

The Public

A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy, and
a Weekly Narrative of History in the Making.

Vol. XVII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, MARCH 6, 1914.

No. 831.

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Published by STANLEY BOWMAR, Manager
Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Canadian and Foreign, \$1.50

Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at Chicago,
Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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EDITORIAL

Chicago's Tribute of Respect.

Chicago's memorial meeting for Joseph Fels is announced to be held at the Y. M. C. A. Hall, 19 S. La Salle street, on the evening of Wednesday, March 11. The world-wide respect for the memory of the departed is shown in the fact that among the speakers will be Josiah Wedgwood, a member of the British Parliament, who comes solely to represent the progressives of his country at meetings held on this side of the water. This Chicago meeting is but one of many which will be held throughout the nation and the world. These meetings should not be looked upon as mere mourning assemblages. The spirit that prevails is the one so well expressed in the message of the Los Angeles Home Rule Tax League on receiving the news of Joseph Fels' death: "Another gap in the ranks—God, what a big one! Close up—blows are to strengthen. We rejoice that he fell face forward and well out on the firing line. To Mrs. Fels our sympathy inexpressible in words. To the cause our renewed pledges of loyalty."

S. D.



The Best Memorial.

From many places come announcements of preparation for memorial meetings in honor of Joseph Fels. This is as it should be. But the tribute to his memory that must not be overlooked is pushing on the work to which he gave not only his money but himself.

S. D.



Turning the Other Cheek.

There is a vein of thought in the militarist's mind to this effect: Certainly, one should be a gentleman under all circumstances, and one may even turn the other cheek; but manifestly there must come a time, if the bully persists in his insults, when personal chastisement is unavoidable. This is now the jingo's state of mind regarding Mexico. It was well enough, he says, to adopt

pacific measures at the beginning, but these, it is patent, have been fruitless; and it is now time to apply force. Huerta defies us; Villa flouts us; Caranza evades us. Are we, the most powerful nation in all history, to tolerate it? Well, are we? That is something that every American citizen must answer for himself. It was easy to assume the role of gentleman at the beginning of the trouble; but when the property losses began to mount it required an effort to hold the hand that could so easily smite the offender, and some who had essayed to be gentlemen slipped over to the jingo camp; and now that an American has been reported, and a Briton has been, executed by Mexicans, many more have laid aside the badge of gentility.



It is not strange that there should have been this falling away of some who at first took their stand with President Wilson. This is a first attempt of a nation's assuming the role of gentleman, and the world is uncertain what to make of it. History will be searched in vain for a similar case; and without precedent what can statesmen do? With the nations of the world struggling for more territory, we, with defenseless territory at our hand, refrain from adding it to our own dominion. Nay, we suffer insult from the people of that territory, and become the laughing stock of Europe; still we hold the hand that might so easily smite. But how long shall we continue this policy? Must there not come a time when patience and forbearance shall cease to be a virtue? The answer to this question will be more easily found by those who are able to separate the individual from the nation. Nationally considered, it may be set down as a certainty that this country would win in a war with Mexico. Individually considered, it can be set down with equal certainty that a vast number of Americans would be killed and wounded. Before the citizen decides, therefore, whether or not this country is to go to war with Mexico—and intervention means war—he should in all fairness say what sacrifice he is ready to make. Is he willing to be one of those whose lives will be given in the contest? Is he willing to give an arm, a leg, an eye, or his general health, and finish his days as a cripple or an invalid? And even should he be willing himself to make this sacrifice, is he sufficiently convinced of the righteousness of his cause to plunge his country into a war that means the killing and maiming of so many of his fellows?



It is enough that citizens be compelled to

shoulder the war debt and the pension list of those who really do the fighting, but it is altogether out of reason to have them thrust upon us by those who will under no circumstances risk their own persons. There may come a time when this nation must fight; but it cannot come till the individual citizens are ready, not to send their brothers to the front, but to go themselves. Sacrifice by proxy cannot be accepted. A distinguished war correspondent, Mr. James Creelman, is now flooding the country with his views of the Mexican situation. Mr. Creelman is of that noisy school of patriots that is willing to sacrifice an indefinite number of other people's lives for the sake of maintaining the nation's honor. For President Wilson he has ill-concealed contempt, and for John Lind, laughter. The attempt of these idealists to treat a nation of which the mass of the people are "blanketed Indians," the war correspondent considers a crime against civilization, and a course that the nations of Europe will not long endure. Mr. Lind's letter to an American whose property was threatened with destruction, in which he spoke of a Constitutionalist officer as though he were a gentleman, and amenable to the ways of civilization, affords Mr. Creelman great amusement. But is the distinguished war correspondent so very sure that a Mexican, even a "blanketed Indian," is indifferent to the treatment of a gentleman? How did the smiting-handed Puritans and Cavaliers fare with the Indians, as compared with the open-handed Quakers? Why, if "blanketed Indians" recognize no power but force, were the Massachusetts and Virginia settlers so often at war with the Indians, while the Quakers lived in unbroken peace? The Mexicans know us as a nation of bullies, who in 1846 robbed them of half their territory. They still speak of us in the terms we taught them. Possibly we can teach them a better language. Such a triumph would be worth while. But we cannot teach them with rifles. They already understand that language. s. c.



Intervention Indefensible.

The killing of the Englishman W. S. Benton by Mexican constitutionalists is a crime for which there is no excuse. But it is no greater crime than would be intervention. Yet we have congressmen and senators urging that lives be sacrificed—other than their own—and that wealth be taken—from earnings of other people—to avenge this crime. Because one man has been murdered we must sacrifice hundreds of lives and bring suffering and distress upon thousands of innocent people. Such is the philosophy of our jingo states-

men. It is not necessary to ponder over the probable motive. Whether it be selfish or otherwise the suggestion is morally indefensible.

S. D.

To Avoid War.

Americans and Englishmen in and near Mexico should be careful how they disappear from public sight, lest the jingoes force us into war to avenge their death, while they are merely on a journey.

S. C.

Monarchs Protect No One.

The Chicago New World, commenting in its issue of February 27 on a statement in a recent address by Louis F. Post to the effect that a king never protects anybody, says: "Now this is not only misleading, it is absolutely untrue. Monarchies do protect the rights of their subjects." This looks very much like distortion. Monarchies do, sometimes, protect the rights of their people but monarchs do not. Protection extended in the name of the king is in fact extended by the nation over which he assumes to rule. Without the labor and intelligence of the nation there would be no benefit whatever conferred by the government, no matter what its form may be. The monarch may, and frequently does, assume credit for these benefits, but he is never justly entitled thereto. In every case he can be eliminated without loss. Protection, under any form of government, is conferred by the people only.

S. D.

Saving the Country.

About this time, as the old almanac would say, look out for the noisy mouthings of cheap patriots in Congress, who have failed in all other ways to attract attention.

S. C.

Unfair Discrimination.

Announcement is made that hereafter the administration of the tariff will not be so rigorous as regards returning tourists. Under the old order passengers might include in the \$100 worth of goods entitled to free entry only wearing apparel and toilet articles intended for their own use. Dress goods and the like paid full duty. Under the new regulations passengers are to be exempted to the extent of \$100 as regards practically all kinds of articles purchased abroad, including presents for relatives and friends, such as table linen, cloth, household goods, cutlery and the like. This is the grossest kind of partiality. By what right does the government presume to say that the well-

to-do woman who buys a table cloth in Paris shall have the tariff remitted, while the poor woman at home, who has the cloth sent to her by parcel post, must pay the duty. This is an attempt to make tyranny tolerable by stopping the cries of those whose protests are loudest. The law should bear upon all alike, and it should make not a particle of difference to the Treasury Department whether a pocket knife is brought into the country or sent in by mail. Not so much as a tooth brush should be exempted. If revenue laws are to be respected, let them be made respectable.

S. C.

A Fundamental Measure.

It must be admitted by Democrats that we cannot be rid of the Trust family by even killing off Mother Tariff; and it may possibly be good political maneuvering to try regulating them. But before democratic hopes dare mount, it must be boldly recognized that the only real remedy is to get at the fundamental cause and kill off Father Privilege. Reservation of Radium Deposits therefore looms large as compared with any possible regulation measures, for it will prevent an addition to the family.

W. G. STEWART.

Censorship in Chicago.

Government censorship, whether of speech, the press, or the drama, is objectionable. It may be inspired by the purest and most altruistic motive but it remains objectionable nevertheless. Whatever the evils of liberty may be they are not as great as those of censorship. Consequently the establishment in Chicago of police censorship of moving picture plays is a move in the wrong direction. From all accounts the work of the censors needs censorship. These censors are unquestionably honest and reasonably intelligent. But they necessarily must have some views on what should be suppressed with which others, equally honest and intelligent, do not agree. So that, even from the standpoint of the motive which inspired the censorship, their decisions must prove to be unreasonable and tyrannical. Moreover, being human, they are apt to feel sensitive concerning films which are not altogether respectful to the police. So it is not surprising that in films of this kind, immorality has been discovered, not visible to one not connected with the police department. The beginning of a "lese majeste" tyranny seems foreshadowed here. It should be nipped in the bud. Ordinary business sense will prevent owners of moving picture theaters, without any police cen-

sorship, from allowing presentation of scenes objectionable to their patrons. If the taste of the patrons is at fault the remedy is in education, not in force.

