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EDITORIAL

The Vanity of Riches.

What profiteth it a man to give hundreds of millions in charity, and beget hatred in the hearts of his neighbors?

S. C.



Still Sowing the Wind.

The Colorado war seems to be over, for the time being. But the cause which brought it on is still at work and there seems to have been no thought of an effort by the legislature to do away with it. As was to be expected the old Bourbon policy of indicting labor leaders is being pursued, while the perpetrators of the Ludlow massacre are not molested. Bye and bye when trouble breaks out again will the Bourbons wonder why? Or will they attribute it all to "agitators"?

S. D.



Protecting a State Against Itself.

In notifying Governor Ammons that Federal troops cannot remain in Colorado indefinitely, President Wilson has called attention to the shameful neglect of the State government to provide against provocation of future disorder. If the State insists on upholding monopoly, it must not depend on Federal bayonets to permanently protect it from the consequences of such ignorance and folly. It is bad enough that conditions exist in the State which drove peaceful workers to desperation and brought on a civil war. It is infinitely worse that neither Governor nor legislature can be made to see the need of radical changes in such conditions. It is certainly not a function of the federal government to protect a State, or those in control of its government from the consequences of their own injustice, blindness and folly. It has already cost Colorado one million dollars to protect certain corporations in monopolizing its resources. The cost of this will be largely defrayed by taxes levied on the labor and labor products of people who had nothing to do with the trouble, except, as

they may by their votes have upheld monopolistic conditions. Congress would set a good example if it were to insist that the expense of maintaining federal troops be borne by the corporations, whose monopoly holdings are being protected.

S. D.



St. Clare or Legree.

The condition of the Colorado miners, and their struggle for better conditions, brings to mind the plight of Mrs. Stowe's Uncle Tom, and his two masters, Augustine St. Clare and Simon Legree. As a slave in the luxurious home of the gentle planter, Uncle Tom fared sumptuously, was clothed with authority, and enjoyed many liberties; but, when he passed into the hands of Simon Legree, he came under the control of a master who believed it the best economic policy to work his "niggers" to death, and buy fresh ones. In either case, however, Tom was a slave, and subject to all the evils, actual and potential, of the accursed institution. But it was the Legrees, and not the St. Clares, who were the real friends of the slave; for it was the brutality of the slave driver that quickened the conscience of the world.



The plight of the working men in the mining regions is not unlike that of Uncle Tom. They are asking for better living conditions. The demand is such a reasonable one that the greater part of the public is disposed to censure the mine owners for refusing the request. Some critics have been disposed to say harsh things of Mr. Rockefeller for not yielding, at least to the extent of arbitrating the differences. But workingmen are to be congratulated upon the fact that, however generous Mr. Rockefeller may be in matters of charity, he demands his pound of flesh when it comes to business. Were he to yield, were he to offer to the men the generous terms that he can afford, his example would encourage others to yield a little, and the net result in the end would be the strengthening of the hold of Privilege. Had Uncle Tom succeeded in his efforts to convert Simon Legree to Christianity, slavery would not have been abolished when it was.



The question involved in the Colorado dispute lies deeper than the refusal of an owner to arbitrate. It lies in the laws of the country that put the control of the bounties of nature into the hands of any man, or any set of men. That the law—and the law is but the will of the people of the country—should clothe any man with power

to deny another man access to the earth, or, permitting access, should charge for it, grows daily more intolerable; and just to the degree that Pharaoh's heart is hardened, and the oppression of labor increased, to that degree will the hour of real deliverance be hastened. One would suppose that the giving of the land that belongs to the people to one man in order that he may exact toll from other men for the privilege of using it, would be an idea so monstrous as to be crushed by its own weight. But it needs the brutality of a Legree to awaken the people to a consciousness of their wrongs.

S. C.



More Progress in Mexicanization.

"Killed while trying to escape," is one explanation offered for the death of three Colorado strikers while held prisoners by the militia. Hitherto none but barbarous Mexicans have been permitted to offer that story as an explanation of such occurrences.

S. D.



Forgetting the Golden Rule.

Queer ideas of justice must be harbored by Magistrate Campbell of New York, who passed on the case of Mr. Bouck White. It appears from all accounts that Mr. White did nothing more than attempt to ask a question of John D. Rockefeller's pastor, Dr. Cornelius Woelfkin, at the opening of church services. Presumably the question related to a practical application of the doctrine which Dr. Woelfkin advocates in public addresses. Mr. White had written to the pastor telling him of his intention. Had Dr. Woelfkin replied or given Mr. White any notice that the question would not be allowed there might have been some justification for what subsequently happened. But receiving no answer Mr. White seems to have had ground for believing that, however unwelcome his proposed action might be, he had tacit permission to proceed. Having made no effort to discourage Mr. White's attempt, Dr. Woelfkin and the authorities of his church owed him morally, though not legally, the opportunity when he appeared to at least depart in peace. Instead, he was made the victim of an unjustified brutal assault, the more cowardly and inexcusable in view of the fact that he appears to have been misled into unintentionally putting himself in an illegal position. The presence of plain clothes policemen in the church makes it difficult to believe that an opportunity to use them was entirely unexpected. Like the Tannenbaum case, this affair reflects no credit on either the church officials

involved or on New York's magistrates. None too severe was the comment on this occurrence made in a letter of protest to Mayor Mitchel by Amos Pinchot as follows:

Nothing that Mr. White or his friends might have said in regard to the Christianity of Calvary Church and of the gentlemen who support it, or of the standards of Christianity in this city, could possibly have amounted to so scathing an indictment as the furious assault which the city's officials and the frock coat phalanx of Calvary piously indulged in.

S. D.



Two Views of the Mexican Muddle.

Whether or not more men and munitions of war should be hurried to the front depends entirely upon the point of view. Military strategists have apparently made out a good case in their attempt to show that an army so large as to be overwhelming would be a merciful provision, both for us and for the Mexicans. A small band of Americans could fight its way through Mexico City, but the very fact of its smallness would encourage resistance, and lead to heavy losses on both sides. A large army, on the contrary, would quickly overcome all opposition, and so reduce the casualties. All this is so self-evident to the admirals and the generals that they cannot understand how the President can be so stupid as not to see it. And the yellow press and the little statesmen fall to, and belabor him, as an enemy of his country. President Wilson, however, sees the matter from a different angle. Doubtless he realizes the truth of all that the military strategists say, but he will not admit that we are to have war at all. And while this may handicap the admirals and generals in the event of invasion, it is the best possible preventive of war. For let it be borne in mind that if the clash comes it will be from our initiative, and not Mexico's.

S. C.



War News Still Lacks Reality.

A long-step toward bringing war home to the children was taken when the "movies" threw upon the screens the actual movements of the troops at Vera Cruz. But there is still one thing lacking. It is an inspiring sight to the little ones to see the action of the soldiers, the firing of the guns, and the fall of the men; but it is all in pantomime. They miss the commands of the officers, the curses of the men, and the groans of the dying. Alas, that Mr. Edison should have been so tardy in perfecting his phonograph! If only the perfected instrument could have been there to record the sharp cry of the stricken boy,

the moan of anguish, the mumbled message to his mother, while the camera caught his fall, the writhing of his body and the ghastly hue that followed the death rattle. Ah, that our children should have been denied such entertainment!

S. C.



Patriotism Run Mad.

Now that the nation has had time to recover somewhat from its state of morbid sentimentality, it might with profit give a few moments to sane reflection. Why all this sudden adulation of the soldier? Are we so lacking in examples of heroism that we must work ourselves into a state of hysteria over the death of a few men who have been killed in the discharge of their duty? They acquitted themselves as soldiers, as men, as Americans; they would have faced greater danger with equal willingness. We honor them as we honor any man who does his duty. But why the partiality? More policemen are killed every year; while a far greater number of firemen perish. And the policeman who engages a band of thugs at night, and the fireman who groups his way through a burning building in search of the helpless, is without the stimulating cheer of companions. Are we altogether just in giving our applause?



And who are these sailors and marines who are now the subjects of such extravagant praise? How long is it since they were denied admission to places of amusement in our coast cities? And how many of the people who have mourned with ostentation these men dead, would have admitted them to their clubs, living? Kipling caught the idea in his lines on Tommy Atkins in war and in peace.

"It's Tommy this, an' Tommy that, an' 'Chuck him out, the brute!"

"But it's 'Saviour of 'is country,' when the guns begin to shoot."



A little less exultation over our military exploits in Mexico, and a little more humiliation in the presence of our labor conditions in Colorado is in order.

S. C.



Cross and Crescent.

Christians throughout the world have been regaled for generations with tales of Turkish oppression and cruelty, until some otherwise peaceful churchmen have been disposed to look upon a war to drive the Turks from Europe as a holy

war. But what are we to say of the savagery displayed by the Christians of the Balkans? When they had driven the Turks from their territory they fell upon each other with such ferocity as to stagger belief. Each nation accused the others during the war; and now comes the report of the special commission of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which says all told the truth. That great numbers of men should have been guilty of the acts certified to by this impartial commission leads one to doubt whether less severity than that of the Turkish government will hold them in check. And in any event it is evident that the nominal profession of a religious creed does not necessarily accompany a corresponding state of ethical development. Cruel the Turk doubtless was, as a master, but his subjects have proven to be no less cruel. They are the victims of centuries of wars, and are in sore need of the hand of fellowship. It would be a good investment if each of the great powers could contribute the price of a battleship toward the rehabilitation of the Balkan countries. The example would serve as well as the money. s. c.



The True Inwardness of Toll Exemptions.

Congressman Bowdle of Ohio in a speech in the House on March 30, well explained the predatory nature of the Panama tolls exemption proposition. He asked what would have happened to a Congressman, who, if the canal had not been dug, would have "seriously proposed giving to our coastwise steamship corporations as a subsidy a determined portion of the interest on four hundred millions of money?" That is what the exemption proposition practically amounts to, and no amount of demagogic talk of "British domination" can make it anything else. S. D.



Land Values and the Cost of Living.

