothers in *The Century*.



THE NEW CO-OPERATION IN THE SOUTH.

From the Address of James H. Dillard as Chairman
 of the Committee on Race Relationships at
 the Second Meeting of the Southern
 Sociological Congress in
 Atlanta, Ga., 1913.

Truth is that the time has come when the earnest and thoughtful white people of the South have determined to face the problems involved in race relationships, and to co-operate with each other, with the colored people themselves, and with friends in the North in promoting better conditions than have existed since reconstruction days.

In those early days of reconstruction the great trouble was caused by the predominating influence of men who, however sincere they may have been, attempted to do the impossible overnight. I can never think of those days without calling to mind an illustration which was being exhibited about the same time in the Old World.

Fifty-odd years ago Italy was an expression, not a united country. There was a bundle of divided States, but not one country as it is today. All great Italians, both statesmen and men of letters, earnestly desired union. Three great men stood out among many as the champions of a United Italy. These were Mazzini, Garibaldi, and

Cavour. Mazzini was uncompromisingly in favor of a republic, and worked largely by secret associations and conspiracy. Garibaldi was always ready for fight and for any extreme measures. Cavour was the statesman, the greatest, I think, with his contemporary, Lincoln, in the nineteenth century. Cavour said that a republic at that stage of the game was impossible. He knew that Europe would not allow it, even if the Italians were ready for it. He said: "I will work for the possible. I will take the kingdom of Sardinia and unite Italy around that." And he did.

Mr. William R. Thayer, one of our American historians, has written the standard life of Cavour, one of the greatest books ever written in America. In speaking of Cavour he used the expression that Cavour had "an enthusiasm for the possible." It is a great expression. Most "enthusiasts" have an enthusiasm for the impossible. The impossible may be the ideal, may come later on, but if it be impossible at the time, the highest wisdom is to be enthusiastic for the possible, and to wait.

In our own country, after the Civil war, if statesmen like Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens had attempted less, they would have accomplished more in the long run. Idealists ignore the fact that we are walking on the earth. We humans will not be pushed too fast. We have to grow. If the forward push be too rapid or too far, reaction is inevitable. In all forward movements this is a fact which it is the part of highest wisdom to remember. Sumner and Stevens ignored this fact. I think we may guess that Lincoln, had he been spared to deal with reconstruction, would have taken a different course. I think that, like Cavour in Italy, Lincoln would have had an "enthusiasm for the possible," and would have foreseen that it was impossible to do outright what later events have shown to have been impossible of accomplishment in such hasty way.

But we had the reconstruction days with their trail of ill will. It is needless to dwell on the ugly details. I am not claiming that there were no well-meaning efforts in the process of reconstruction, or that the men engaged were all of them nothing more than selfish and unscrupulous politicians, but we know the results. For forty years the well-disposed have been suffering from the bitterness that was begotten. Let us be glad that what may be called the post-reconstruction period seems at last to be drawing to a close.

This is the truth which I wish to emphasize at this time. I sincerely believe that the day of better feeling is at hand. I believe that the day has come when we shall, if I may say so, start over again and develop right relations in the right way. We Southern white people now realize two facts in regard to the relationship of the races. First, we realize that the old relationship, so frequently typified in the affection of the black

manmy, is one that must pass. Second, we realize that the spirit of no relationship, no responsibility, no co-operation, is impossible. We see that our whole public welfare requires the education and improvement of the colored people in our midst. We see that public health depends on common efforts between the races. We see that the prosperity of these Southern States is conditioned on greater intelligence among the masses of all the people. We see that every consideration of justice and righteousness demands our good will, our helpful guidance wherever it can be given, and our co-operation.

Let us hope that the deliberations and discussions of these conferences will tend to promote this spirit of good will and co-operation. Let us hope that by coming together we may learn better how to set ourselves to work to improve conditions. Let us speak out with plainness and honest conviction, and at the same time with good feeling and sympathy.



STATEMENT ON RACE RELATIONSHIPS.

As Drawn Up by a Committee of Southern White Men in Charge of the Conference on Race Relationships at Atlanta, 1913.

Recognizing that tuberculosis and other contagious diseases now prevalent among the Negroes of the South are a menace to the health, welfare, and prosperity of both races, we believe there should be a most hearty co-operation between the health authorities of the various States and cities and the colored physicians, ministers, and teachers. We further believe that practical lessons on sanitation and hygiene should be given in all public schools, both white and colored, and also in the institutions for advanced training throughout the Southern States.