S. D.



Boosting Boston.

City boosting through extensive advertising of local advantages, has suffered a decline in popularity in Boston. Mayor Curley started a boosting campaign, apparently along conventional lines, with the usual approval of the superficial and unthinking. But a million dollar fund was needed. To get it the Mayor simply published a list of alleged contributors, putting opposite each name the amount that he assumed they would have agreed to pay had they been asked. A loud protest immediately arose and Mayor Curley has by this time realized his error. Of course some one must pay the expenses of boosting. Possibly Mayor Curley thought he was apportioning these expenses according to benefits. If so, he was mistaken. Had the boosting movement succeeded in attracting business to Boston, land values in the city would have increased, and business men and workers would have been compelled to pay higher rents for living in a boosted city. If there is to be a boosting campaign land owners should bear the entire expense. The mayor's attention has been called to this by the Massachusetts Singletax League, which furthermore offers the practical suggestion that Boston adopt the Houston, Texas, plan as an attraction to business. If adopted the boosting campaign will meet with certain success.

S. D.



A Just Tax System for Washington.

The half and half system of paying local expenses in the District of Columbia is defended on the ground that the federal government owns much valuable property in the District. To the superficial that argument sounds convincing. But even the superficial should see it in a different light on reading in the Congressional Record of February 24, on page 4154, a conversation between Representatives Sims of Tennessee and Caraway of Arkansas as follows:

Mr. CARAWAY. Practically all that the Government owns here is in parks, and the entire citizenship enjoy the use of them, do they not?

Mr. SIMS. Yes. Let me tell you, my friend, this: The people discount the free use to themselves and magnify the ownership of the Government.

Mr. CARAWAY. In their view, it owns it only for the purpose of paying on it?

Mr. SIMS. Yes. You will see that, if you look into these propositions that are coming up all the time, where people are urging the Government to

buy this tract of land and that tract of land and the other tract of land before it goes up. They are always trying to save the Government and not the people; urging the Government to buy lands before the price goes up. That was the case with respect to the proposed Rock Creek Park extension. They said: "Buy it now, before the Government has to pay too much for it." Oh, my! Such sympathy for the Government!



Mr. Sims then proceeded to show what should be done:

Levy no taxes upon personal property at all. Levy no taxes upon improvements at all. Levy on the land owned by the Government and on the land owned by everybody else. The Government not owning any personal property, you can not put any personal tax on the Government. The question of depreciation can not be figured on these great public buildings as it is on private buildings. The way to do that is to levy a land tax; levy it on what the Government now owns and what it may hereafter acquire. Then, if the tax rate is increased, the Government's share would increase just as the other land is increased in value.

Mr. Sims remarked on the fact that suggestion of this remedy raises the cry, "you are committing Congress to the Singletax." But he evidently does not see that that detracts any from its merits. However displeasing his position may be to the land monopolists of the District, he is advocating a just measure that, if adopted, will lighten the burdens of tenants and home owners. His course deserves approval.

S. D.



Democrats Who Reject Democracy.

Why the money spent in building an Alaskan railroad should be repaid through a tax on land values was concisely explained in the House on February 18 by Congressman David J. Lewis of Maryland. Said Mr. Lewis "We are taking this money from the tax payers, who have earned it, and when we see it is going to produce some money on its own account, as an incident, perhaps enough ultimately to repay the whole investment, it is our duty as a matter of loyalty to our paymasters to conserve it for them instead of letting it drift into the hands of the schemers of this country." Mr. Lewis was speaking in behalf of the amendment proposed by Congressman Warren Worth Bailey of Pennsylvania, providing for repayment in that manner. The justice and common sense of the proposition seems clear enough, but sometimes it takes something more than justice or common sense to influence a congressional majority. It is not surprising therefore that the Bailey amendment was rejected by a vote of 126 to 27. About the only reason given for opposition was that the opponents could not see

how the values could be determined. If they will watch the persons into whose hands the lands will pass they will see that there is not much difficulty in that respect. The fact that they stubbornly refused to bear in mind the ease with which private owners determine such values indicates that they preferred not to see. The names of the 126 who voted to permit monopolization of Alaska were not made a matter of record, but the following spoke against Bailey's preventive amendment: Wingo of Arkansas, Houston of Tennessee, Sherley of Kentucky and Callaway of Texas. These are all Democratic partisans. Perhaps some genuine democrats in their districts may be interested in this information.

S. D.



Senators in Need of Light.

Somewhat remarkable is an exchange of views between Senators Cummins of Iowa and Chamberlain of Oregon which occurred on January 12, and is recorded on page 1914 of the Congressional Record. The subject of discussion was Alaska. Senator Cummins said he had been waiting ever since he became a senator to hear discussed the question of what kind of law to devise that will permit honest settlers "to have their rights, and at the same time will prevent the monopoly which was feared in 1906 with regard to Alaska." For answer Mr. Chamberlain made this strange confession: "I am not sure that there is any power in Congress or anywhere to prevent the monopolization and control of resources such as Alaska has." Mr. Chamberlain need but consult with any of the Singletax Congressmen to learn that there is such power. He need but look over the amendment proposed by Representative Bailey of Pennsylvania to the Alaskan railroad bill to learn how the power should be applied. Senator Cummins will find in Congressman Bailey's proposition an answer to the question for which he has needlessly waited five years. He could have got it on the first day of his term had he looked elsewhere than among his colleagues.

S. D.



Legal Disfranchisement.

Of all the methods devised to deprive the voter of his just share in government, yet giving him the semblance of power, it may be doubted if there is another trick known to the machine politician quite so despicable as the "party declaration" of the Illinois primary law. We have long been accustomed to the disfranchisement of the district, or geographical, system of choosing representa-

tives, and the general election by plurality vote. And it has been recognized that to elect Congressmen from the state at large, or aldermen from the city at large, was grossly unjust. But the districts and wards that were introduced for the purpose of correcting this evil effected little good, for the reason that the party that had a majority in the state or city tended toward a majority in each district or ward; and it invariably resulted in a Congress, or a city council, whose members bore little relation to the votes cast at the election. Proportional representation is urged as a corrective for this evil; but proportional representation is still new to the mass of the people, and they need time to familiarize themselves with a new idea.



The evils of the Illinois primary law, however, are without a solitary excuse. One of the reasons given for the fact that only thirty per cent of the Chicago women who had registered, voted at the last primary—and this percentage was as high as that of the men—lay in the fact that they had been advised to keep away from the primaries unless they had made up their minds as to which party they belonged. The explanation of that strange advice lies in the fact that the Illinois primary law requires that the voter shall not only declare which party he or she "belongs to," but that when such declaration has been made the voter is prohibited from voting any other party ticket for two years.



The reason given by the framers of the bill for such a high-handed proceeding is that it is necessary to prevent the change of voters from election to election, in order to keep the bad men in one party from foisting bad candidates on their opponents. But the practical effect is to keep conscientious voters from the polls, and to compel the less scrupulous to commit perjury, if they would exercise their natural right to change their minds from one election to another. Voting at the election cannot be controlled, because it is secret, and all the candidates are on the same ballot; but the candidates at the primaries being on separate ballots, the voter can exercise the right of suffrage only by taking the ticket of his party, and having his name recorded in the poll books as a member of that party. Such a condition, it must be submitted in all candor, transcends the rights even of our political bosses.



This primary disfranchisement of conscientious and independent voters is merely another reason

for pushing the campaign for the complete enfranchisement of all citizens. The political slave pens—and districts and wards are nothing less—which give us government by a majority of a plurality, must be replaced by general tickets with proportional representation. The primary should be done away with entirely, and nominations made by petition. And the ballot should be short. By electing fewer officials, using preferential voting, the voter will be able to exercise better judgment in choosing his representatives, the sense of responsibility will be greater, and his power more effective. This will not bring the millenium. It will not make stupid voters wise, nor bigoted citizens board-minded, but it will give the people what a majority of the people desire.

S. C.



THE MODERN GOSPEL.

Agès ago a Jewish carpenter preached the Fatherhood of God, the equal Brotherhood of Men, to laborers and fishermen; said if we would but do Justice and practice right living we need no more worry about food and raiment than do bird or beast or flower, and taught His disciples to pray for the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. "The common people heard Him gladly," but Privilege shook with fear, and priests and rulers crucified Him between thieves. Yet His Gospel of Deliverance, spread by fugitives and slaves, roused and revolutionized the world. Then Privilege rallied, prostituted His preaching of Justice into a shield for injustice, and in His name consecrated inequality.

But yesterday another Jew, Joseph Fels, with heart of fire and tongue of flame, sought to teach Christianity to Christians, strove to rouse a sluggish world to realize that the wrongs which enslave women and rob even children, are rooted in land monopoly, and that the sole remedy is that which was indicated by Henry George. His dynamic energy was first felt here and in England; then stirred all Europe, and now Asia, Africa, and the isles have been roused. Now all the world mourns his death and in every city are those who realize they have lost a friend and brother in this Lion of the tribe of Judah who let light into dark places, shook vested wrongs on their thrones, and brought nearer the day Whittier foretold when will

"Earth own at last, untrod
By sect or class or clan,
The Fatherhood of God,
The Brotherhood of Man."

WILL ATKINSON.

WHY IS TAMMANY?