In disregard of facts, which can easily be gleaned from census reports, James J. Hill attributes the high cost of living to poor methods of farming and to the increased wages of farm laborers. He suggests as a remedy adoption of methods by farmers to increase production per acre. Of course any improvement in methods is a good thing, but it can not alone solve the cost of living problem. It seems strange that one as observant as Mr. Hill should have overlooked the principal obstacle to farming—one that has grown tremendously during the last decade and is still growing—the increase in farm-land values. Mr.

Hill refers to increase in wages of farm laborers which he estimates at fifty per cent, but he has not a word to say about more than one hundred per cent increase in land values. Adoption of improved methods can not remove that obstacle. On the contrary it must augment it, unless action be taken at the same time to discourage speculative withholding of farm lands from use. Actual decrease of population in Iowa is one example of the result of inflated farm-land values. In Kansas there is a noticeable tendency toward increase of tenantry, especially in the eastern half of the state. What seems most needed to encourage farming is what is needed in all other industries. More opportunities to prosper, should be given the laborer, and less to the appropriator of unearned increment. S. D.



What Ails Iowa.

"What is the matter with Iowa?" asks the Providence (R. I.) Journal and then continues: "It was the only state in the Union which lost in population in the decade from 1900 to 1910. . . . The Census Bureau's present estimate that it has lost about 3,000 since 1910 is probably not overdrawn, as it is known that thousands of Hawkeye farmers have emigrated to the Canadian Northwest during the last few years. But why do they leave?"

The answer to the Journal's question is in a speech by Congressman Vollmer of Iowa, delivered in the House on March 19. Speaking of the price of farm lands, Mr. Vollmer said: "In my county I have seen it go up from \$50 to \$250 per acre, and it is still going up." That means that in order to farm in Iowa one must either pay a fancy price or be rack-rented. Canada offers better inducements, not only in cheaper land, but in exemption from local taxation of labor products.

S. D.



Lords as Democrats and Suffragists.

The vote of the British House of Lords against the Unionist Lord Selbourne's bill for the enfranchisement of women was in truth, however intended, a vote *for*, not *against*, woman suffrage. To grant Parliamentary suffrage merely to those few women who through property qualifications already possess the municipal franchise, would be to set back the universal suffrage movement—the one-man-one-vote, one-woman-one-vote cause. The true "entering wedge" for democratic woman suffrage in England is no such limited bill for women, but the Liberal party's "plural

voting" bill for men, a measure that does away with all property qualifications and gives to every man a vote, and to no man more than one. Next in order, naturally next, politically next, and inevitably soon thereafter will come genuine suffrage for women—not several votes apiece for rich women, but one vote apiece for all women as for all men. Then will political democracy be ushered into Britain to hasten the coming of that industrial democracy already so swiftly on its way.

A. L. G.



Historian Todd's Mistake.

Not altogether accurate is the account of the railroad strike of 1894, in the Chicago Record-Herald and Inter Ocean of May 11, by John Howard Todd, A. B., and member of the Illinois Historical Society. Mr. Todd says: "One of those indicted was Mr. Debs, who was found guilty and sentenced to serve an imprisonment of six months." Such a statement imparts the impression that Mr. Debs was tried on his indictment found guilty by a jury and sentenced in accordance with a statute defining the punishment to be inflicted under the circumstances. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Mr. Debs was indicted, but he was neither tried, nor found guilty on the indictment. The only basis for Mr. Todd's assertion is the fact that Debs, in addition to being indicted, was charged with violation of an injunction by Federal Judge Woods who, acting as judge, jury and prosecutor, convicted and sentenced him. Later, Debs and his attorneys endeavored to secure a trial on the indictment and were refused. Such a trial, unlike the injunction proceedings, would have been before a jury and there would have been opportunity to cross-examine witnesses. They consequently felt confident not only of acquittal, but of exposing the prejudice of Judge Woods and the outrageous injustice of his course in the contempt proceedings. Apparently the district attorney felt the same way, for he insisted on annulment of the indictment and dismissal of Debs. The judge must have seen matters in the same light, for he upheld the district attorney. So Mr. Debs' conviction and sentence was clearly one of those abuses of power which so frequently disgrace both federal and state courts. Mr. Todd owes it to his position as historian to correct the false impression given.

S. D.



Philanthropy versus Law.

It may seem churlish to question the wisdom of the man who sets out to help the people, instead

of removing the barriers that prevent the people from helping themselves; but when the two policies are contending for a hearing, and charity is offered instead of justice, sentiment should give way to reason. A few months ago the whole world was agog over the proposition of an exceptionally successful manufacturer to raise the wages of his men arbitrarily; that is, without regard to the market price of labor. He would establish a minimum wage of five dollars a day. The pulpit and the press met the proposal with loud acclaim. "See," they cried, "what the rich do for the poor. Away with the carping critics. Here is the solution of the labor problem."



That the action of this kindly disposed manufacturer was purely philanthropic, and not based upon justice, soon became apparent. Scarcely had the world ceased to marvel at his generosity than it was startled by his meddling with the private lives of his employes. They must do this, omit that, and live thus and so; all of which conduct was dictated by the ideas and opinions of the successful manufacturer. His workmen might differ in their ideas, and their conceptions might be better founded than those of their employer. That did not matter. They must subordinate their opinions to his, on pain of forfeiting their claim to the five dollar minimum wage. How many yielded, and how many stood for their right of individual expression is not recorded; for the press is given to publishing benefactions, and neglecting to record the results. But this can be taken as fact: Men yield their individuality only under compulsion. The manufacturer dared to encroach upon the private life of his employes only because he had the power. He was giving them something over and above what they could rightfully claim; and for that largess he demanded the subjection of their will to his will. And the men, knowing they were in receipt of this benevolence, were brought face to face with the alternative of yielding their individuality, or surrendering the largess.



And now that all this upsetting of the verities has occurred, the press dispatches announce another move of the benevolent manufacturer. The company is laying off men during the "slack season" at the rate of a thousand a week. But the paternal interest continues. Those who are unable to find other jobs by the end of the month will be helped to places on farms. Of what avail is the five dollar minimum to the man who is laid

off? He is not without some comfort, however, for he can do as he pleases—till he gets another job. But what of the successful manufacturer? When the demand for his product was ahead of his capacity he practiced philanthropy; when his capacity exceeded his orders he fell back upon business principles. That his spectacular plunge would end thus, was evident to all who realize that society is controlled by natural law, and not by individual whim. A powerful man, falling into the water, may make a great momentary splashing, but if he knows not how to swim he will drown the same as a weakling.



Had our successful manufacturer's head been equal to his heart, he would have seen that his benevolence was possible only with men making equal profits. It is financially impossible for the average business man, under present conditions, to follow his example. It is not that the minimum wage of five dollars is extravagant, but that the burden of privilege laid upon business crushes all but the exceptional, and keeps the profits of the successful close to the margin. Philanthropy may or may not induce others to follow its example of liberal pay to its workingmen; at best only exceptionally favored ones can imitate it. But the removal of monopoly from the business world, and the freeing of the natural bounties of nature will so stimulate industry that wages will rise far above the minimum of five dollars a day. And the wage then received by laborer will be his by right, and not by charity, and he will be free to repel any encroachment upon his individuality.

S C.



Possibly Innocent Men May Be Punished.

If it is true that it is better that ninety-nine guilty men escape than that one innocent man suffer, then there seems no question but that a pardon should be granted by the President to Frank M. Ryan and other iron workers convicted in 1912 of conspiracy and now refused a new trial. It may be that nothing occurred during their trial that—from a lawyer's point of view—would justify setting aside the verdict. But there were some questionable happenings, nevertheless. One of these was the unusual haste in hurrying the prisoners to the penitentiary before their application for a stay of sentence could be heard. The promptness with which a special train was furnished to take them from Indianapolis to Leavenworth may have been but a coincidence, but had it not occurred there would be less cause to doubt

the fairness of the trial. There seems to be nothing in these circumstances to justify a new trial if one takes the strictly legal view which a court usually takes. But there is much in them to make one feel that the desire to get the men behind the bars was not altogether due to zeal in behalf of justice. If the men are guilty such methods need not have been used to secure their punishment. The fact that they were resorted to makes the fairness of their trial doubtful. The refusal of a new trial prevents clearing away of that doubt. If compelled to serve their sentences the possibility is great that innocent men may be penalized. Only a pardon can now prevent that possibility. S. D.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

LAND MONOPOLY IN CALIFORNIA.

Los Banos, Calif., May 7.

On last Friday, May 1, I addressed a farmers' meeting at Ceres, a town of about 250 population in the heart of the Turlock Irrigation District. They are getting petitions signed asking the directors of the irrigation district to call an election so that the Turlock District may adopt the land value system of taxation—the same as is in use in the Modesto and Oakdale Districts. They postponed their meeting so I could be there on the 1st. About 125 farmers were present. They favor exempting improvements from taxation. Even those who asked questions said they favored putting all of the tax on the value of the land. From Ceres I went to Fresno. John H. Meyers is located there. Through him I got a meeting of friends of our movement and organized a Home Rule in Taxation League—Fresno Branch. Ernest Klette was elected president.

I am returning to San Francisco on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. Land monopoly has run rampant here. Miller & Lux, a cattle and wholesale butchering firm of San Francisco, own 533,000 acres of land in three counties—Merced, Madera and Fresno. I stopped over in Firebaugh, then in Dos Palos and this night in Los Banos. In these towns Miller & Lux monopolize everything—butcher shops, banks, lumber yards, general merchandise stores that deal in almost every kind of goods and supplies, town water works and many other businesses. I was told by one of their vaqueros or cowboys that all the employes are paid \$30 per month and have to work 60 days in a month.

In order to keep a supply of hobos or cheap laborers in the country Miller & Lux have maintained what is called the "Dirty Plate Route" for many years. They feed all the weary walkers who come to their ranches on the leavings of the different meals. These poor fellows must eat off the dirty plates. The "Dirty Plate" is the symbol and sign of the land monopolists' slave. The lands of Miller & Lux extend for about 65 miles, in this valley from Mendota to Newman. Their ranch houses and "camps" are many miles apart, so, if they did not keep up the "Dirty Plate Route," cheap laborers would never come near them.