Recognizing that the South is no exception to the nations of the world in that its courts of justice are often more favorable to the rich than to the poor, and further recognizing the fact that the juxtaposition of a more privileged race and a less privileged race complicates this situation, we plead for courts of justice instead of mere courts of law; we plead further for a deeper sense of obligation on the part of the more privileged class to see to it that justice is done to every man and woman, white and black alike.

Recognizing that lynch law is no cure for the evil of crime, but is rather an aggravation, and is itself the quintessence of all crime, since it weakens law and if unchecked must finally destroy the whole bond that holds us together and makes civilization and progress possible; other things being equal we recognize that a crime is worse which is committed by an individual of one race upon an individual of another race, and that form of retali-

ation is most harmful which is visited by one race upon another. We further believe that there must be a prompt and just administration of the law in the detection and punishment of criminals, but to this must be added those influences of knowledge and of good will between the races which will more and more prevent the commission of crime.

Recognizing further that the economic and moral welfare of the South is greatly dependent on a better trained Negro in all the walks of life in which he is engaged, and further recognizing that the state is in the business of education for the sake of making better citizens of all men, white and black alike, and thereby safeguarding the life and property of the community and upbuilding its economic prosperity—

In view of this fact, we believe that four definite steps of improvement must be made in the Negro schools of the South. Such steps of improvement are already under way in a number of our Southern States:

1. The schools must be made to fit into and minister definitely to the practical life of the community in which they are located.

2. There must be a larger amount of money put into our public schools for Negroes, thus enabling them to have longer terms and to secure better trained teachers.

3. There must be a more thorough supervision on the part of the white superintendents following the lead of many superintendents already working.

4. We must attempt to furnish to these Negro schools, through public funds, a better type of trained teachers, and to this end more sane, thoroughgoing schools for Negro teachers must be established.



WAS NOT THIS A MAN?

For The Public.

One of the pioneer women of California whose knowledge of the people and events of Western and Pacific Coast life reaches a long way back, and who also lived for years in the South, tells a story which ought not to be forgotten.

In 1849, a Southerner came to California, and went to the mines. He brought a Negro slave from the old farm, whether in Kentucky or Virginia we do not know. From other traditions one learns that this Southerner mined in Tuolumne, in the region made famous by Bret Harte, and that the Negro, his slave, was a corking big fellow, always at work for his master and taking the big end of it.

In 1850 California entered the Union as a free State; of course the Negro was offered wages by others, and was told that he was free. However, he staid right along with his master, working for grub and clothes.

The Southerner was greatly prospered, accumu-

lating money and property, but about 1852 he died, when he was planning to sell out and return to his own family. The Negro buried his master, turned the property into cash, displaying unexpected capacity for affairs, went around the camp telling his numerous friends good-bye.

"I'se goin' back home," he said.

This ignorant black man from the South then went to San Francisco, took a steamer, crossed the Isthmus, and ultimately turned up on the plantation, where his dead master's wife and children lived. He told them all about the mines, gave the last messages of the one who was gone, turned over every dollar of the property less his own traveling expenses, and asked his "missus" (as we suppose), "What shall I do next?" In other words, he went back to a slave State, and into slavery. Of course he knew that his own labors had helped to make his master's pile. Of course he especially desired freedom, for all accounts unite in saying that he was active, intelligent, and fully capable of managing his own affairs, so much so that he could have become a leader among free Negroes anywhere.

His own name, and that of his master, are now forgotten, but Californian pioneers still speak of the incident with a sort of admiring surprise. "It took a man to do that, and I only hope it was appreciated back where he came from," is the way that a Tuolumne old-timer once put it. "A regular Uncle Tom," another one called him, "and just as square as any man on earth."

A Johns Hopkins man from California was once a guest of the Westmoreland Club, down in Richmond; he sat there and listened to stories of days before the war. Then he told about this Tuolumne county Negro.

"Does that surprise you, suh?" said an old Colonel, a University of Virginia graduate. "It doesn't surprise any of us down here. We used to raise lots of black boys like that, and we sure did appreciate them."

This is a leaf torn from real life, and one only regrets that the other end of it is lost in ante-bellum obscurities. But the old Southerners of California—a fine lot of men and women—have been heard to say that more than one case of this kind occurred in both the northern and southern mines in pioneer days. "Why not?" they ask; "why not, if there was love between man and master?" All of which merely serves to prove how much better human nature is than some of our human institutions—and of course that is the fundamental reason why the world grows better. It begins in one person's thought, under pressure of circumstances working out into high-minded action; it goes on until it becomes the desire of the majority. One cannot doubt that this Tuolumne black man helped to convince people that Negroes ought to be free.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.