The lesson of the Sulzer incident is neither the wickedness of Tammany Hall nor the weakness of even illustrious men. It is, rather, the unrighteousness, the sociologic crime, of the unholy alliance between Big Business—as with more or less consistent significance we use the term—and the trade of office-getting.

The vice and the power of Tammany Hall have been so widely known and so long established that nothing can add to its disrepute or increase our appreciation of its vicious potency. The rising waves of civic morals and intelligence have lapped the ground of respectability from beneath it until nothing could further shrink the base upon which its apologists must stand. Nothing is needed, nor has there been these fifty years, to lessen the esteem in which it is held by right thinking men and women or to spread the knowledge of its infamy.

Many men of undoubted eminence, undoubted recitude and undoubted abilities, have endeavored to rectify and purify Tammany Hall from within, but the leaven is never sufficient for the loaf. It is beyond leavening. It is beyond curing for the reason that Tammany Hall itself is not the disease; it is only the manifestation of the disease. It is merely the obvious, festering sore.

Upon the other hand, history is replete with the instances of really great and good men who have gone wrong when in positions of public trust.

It is not the great and good men as individuals, as personalities, who will save society. To establish "Thy will on Earth as it is in Heaven," we must ever go back to the God in man. We must revert to the "Heaven" that "is within you." We must recognize, utilize and obey—not as individuals, but as men comprising society—the fundamental, natural laws laid down for social guidance, social order and social justice.

Just as the ordinary, or even less than ordinary, average man, mayhap overburdened with personal shortcomings, may see this great truth, so the personally great, illustrious and virtuous man in power may utterly fail to see it. But it is there, none the less.

Suppose that society's laws were fewer and simpler and the powers of legislators infinitely curtailed. Suppose that the simpler laws rested upon those basic, economic principles of justice which deny to any man the privilege of receiving more than he renders some acceptable form of service for. Suppose that men could not secure by legislative enactment or executive decree any of the special privileges, under special laws, by which

they exploit their fellow men, who would buy the votes of legislators? Who would lubricate the wheels of such potent, but vile political machines as Tammany Hall? Suppose the smile, the personal good will, the individual favor of the great in public office could have no capitalizable value; who would pay for them, directly or indirectly?

The wickedness is not with Tammany nor the weakness with Sulzer.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

HEARING ON HERRICK-SCHAAP BILL.

New York, February 21.

There was a hearing in the City Hall yesterday, before the Board of Estimate, on the merits and demerits of the Herrick-Schaap bill. This is the measure in which it is proposed to take a referendum of the voters of New York relative to the matter of gradually reducing the tax rate on buildings to half that on land. The Lower Rents Society had claimed the fulfillment of a promise made by Mayor Mitchell to have the matter discussed before the Board, although it is rather unusual to ask that the Board of Estimate take action on a bill which has not yet been passed by the Legislature. The large Council chamber of the City Hall was crowded with an audience vitally interested in the proceedings. In favor of the measure, the Lower Rents Society and the Business Men's Society to Untax Industry were represented by Messrs. F. C. Leubuscher, Charles T. Root, W. C. Cranford, Benjamin C. Marsh. The opponents of the measure had thought to play a strong card by introducing Professor E. A. Seligman of Columbia University to speak for them. The hush that immediately followed the announcement showed the respect with which the head of the economic department in our greatest institution of learning was held in his own city. But Professor Seligman sadly disappointed those who listened to him with this decided mark of respect. Whatever his abilities, and they are not disputed, as a teacher of college economics, he does not shine as a political speaker. He contradicted himself several times, stating at one point that the passage of the bill would result in an over-production and therefore a forced boom in buildings, and again at another time asserting that it would keep back building and keep land out of use. In this, however, to the credit of Professor Seligman, be it said that he was not alone. Messrs. Robert E. Dowling, Cyrus C. Miller and others who spoke against the bill were equally emphatic in both assertions, i. e., that the bill would do both of two things, bring about too much building and keep back building. One gentleman who spoke for five minutes at the last of the hearing stated that of course a tax on land values would keep land out of use. "It stands to reason," he remarked emphatically, "that if a man has four lots and is heavily taxed on them, he will only build on one"

Now, to a mere woman, who does not attempt to

understand the workings of the superior masculine mind, this last remark was a faze!

The Mayor stated that he did not believe it would be fair or expedient to have any such legislation adopted until the matter had been carefully studied. He had authorized various committees to make a thorough investigation of the taxation on land and buildings, both in New York and other cities. At the close of the hearing Comptroller Prendergast offered a resolution deprecating any such legislation as proposed by the Herrick-Schapp bill until the matter had been thoroughly studied. This sounded rather good than otherwise, for there is nothing those favoring the bill could wish for that would be better for them than an honest investigation of this question of raising city revenues. However, as Comptroller Prendergast himself came out with an open assertion that he himself was distinctly opposed to the bill and the majority of the Board seemed to agree with him, the prospects for this honest investigation do not look very favorable. The hall was closely packed with large delegates, recognizable through their blue badges, from the Allied Real Estate Owners' Association. They expressed great jubilation over the result of the hearing. Some outspoken remarks by Mr. Marsh led to what almost amounted to a hand-to-hand fight, after the Mayor and the members of the Board had retired. The extreme bitterness felt by those who are fighting this bill showed their determination to defeat it by whatever methods they can. Some remarks made in the heated argument—it became so heated that several policemen took a part in it—were amusing and at the same time instructive to a calm observer. One thing, repeated several times, was the peculiar suggestion that Mr. Marsh and the other backers of the bill were being paid by "Philadelphia capital to get business away from New York." This suggestion is certainly a novel one.

Throughout all that was said by the opponents of the bill, both during the hearing and after it, it was noticeable that they did not any one of them seem to grasp for a moment the fact that those backing the bill were doing so out of conviction that had little to do with self-interest. It did not seem to them to be in any way a comprehensible matter that a political fight should be fought on any other ground but those of the immediate money-interests of the fighters. From this conclusion, however, we must naturally exempt Professor Seligman who, however confused his arguments may have been, did not degenerate in any way into personalities. It was a very interesting occasion and it was certainly a lesson to the upholders of this bill that they are fighting against, not only the acute self-interests of their opponents but against an utter lack of understanding on the part of these opponents that there is anything else to fight about except self-interest.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.



THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING.

Modesto, California, February, 20.—The secretary of the Modesto Chamber of Commerce took me over the Modesto and Turlock Irrigation District yesterday. We covered about 35 miles of roads in each district, so that I got a fair insight into conditions

in each of them. The Modesto district exempts buildings and other improvements from taxation for irrigation purposes. The Turlock district taxes improvements.

The condition of each of these irrigation districts verifies every theory of singletaxers as to the effect of the taxation of improvements. In the Modesto district the houses, barns and outhouses are substantially built, well kept, and the houses are generally neat architectural structures, some of them very fine, and nearly all of them have nice gardens with flowers, ferns, palms, and other trees, and grass lawns. Their average condition is superior to most of the moderate sized homes in the large cities.

In one part of the district where five years ago there was a large wheat ranch of 1,660 acres with one house on it, that was occupied only during the harvest season, and on which three years ago there were but three children, today there are a multitude of small farms from 3 to 40 acres in area, a very fine large school house that would do credit to any town, with an attendance of 75 children. Close by them is a large, handsome structure about 100x100, built by the Women's Improvement Club of the neighborhood, with a nice garden about it. This building is used for meetings of all kinds in this section of the district. Mind you, these buildings are out in the country among the ranches! There are other fine schools and Women's Improvement Club buildings in other parts of the Modesto Irrigation District.

In my trip through the Turlock Irrigation District I went south on the west side about 14 miles, thence east to the city of Turlock and returned on the state highway via Ceres, covering about 35 miles. In all that journey I saw only three very good houses, and but one that might be called very fine. The rest of the houses would not average above a shack, very few of them had gardens, the barns did not average one-half the size of those in the Modesto district, and the outhouses were smaller and fewer in number. The buildings were not well maintained or painted, some of them were tumbling down. Many of the barns had large advertising signs painted on the roofs. (I did not see a single barn in the Modesto district so disfigured.) The houses were scattered and not near so close together as in the Modesto district. Large sections of open country without a house upon it were to be seen. One absentee owner was growing grain on a 640-acre section, which can easily suggest 35 families if properly cultivated.

These two irrigation districts immediately adjoin each other, the soil is admitted by everyone to be practically the same in each of them. They get their water for irrigation purposes out of the Tuolumne at the La Grange dam, the ditch of one being on the north side of the river and of the other on the south side. The climate in each district is exactly the same. The people throughout the country are of the same nationalities and descent. There is nothing to distinguish one district from the other except that Turlock district taxes improvements while Modesto does not. (Personal property is not taxed for irrigation purposes in any irrigation district in California.)

The best answer to the question, What is the cause of the excellence of the conditions in Modesto

district and the contrary in Turlock district? is to be found in my experience with the Stanislaus County Board of Trade. A few days ago I appeared before that body and asked them to adopt a statement showing the effect of the exemption of improvements from this irrigation tax on the city and county in the Modesto Irrigation District.

While some of the members seemed inclined to comply with my request, one member of the board, Mr. E. P. Mains, of the firm of Cadwaller, Mains & McCart of Turlock, objected. He said the board was a county body and that "We do not have that system of taxation in Turlock."

EDWARD P. E. TROY.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

TREATMENT OF AN ENLISTED MAN.*

Seattle, February 13.