In traveling on the railroad yesterday and today from Firebaugh to Los Banos I saw many thousands of cattle and more thousands of sheep, but outside of the railroad station I did not see five human beings in the 26 miles on the railroad. Through this territory there are probably over 200,000 acres of as fertile land as can be found in California. If cut up in small tracts it would support not less than 20,000 farmers and their families, and many large towns in addition. But Miller & Lux do not want to develop the country. They employ unmarried men, and pay them such small wages that they never can get married. One of the company officials even said to me that the men could not support wives on the wages they are paid. He said the pay ranged from \$30 to \$35 per month with board and lodging. But such "board!" A bunk in a shanty about 15x20 feet with anywhere from 5 to 40 other men. And the "board!" One of their employes told me it is "mul-ligan," composed of "lump jaw and macaroni." He said Miller & Lux pay a winter wage and a summer wage. The official I spoke to justified this on the ground that there are more men out of work in the winter and the work is not so hard as in the summer, so they pay \$1.10 in summer and \$1.00 in winter for 26 days in a month. The official said that on many of the "divisions" of their ranches the pay roll changes completely each month.

With such a condition existing you can understand why the people in the towns about here see in our Home Rule in Taxation constitutional amendment the salvation of the country. They realize that the only way this land monopoly can be broken up is by taking the burden of taxation off industry and putting it upon land value.

EDWARD P. E. TROY.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

ADVICE TO SINGLETAXERS.

New York City, May 11.

I think I have read as much Singletax literature as anybody, but I have recently re-read Dove's "Theory of Human Progression" with renewed interest and got valuable ideas from it. I urge our well-read Singletaxers to be sure that they are familiar with Dove's presentation of the doctrine from his own original and special point of view, and accordingly to take advantage of Mr. L. J. Quinby's generous offer to send a copy of Miss Kellogg's admirable abridgment of it, together with the clever skit "Shovelcrats," for postage only, twelve cents. If every good Singletaxer would give as generously as Mr. Quinby gives in proportion to his means we should hardly need a Joseph Fels Fund.

BOLTON HALL.



FUNCTIONS OF THE BREADLINE.

Westover, Md., May 11.

In answer to inquiries requesting information as to the functions fulfilled by the breadline* as a New York City institution, it may be said:

Among the more important uses of a breadline is the insurance it gives against bread riots. The bread

line is the American version of the panem et circenses [bread and circuses] of that period of Roman history corresponding to the present period of our own.

Were there no Rockefeller and no Grace Church, and the interests of which these are typical, there would be no bread line. While Rockefeller is trimming roses in Colorado, Grace Church is chiming the hours, and the bread line is only a natural result. Both are unconscious of the volcanoes gathering; or, if vague rumblings annoy, diversions, such as Mexican war, are arranged to do by wholesale and in short order such social surgery as may relieve the pressure for a time.

The text thunders with possibilities of exegesis, but—what is the use?

WESTERN STARR.

*See Public of May 13 at page 413.

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, May 19, 1914.

The New British Budget.

The London Daily News & Leader's fuller text of the 1914-15 budget emphasizes the importance of the new revenue measure. The amounts are unprecedented, and the boldness with which the Chancellor meets the new requirements is not a whit less than when he introduced the epoch-making budget of 1909. The new budget involves a finance bill, a revenue bill, an education bill, an insurance bill, a rating, or local taxation bill, and possibly other supplementary measures to complete the Government's comprehensive scheme.



During the three-hour speech in which Chancellor Lloyd George presented the budget to the House of Commons, he dwelt upon the new points involved, and upon old ones enlarged. The readjustment of the relations between local and imperial taxation received careful attention. For forty years, he said, Parliament had been casting new functions of a costly character upon local authorities without making provision to meet their financial liabilities. This resulted in making good statutes dead letters. The acts dealing with housing were instanced. "I am told," said the Chancellor, "that five millions of people in this country are living in slums with very disastrous effects on the future of the race." The local authorities are given the right to clear out the slums, but not the means. "When we are contemplating large projects of cleansing this country from the pollution of slums," the Chancellor

added, "the readjustment of the burdens of local taxation is an essential preliminary."



Educational needs were provided for by the scheme proposed by the President of the Board of Education, which readjusts the burden of local taxes, and makes a further advance on the road to an improved educational system. The young must no longer remain untrained while the "flood of political controversy rolls on." In readjusting the burdens of taxation the speaker continued: "We are of the opinion that a national system of valuation for local taxation must be set up—a system far more equitable and more impartial between classes and localities than the present system. We propose that this valuation should be a valuation and assessment of the real value, and should separate the site from the improvements. There is no intention to transfer the whole burden from the composite subject to the hereditament of the site, but we do intend that the taxation of the site value shall henceforth form an integral part of the system of local taxation."



The Chancellor illustrated the relief given by taking three cases of property valued at £50. "In the first case the land value is £10, and the improvements worth £40. In the second the land value is £25 and the improvements are worth £25. In the third the land is £50, and there are no improvements. Assuming that the reduction proposed is equal to a one shilling rate on improvements the first would receive a relief of £2. . . . In the second case where there are improvements of land of equal value the relief will be 25 shillings. In the case where there are no improvements not a penny of this relief will go. This will be a guarantee that the relief will not go to the owner of the site as such. Where the owner of the site has spent money upon it he will get relief. We mean to distribute the relief in such a way as to give the greatest proportion of help to the most hard-pressed areas—where the services are heavy and the ratable value is low, and not merely to the poorer districts, but to the districts which have shown the greatest public spirit in carrying out their municipal duties. They will receive the largest share of relief."



The British Lords and a Suffrage Bill.

In the British House of Lords on May 5 the Earl of Selbourne, Unionist, moved the second reading of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill—introduced by himself—and spoke at length in favor of the measure, taking prominent occasion on his way to denounce militancy as a hindrance to the suffrage cause. Lord Curzon moved the

rejection of the bill, which consisted of one short clause proposing that:

Any woman shall be qualified to be registered in a constituency as a Parliamentary elector, and, whilst so registered, shall be entitled to vote at an election of a member or members to serve in Parliament for that constituency if she is a local government elector for the purposes of any local government election in that constituency.

After two days' debate the bill was rejected by a vote of 104 to 60, its discussion having disclosed two classes of objectors to the measure: those against it because they were opposed to woman suffrage; and those against it because they regarded its limitations of suffrage as undemocratic. [See current volume, page 369.]



Mexico and the United States.

Mediation sentiment continues to grow, and the prospect of practical results are decidedly brighter. The three delegates who will represent General Huerta at the Niagara Falls peace conference, Emilio Rabasa, Augustin Rodriguez and Luis Elguero, together with a staff of secretaries, and members of their families, arrived in Washington on the 16th, where they were entertained by the Department of State until their departure for the meeting on the 20th. The hopeful atmosphere surrounding the mediation question was revived by the statement on the 18th that the Mexican delegates had been empowered by General Huerta to present his resignation, if necessary, to secure peace. [See current volume, page 464.]



Though this statement comes with all the appearance of authority, details are lacking. The conditions of General Huerta's withdrawal, as given out at the time, were that he have some voice in the naming of his successor, that General Carranza be barred, that America lend Mexico \$400,000,000 to be expended under a commission of two Americans two Mexicans one Englishman one German and one Frenchman and that the United States take a ninety-nine year lease of Magdalena Bay for naval target practice at an annual rental of \$1,000,000. Should the delegates submit this proposition and the United States accept it the following questions will be asked: What are the plans of the United States following the resignation of General Huerta? Who will become the provisional president of Mexico? Who will be barred from running for the presidency? Will the United States call a halt on the advance of the Constitutionalists to Mexico City?



President Wilson is reported to have told the American delegates, Justice Lamar of the Su-

preme Court of the United States, Frederick W. Lehmann, former solicitor general, and Diplomatic Secretary H. Percival Dodge, on the eve of their departure for the conference at Niagara Falls, Ontario, that the United States regards the settlement of the Mexican problem in a definite form as a prerequisite of the withdrawal of the American forces from Vera Cruz. Aside from this and the well known fact that President Wilson wishes the Mexican question settled on comprehensive lines that will include the economic contentions of both Zapata and Carranza, no instructions were given. The date of the meeting of the conference was changed from the 18th to the 20th, in order to give the Mexican delegates time to stop in Washington.



The military events of the week show a marked advance of the Constitutionalist forces. Tampico was evacuated by the Federals under General Zaragoza on the 13th, after five days of continuous fighting. The casualties have been heavy on both sides. The Federals retreated in the direction of San Luis Potosi, but are likely to receive rough treatment at the hands of the Constitutionals. General Gonzales, the victorious general, promises order in Tampico, and invites Americans and other foreigners to return and resume business.



Tuxpam, a port midway between Tampico and Vera Cruz, and the shipping point of rich oil fields, was evacuated on the 15th. It was in this section that Lord Cowdray and the English syndicate had extensive holdings. Tepic, on the Pacific coast, and capital of the State of Tepic, was reported captured by the Constitutionals on the 16th. Mazatlan, north of Tepic, still holds out against the Constitutionals, but its garrison and defenses are said to be in a desperate condition. General Villa is converging his forces on Saltillo, which he seems confident of taking without delay.



Carnegie International Peace Report.

The special commission appointed by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has completed its report. The commission was composed of Dr. Josef Redlich, professor of public law in the University of Vienna, Austria; Baron d'Estournelles de Constant and M. Justin Cerdart, Chamber of Deputies, France; Dr. Walther Schucking, professor of law, University of Marburg, Germany; Francis W. Hirst, editor of the Economist, and Dr. H. N. Brailsford, journalist, of Great Britain; Professor Paul Milyoukoff, member of the Russian Douma; and Dr. Samuel T. Dutton, professor in the Teachers' College, Co-

lumbia University, New York. The report of the Commission, made after an exhaustive study on the scenes of conflict, is one unbroken and unrelieved tale of rapine, murder, and outrage, in which Turks and Christians alike were guilty, before, during, and after the recent Balkan wars. The report closes with these significant words:

What, then, is the duty of the civilized world in the Balkans especially of those nations which by their location and history are free from international entanglements? It is clear in the first place that they should cease to exploit these nations for gain. They should encourage them to make arbitration treaties and insist on their keeping them. They should set a good example by seeking a judicial settlement of all international disputes. The consequences of the recent war, economic, moral and social, are dreadful enough to justify any honest effort by any person or by any nation to alleviate the really distressing situation.