THE POET AND HIS SONG.

By Paul Laurence Dunbar.

A song is but a little thing,
And yet what joy it is to sing;
In hours of toil it gives me zest
And when at eve I long for rest,
When cows come home along the bars,
And in the fold I hear the bell,
As night, the shepherd, herds his stars,
I sing my song, and all is well.

There are no ears to hear my lays,
No lips to lift a word of praise;
But still, with faith unaltering,
I live and laugh and love and sing,
What matter yon unheeding throng?
They cannot feel my spirit's spell.
Since life is sweet and love is long,
I sing my song, and all is well.

My days are never days of ease:
I till my ground and prune my trees,
When ripened gold is all the plain,
I put my sickle in the grain.
I labor hard, and toil and sweat,
While others dream within the dell;
But even while my brow is wet,
I sing my song, and all is well.

Sometimes the sun, unkindly hot,
My garden makes a desert spot;
Sometimes a blight upon the tree
Takes all my fruit away from me;
And then with throes of bitter pain
Rebellious passions rise and swell;
But—life is more than fruit or grain,
And so I sing, and all is well.

BOOKS

THE NEW SOUTH.

In Black and White: An Interpretation of Southern Life. By L. H. Hammond, author of "The Master Word." With an Introduction by James H. Dillard, M. A., LL. D., President of the Jeanes Foundation Board, Director of the Slater Fund. Published by Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.25 net.

When the South began emerging, after the Civil War and the "carpet bag" regime, from the medieval spell which Mark Twain thought that Sir Walter's "Ivanhoe" had cast upon her, some of her younger leaders proclaimed the advent of a "new South." It was a plutocratic South. In their vision an aristocracy after Scott's model was giving way to a plutocracy of the Yankee order. Chivalry had been crowded out by business, knights of the castle by "boosters" of the burgh, plantation mansions by busy factories; ancestral traditions and noblesse oblige had given way to investments and dividends, the honor of the dueling ground to the honor of the counting room. As the old South

withered under the evil charm of a dead civilization, this new South was stung with the poisons of a spirit of enterprise which, North or South and East or West, knew not the Golden Rule.

But now the plutocratic new South as well as the older aristocratic one is passing. Whoever really knows the people of the great Confederacy as they feel and think today, knows that a South really new and nobly new, is rising from the ashes of the South of high caste chivalry and low caste servitude.

There are few spokesmen for the South which is now in the making. That is why so little is known of it at the North. That is why it knows as yet so little of itself. Southern politicians and newspapers are influenced by the old traditions, the old prejudices, the old dry rot that Mark Twain with such gentle humor and keen perception attributed to their constituencies in the 46th chapter of his "Mississippi," they thinking them still alive. Conversely, the people of the South, by some kind of psychological reaction, encourage those politicians and newspapers. It may be from sheer force of social habit; it may be from traditional influences which they have cast behind them but dread as boys dread churchyard spooks. So this new South, this true South is almost inarticulate, altogether timid and only half conscious of itself.

It cannot stay so. Effective spokesmen for it are springing up in the midst of its people. The author of "In Black and White" is one of them, and the book itself a splendid interpreter. She writes not only of the new South and for the new South and all its interests, but as a Southern woman by birth and family traditions, by affection and aspiration, she writes also with loyal sympathy of and for the old South. Her book voices the moral sense, the social conscience, of a people who with only more or less consciousness of the crisis are breaking through the crusts of their traditions into the open air of a new civilization, which the rest of the world also is only beginning to breathe.

To read Mrs. Hammond is to know the true South from the imitation South. Its heart-beat is here distinguished from its bluster, its new and virile self from its vanishing pose, its people from their distorted shadows. Adopting the author's metaphor at page 211 of her book "a fresh, clean wind stirs over the South before which old mists of prejudice are lifting." When those mists shall have fully lifted, it is no empty compliment to say that the rest of the world may look with confidence for exemplifications of purest democracy, to that enlightened South which has preserved the good of aristocracy while rejecting its evil and where plutocracy has secured no firm foothold.

LOUIS F. POST.



Opportunity knocks at the door of every working-man on election day.—Appeal to Reason.

TWO "STUDIES" OF THE NEGRO.