I want to call attention to the case of Kosti Leo Aryan, formerly a private soldier at Fort Flagler, Washington.

He was born in Roumania of Greek-Austrian parents. He became an engineer on Anglo-Persian irrigation projects and later landed at Baltimore, aged about 26 years. He had rather difficult work in the United States, culminating in difficult straits in Colorado, where he sought to rest his weariness by enlisting in the army.

After being in the army about a year and getting the perspective of his environment, he concluded that the business of war in general, and his enlistment in particular, were entirely bad, especially in view of the necessity which he found himself under to obey the orders of his superiors, irrespective of their character. He sought a way out by addressing a letter to the Secretary of War, asking to be discharged, stating his surprise at finding that his oath to uphold the Constitution and to defend the country against its enemies was construed to mean that he had to obey officers who might themselves be the enemies of the country and its people. He sought to have the letter forwarded to the Secretary through proper military channels, but it landed in the hands of his commanding officer who ordered a summary court-martial charging him with writing the letter "to the detriment of the service," etc. Asked to plead and he plead "not guilty" to writing the letter "to the detriment of the service," etc. Then he was cross-questioned as to the act of writing the letter which he admitted, so he was marked as having plead "guilty" and given a guard-house sentence of three months.

At this point the case came to my attention and on inquiry the officers told me he had been paroled as being "probably insane," and was working in the hospital. There he was ordered to kill and dress chickens, which he refused to do on the ground that his religious scruples forbade, being a vegetarian of 12 years' standing; again he was ordered to haul meat, and to haul coal in a heavy rain while he was partly ill. The chicken case brought another summary court-martial with a sen-

*See the Public of January 23, at page 76.

tence of one month and \$10. On the other matters a court-martial general was held, before which he sought my services as counsel. I was informed of the trial date by telephone and on finding that it conflicted with a trial I had at Everett was informed that it would be necessary to try it on January 23rd, I believe, or go over to February 23rd. Aryan says he instructed them that he wanted counsel from the outside and desired the trial postponed, but he was tried on January 23rd and given 7 months in the Alcatraz-Island (San Francisco) penitentiary, and a dishonorable discharge. He charges that his superiors have failed to treat him justly and regularly, aside from the principal controversy, in refusing to forward his letter to the Secretary; in trying him before a summary court-martial to which he had objected; in entering pleas of "guilty" which he never entered; in disregarding charges of irregularity he has filed against his superiors and in sending him to the California prison on a 7 months' sentence in order to get him out of the way here. He has been warned that if he remains obdurate in the prison he will be struck with the butt of a rifle and laid out and no one will ever hear of him again.

The only talk I have had with him was here in the station yesterday, but his letters have been numerous. He is a "passive resistant" and harmless enough; he is entitled to certain rights and claims that these have been violated. I believe in his unselfishness and fearlessness sufficiently to make his written statement to me the basis of a request to the President for a Board of Inquiry.

THORWALD SIEGFRIED.



THE LAND QUESTION AND THE TARIFF IN EARLY UNITED STATES HISTORY

Philadelphia, January 29.

Most Singletaxers that I have met are outspoken and thorough free traders. This state of mind arises naturally from the principle that land being the only source of wealth, the imposition of taxes other than on it, is worse than useless in securing a just distribution of opportunity. I have not, however, been able to get from any Singletaxer an explanation of how the so-called "tariff revision" bills are likely to give any substantial relief to the proletariat; and even the latest phase, that under which we are now living—which may, perhaps, without making too bad a pun, be called the "Underwoodrow Wilson" bill—does not seem to promise anything substantial for which a believer in land taxation hopes.

General Hancock said, in 1880, that the tariff was a local issue, for which he was roundly abused by the beneficiaries of the system and their henchmen, but with the history of tariff revision hearings before us it needs no ghost to come from out the grave to tell us that he was right. It may be of interest to present some features of tariff legislation in the early stages of the history of the Federal Union.

As in all other countries in which legislation is systematized, tariff problems existed in the United States from its beginning. In fact, in the spring of 1789, when Washington arrived in New York City

to be inaugurated, Congress was discussing the tariff on Jamaica rum. Most of the early tariffs were for revenue only, or at least, principally. At the close of the first quarter of the 19th century, when extension of the United States had brought in a very diversified territory and conflicting interests, especially the growth of manufactures and the exhaustion of the public land in the northeastern States, attempts were made to secure sectional advantages by means of duties. The relation of the land question to tariff legislation from 1828 to 1833 has been made the subject of an interesting paper by Raynor G. Wellington, in the annual report of the American Historical Association, Vol. 1 (1911), p. 165. He points out that at this period (John Quincy Adams' administration) the economic issues may be considered as exhibiting four phases, according to territorial divisions: Northeast, southeast, northwest, southwest. Natural condition—soil, climate, topography, mineral wealth—had rendered these districts materially different in economic endeavor; sociologic conditions—race, social standards, and labor supply, especially as to wage or chattel slavery—had emphasized these differences. The northeastern States, having established industries, wanted abundance of labor that wages might be kept down, and therefore wished high prices fixed for the public lands in the West to prevent emigration. They also wanted a high tariff and public improvements at Federal expense. The southeastern States wanted also to keep their laborers on the land, and, therefore, wished the western public lands to be kept at a high figure, but they did not want a tariff, and were bitterly opposed to Federal support for internal improvements, probably because they could expect but little of the contents of the "pork barrel," and also because they were, owing to danger to the "peculiar institution," strong States-rights supporters. The western sections wanted low prices for public lands to induce immigration; the northwesterners wanted a high tariff and public improvements; the southwesterners the opposite. Out of such a medley nothing could come but a compromise unsatisfactory to all parties, and the "tariff of abominations" of this period was the result.

John Quincy Adams was the last President of the old Federalist type, and, with the exception of Pierce, the only one born in "Yankee land." The tariff of 1828 roused the South to fury, and, as is well known, a few years later the first rumble of the "war between the States" was heard. South Carolina attempted to nullify the tariff act. From that time until now, a succession of tariff revisions has kept the country in a ferment, and no man knoweth the end thereof. As diversity of interests increase, the "local issues" will be accentuated and quite recently we have been treated to the spectacle of Democratic Congressmen refusing to support a bill, the passage of which the party platform promised, because the interests of the "deestric" have not been given full consideration.

The tariff has frequently worked out so that it has been a misfortune if the source of an important raw material is discovered in the country. At present, great desire exists for an increased supply of platinum. In all probability, if a lean platinum ore should be found within our borders, it would increase rather than decrease the cost of the metal, for the vested

interests that would control the mine would immediately ask for a duty sufficient to protect the mining from competition with the "pauper" platinum of Europe.

HENRY LEFFMANN.

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, March 3, 1914.

Mrs. Fels' Acknowledgment.

So many are the messages, telegrams and resolutions expressing sympathy and condolence received from all parts of the world by Mrs. Fels that individual acknowledgment is at present impossible. The Public has therefore been requested to convey to all of these her appreciation and thanks.



The Funeral of Joseph Fels.

In accordance with the wishes of the family, the funeral services of Joseph Fels were simple. Wednesday, February 25, 1914, will be remembered sadly hereafter by many who loved the man because they knew him and worked with him, and by many in various parts of the world to whom, though they knew him not in the body, his untimely death in the harness came as a shock and disaster. The services were held at the home of his brother, Maurice Fels, 4305 Spruce Street, Philadelphia. At two o'clock in the afternoon, Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, of Rodef Shalom Synagogue, recited the beautiful Ninetieth Psalm, "A Prayer of Moses, the man of God," beginning, "Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations."

And how appropriate was the close of that prayer when uttered over the body of Joseph Fels, "Establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it!" The Rabbi said:

Face to face with the solemn realities of death these sublime utterances of the ancient Hebrew Psalmist touch our hearts as they have thrilled the souls of unnumbered generations by their searching admonitions on the lessons of life.

Silence rests like a benediction upon him who, stricken in the meridian of his days and at the zenith of his endeavors, now reposes in the soft embrace of painless sleep. The work of his hands has slipped from his grasp; the busy mind has suddenly halted in its earnest planning; the eloquent lips are hushed; the glowing heart has ceased its throbbing; and we stand in the presence of this supreme mystery, awed, benumbed and humbled. Thousands upon thousands in this and other lands

are present with us in spirit, chastened by the sense of sudden loss.

Other lips will recount in due season and adequate words the sum of the services he has rendered. For us this hour is sacred to the sorrow of the bereft. Within this intimate circle of his dear ones and closest friends we can but struggle to voice the grief with which his passing sears the bleeding heart. For these have seen him in the home and amid familiar associations cherishing vivid dreams of noble achievement, like Joseph of old, whose name he bore. They have seen him stirred by a mighty conviction until he was carried away by it, like one of the Prophets of old; and on the high places of earth he fearlessly proclaimed the truth as he saw it, as he felt it, as he believed it. Some of that resistless power entered into his soul which moved the prophet Amos to leave the quiet of his daily pursuits and to face princes and potentates, declaring,

"The lion hath roared, who will not fear?"

"The Lord eternal hath spoken, who will not prophesy?"