[See vol. xvi, p. 973.]



Suit Against Fairhope.

In his bill filed in the chancery court at Mobile, Alabama, on April 30, asking for a dissolution of the Fairhope Singletax Corporation, Alexander J. Melville declared that the corporation had failed in its purpose to demonstrate the benefits incident to the singletax theory and must continue to so fail because "the singletax theory can never be tried out or demonstrated in any jurisdiction whose laws deny the essentials of that theory." He further charged that "rentals have been arbitrarily increased far beyond their actual values," and that "the monies are being expended for the benefit of only a portion of the members, in that considerable sums are paid from the rent fund to maintain telephones and waterworks and to pay taxes on about 2,500 acres of unoccupied land." He complained that its "open practice is to cause all of its lands and all of the property of its lessees, except money and credits, to be assessed for taxes under the general laws of Alabama and to pay all of said taxes out of the corporate taxes realized from the rent of its land." This practice he complained caused the same rent to be charged for two adjoining lots of the same size and character. "if one have a mansion thereon and the other a hovel," while "at the same time, the occupant of the mansion will have all taxes upon his carriages, automobiles, pianos, elegant furniture and valuable silverware paid out of the rent fund, while the owner of the adjoining hovel gets for his share only the meagre amount, if any, levied as a tax on the scanty and cheap furniture of his humble home." He also complained that lessees under this system cannot get the benefits accruing from land ownership and that "such a system is a miserable parody upon the teachings of Henry George." [See current volume, page 435.]

In a public statement commenting on Mr. Melville's suit, E. B. Gaston, secretary of the Fairhope corporation, said:

The question of greatest interest to Singletaxers in this suit is whether or not there can be a substantial application of the singletax under "laws which deny its essentials." The essential feature of the singletax is the taking of land values for public purposes instead of levying upon wealth due to individual efforts. We claim that we accomplish this under our authority as landlords by taking as rent the annual rental value of the land and out of that paying the taxes not only upon the land but upon the improvements and personal property of the lessees.

The complaint of injustice because under the Fairhope plan the poor man has only small improvements relieved from taxation, while the rich man's much more valuable improvements are relieved, is exactly the same argument used by opponents of the singletax to its application by law. Rich and poor are alike benefited by the removal of taxes from their improvements. The poor man in fact receives the most benefit, because, not having money to "invest" in land, he could not, under ordinary conditions, be a beneficiary (even though wrongfully as we hold) by land speculation.

To the claim that our corporation should be dissolved because trying to "practice and enforce certain theories of government contrary to the established policy of the state" we reply that we have nothing to do with policies of government at all; that our corporation is simply a private, land-owning corporation, administering its property upon terms mutually entered into with those who desire to participate with it, and that we should be commended and encouraged rather than hindered, both because we are giving people, many of them unable to buy, access to our land, upon terms, which make them equal sharers in the increasing value of the land, rather than ourselves appropriating it for our special benefit as owners; and because, without interference with the laws, and at our own expense and instance, we are endeavoring to show the benefits which would follow the adoption by government, of a policy which we believe would be for the advantage of all men.

As to the actual results obtained by our policy and management we claim that instead of being oppressive to individuals and tending to "retard progress and create stagnation" the facts are exactly to the contrary; that every lessee making such use of his holding as it is reasonably best suited for, is an individual beneficiary of our policy, and can be proven to be such to any man capable of understanding a business proposition—eliminating, of course, any benefits which might have accrued to him as a land speculator, from the increase in land value during the time he may have held it; and that our town has notoriously outgrown all other towns affording anything like a fair measure of comparison; and further, that this is conclusively shown to be the result of our policy, by the fact that though our corporation owns but about 40 per cent of the land within the limits of the incorporated town of Fairhope, every business institution in the town

is on our land, save the postoffice and one small "soft drink" stand; the ice plant and creamery, two sawmills, a brick yard, all the hotels, etc., are on the Colony land. In the country the difference in conditions of development on Colony land as compared with adjacent privately owned land, is equally marked in favor of the Colony land.

Instead of discouraging the erecting of factories upon Colony land, the Colony management is eager for the erection of such upon its land, and is the most active force for the upbuilding of the community today existing. As singletaxers its members have no fear whatever, but that the building on its land of such factories or other business institutions as the population and facilities will give reasonable hope of success (without which no one will put up the same) will add a land value which will easily take care of the taxes upon the same.

Further, the rentals for the last two years have been such as were fixed by the lessees themselves, regardless of membership; the corporation having gone beyond even its contracts with its non-member lessees, and agreed to submit the question of the rents for 1912, to a vote of the lessees and abide the result; the lessees themselves, at a formal election, after previous full discussion, voting for a ten per cent increase over previous rents by a very large majority and the rents thus fixed having remained unchanged until this year, when the lessees have again established the rent, under the Somers system and assisted by Mr. Somers himself and again increased the same substantially 10 per cent over the last year.

In regard to the payment of a deficit in operation of water works and telephones out of ground rents, it is the very policy advocated by Tom L. Johnson. Our telephone is now self-supporting, while the deficit in the water works is not greater than the advantage accruing to the people from free use of water for fire protection, for public watering trough, and for water furnished without charge to the public and organic schools.



Taxation in Alberta.

In an interview in the New York Times of May 15, Premier Sifton of Alberta says:

Alberta is growing rapidly. The towns are spreading out at a rate which some think is a little too fast. One of the things a new country wants to avoid, if possible, is too rapid growth of its towns. But we have not had a real estate collapse in Alberta. Prices have not gone down. There has been merely a cessation of speculative sales. I do not think any good property could be bought for less than it brought in the midst of what has been referred to as "the boom," but land is not selling except for use. . . . Americans are going to Alberta from the Dakotas and Minnesota, and we are getting some from Illinois and Indiana. We welcome them, as the bulk of them make as good settlers as any in the world. Most of them have families, and want more land for their sons, so that they sell out their land in the States at a good price, and buy three or four times as much over the border. What I have said about American settlers does not necessarily apply to

those who go to the towns. They are apt to go back, or to go further on. We have not gone in for woman suffrage in Alberta, but we have the Single-tax, and it is working out well. The bulk of our towns have had it a number of years. Calgary and one or two others had special charters, and have only lately begun to adopt it in principle. In Edmonton the total tax is 2 per cent of the value of land. There is no local government direct tax in Alberta. We get a grant from the Federal Government. That is to say, we receive out of the Federal revenues a sum in proportion to our population. This pays about half of the expenses of our local government. The rest comes from licenses and similar sources.



Washington Doings.

The House Committee on Inter-State Commerce reported on May 16 the Rayburn bill for federal control of railroad stock and bond issues. This completes the number of anti-trust bills to be pushed for passage at this session. [See current volume, page 393.]



Although the Democratic House caucus eliminated rural credits from this session's program the rural credit bill was introduced in both Senate and House on May 12, after prolonged hearings by a congressional sub-committee. It provides for rural credit banks to be governed by a federal board in a manner similar to national banks. Besides providing for loans on farm lands it requires annual purchase by the federal government of rural credit bonds to the amount of \$50,000,000. President Wilson is said to oppose the latter feature since it amounts to loan of government credit to private individuals.



The Department of Agriculture issued on May 12 new regulations for manufacturers and packers of foods. These require that henceforth labels on packages and bottles must give the net weight or volume of contents. Where a numerical count gives accurate information the contents may be stated that way.



The House passed on May 12 the Senate bill providing temporary machinery for the conduct of popular elections of United States Senators in those States where the legislature has not yet acted.



Representative Neeley of West Virginia introduced on May 11 a resolution directing the House Judiciary Committee to investigate the conduct of Federal Judge Alston G. Dayton of West Virginia. Charges relating to his actions in labor cases have been filed against him.

Senator Gore's poll of the delegates to the National Democratic convention of 1912 on the Panama tolls matter had resulted up to May 17 in receipt of 867 replies—702 are opposed to toll exemptions, 127 favor them, and 38 are non-committal. [See current volume, pp. 387, 439.]



The declination of Harry A. Wheeler of his appointment on the federal reserve board was announced on May 15. This leaves two vacancies on the board to be filled. [See current volume, page 465.]



Charles S. Mellen, former president of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad appeared before the Interstate Commerce Commission on May 14 to testify in the investigation of that road. He told of the acquisition of the New York, Boston and Westchester railroad through giving its stockholders 8000 shares of New Haven stock in exchange for 24,000 shares of Westchester stock, although he considered the latter worth only "ten cents a pound." Former Police Inspector Byrnes of New York arranged the deal, he said. The Westchester shares were held "by people who had influence," and he "wanted to reach the devil or anybody that it was necessary to reach." Mr. Mellen was excused from further testimony until May 19. [See current volume, page 465.]



The Labor War.

The court martial at Denver, assembled May 11, to investigate charges of murder, arson and robbery brought against thirty-nine members of the militia. The court consists of three militia officers. Captain Edward A. Smith is judge advocate. The taking of testimony began on May 13, when Lieutenant Benedict of the militia told of finding the charred bodies of women and children in a pit. He said that the strikers had fired the first shot and that he had heard no order from Major Hamrock to burn the tents, and expressed the opinion that an overturned lamp started the fire. On May 14 Captain Linderfelt and Lieutenant Bigelow testified that soldiers did not enter the tent colony until the fire had started, that they only did enter to engage in rescue work, and that there was no looting. But Lieutenant Bigelow admitted that the fire was due to firing upon the tents by the militiamen. Testimony was heard on May 15 concerning the death of Louis Tikas and two other strikers, while held prisoners by the militia. Sergeant Cullom and Private Mason declared that the prisoners had been shot while attempting to escape, but could throw no light on the identity of those who did the shooting. [See current volume, page 466.]