Democracy and Race Friction. By John Moffatt Mecklin. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.25 net.

In Freedom's Birthplace. By John Daniels. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.

Professor Mecklin's "Study in Social Ethics" sets forth in the latest, properest, sociologically philosophical manner—page references, index, scholarly big words and all—the case against the Negro. There is nothing particularly original in the book, either in idea or expression. The basis of social solidarity, he explains, is the common instincts given rational interpretation and direction in group life. Different races through separation and natural selection have educated different instincts. So the Negro is debarred by the white man from complete social solidarity—which carried out must mean intermarriage. "To what extent this is based upon unreasoning prejudice and to what extent it is due to an instinctive and justifiable effort to safeguard the social heritage of the white," the author is "not concerned to say" in his first chapter. Chapters II and III discuss "race traits" at great length. The Negro is a child, a member of a backward race and should not be left just to "grow"; he should be under tutelage. But this chance he lost when emancipation separated him from the white man's affection and civilizing influence. The Social Heritage of the Negro, described in Chapter IV, is a very black background indeed, as a matter of fact so wholly unsympathetic as to make it essentially untrue. To quote as authority, for instance, the assertion that among savages there is "no such thing as love, merely sex instinct," is to fling an insulting untruth into the face of humanity.

But if the Negro's past was black his future is little less gloomy—unless democracy will moderate itself and not be so determined upon "absolute equality"; unless freedom and equality shall consent to be "relative terms." If only social justice will base itself on "equality of consideration," and with stern, even hand let vigorous, comprehensive competition take her course, "industrial, moral, cultural, even ethnic," then there is hope. Then only the fit will survive. What that survivor's complexion will be, only time can tell—but the author has his money on the white.



A very different book from Mr. Mecklin's is Mr. Daniels' "Study of the Boston Negroes." Here is a real contribution to the literature on the American race problem. It is an historical narrative of the Negroes' life in the community from far back in 1638 when the trading vessel, *Desire*, brought a few slaves to Boston and sold them; on through the Revolutionary, pre-abolition, and Civil War periods when as "Slave, Patriot and Pioneer Freeman" the colored man of Boston made common cause with

his fellow American in the nation's birth and growth and his own deliverance; down to the present day of economic struggle and racial prejudice. This history is especially fit reading for the present generation, that for the most part has very hazy ideas of slavery days. The narrative is not written, however, primarily for purposes of historical record. The author holds the purpose—and increasingly evinces his intention—of introducing to the white Americans their colored neighbors as they really look to *him*, of delineating their actual race character and proving its truthfulness as he draws.

With the Boston Negroes Mr. Daniels is personally acquainted through his years of connection with South End Settlement House and its offspring, Robert Gould Shaw House. There are long chapters, well-written studies of the physical, social, ethical, religious and political aspects of the Boston colored man; and there is an especially careful appraisal of his "economic achievement." Every page is good reading. Concrete instances, personal anecdotes, enlightening examples and a clear, easy style lift the book above sociology into literature and bring the general reader, the happy-go-blindly citizen, white or colored, to a more frank and thoughtful look than ever before into "The Future of the Negro People." Despite race prejudice and race disqualifications—

South and North the final outcome will be the same. A people grown up, from a forlorn and helpless band of slaves brought hither from the African jungle, into ten millions of free citizens, constituting a tenth part of the total inhabitants of the United States today; a people which has been in this country from the beginning, and has had an honorable and, indeed, a vital part, both in its establishment and preservation by ways of war and in its manifold upbuilding by ways of peace—this people will eventually attain a position at once of self-respect and worthy recognition. In new and fuller ways the two contrasted races, which chiefly go to make the American nation, must and will find common cause.

A. L. G.



SOUTHERNERS.

The Human Way. Addresses on Race Problems. Edited by James E. McCulloch, General Secretary, Southern Sociological Congress, Nashville, Tenn. 1913. Price, paper, 40 cents; cloth, 75 cents.

The Northerner who imagines that all Southerners dismiss the race problem with contemptuous remarks about "upstart, no-good niggers" and "a permanently childish, emotionally uncontrolled, people" and accompany their expressions of opinion with indignant protests against any hopeful view as the confidence of distant ignorance—the democratic Northerner who fancies such to be the only voice of the white South will particularly enjoy the addresses made last year at the Atlanta Conference on Race Problems and collected under

the title "The Human Way." Herein are gathered the careful reports and judgments of nineteen Southerners—five of them colored men—about various aspects of the Negro question, with some suggestions toward its solution, all in the spirit of co-operation, of thought for the common weal.