In the safe shelter of his daily activities here in this quiet city, Joseph Fels heard the leonine roar of the mighty industrial system. His heart throbbed with fear because of the social injustice and the economic wrongs devouring the people everywhere through poverty, misery and vice. Unlike the thoughtless, luxury-loving and indifferent, he would not remain deaf to the divine call he heard within. He gave himself to his cause unreservedly, body, mind and soul—with the gifts of his time, his money, his tireless energy and his boundless zeal and enthusiasm. Truly he was touched by somewhat of that same consecration which has fired with ardor the souls of priests, prophets and heroes. The test of such a consecration is found in weights and values not material, nor even intellectual, but spiritual. The world of today attests his sincerity, his singleness of purpose and generous self-sacrifice, his hatred of shams and shallow conventions. Bluntly he exposed what he held to be false, to search out truth. He stood for morals, for principles, for character. And now death has set its seal on the supreme measure of self-sacrifice a man can offer in the service of humanity.

If religion be, as it is in its highest conception, the passion for Righteousness which springs from faith in the ultimate triumph of good; if a religious life be, as it is in its highest conception, one filled by a deathless hope in what is highest and best, and inspired thereby with courage for struggle, fortitude for trial and unflinching effort even unto death, then I believe Joseph Fels was a religious man. He may have been indifferent to the organized forms of religion, but he cherished the pride of his people in that great historic heritage in whose Scriptures he found the sources of the doctrine he proclaimed.

"What is excellent," said Emerson, "as God lives, is permanent."

The excellencies of the life we mourn cannot perish. The friendships he made yield abiding treasures to those whom he cherished. Love is strong as death. These are the consolations which must sustain the living, giving fortitude to those who bear his name, and to whom he was bound in the closest ties of devotion.

Upheld by a devout sense of gratitude for the good that was given, let us reverently fulfill for that which has been taken the last offices of humanity and religion, as we say,

"God hath given,
God hath taken;
Praised be the name of God forever.
Amen."



Lincoln Steffens then spoke as follows:

A great light is breaking upon the world. All of us see it; a little, as from afar. It shone directly upon, it filled the whole being, of that great man whose little body lies there before us. And it filled him with joy. We shall think of him always, not with sorrow, but with joy, as a joyous, joy-giving spirit.

There is joy in the truth which burns in this great light that he bore. For this is that truth: Wherever there is an evil in the world, there is a cause for it; a removable cause; and we can remove it when we shall want to do so really, all of us, as he did.

That is the simple, scientific truth which illumined our friend, and as long as that light shall live, he will live; he and his gladness.



Those who thronged the house and the pave outside were permitted then to pass around the casket, wherein lay so still, almost unbelievably still, he who so lately had pulsed with energy, and had spent himself lovingly, but not for self. The burial was in the family lot at Mount Sinai Cemetery at Frankford, a northeast suburb of Philadelphia. The honorary pallbearers were Lawson Purdy, Lincoln Steffens, Frederic C. Howe, Bolton Hall, S. G. Rosenbaum, John T. McRoy, Benjamin W. Huebsch, Henry George, Jr., Warren Worth Bailey, Louis F. Post, Francis Fisher Kane, Earl Barnes, Francis I. duPont, Daniel Kiefer and Samuel Milliken.



At the grave, Rabbi Eli Mayer read a Scripture lesson, including the Twenty-third Psalm. Frederic C. Howe then spoke briefly:

No man in recent years has awakened so many people in so many distant lands to an interest in a great social reform for the freedom of man as has Joseph Fels, at the side of whose grave we stand today. No single man has demonstrated the power of a single man to compel millions, with different convictions, different languages and beliefs, to think a common language, and to believe in a common ideal, as has he.

Unlike other men, wearied of the emptiness of wealth, and desirous of helping his fellow-man, he spoke to the world of justice, not charity, and awakened a belief in a society where liberty, equality and fraternity would take the place of the inequality and injustice of the present day.

The services were concluded with the address of Louis F. Post.

I wish to offer my tribute to the memory of Joseph Fels. I loved him as I have loved but few friends. He was a man devoted. His devotion to the cause of the disinherited, which lay nearest his heart, seems to me to have been almost without a parallel. Perhaps he did not die for the cause as men so understand; but he did that which was more difficult—he lived for it. He gave to it all he had; not his financial income alone, but himself with it. It is impossible to think that such a man has died. The instrument he used, the body he inhabited, is worn out; we lay it away. But human life would be without reason if the man himself died with his body. We see that this man whom we loved, whom we love, has left that which will live, whether he has died or not. The cause of justice to which he gave his fortune, his energies, himself, is beginning to be understood by the world. As that understanding grows, with it will grow understanding of him, appreciation of him. And as long as the world remembers the names of Henry George and Tom L. Johnson, it will link with them the name of Joseph Fels.



Thus was Joseph Fels laid to rest. The sky was blue and clear, the ground white with snow, and beyond the cemetery was farmland; a quiet resting place for one who had earned it. "For after he had served his own generation by the will of God, he fell on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers."



Joseph Fels Memorial Meetings.

Plans for memorial meetings in honor of Joseph Fels are already under way in many cities. In Philadelphia a committee headed by Charles S. Shandrew was appointed at a meeting held on February 26. Other members of the committee are Frank Stephens, Scott Nearing, Earl Barnes, S. Burns Weston and Samuel Milliken. In order that the work done by Joseph Fels in England may be accurately explained a cablegram was sent urging the attendance of Josiah Wedgwood, member of Parliament and president of the United Committee for Taxation of Land Values. Mr. Wedgwood promptly consented to come and will address meetings not only in Philadelphia but in other cities where his services will be requested. In Chicago memorial arrangements were put in charge of a committee headed by Otto Cullman, president of the Chicago Singletax Club. Arrangements in process have been reported from New York City, Boston, Washington, Cleveland, Cincinnati and other places, with a seeming certainty that scarcely any considerable center of population will omit holding such a meeting. Progressives of all schools are active in the matter. [See current volume, page 201.]

Suffrage Matters.

Women participated in the primaries at Chicago on February 24 to the number of 47,424, being slightly less than thirty per cent of the registration. The number of male voters was about the same proportionately, but in actual numbers nearly three times as much. The law debars those participating in the primary of a party from voting in the primary of another party for at least two years. For this reason some prominent suffragists advised the women to stay away from the primaries. This undoubtedly did much to reduce the vote. According to parties the woman's vote was as follows: Democrats, 33,381; Republican, 10,189; Progressive, 3,297; Socialist, 557. Two women received Progressive party nominations for alderman, and five Socialist party nominations. Among these is Miss Marion Drake, who will be the Progressive candidate opposed to the Democratic nominee, "Bathhouse" John Coughlin. Two Democratic woman candidates were defeated. [See current volume page 178.]



The New Jersey Senate, by a vote of 14 to 4, passed on February 24 the resolution for a constitutional amendment granting suffrage to women. It has already passed the House. It must now pass the next legislature and then be submitted to the people.

**U'Ren for Governor of Oregon.**

Announcing himself as an independent candidate for Governor of Oregon, W. S. U'Ren has issued the following address to the voters:

I have decided to be an independent candidate for Governor, though for many years I have been a Republican, and voted for the party candidates when they were even moderately progressive. But for the following reasons I shall not seek the party nomination:

(1) The measures necessary to complete what is called the Oregon System are essentially people's measures rather than the property of any political party, many of them opposed to the Republican party. These measures provide for conduct of the government by officials who are directly responsible to all the people, instead of to a party organization for their first allegiance.

(2) All the standpatters and reactionaries who made up the anti-Statement No. one and assembly crowd in 1910, and who, as they boasted in 1909 in the Oregonian, would "put the knife into each and all who declare for Statement one," are as anxious now as ever to put that same knife into me. They are as bitterly opposed now as they were in 1910 to the actual use of the initiative and referendum, to the corrupt practices act, to the recall, and to all the people's power measures, at which they still sneer as "Urenism" and the "Urenic" theory of government.

(3) I would rather have those gentlemen fighting

me from the front as open enemies because of the measures I stand for, than knifing me from my own ranks, as they have done for many years past with all Republican candidates who were known to be progressive.

As his platform Mr. U'Ren announces a good roads proposition, the expenses to come from a graduated inheritance tax. In building these roads employment to be given to all citizens of Oregon applying therefor. He further advocates the short ballot, abolition of unnecessary offices, free school books and exemption to the extent of \$1,500 of personal property and improvements of each taxpayer.

**Denver Defeats a Franchise Grab.**

A proposition to grant a twenty-year franchise to the private water company at Denver was overwhelmingly defeated at the polls on February 17. A very bitter campaign preceded the election. The franchise was opposed by advocates of municipal ownership. [See vol. xvi, p. 560.]

**The Cleveland Foundation.**

The organization is announced of the Cleveland Foundation, for the purpose of making a social survey of that city. The founder is Mr. F. H. Goff. The work will be in the hands of a board of trustees whose acceptance was announced on February 25. These are Miss Myrta Jones, Thomas G. Fitzsimmons, Bascon Little, Charles E. Adams, Samuel Mather and Arthur D. Baldwin, secretary. Mr. Goff will be president. A suggestion of one line of investigation has been made to the trustees in the following letter from Edmund Vance Cook, David Gibson and O. K. Dorn, officials of the Singletax League:

Desiring to compliment the unselfish impulse and the diligence which has made possible a survey of social conditions in Cleveland, we would propose a form of inquiry which, we believe, will lead to more valuable results than those attained in surveys elsewhere.