Thousands of firearms of all descriptions, have in response to the order of Colonel Lockett, in command of the Federal troops, been surrendered since May 13.



The Colorado legislature adjourned on May 16. The only results of the session were authorization of a million dollar bond issue to pay expenses of the militia, the closing of saloons during prevalence of disorder, regulation of carrying firearms, and submission of a constitutional amendment allowing compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes. On learning of this President Wilson sent the following message to Governor Ammons:

Am disturbed to hear of the probability of the adjournment of your Legislature, and feel bound to remind you that my constitutional obligations with regard to the maintenance of order in Colorado are not to be indefinitely continued by the inaction of the State Legislature. The Federal forces are there only until the State of Colorado has time and opportunity to resume complete sovereignty and control in the matter. I cannot conceive that the State is willing to forego her sovereignty or to throw herself entirely upon the Government of the United States, and I am quite clear that she has no constitutional rights to do so when it is within the power of her Legislature to take effective action.

To this Governor Ammons replied:

I regret exceedingly that you have been misinformed. The Legislature has just passed an act, which I have approved, providing for a bond issue of \$1,000,000 for the purpose of paying the indebtedness which has been incurred and which may be incurred in suppressing insurrection and defending the State. As soon as these bonds can be issued this money will be available and this State can and will control the situation. This is the only constitutional method of raising funds in the immediate future. In addition to this act the Legislature has enacted a law permitting the Governor to close saloons in times of disorder and also a law prohibiting the carrying and disposition of firearms in times of disorder. Moreover, a committee on mediation on the present strike has been provided for and appointed.

At a number of public meetings held in Denver on May 17, Governor Ammons' reply was denounced as a mis-statement, and a telegram to that effect was sent to President Wilson after a meeting at the home of J. B. Walker, participated in by Judge B. F. Lindsey and other prominent citizens. Governor Ammons was most criticized for his statement that a committee on mediation had been appointed. This was declared to be absolutely false. Governor Ammons, in a public statement on May 18, declared that the President had been misled by Upton Sinclair, the novelist, who, he said, had misquoted him. Mr. Sinclair thereupon sent the following message to the President:

In an interview tonight Governor Ammons brands me as a prevaricator for my statement to you that a commission of mediation was not provided. He now

admits that the word "mediation" does not appear, but insists that the phrase, "To assist in settling the strike" is equivalent. I have reread the resolution and amendment. No such phrase occurs. I urgently request you to get the full text of this resolution and realize what it means that the Governor of this State is willfully and deliberately endeavoring to deceive you and the public in this crisis.



Six months in the workhouse was the sentence imposed by Magistrate Campbell of New York City on May 13, on Reverend Bouck White for endeavoring to ask one or more questions of John D. Rockefeller's pastor, Dr. Cornelius Woelfkin, on May 10, during services at Calvary Baptist church. In passing sentence Magistrate Campbell said in part:

This is a peculiarly flagrant case. In my judgment indictments for unlawful assemblage and disturbing a religious meeting would lie against this defendant. A case in many respects similar was decided against an agitator not as dangerous to the community as this defendant, and he was sent to the penitentiary for one year and fined \$500. He was an alien and ignorant. This defendant is a native and highly educated. Instead of coming into this court in a spirit of humility, and acknowledging his wrong, he is defiant and attempts to justify his actions by talking foolishly and egotistically about the right of free speech. As a university graduate and an ordained minister of the gospel, his actions and conduct are incomprehensible. . . . The questions involved in this case are not whether the defendant is an "ungracious priest and reckons not his own rede," whether he and his followers have real or fancied grievances against the church or some of its members—or, to what extent a long suffering public should tolerate this disturbance of business and general comfort in exploitation of the right of free speech. It involves the far-reaching and vital principle of law and order in this community. If law and order cannot be maintained in houses of God—the source of all law and order—it cannot be maintained in or about the courts of justice.

White has appealed, but has been denied bail pending appeal and must remain in the workhouse until the question of a new trial has been passed upon. Dr. Woelfkin, who did not appear at the trial, stated in the pulpit on May 17, that Mr. White's letter had been delayed in transmission, and had not yet been read when he arose in the church to speak. Dr. Woelfkin claimed that the plain clothes men had come to the church of their own accord. He further said: "Mr. White had the right to assume that I had received his letter and was acquainted with its contents."



Amos Pinchot addressed on May 16 an open letter to Mayor Mitchel, vigorously protesting against the treatment accorded Bouck White. Mr. Pinchot said, in part:

The people of New York believe in law and order.

They believe they have the right to assemble in peace and quiet, in any building, church or otherwise, for religious services, discussions or other purposes. Our community is, on the whole, conservative. It does not like disorder or hysteria. It is opposed to violence, whether committed by individuals or officials or within or without the law.

For these reasons, and for consideration of common justice and humanity, I think I do not exaggerate when I say that the people of this city will deeply and durably regret the Bouck White incident, ending in six months' sentence at the workhouse.

On the 10th of May, after writing a letter to Dr. Woelfkin, explaining his intention, White went to Rockefeller's church to protest against what he believed to be a false conception of Christianity and to call the attention of the congregation to the inconsistency between real Christianity and the action of the Rockefellers in Colorado. Whether White's course was wise or unwise is aside from the point. His going to Mr. Rockefeller's church for purposes of discussion was certainly no crime. When Dr. Woelfkin had finished his prayer, Mr. White arose and started to ask a question. He was immediately pounced upon by ushers and by plain-clothes men stationed there for that purpose and violently thrown into the street.

A short time ago you yourself revoked the license of Jack's restaurant, largely on the ground that the waiters threw out disorderly diners and students with brutality—far less brutality than was used by the ushers and plain-clothes men at Calvary church. As I remember, you said at that time that the license would not be renewed until you had assurance that such disorderly and brutal methods were a thing of the past.

It seems to me that a minister of the gospel, entering a church with the purpose of bringing to the attention of the audience what he conceived to be a more spiritual and humane interpretation of Christ's teachings than those exemplified by the Rockefeller interests in Colorado and elsewhere should be shown as much consideration at the hands of the city authorities as a gang of drunken students in a tenderloin resort.

I do not belong to any church myself. I am not an adherent of either Dr. Woelfkin's brand of religion or of White's. I speak merely as a citizen of New York. However, believing as I do, that the Christian church is entitled to respect, I feel that to manhandle and club people in church, because they desire to speak their mind in regard to ethical questions, is not only an assault upon liberty of expression, but upon the church itself and the spirit of Christianity which it is supposed to represent.

Nothing that Mr. White or his friends might have said in regard to the Christianity of Calvary church and of the gentlemen who support it, or of the standards of Christianity in this city, could possibly have amounted to so scathing an indictment as the furious assault which the city's officials and the frock-coat phalanx of Calvary piously indulged in.

If this is the Christianity of Calvary church, and of the city of New York, I for one feel that any man seeking religion, decency or common humanity would stand a better chance at Jack's.

A church and the representatives of a church are entitled to respect when their acts are in accordance with Christian principles. But when they act like ferocious Cossacks or adopt the tactics of the famous fly-wedge of Jack's, the mantle of Christianity and the name of Jesus should not be invoked to protect them.

One of the early examples of a protest against church commercialism was made 2,000 years ago in the city of Jerusalem. It was made by a man whose standing in the community was exceedingly bad. In fact, his reputation in the eyes of the Pharisees of that time was far worse than the reputation of Mr. White among the Pharisees today. Entering the temple, Jesus said, "My house is a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves." And if I remember, this disturber rammed home his point by the final admonition, "Make not My Father's house an house of merchandise." Yet he was neither imprisoned nor arrested at this time.

One cannot help wondering at the comparative tolerance shown to this agitator by the gentlemen in charge of the temple and the city administration of Jerusalem.

The inference is unavoidable that 2,000 years ago in Jerusalem, a semi-barbarous Oriental city, a spirit of official and religious tolerance and freedom of discussion existed which is absent in Christian New York today.

For his crime Bouck White has been imprisoned in a distinctly mediaeval jail, where conditions of overcrowding confine six to ten men for fourteen hours a day in a small, foul cell. If you have yourself visited the workhouse, you know that the workhouse is a sink, into which the unfortunate refuse of the city is cast to rot and fester. You know that a large proportion of the inmates suffer from loathsome disease, and that these men, on account of overcrowding, are not and cannot be segregated from the rest. A sentence of six months in such a place, even for the most culpable kind of disorderly conduct, would be unjustifiable and inhuman. For such an offense as Mr. White's it is utterly uncivilized.

Mayor Mitchel in a public statement on the same day denied that he approved of police interference with free speech.



The United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Chicago refused on May 16 to grant any further stay of execution to the twenty-four members of the structural iron workers' union, convicted of conspiracy in 1912, and denied a new trial. They were ordered to report no later than June 6 to the warden of the penitentiary at Leavenworth. An application for pardon is pending. [See current volume, page 393.]

NEWS NOTES

—A lecture tour has been arranged for Louis Wallis of the University of Chicago, author of "The Sociological Study of the Bible." He will speak in Detroit on May 24 and 25, and goes thence to Cleveland,

Pittsburgh, Rochester, Philadelphia, Brooklyn and Boston.

—Senator Chamberlain of Oregon was renominated at the Democratic direct primary on March 15. The Republicans nominated Robert A. Booth, and the Progressives William Hanley.

—Announcement was made on May 16 by the Ford Motor Company that during the dull season about 6,000 men will be laid off. Single men will be first to go. [See current volume, pages 412, 417.]

—Oscar Benavides was elected President of Peru on the 15th to succeed the deposed President Guillermo Billinghurst. General Pedro Muniz, the new minister of war, will also act as premier in the new cabinet. [See current volume, page 327.]