Educationally and economically the Negro of the South has made rapid advance in the last decade. Two million, or 54 per cent, of the total number of Negro school children between five and eighteen years, were enrolled in the common schools of the former slave States in 1912. The educational work of the Jeanes and Slater Funds is being extended every year.

These organizations have the same purpose, the training of the Negro youth in the Southern States. And they have the same director, the president of the Jeanes Fund being also the director of the Slater Fund, and the same offices in New York and New Orleans. They have separate, though overlapping, boards of trustees. The Jeanes work is confined to the rural schools, and is almost entirely industrial. Most of the Slater revenue is spent for secondary and higher education, mostly normal and academic, partly vocational and industrial.

The Jeanes work, now in its fifth year, entered a new field. From the start it aimed to reach the "school in the background," the remote country school for Negro children, out of sight back in the sticks, down the bayou, up in the piny woods, along the sea marsh or out in the gullied wilderness of abandoned plantations. . . . For the most part these schools were taught by untrained teachers, without any sort of supervision. The equipment was meager, the pay smaller, and the term short. The Jeanes Fund undertook to send trained industrial teachers into the field, to help the people improve the physical conditions and the teachers to better the instruction given. . . .

For the current year there are 120 Jeanes teachers at work in 120 counties of eleven Southern States. . . . Although paid by the Jeanes Fund, these teachers are named by the county superintendent and are members of his teaching corps just like the other teachers, and work under his direction. . . .

The Slater Fund from the beginning has devoted most of its means to the higher education of Negro youth, mainly with the purpose of training teachers for the primary schools. But almost from the start it has contributed to public school work in town and city, with the same general end in view, devoting its entire contribution to these schools to the establishment of industrial training in public schools. . . . I need not speak of the well-known schools, Hampton, Tuskegee and Fisk, to which the larger part of the Slater money is devoted. But in two of these and in several State normal schools the Slater Fund contributes to the maintenance of summer schools for teachers, offering good training, academic and industrial, to country teachers.

Both Jeanes and Slater Funds do a little in the way of helping to build school houses. In several counties of Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama the Jeanes Fund is assisting to build one good Negro school as a sample. The Slater Fund contributes

to the same kind of work in a limited way, and also to equipment of town and city schools for vocational work. The magnificent new building for Negro children above the fifth grade, built by the city of Charleston, S. C., was furnished with superior equipment for all kinds of hand and power work by the Slater Fund.

In the field of economics it is as farmers especially that the colored men have made remarkable progress. Professor E. C. Branson thus sums up the facts concerning Negro farm and home ownership in the South:

The Negro is a dwindling ratio of population in every Southern State except Arkansas and Oklahoma; but he is a decreasing ratio of population in the cities of the South; he is an increasing ratio of population in the farm regions of every Southern State except Louisiana. In every Southern State without exception the Negroes are increasing in farm ownership at a greater rate than the whites; indeed, at rates varying all the way from two and a half to five and a half times the rates of white increase in farm ownership. Of course their farm holdings are small and their total acreage relatively little; but assuredly they are getting what Uncle Remus calls a "toe-holt" in the soil.

And what of the things of the spirit? What of the feeling between the races? The address of C. V. Roman, a colored man, on "Racial Self-Respect and Racial Antagonism" is very fine, more useful probably than any other. Certainly it must contribute, as the author modestly hoped it would, "to a mutual understanding between the races." He thus in part states the case:

The races know and believe in the vices of each, but do not know or believe in the virtues of each other.

A belief that the Negro is unable to defend himself often makes white people tyrannical. A belief that the courts are unfair frequently makes the Negro desperate.

Racial contact is now at the most disadvantageous and dangerous points. (1) The vicious and criminal of both races in the saloons, brothels and gambling dens. (2) The ignorance and poverty of the Negro with the wealth of the whites. The servant race gets an exaggerated idea of the wealth and influence of the master race; and the master race gets an exaggerated idea of the vice and ignorance of the servant race. Both confuse race and class.

In speaking of remedies he has this to say of publicity and of leadership:

If I could get the ear of the genius of the American press, I would ask the following boon for America and the Negro:

(1) Drop from the vocabulary all such words as nigger, dinky, Sambo, coon, etc.

(2) Never mention the race of a criminal in connection with criminal news.

(3) Never report the speeches or sayings of race agitators, especially those seeking political preference or personal prominence.