Such surveys have usually given disproportionate attention to the symptoms of poverty as represented in vice, crime, disease and kindred specific evils. We believe that undeserved poverty cannot be studied intelligently without equal attention to undeserved wealth. We would therefore suggest inquiry into the incomes of Cleveland's rich as well as its poor, considering the sources of these incomes and what their recipients are doing to earn them.

This is not suggested in a spirit of censorship for the possessors of wealth, but in the belief that poverty exists as the result of a few simple flaws in the formula of human relationships, and that the discovery of these flaws and the promulgation of a formula for economic justice will be the most monumental accomplishment with which any citizen can endow society.

The Labor War.

Awful conditions in the hop fields of California, responsible for the fatal riots at Wheatland last August, are disclosed in a report by Dr. Carleton H. Parker, secretary of the State Immigration Commission and investigator for the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations. The report was published on February 13 and deals with affairs on the hop ranch of Ralph Durst, where the trouble occurred. According to the report Durst had advertised extensively for help, bringing to his ranch many more workers than were needed. These workers, of twenty-seven different nationalities, with their families, numbering 2,800 persons, had to encamp on a low unshaded hill. Tents were rented to them by Durst for seventy-five cents per night. The resulting sanitary conditions were appalling. The report in its details on this phase of the matter shows how the camp inevitably became in a few days unspeakably filthy. In addition the water supply was insufficient and the campers had to go long distances to get water. An important part of the hop field was more than a mile from the well, but no water was transported to the pickers in spite of the great heat. Work began about four o'clock in the morning and 200 or 300 children were taken to the fields with the women. "By noon," says the report, "under the hot sun beating down on the still air held between the rows of vines, the children, many of whom were very small, were in a pitiable condition because of the lack of water." The report says further that no explanation was given for the failure to provide water, but immediately after this it tells that Durst had let a concession to a relative to sell lemonade in the fields, and also that a concession to sell stew had been sold, and to each one who purchased stew a glass of water was given. During the first week 90 cents a hundred pounds was paid for picking to which was added a bonus of 10 cents a hundred if the picker stayed through the season. If he quit before the last day he lost this bonus. When finally a riot occurred, Durst made the rate \$1.00 a hundred straight. The earnings of pickers previous to the outbreak ranged from 78 cents to \$1.90 a day.



A meeting of pickers was called on August 3 to protest against this state of affairs. It was being addressed by "Blackie" Ford, an orator of the Industrial Workers of the World, when a sheriff's posse appeared. Ford had taken a sick baby from its mother's arms and holding it up had cried: "It's for the kids we are doing this." The sheriff started to arrest Ford, and a deputy fired in the air "to sober the crowd," so he afterwards explained. This infuriated the men who had previously been peaceful. The sheriff was knocked senseless, and in the resulting riot four men, including the district attorney and a deputy

sheriff, were killed. The posse was driven away, but the next day the militia arrived. Ford and another man named Suhr were arrested, and although no evidence was presented to show they had taken part in the violence, they have been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for life.

Dr. Parker points out "that the conviction of the agitators Ford and Suhr for murder is not a solution, but is only the punishment or revenge inflicted by organized society for a past deed. The remedy lies in prevention." To accomplish this he urges enforcement of existing laws for sanitation of labor camps, and a state-wide campaign of education among employers and workers. The employers "must come to realize that their own laxity in allowing the existence of unsanitary and filthy conditions gives a much-desired foothold to the very agitators of the revolutionary I. W. W. doctrines whom they so dread. They must learn that unbearable aggravating living conditions inoculate the minds of otherwise peaceful workers with the germs of bitterness and violence, as was so well exemplified at the Wheatfield riot, giving the agitator a fruitful field wherein to sow the seeds of revolt, preach the doctrines of direct action and sabotage." The laborers, he holds, must be shown that revolts, accompanied by force, lead to crime, and accomplish no lasting result for their cause. [See vol. xvi, p. 1043.]



Testimony regarding the deportation of Charles H. Moyer was given on February 25 to the Congressional Committee at Hancock, Michigan. Charles H. Tanner of the Western Federation of Miners testified. He said that on December 26 a crowd of twenty or thirty men entered the room occupied by Moyer and himself at Hancock, saying "Where is Moyer?" Moyer answered, "I am here." Several men seized him and one struck him on the head with a revolver which accidentally went off, wounding Moyer in the back. They were then forced out of the hotel and across the bridge to Houghton, where they were placed on a train for Chicago, in charge of two deputies, one named Hensley, and threatened with hanging if they returned. On March 3 James McNaughton, manager of the Calumet and Hecla Company, testified. He said that the mines are now half worked out in the Michigan upper district. A system of payment by tonnage instead of lineal foot had been adopted on complaint of the men against the latter system, but the new system made it difficult for the captains and men to agree on measurement which accounted for complaints of under-payment heard by the committee. The men had the right to appeal for redress to him, when they were dissatisfied, and many had done so. His company, he said, was complying with all state laws. The one man drill, to which strikers objected, was necessary because all competitors are using it.

To the Congressional investigating committee at Trinidad, Colorado, Gustav Yeskensi, aged eleven, testified on February 25 that on February 10, while his parents were absent, two militia men visited the house, searching for arms, beat him and his younger sisters and brother and inflicted damage on the household goods. Complaint was made to General Chase, who promised to investigate. Attorneys for the United Mine Workers have decided not to call Mother Jones as a witness, at present, for fear that it might jeopardize her appeal from the decision of the Colorado court denying a writ of habeas corpus. [See current volume, page 204.]



A statement has been issued by the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago, concerning a strike of bakers, cooks and waitresses. Their demands are as follows: The bakers ask for a six day week of nine hours a day, with a weekly wage of \$22 for the foreman, \$20 for the second hand and \$17 for the third hand. The cooks ask for a six day week of ten hours a day or less and wages of not less than \$14.50 per week. The waitresses demand a six day week of ten hours a day or less, wage of \$8 a week and that the employer furnish and launder the working linen of the employes. On account of the refusal of some concerns to sign the agreement to this effect, a vigorous boycott has been conducted against them for several weeks. The grievances of waitresses are that wages are but seven dollars a week of seven days' work. Out of this five cents a day is said to be taken for laundering aprons and an average of 30 cents a day is paid by each waitress to a "bus" boy to remove the dishes. In addition complaints are made of heavy fines for real or alleged mistakes, and of requirement to do heavy work which should be done by porters. Union pickets posted since the strike in front of the restaurant of the Philip Henrici Company have been subjected to much brutal treatment by the police, which the Women's Trade Union League describes as follows:

Peaceful picketing is allowed by the laws of the State of Illinois, and the Waitresses' Union has delegated some of its members to pass up and down in front of Henrici's to call attention of his customers to the fact that the strike and lock-out is on. No one of these pickets has at any time violated any law or been guilty of doing anything that she has not a perfect right under the law to do. In spite of this, thirty-nine arrests have been made by these private detectives and subservient police. In twelve cases a trumped up charge of conspiracy was made. This charge is utterly without foundation. Besides these unlawful arrests the conduct of the private detectives and police has been brutal in the extreme. These men have used foul and profane language in addressing the girls, have tramped on their feet as they were passing along the street and when arresting them have used the same methods that they would use on a strong man who is resisting arrest. Jerry Laughlin, notorious for such practices, jerked,

pulled and twisted the arm of Dora Duree until it was dislocated and is now in such condition that it is doubtful whether she will ever have the full use of it again. There is no excuse for this violence or brutality. The girls have made not the slightest resistance to arrest, but each one has gone along quietly with the officer. The statements made that some of the girls resisted and even went so far as to sit down on the sidewalk in the slush and snow are untrue.

As the result of a protest against this treatment by a committee of women representing various organizations, the assignment of policewomen to strike duty, as demanded by the Women's Trade Union League, was ordered on February 25 by Chief Gleason. The cases of the arrested pickets were all postponed in the municipal court at the request of the Restaurant Owners' Association and against the protest of the defendants.



Mexico and the United States.

The Benton affair, the killing of William S. Benton, a British citizen residing in Mexico, by General Villa, continues to be the chief point of interest. Villa's statement to the American government was that Benton attempted his life, for which he was tried by court martial and executed. A request that Benton's body be delivered to his wife was refused; but permission was given Mrs. Benton and representatives of England and America to view it at the cemetery. As the body had been removed from Juarez, where the execution took place, to Chihuahua, General Villa promised to place a special train at the disposal of the family and the representatives. [See current volume, page 203.]



While the case of Benton, which the English government placed entirely in the hands of the United States, was progressing smoothly, reports were received of the hanging of Clemento Vergara by Federals near Nuevo Laredo, Mexico. Vergara, a Texas ranchman, was decoyed to an island in the Rio Grande, where he was captured by the Mexicans. Federal officials deny his execution, saying that he escaped, and joined the Constitutionalists.



General Carranza on the 1st injected a new element by denying the American government's right to inquire into the death of a British subject, and rebuking the Secretary of State for addressing its communications to General Villa instead of to himself. Following this stand of the Constitutionalist head, General Villa withdrew permission for the American and British representatives to examine Benton's body.



This unexpected stand of General Carranza

hold the Sultan responsible for his safety. [See vol. xvi, p. 563.]