—Co-operative credit societies in India increased their membership in 1913 by 160,000. The societies now number 8,177, with a membership of 403,318, and a working capital of \$17,154,166. These societies were started by the government of India, which continues to encourage them.

—A memorial meeting for the victims of preventable diseases will be held in Union Square, New York City on May 23 at 12:30 p. m. Among the speakers will be Lincoln Steffens, Frederick C. Leubuscher, Grace I. Colbron, Amy Mall Hicks, Meyer London, Professor E. O. Perry, Reverend John Haynes Holmes, Reverend J. Howard Melish and J. P. Coughlin.

—Wireless telephony between New York City and Philadelphia, a distance of ninety miles, was successfully accomplished on May 13. In making the experiment the wireless telegraph apparatus was used of the John Wanamaker stores. The messages were not only heard at the points to which they were sent but also by a wireless operator on a steamer fifty-five miles out at sea.

—The net total of emigration and immigration between the United States and Canada shows a gain by Canada in six years of 21,193. Canadians coming to the United States numbered for the last six years 594,919, while Americans going to Canada totaled 616,112. During the year ending March 31, 1913, Americans going to Canada numbered 139,009, and the Canadians coming to the United States numbered 143,578.

—The Swedish elections have resulted in increasing the conservative representation in the second chamber from sixty-five to seventy-five, the Socialists from sixty-five to eighty-five, and reducing the liberals, hitherto the dominant party, from one hundred to seventy. The dominant issue at the polls seems to have been the question of national defense, in anticipation of an attack by Russia. [See current volume, page 255.]

PRESS OPINIONS

The British Budget of 1914,

The (London) Daily News and Leader, May 6.—Mr. Lloyd George is entitled to congratulate himself on the reception of the Budget. . . . The truth is that men of all parties who are concerned about the

problems of government are glad that Mr. George has taken the bull by the horns. The grievances of the local authorities are so flagrant and indisputable that when at last a Chancellor of the Exchequer comes forward and deals boldly with them there is a universal feeling of relief. The grievances have only been allowed to continue so long because of the fear of grappling with a task of such magnitude. We are satisfied that as the principles underlying Mr. George's scheme become appreciated, his proposals will win the completest confidence. What are those principles? Broadly, they embody the idea that public expenditure is general. The value of expenditure on roads, police, education, public health and similar services is not limited to local areas. It is as national as the Navy or the administration of justice. And yet with a constantly increasing element of national value in the services we have preserved the old, rigid divorce between the finance of the State and of the municipality. . . . Mr. Lloyd George solves the problem by the expedient of collecting the income tax at the center and apportioning it locally. And together with this simple and wise expedient, he proposes to broaden the local basis of rating by making land values contribute to public expenditure, using the national valuation for the purpose. Thus he not only brings in the income taxpayer to relieve the ratepayer, but he transfers some portion of the burden which industry bears to those values which are created by the common activities of the public. It is a large and statesmanlike scheme of readjustment which time and experience, we confidently believe, will ratify.

As a Crafty Tory Sees It.

Lloyd George, the New Ulysses.
From (London) Punch.



"'Courage,' he said, and pointed toward the LAND."

—The Lotus Eaters.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

BACK TO NATURE.

For The Public.

O Mother, with a Thousand Breasts;
Thy helpless children, hungry and wild-eyed,
Crowd together on the barren pavement
Begging food!

Call them to thy spacious hills of plenty;
Lead them out upon the throbbing mounds.
Where, pressing and caressing with their eager hands,
They shall find sweet nourishment and rest.

EVANGELINE LEWIS CLOSE.



LLOYD GEORGE'S SIXTH BUDGET

J. St. George Heath, Secretary of the Land Enquiry Committee, in *The (London) Daily News* of May 6.

It may safely be predicted that this Budget will be known in future years as "The Ratepayers' Budget."

The Budget has unjustly been called obscure, but that is because the true functions of a Budget have been misunderstood. It lays down, clearly and precisely, the amount of money which is needed for the relief of local taxation, and the way in which it is to be raised. But the actual way in which local authorities are to be helped has been left purposely vague, because it will be dealt with in a series of further Bills—a Rating Bill, a Revenue Bill, and probably an Education and Public Health Bill as well. It may be that some of these Bills are not yet completely drafted, and, in any case, the only business of a Chancellor of the Exchequer in introducing a Budget is to decide how much money is needed and the method of raising it, while leaving administrative details to be worked out by the Departments concerned, and introduced in special Bills at a later date.

Three dangers have to be faced in granting large sums of money to local authorities, namely: (1) That the money should not go to relieve owners of land as such. (2) That it should not go to relieve districts which do not deserve relief. (3) That the money should not be wasted or badly spent by local authorities.

(1) Fears have often been entertained that any relief of rates would mean that landowners would take advantage of it to charge higher rents. To meet this both the Land Enquiry Report and the Minority Report of the Departmental Committee of this year suggested that a new rate upon site values should be levied, to be paid by the owners of site values. Though the Chancellor has

definitely promised this for the future, it is clear that it cannot be introduced until the valuations are absolutely complete; hence, not as an alternative, but as an addition to the rating of site values, he has put forward an extremely ingenious and simple suggestion. Let us assume that in any locality A. and B. both have been paying £50 in rates, but that out of this sum A. has paid £40 a year upon the value of his site, and £10 a year upon the value of his improvements, buildings, etc.; while B. has paid £40 upon his improvements, buildings, etc., and £10 upon his site. Whatever relief is given will be given to the improvements, buildings, etc.; hence A. will get very little relief, and B. a great deal. In this way, not only will those who have made improvements obtain a greater relief than those who have not, but seeing that sites, as such, do not obtain any relief at all, owners of sites will not be able to charge a higher rent.

(2) In order to give relief where it is needed two conditions have been laid down by the Chancellor. In the first place, it will go especially to relieve districts where the services, such as poor law, education, etc., are costly, not because of extravagance, but because of the high standard of efficiency reached. In the second place, those poor areas will be relieved where the rateable value is small, and where the needs are great. For the details of this we must await a further Bill to be introduced, but in order to ascertain the real rateable value, we must also have a uniform and fair system of valuation, the need for which can be seen clearly by reference to the Land Report, Volume II., pages 637-672. It is important to notice that the Chancellor has promised that in a future rating Bill the whole question of valuation will be tackled.

(3) The last, and perhaps the most important, need is to see that the money is well spent. This means the abolition of the system of assigned revenues. Assigned revenues meant that each local authority was allowed such portions of the product of certain duties (licenses, etc.) raised in its own area. The Central Department had no control whatever over the expenditure, and was powerless if it was badly spent. In future, grants-in-aid are to be given from the Central Authority, but they are to be conditional upon the local authority carrying out efficiently such services as education, public health, housing, small holdings, etc. In the past, if the local authority refused to carry out these services the only method was to apply for mandamus. In future, if they fail to carry out these services, a portion or the whole of the grant can be withdrawn. This method is already in existence with regard to such services as education, and it is undoubtedly only fair that if the public gives any local authority money it should be able to ensure that such money is wisely and economically spent.

A MOUNTAINEER'S PROBLEM.

For The Public.

A young forest ranger was riding through the mountains, looking after cattle. As it chanced, he came across one of the last of the shake-makers, away up among the sugar pines—a fine old pioneer who made a little every summer by riving out some shakes for the farmers in the foothills.

They were old friends, and so they sat down together for the noon hour, built a fire, made coffee, fried bacon, brought out the hard-tack. The shake-maker had a rude lean-to shed against a rock, which he called his cabin. It contained an apology for a stove and another apology for a table, but everything was as neat as a pin and as clean as a wind-swept, snow-polished piece of granite.

"How well you hold out, Ashley," said the ranger. "I've known you ten years, and you are as spry as ever."

"I'm over seventy," the shake-maker answered, "and sure I ain't on the shelf yet. But I find that I have to be careful. Tell you what, young man, we all of us come up against it. I've worked like a nailer all my life and yet I've only saved a few dollars for the funeral expenses. But why is it that everybody can't die young and just leap into the hereafter with a shout, instead of so often waiting till we're rust-eaten, and no more good to anybody—only an everlasting nuisance, in fact?"

The forest ranger hesitated over this; he saw that it was a genuine burst of feeling—that the old shake-maker was lonely, and tired. There might be a lot more behind it. Ashley always meant a great deal more than he ever put into words.

"Well, now, Ashley," he said, at last, "you're all off on that last. The longer that a good man lives the more help he is to others; he couldn't ever be a trouble to anybody. Really, I believe that a fellow's biggest chances for playing the right sort of a game are apt to come at the very last minute."

The old shake-maker leaned across the rough pine table, and looked the forest man in the eyes for almost half a minute. "I believe you mean it," he said, at last, in a slow voice, deeper and quieter than the situation seemed to require. "Now go ahead, and prove it."

"Prove what?" replied the ranger, quite as slowly, feeling tension in the air.

"What you have said—that life is worth living for the old, helpless and poor, or for anyone who is past usefulness."

"That's the real point," the ranger answered—
"none of us ever get past usefulness."

"Prove it, then."

The young ranger was a college man, and widely read. Ashley, the old mountaineer, was also a reading and thinking man. Many a stout argument they had held together, in long evenings by

the winter fire. But the ranger suddenly knew with absolute sureness that this talk went clear down to one of the heart problems of lonely men, and he searched his inmost soul for the right word.

"Ashley, once I was a newspaper reporter in New York. The thing I am going to tell you happened on the Jersey City side. There was an old, feeble man supported by his daughter's family. They put him out on the sidewalk in the sun, and the neighbor children played about him. The old man was over ninety, and crippled, but he had the use of one arm. There came a runaway team, smashing everything, down the street, and it took to the sidewalk, killing the old man, but not before he had thrust two of the youngest of the children out of the way, saving their lives. I wrote an item about it, went over to the funeral, saw the babies and their mothers. He had been a very plain old fellow, but always cheerful, and he would have been missed even if he hadn't saved those children at the very last minute of his life. The biggest chance to do something that perhaps he ever had came when he was very old and absolutely dependent on others."