(4) Publish with full racial credit items creditable to the Negro.

Five years of such conduct would see the end of the Negro problem in America.

The American Negro needs sane, conservative, unselfish, patient, Negro leadership. The greatest help that can be given the race is to assist in the development of these leaders. Wholesome Negro ideals must be created by men of Negro blood. These ideals may be assisted from without, but cannot be superimposed. Masters may be aliens, but leaders must be patriots. Leaders must know the people they lead. A race without leaders of its own blood is lost.

And his prophecy is full of hope:

If the white people and the black people in this glorious Southland of ours ever understand each other, racial self-respect will safeguard the purities of racial integrity, and in matters of common welfare co-operation will displace antagonism.

There are a few short sentences, however, in another address, Mrs. Hammond's, which seem closest of all to the heart of the problem:

Justice and opportunity—those are the fundamental human needs, the necessary basis of human progress, the test of the measure of a nation's civilization. The lack of them is the taproot of all social and industrial problems the world around. What we call the Negro problem is the South's fragment of this world-tangle, which we have hitherto viewed as a thing apart, instead of as our share of the task of the human race. Our problem is not racial, but human and economic. The coincidence to so great extent in the South of the poverty line and the color line has confused our thoughts; we hold the Negro racially responsible for conditions common to all races on his economic plane.

If "leaving the Southerners to solve their own problem" means such Southerners, then the Northerner would better humbly bid them god-speed and turn his attention to the patient practice of his own preaching in his own home town.

A. L. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Clark's Field. By Robert Herrick. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1914. Price, \$1.40 net.

—Work and Wealth: A Human Valuation. By J. A. Hobson. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$2.00 net.

—The Social Significance of the Modern Drama. By Emma Goldman. Published by Richard G. Badger, Boston. 1914. Price, \$1.00; postage 15 cents.

—In Black and White: An Interpretation of Southern Life. By L. H. Hammond. Published by Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.25 net.

—The Development of Banking in Illinois, 1817-1863. By George William Dowrie. Vol. 11, No. 4, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences. Published by the University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. 1913. Price, 90 cents.

In one of the recent football games between Yale and Harvard a young giant came out of the scrimmage looking as if he had encountered an unfriendly automobile. Among other superficial injuries his nose was most thoroughly broken.

The doctors stood in readiness to repair the damages, but he absolutely refused their services with: "Say, let that nose alone, and bring me a telegraph blank."

Thus he remained until a reply came in to his wire, when he announced:

"Now you can go ahead, doc, and follow these instructions—" handing the surgeon the yellow slip. The message read:

"Have nose set Greek. Do not like Roman.—Dorothy."—Everybody's Magazine.



He was enraptured with the scenery. His fair companion at the country resort sat upon the stone wall beside him.

"Behold that exquisite sunset!" he exclaimed. "Note the delicate flesh-tints, the cream shades, the long dashes of vermilion, and the almost living fire that leaps up from the sinking sun as from a fountain. Behold the framework of darkening skies and of deep green. Isn't it wonderful?"

His fair companion sighed heavily.

"You just bet it is," she exclaimed. "It looks just like a great big lobster salad."—Lippincott's.



There is a French proverb which says, "By reason of a punctuation mark Martin lost his donkey." And thereby hangs a tale:

Over the Abbey of Asinello in Italy (asinello, it may be further explained, is a diminutive, meaning

a little ass) there once presided a liberal-minded monk who caused these verses to be inscribed over the outside door:

Be open ever more, O thou my door!
To none be shut, to honest or to poor!

This cheery man died, and was succeeded by a Brother Martin, who was as penurious as his predecessor had been prodigal. Martin retained the couplet, but altered the punctuation as follows:

Be open evermore, O thou my door,
To none! Be shut to honest or to poor!

When the Pope's attention was called to the remodeled inscription, Martin was summarily deposed.—Unidentified.



Nora was applying for a place as cook, and when asked for a reference, presented the following:

"To whom it may concern:

"This is to certify that Nora Foley has worked for us for a week and we are satisfied."—Kansas City Journal.



"How does it happen," said the teacher to the new pupil, "that your name is Allen and your mother's name is Brown?"

"Well," explained the small boy, after a moment's thought, "you see, she married again and I didn't."—Exchange.



A well-known southern varnish and paint firm recently received the following letter:

"Gentlemen: Please send me a small can of your best striped paint. Red and white preferred. I only want enough for one barber pole. Schmidt."—Successful Farming.

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