—One of the last acts of the Philippine assembly before adjourning on the 28th was to deny the charge of Dean C. Worcester that slavery existed in the islands. The franchise given the Marconi Company to erect forty wireless stations in the islands, which allowed the American government to take over the wireless system in case of war, was amended so as to give the right to the Philippine government. [See vol. xvi, p. 825.]

PRESS OPINIONS

One of the Immortals.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, February 24.—Joseph Fels passed out of mortality into immortality at his home in Philadelphia on Sunday, being stricken with pneumonia. He will be immortalized in the history (yet to be written), of humanity's long struggle to throw off the burden of special class privileges based upon indirect taxation, and to substitute therefor direct taxes derived chiefly from land values socially created. Fels was a prodigy: a man born poor who won millions as a manufacturer, and a multimillionaire whose social vision was not obscured by his own material success.



A Teacher of Humanity.

David Gibson in Jewish Independent (Cleveland), February 27.—In the life of Joseph Fels, just closed, there is a life lesson to all of us, individual—world-wide. Joseph Fels was a Jew, and strong in that strongest of Jewish characteristics—Idealism. From a very humble beginning, he rose to vast material wealth, but as he grew in material wealth he grew spiritually in the love of all mankind, and in devotion to the abolition of land slavery, and which is just one degree removed from human slavery. For years he was tireless in his efforts and unstinted with his money for the cause of democracy, not only here in America, but in England, Germany, Russia, Spain and even in China—the cause of democracy which is just now coming into full bloom. Joseph Fels was a world power for the power of the many and against the power of the few. It is men like Joseph Fels that teach the world humanity, that the people of the earth are one and for each other regardless of race or religion.



An Example to Millionaires.

The Toledo (Ohio) Blade, February 24.—Joseph Fels might have devoted his life to the manufacture of soap and considered that he had done his duty by his fellowmen by thus encouraging them in the way of cleanliness that is next to Godliness. He might have lounged about luxurious hotels, driven automobiles too fast and beheld his picture upon occasion in the snapshots taken at polo matches. But Joseph Fels did not read his responsibility in just that way. He became impressed with the idea that the singletax was the only cure for the frightful mess of the tax system of this country. He went forth and

preached singletax. He financed movements for the purpose of spreading the doctrine in which he held faith. He worked for singletax as other men work for their bread and butter. The singletax tenets may be wrong-headed and impracticable. Many people think they are. But discussing them was more likely to bring out the wrong-headedness and impracticability of the single tax, more likely to bring about the cure needed and prayed for, than doing nothing at all and saying no word for or against the principle. So whatever folk may say of Joseph Fels' ideas, they cannot say that his life was not extremely useful. They can say, and are ready to say, that he set a mighty good example to millionaires.



Unlike Other Givers.

Dubuque (Ia.) Telegraph-Herald, February 24.—Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Carnegie and other large givers of money are unlike Mr. Fels in that they seek to cure the effects of social conditions while he sought to remove the cause. Mr. Fels early recognized the truth in the teachings of Henry George. Becoming convinced of the soundness of the single tax doctrine, he propagated it with untiring zeal and with prodigious expenditures of his own money. He traveled to every part of the world to advance it and was the financial backbone of the movement here and in England. . . . The passing of one who sought to set men free by opening to them the doors of opportunity, and who devoted his life to that end, inevitably leaves a void. It was refreshing to turn from the recital of other men's benefactions, effecting not at all to promote justice as between man and man, to the benefactions of Joseph Fels, all made with the idea of pushing the rich off the backs of the ambitious and industrious poor.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A DEFENSE ON PARNASSUS.

(By a Poet of the People.)

For The Public.

I know it; I have verily sinned in this,
That, with the high bards sitting over me,
Lamps of my heaven and theirs, I have approached
And with weak hands essayed to filch their fire
For mortal needs, even as one of old
Who writhes thenceforth on the Caucasian rock.
But, O Apollo! O imperial Nine
Who serve him on the high Parnassian peaks,
His temple and his throne—hear my defense,
My strong excuse, and let my plea prevail!
I sat among the wants and woes of men,
The slow, mute martyrdoms of womanhood,
In a hard world and cold; and saw the need,
Ever and everywhere, of such a flame
As might break through its frost, a mimic sun
Which might reflect the true, and in his stead
(For some must live where never sunbeam shone)
Set the birds singing, call the flocks of flowers
From their green folds, rally the hosts of Spring.

If I invoked your aid, bright Ministers,
 Had I not reason? Here a wound I saw
 That craved a song for balm, and there a cloud
 That sought a song for light, and everywhere
 The appeal, the anguish, the importunate need!
 Also I saw One who, for utter love,
 Writhed on the rood at last, as on the rock
 Prometheus; One who shook Olympus, even,
 And your Parnassus, and the haunts of Pan
 With the reverberant thunder of His doom.
 Rising again, He bade men follow Him
 By diverse ways; and if the way for me
 Led hither, up long steeps and barren wastes
 Unto the ultimate fastness of the air,
 And if, beholding these your starry fires,
 I snatched, or sought to snatch, one spark thereof.
 One little spark, to light the darks below—
 Forgive, Apollo! O Mnemosyne,—
 Melpomene,—Urania,—hear! Forgive!

* * * * *

I ceased; I hid mine eyes; from peak to peak,
 And round the rocks, and over the sighing seas,
 The verdict rolled "Guilty," and thereupon
 The sentence: "Therefore she shall live a slave,
 The Muses' slave, a handmaid in their halls,
 A captive at their car, her whole life long."

S. GERTRUDE FORD.



TWO WOMEN ON A HILL-TOP.

No. 2. The One Who Gave, and Had.

For The Public.

Forty years had passed like a dream in the night, and again the school teacher that was, rode along the rising curves of a great mountain highway toward the ocean (this time alone), remembered almost every farm and village, noted changes and improvements, saw growth and prosperity everywhere, stopped and talked with people, felt hardly a day older inside. Hills, rocks, orchards, fields, gardens, redwood forests and deepest blue skies overhead, all were in perfect tune with the world of singing meadow larks and laughing children by the roadsides.

He rode up the last well-remembered ridge to the high hilltop saddle, and again the splendor of the view overwhelmed him. He forgot to look for the farm, forgot the woman of objurgations, took off his hat, gazed out upon the Balboa sea, said under his breath: "Silent upon a peak in Darien."

Slowly he became aware that he was not alone, pulled himself inshore from the blue distance, gave thought to mundane events. Yes! At his right hand was the hilltop farm where the lonesome woman had gathered peas forty years before. It had changed astonishingly into such neatness, such contentment, such simple adaptation to its place at the top of the ridge, overlooking the ocean, that his heart went out to it as if it were almost human—this mountain farm—and were making him welcome.

He drew a long breath of happy surprise. "How

well things can sometimes come out in this dear old world," he said to himself. "Love and hard work have made it like a glimpse of paradise."

An elderly woman was coming cheerfully down the path from a neat, new cottage. She had a little R. F. D. mail bag in her hand which she tossed into a box at the gate, for the carrier would soon be along. Then she smiled up at the stranger on horseback. "I like to see people rest here," she said, "and I love to see them looking out over the Pacific as if they wanted to be riding in an air-ship clear to—to" (she hesitated, searching his face) "clear to Ormuz and Ind, Arabia and Cathay."

"Exactly," he answered her. "All of the poetry that was ever written or lived comes flowing through this pass; I felt it when I rode up here forty years ago."

"That was when my Aunt Matilda and her husband lived here. I think you must come right in, and have a cup of tea and tell us all about it."

He realized fully, of course, that the situation might be embarrassing, and still—it had aspects adventurous; he dismounted and started to tie his horse to a post.

"Not a bit of it," she said. "Lead him right up the path, and the children will give him a bite."

Five children there proved to be—all ages and sizes, none in the least alike, and none in the least like the little and elderly woman. Some of them had been at work in the orchard and field, some in the house, but it was now high noon. There was a deep-thoughted old man, too, the husband, and a holy atmosphere, as of one of the Quietists, was about him.

"Peace and happiness are truly here," the stranger thought as he sat down at the table and joined in the blessing asked by the head of the family. Then, when he was questioned, he told them: "I was twenty years old, and my brother and I drew rein here. A tall, sun-browned woman was gathering peas just over there; I spoke of the beautiful view—and she—she lambasted it!"

"Oh, that was sure my Aunt Matilda! She hated the place and everything about it." Thus the lady of the house, laughing softly with humor-lighted eyes. "Her husband, Uncle Ben, had means, and a house in town, but he insisted on staying here and roughing it as he did in the pioneer times; he wouldn't spend on the place. She was fagged out and angry; the things she said to people went all over these mountains, but her man just sat back and laughed at them!"

No longer a stranger, but as one who belonged to the family circle, the wanderer leaned back in his chair after dinner, while the youngest of the children climbed into his lap, slipped her hand into his and went to sleep. He waited gently for the rest of the tale.

"And so it was that they left us this farm. We—my husband and I—had worked hard and long,

had learned to 'earn a little and to spend a little less.' We had no children of our own. We came up here to this heavenly place, and——" she glanced around. The elder children had gone to the field. "And so we picked up here and there and adopted as our own these five children, all of unhappy and unfortunate parentage. We love them; they love us, and we feel sure they will run straight. All we have and are belongs to them, of course, and we have worked together to make a home out of Hill-Top Farm."