"One chance in ten millions," Ashley murmured, almost under his breath.

The ranger went on: "That's no argument—only my illustration. But you see, this old man instinctively gave himself for the next generation. That's the point. Now, as long as a man lives, clear to the end, he can be giving thought, love, and the—the glory of a high and pure example of courage to those about him. Therefore he gives himself to the coming generations, even though he cannot lift a hand or speak a word."

"He wears out the lives of others," Ashley answered.

"That need not, must not happen," the ranger said. "He can grow more dear to them every day."

"Did you ever know any such old codger?" Ashley questioned.

"A dozen or more whose last days were their best ones, who ripened and mellowed like winter fruit. Somehow they managed to prove to everyone about them that life was worth while and that there was a hereafter. They didn't grumble or lie down, or row about the rules of the game."

"Example?" said Ashley.

"Well, my grandfather was that sort. Lost his eyesight and most of his hearing, but grew better to look at every day. We children thought him wonderful, and we spent hours with him. He really influenced our lives, and kept us up to the mark, because he expected so much of each one of us."

Silence fell between the two men, and Ashley sat with knitted brows, thinking deeply. At last he spoke.

"Sum it up. Do you believe that one can fight it out?"

"Of course I do," the ranger said. "Youth is one sort of an adventure, and old age is quite another sort, but one is just as good as the other."

Ashley still sat thinking, and slowly his forehead cleared. At last he leaned across the table, shook hands, with a merry twinkle in his eyes, rose to his feet, reached up and took a small package from behind a rafter. He gave it to the ranger.

"You can look at it if you like. Take it along, and toss it into Sand Creek canon. Saddle up and hike, and remember that old Ashley stays in the game forever."

An hour later the calm-eyed ranger, reining his horse on the top of a divide, took out the ounce vial of strychnine which Ashley had given him and tossed it down a thousand-foot precipice. "That's over with for keeps," he thought to himself. "Lucky that I let my plug choose his trails awhile this morning and so he took me up to Ashley's camp. Wife and I will have him to dinner when he comes down from his mountain, and so will the rest of our bunch."

Then he pulled out his note-book, began to estimate the grazing capacities of the ranges, collected grasses for the herbarium, and studied erosive problems for a newspaper article that he had in mind. Meanwhile Ashley, the veteran, was tackling a shake tree with the spirit of a man of thirty.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



ALTHOUGH THE SEASON OF THY LIFE DECLINE.

Edith Anne Stewart in *The (London) Nation*.

Although the season of thy life decline,
 And this thy body show her wintry night,
 These spring-time suns will grant perpetual light,
 Nor ever coldly on the lily shine,
 Nor ever coldly on this flesh of thine:
 Earth's children take no unreturning flight,
 Yearly the primrose hails thy yearning sight,
 Yearly each hedge restores the eglantine.

And though thy brain and body tire and fall,
 And though Death make a harvest of thy dears,
 And hang his sickle near thy door by night,—
 Before thee then new mercies will unveil,
 New hands, full of old kindness, stay thy tears,
 New eyes console thee with the old love-light.



He was a very solemn little boy, and his chin barely reached to the counter of the circulating-room in the public library. He stood there for some moments in silence, and seemed to be taking it all in.

"Well, my little man," said one of the assistants finally, "what book shall it be today?"

"Oh, something about life," returned the little fellow, philosophically.—Chicago Inter Ocean.

BOOKS

"A STUDY OF THE PARABLES."

The Carpenter and the Rich Man. By Bouck White. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co. New York. Price, \$1.25 net.

As in "The Call of the Carpenter," Mr. White favors his readers with a new exegesis of the gospels, and one which might be a little surprising to the divinity student who should chance to fall out of the realm of mystical interpretation into the commonplace world of the Carpenter and the rich man. It is an interesting study in dialectics to observe how adroitly the Scriptural stories may be dove-tailed into human theories and made to prove the vital points on which the particular argument hangs.

From Mr. White's viewpoint a clear case is made out against the rich man, not only from the attitude of Jesus, but from that of Moses, who was the great strike leader of the children of Israel—"the Industrial Workers of Israel"—who rose up in rebellion against their task masters in Egypt. The prophets also "fulminated against the waxing power and pomp of the financier classes," and throughout the whole Jewish history the people are shown to be in enmity to the dominion of princes and potentates who oppress and harass the toilers on whose blood and sweat they thrive. From the ranks of the workers rises Jesus—characterized as the Carpenter—fired with love for the masses with whom He established the law of the universal brotherhood.

From parable to parable and from journeyings to Jerusalem and Jericho, our author follows the lesson of his eloquent discourse with a vigor of translation into modern work-a-day language that gives a new aspect to matters heretofore discussed with pulpit solemnity. To be sure, the divinity student may halt a little when he reads, "In an abounding degree Jesus was possessed of horse-sense"—but when he thinks of it he may possibly wonder whether that characterization might not touch some of the hard skeptical hearts that had turned away from his own ideal presentation of a divine being who had simply laid down his life for humanity. Might not the human touch of Jesus be more appealing to certain minds than the theological conception which is accepted without understanding? The grandeur of man no less than the power of God is revealed in Jesus of Nazareth.

In the chapters, "The Mental Universe" and "The Social Faith," Mr. White unfolds the deeper secret of his philosophy and of his splendid democracy built on the invincible foundation of "God, the Reality behind the veil." Frequently he uses terms that offend the trained religious ear, but

when you strike down to the heart of them they are as reverent as the best. Nowhere shall we find a more passionate advocate of the rights of man as separate and distinct from the false dominion of money. Nowhere may we find a more scathing analysis of the power of gold on the mammon worshiper whose soul shrinks and shrivels in proportion as the dollar enlarges in his vision.

Yet, after all, through the "fast gathering storm" our prophet sees "God Incognito," and the "meek preparing to inherit the earth." "Once let the labor movement be touched with the spaciousness and grandeur of spiritual things," he says, "it will open to all mankind the closed doors of Paradise."

A. I. M.



THE BRITISH LAND REPORT.

The Land: The Report of the Land Enquiry Committee. Volume I, Rural. Volume II, Urban. Published by Hodder & Stoughton, London and New York, 1913 and 1914. Price, per volume, cloth, 2 shillings; paper, 1 shilling, net.

Members of Committee: A. H. Dyke Acland, chairman; C. Roden Buxton, honorary secretary; E. Richard Cross, Ellis Davies, M. P., Baron DeForest, M. P., E. G. Hemerde, M. P., J. Ian MacPherson, M. P., B. Seebohm Rowntree, R. Winfrey, J. St.G. Heath, secretary; R. L. Relss, head organizer of the Rural Enquiry; H. E. Crawford, head organizer of the Urban Enquiry.

Few books in a generation have promised greater usefulness to their country than the British Land Report, of which Volume I, Rural, was published last autumn and Volume II, Urban, came out last month. A committee of nine friends of the Liberal Government undertook "the task—primarily for the information of the Government—of collecting fresh information with regard to present-day conditions, and digesting information already available" bearing on the "land question." The Report is wholly unofficial and, as the chairman remarks in his introduction, "must be judged entirely on its merits." The method of collection of facts and opinions and the manner of their presentation would seem to convince any reader of their integrity.

The Rural Report with its 500 pages is a great systematically arranged storehouse of first-hand information. Mr. Gilbert Slater's introduction, a "Historical Outline of Land Ownership in England," is a remarkable essay. It is the very meat of history's nut. "Private ownership in land," he begins, "rests ultimately on one of two claims, the claim of the spade or the claim of the sword. Right through the history of England these two claims have competed for recognition." To read this essay is thereafter to spell "enclosures," r-o-b-b-e-r-y.

The Rural Report itself is the outcome—aside

from the study of documents and the interviewing of witnesses—of between three and four thousand answers to two elaborate schedules prepared by the Committee and sent out to all parts of agricultural England. (Scotland and Wales were separately investigated.) The country was divided into districts; a competent supervisor was placed in charge of each locality; and inviolate secrecy was maintained wherever desired by the countryman who filled in the schedules. The result is a great human document, the biography of a social group. The hero of the narrative is neither the country landlord, nor the tenant farmer, but the hired man—a person so long silent in the nation that even now his grim story must be told for the most part with his neighbors for interpreters. That pitiful story must be read in the records. No relation could carry its emotion. Its economic and social meaning; its hope of a happy ending—these are largely left to be told in the Urban Land Report.

For if the Rural Report is remarkable as a convincing disclosure of human facts, the Urban Report is no less impressive as a book of interpretations and conclusions. It is divided into four parts: I, Housing; II, Acquisition of Land; III, Tenure; IV, Rating.

Part I presents unassailable evidence to show that: "There is a shortage of dwellings in probably half the towns of England and Wales, and the towns in which it exists are of all sizes and types"; and that, "Probably between 5 and 10 per cent of urban workmen live in slums, that is, dwellings, which in their present state are unfit for habitation, and which should either be demolished or subjected to drastic and thorough repair and alteration."

The remedy for this shortage and overcrowding is no more than in the rural housing problem the paternalistic provision of houses by the Government, but "*the raising of the economic status of the workers* thus enabling them to pay for a sanitary dwelling *out of their wages.*" A minimum wage law is suggested by the Committee to the Government as one aid in raising the workers' status. But the Committee finds further that, "one of the most hopeful methods of substantially reducing the cost at which satisfactory housing accommodations can be provided for the workingman" is to be found in "alterations of the present rating [local taxation] system in the direction of placing a larger proportion of the burden of rates upon the site and a lower proportion on the building."

Parts II and III lucidly explain Land Acquisition and Tenure, analyze existing laws and their effects, and recommend legislative changes that would give greater facilities to the public authorities and to private individuals for the acquirement of land, and would grant less power to the landowner over his tenants.

But Part IV of this Urban Report is by far more significant than any other division of either volume. Indeed, it is probably one of the most important taxation documents published in recent years. Any student of economics and the land question, any individual in America or Britain who fails to read it will have lost a golden opportunity for enlightenment, will have left unlit a lamp that would illuminate for him his nation's darkest problem.