"There ought to be a million more people just like you," he said, as he shook hands with them on parting. "You have brought yourselves and five children and this bit of soil and the whole wide universe into harmony. These children will have homes full of sweet memories of you, and people all over this hill-country will tell pleasant tales of your life here."

Then he rode away; the old man, the elderly woman, the five children, waved their hands in gay farewell. He rode down into the Avalon-land of apple orchards, green-acred Pajaro Valley, and thought with reverence how forty years had justified their wisdom.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.

BOOKS

FINANCE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

Taxation and the Distribution of Wealth. By Fred-eric Mathews. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$2.50 net.

Mr. Mathews' book, one of the latest contributions to economic discussion, bears the sub-title "Studies in the Economic, Ethical and Practical Relations of Fiscal Systems to Social Organization." This is a large subject, and the work in question covers more than 650 pages and is divided into five parts headed, Protection, Taxation, The Natural Tax, Progress and Politics, with many subdivisions under each head. Much space is given to analyses of religious and philosophic thought which may be lightly passed over in the following comments.

The economic discussion is developed mainly from the orthodox English economists, and from their postulates the author derives a conclusion in harmony with the ideas of Henry George, whose vital contribution to economic thought he strangely neglects to discuss. "Progress and Poverty" is not mentioned, and some of the fallacies which George exposed arise again to confuse the reader. Thus it is assumed that labor is dependent upon capital, although it is shown that the Southern States, after the widespread destruction of capital during the Civil War, began almost at once

to threaten the supremacy of the North in iron and textile industries (p. 27); and E. G. Wakefield is quoted as pointing out in 1833 that the American colonists, with land available, "could employ themselves independently of accumulated capital," with the result that labor was "uncertain," wages high, and the capitalist unable to dictate terms (pp. 47-8). Land is confused with wealth (p. 166), and the Malthusian spectre appears on page 317, where the advisability of limiting increase of population to the means of subsistence is suggested.

But in spite of occasional flaws, the argument as a whole is admirably conclusive as to the iniquity of our present economic structure and the soundness of the Singletax theory. Protection is studied in all its varying and self-contradictory phases, and revealed as a thoroughgoing fraud upon the credulity of the people. "Indirect taxes, in order to produce important or constant revenue, must be laid upon the necessaries of life and industry. The taxation of such necessaries is, in consequence, the same thing as the direct assessment of living expenses. As the necessary living expenses of the poor form a relatively larger part of income than the necessary living expenses of the rich, the forced effects of such taxation will be the same thing as an inversely proportionate income tax; levying increasing tribute upon poverty, and exempting wealth in proportion to its amount." Hence "the convenience created by indirect methods seems largely measured by the convenience of different forms of starvation, and their security dependent upon ignorance and the time necessary to bring about the inevitable political upheaval due to disproportionately placed burdens." (pp. 149-50).

Having rejected indirect taxation as vicious, a study of direct taxes shows that the only one which meets the test of fairness is that on unimproved land values. For "a tax on ground rent conforms to the first principle laid down by Adam Smith, stating that individuals should contribute 'in proportion to their abilities.' As their abilities are measured by their revenues, in the form of improvement, rent, profit and wages, and, as ground rents are 'proportionate to their abilities'" (p. 172). In other words, the ability to pay can be measured only by the value of the natural advantages in the possession of the taxpayer. "The idea of regarding the taxing powers of a society as something apart from the interests of any class or elements into which society may be divided, in order that all its elements may be brought to the highest degree of productive efficiency, through untaxed production and consumption and untaxed markets, is yet, if ever, to dawn upon the political horizon" (p. 109).

When he comes to applying the principles which he has established, Mr. Mathews betrays a mind

hospitable to the subtleties and sophistries of the professional economists. Shutting his eyes to the rights of the disinherited, he argues that to take away ground rent from its legal possessors would be unjust, and he evolves a complicated scheme of progressive taxation to bring about a readjustment without upsetting the business world (p. 216). His plan would be to get back from Paul the stolen wealth of Peter without inconvenience to Paul. The attempt leads to a sea of perplexities. "The indirect tax in theory is a useless and dangerous burden; in practice, it is a very different thing. In practical finance it acts as a force pump, keeping the nation alive." Socialists, anarchists, free traders or single taxers, if placed in a responsible position, where they had to act, and not talk, would, methinks, be turned at once into high tariff protectionists; for "these taxes exist as financial factors, and are as vital a necessity to the nation as food and drink to man."

The established order is thus potent because "the solvency of every fiduciary institution in a country is directly dependent upon indirect fiscal schedules, because these schedules represent industrial values against which the savings of the people have been lent, and in which these savings have been invested by the institutions of trust. No intelligent man, therefore, in responsible administrative control, will ever allow these schedules to be dangerously affected, he well knows that, through the great institutions, they represent literally the life-blood of the nation" (pp. 585-7). Thus, having bought their taxes with their savings, the people are placed in a dilemma. If they abolish their taxes, their savings will be swallowed up in a financial panic, and if they go on with the present régime, which is admittedly "undermining its own foundations," (p. 589) Socialism or revolution stares them in the face. If we must choose, let it be the financial crash, for it may turn out that the panic will not spread beyond the timid minds of the scholars in political economy.

The plan of reorganization which Mr. Mathews develops in a chapter headed "A Fiscal Clearing House" (p. 621) will not appeal to the practical reformer, but having launched his suggestion, the author returns to solid ground in his final pages. Having reviewed a wide field of thought, in which will be found much that is interesting and suggestive, "the conclusion suggests that ethical and rational considerations support commercial and industrial freedom as the most advantageous system of human relations, national and international." Accepting the Golden Rule as the essence of all religious teaching, and obeying the command to render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's, men may construct a new social design, "purer, stronger, and more enduring than anything they have yet conceived. At the head of the corner of that new design will be laid the stone the other builders had rejected. On that stone,

cut clear and deep, will be the words: One Tax, One Freedom, One Kingdom, One God."

F. W. GARRISON.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Taxation. By C. B. Fillebrown. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1914. Price, 50 cents net.

—In Freedom's Birthplace: A Study of the Boston Negroes. By John Daniels. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The High Cost of Living. By Karl Kautsky. Translated by Austin Lewis. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1914. Price, 50 cents.

—Unpopular Government in the United States. By Albert M. Kales. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1914. Price, \$1.50 net; postage, 12 cents.

—The Financial History of New York State. From 1789 to 1912. By Don C. Sowers. Whole Number 140, Columbia University Studies in History Economics and Public Law. Longmans Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1914. Price, \$2.50 net.

PAMPHLETS

Effective Voting.

In this pamphlet of 34 pages, written by C. G. Hoag, General Secretary of the American Proportional Representative League, and introduced by Senator Owen of Oklahoma as Senate Document No. 359, Second session of the 63d Congress, Mr. Hoag has presented some matter on methods of voting that should be in the hands of every man and woman in this country. The first half of the treatise is devoted to methods of electing men to single offices by means of preferential voting, that is, by allowing the voter to express a second, third or fourth choice. This permits of the nomination of candidates by petition, and gives the voter greater choice and power in a single election than he now has in primary and election put together. The preferential vote is absolutely essential to the full expression of the voter's will. Mr. Hoag has treated the question broadly, presenting the principal methods for applying the preferential vote; and should this lead to confusion in the mind of the novice, and leave him in doubt as to which method he should adopt, he can safely adopt any; the poorest is far superior to the orthodox plurality.

Part II, or Unanimous-Constituency Voting, presents concisely the best methods of electing representatives to those bodies that are made up of a number of officials of equal rank, such as city councils, legislatures, commissioners, and Congressmen. This also must come, though it is more than likely, that the simple preferential vote will be adopted first, because of the necessity for correcting at once the inherent evils of the present primary system. Copies of this pamphlet may be had by addressing Mr. Hoag, Haverford, Pa.

S. C.

Pamphlets Received.

Songs of the New Freedom. Compiled by Frank Williams, 2428 Cypress Ave., San Diego, Calif., 1914. Price, 5 cents, postpaid.

The Civic Club of Allegheny County, Annual Report, 1913. Published by the Civic Club, 238 Fourth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1914.

University "Economics." By Samuel Danziger. Published by The Public, Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago. 1914. Price, 3 cents, postpaid.

The Recall. Bulletin General Series No. 448, Extension Division, Debating and Public Discussion, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1914. Price, 5 cents.

A Peace Tour Around the World. By Kiyu Sue Inui and George W. Beadle. Published by the Great Lakes International Arbitration Society, Detroit, Mich. 1914. Price, 10 cents.

Debate between Tom Mann and Arthur M. Lewis, Chicago, November 16, 1913: Resolved that economic organization is sufficient and political action unnecessary to the emancipation of the working class. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1914. Price, 25 cents.

The City Where Crime is Play. By John Collier and Edward M. Barrows. Published by The People's Institute, 70 Fifth Ave., New York. 1914. Price, 10 cents. Being a study of Juvenile Delinquency and its relation to the street, and of the possibilities of the Social Center movement for the People's Recreation time.

A JOSEPH FELS MEMORIAL MEETING

will be held in the
Young Men's Christian Association Hall,
19 So. La Salle Street,

Wednesday, March 11, 8 P. M.

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, M. P.,

(of London) will be the principal speaker.

RABBI EMIL G. HIRSCH and others will also speak.

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