Great Britain rings today with discussion and praise of Chancellor Lloyd George's 1914 Budget. Read this part of the Land Enquiry Committee's report as it deals with Rating [Local Taxation] and you will understand how and why Unionists and Liberals alike pronounce this sixth Budget of Mr. George's, second only to his great Budget of 1909 in splendid power. Read everything the Committee have to say: Their classification of the grievances of ratepayers into: (1) "the grievance of the man who improves against the man who does not improve"; (2) "the grievance of the occupier as against the owner"; (3) "the grievance of the ratepayer [local taxpayer] against the taxpayer" [national taxpayer]. Their clear definition of terms and description of hardships under the present laws. Their plan for the ultimate transference of all rates to site values and their argument against any such immediate complete transference thereof. Read their discussion of national taxation through their conclusion that "the arguments in favor of the principle of a national site tax as one of the sources of national revenue are unanswerable. But the question assumes quite a different aspect when we leave its justification in principle and come to consider the question of its immediate applicability when viewed in connection with the proposals already put forward for the rating [local taxation] of site values, the carrying out of which simultaneously with the relief of local rates we regard as of vital importance." Most assuredly read also, Appendices B. and C., two taxation schemes neither of which the Committee as a whole sanctioned, but both of which they ask the nation to consider.

Read all this. Then realize the breathless awaiting of the land valuation in all Britain as provided for in the 1909 Budget, that stupendous task to be completed next year. Realize, too, the complexity of the Imperial versus local taxation problem that British Finance Ministers for generations have let fearfully alone, and get a glimpse not only of Chancellor Lloyd George's boldness of attack upon this hydra, but of his consummate cleverness in training it to further his purposes—in actually making his Imperial grants-in-aid into a *tool* for taking the tax off industry by reducing the rates on improvements. This has Lloyd George proposed in his Budget, this, and yet he has set nothing in motion which might

block a sweeping reform in taxation when the land valuation is finished next year.

There is manifold reward, besides the keen joy at the time, in the reading of the Land Enquiry Committee's report. There is a gain in the power to appreciate a nation's need and the united response of its great souls thereto. A. L. G.



ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION: ITS HISTORY.

The State. By Franz Oppenheimer. Translated by John M. Gitterman. Published by The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis. Price, \$1.25.

Other writers have covered the history of our own times from a sociological point of view, but in tracing the development of the state from its socio-psychological genesis up to its modern constitutional form, Professor Oppenheimer, of the University of Berlin, gives the student the historical background. "The State" is not an attempt to investigate the fortune of a single people, but "to narrate the typical developments, the universal consequences, of the same basic traits of human nature wherever they are placed."

Emphasis is placed at the outset on the two fundamentally opposed means whereby man, requiring sustenance is impelled to obtain the necessary means for satisfying his desires: "work, and robbery"—by one's own labor (this he calls the *economic means* of satisfying one's needs) and the forcible appropriation of the labor of others (*the political means*). With these definitions in mind the reader is taken on a voyage of discovery to trace the development of the State.

An imperfect but helpful illustration of the field covered by "The State" may be made by comparison with the substance of part of a brilliant chapter of "The Good Ship Earth," by Herbert Quick. Mr. Quick, it will be remembered, describes the great dam at Assuan, Egypt, and in doing so teaches an economic lesson. The dam was built to hold back the flood waters of the Niles for the purposes of irrigation. It spreads over whole provinces the waters from the Abyssinian Mountains, feeding and watering the crops of the Egyptian fellahs. The construction cost was \$52,500,000. Taxation on the vast regions it irrigates has been increased \$5,000,000 annually—5 per cent interest on the investment. Good business, gentlemen of the British Government! For the fellahs? Let us see: Land values in the provinces affected have boomed from about \$81,000,000 to \$188,000,000; rents in proportion. In the days before the dam, all the fellahs got was a bare living; that's all they get now! This, however, is Egypt of today.

In a chapter on the feudal State, Professor Oppenheimer also draws a lesson from Egypt, but it is from Egypt of old. He quotes from Ratzel:

"After a warlike intermezzo, there follows a period in the history of the Middle Empire, which brings about a deterioration of the position of the peasantry. . . . The number of landlords decreases, while their territorial growth and power increases. The tribute of the peasants is hereafter determined by an exact assessment on their estates, and definitely fixed by a sort of Doomsday Book. Because of this pressure, many peasants soon enter the lord's court or the cities of the local rulers, and take employment there."

Some readers may feel that the author has not stated with sufficient clearness in the last and splendidly optimistic chapter the path that will lead humanity from the exploiting state of robbery to his ideal, freemen's citizenship. On second thought it will be seen he did not set out to do that. His aim was to blueprint the trail through history and he seems to have accomplished his task so well that many will want to read this book as an historical introduction to "Progress and Poverty."

STANLEY BOWMAR.

PERIODICALS

Life and Labor.

A fine appreciation by Mary Gray Peck of the character and work of Frances Squire Potter opens the May number of Life and Labor (127 N. Dearborn St.). "Organization of Women Workers in Germany" is another interesting article—a report by Gertrude Hanna about the 200,000 "Free" trade union women and the 65,000 who belong to the other classes of organizations for working women, who number altogether not more than ten per cent of the organized workmen and are in large part not separately organized from the men.

A. L. G.



The great magnate summoned his private secretary.

"Have you attended to all the increased prices that I ordered?"

"I have, sir."

"Did you order my steel company to ask more for steel rails and other material that enters into railroad construction?"

"Yes, sir. That has been provided for."

"Has it been arranged that my locomotive works shall increase the price of engines and that my car factories shall increase the prices of freight and passenger cars?"

"Yes, sir. That also is thoroughly understood by our different boards of directors."

"Have you seen to it that my coal mines have tacked on a good, round increase in the price of coal which my engines burn?"

"Oh, yes. We have been pushing up the price of coal steadily."

"That's good. And have you arranged that my lumber companies charge me more for ties than I have been in the habit of paying?"

"Yes. Your lumber companies are charging so

much for ties that your railroad companies can hardly afford to buy them."

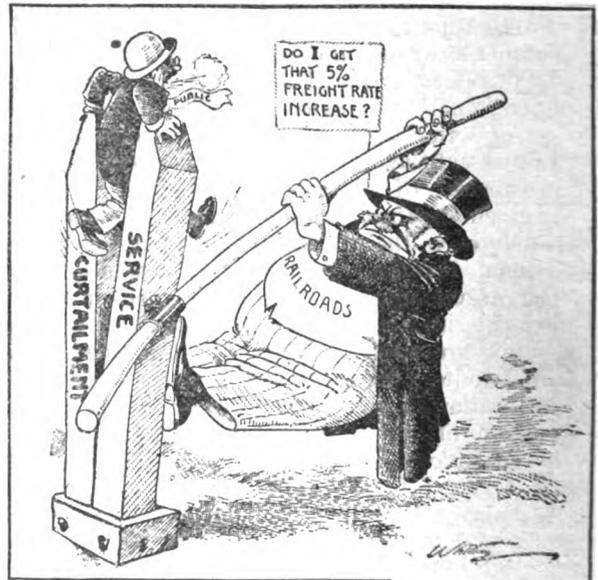
"That's good. And, of course, you have seen to it that my banks are refusing to lend money to my railroads except at a much higher rate of interest than has prevailed heretofore?"

"Yes, sir. Your banks have informed your railroads that money is very scarce and that no financing can be done except on short-time notes at high rates of interest."

"Well, then, I guess we're about ready to make our next move. Have a petition prepared to the Interstate Commerce Commission setting forth that owing to the greatly increased cost of running railroads, it will be absolutely necessary for us to have a substantial increase in freight and passenger rates. Understand?"

"Yes, sir. Anything else, sir?"

"Nothing else, except, of course, to notify my newspapers to support this proposition valiantly in the name of the public and to listen to no arguments against it."—Life.



Putting on the Pressure!

Whiting, in the Louisville Post.

Mr. Brown had just registered and was about to turn away when the hotel clerk asked:

"Beg pardon, but what is your name?"

"Name!" echoed the indignant guest. "Don't you see my signature there on the register?"

"I do," returned the clerk calmly. "That is what aroused my curiosity."—Everybody's.



Tommy could not understand why his teacher thought that the following paragraph from his composition on "A Hunting Adventure" lacked animation and effectiveness:

Pursued by the relentless hunter, the panting gabelle sprang from cliff to cliff. At last she could go

no farther. Before her yawned the chasm, and behind her the hunter.—Youth's Companion.

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By STOUGHTON COOLEY

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"Oh! Willie, you must put your drum away. This is Sunday."

"But, mother, I was goin' to play some sacred music."—Life.

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The only S. T. Merchant in R. I. Working for the Single Tax.

THE ROCKEFELLER STATEMENT

"It is the inalienable right of every citizen to work without interference whether he be a union man or a non-union man."

Millions of people read this sentence in the daily papers last week. They paid particular attention to it because it came from John D. Rockefeller Jr. when he was discussing the Colorado Labor War.

The statement may be all right. The Rockefeller policy's all wrong. Where's the fallacy? It was pointed out in an editorial by Mr. Danziger in The Public of May 8—one short paragraph which can be read almost at a glance.

Our circulation department will have this little editorial reprinted on a slip, ordinary-envelope size. Everyone who will distribute a few hundred or thousand copies is urged to write for them immediately. No charge will be made for the slips.

While attention is focused on the Colorado situation this editorial will be read by practically everybody into whose hands it falls. A supply should be left with the secretary of every labor union in the country. Blanket your territory with them.

STANLEY BOWMAR,
Manager.

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Have you read SHOVELCRATS? 10c

Benn Pitman Phonography

is written by more than half the Government employees.

WHY?

"WHAT YOU CAN DO"

Under this heading in The Public of April 3, Bolton Hall gave some suggestions to workers and appealed to every singletaxer to "Do something now." An increased number of requests for sample copies of The Public for distribution, and orders for pamphlets have been noticeable. Four readers inquired about singletax buttons!

Mr. Timby has asked us to publish the following letter:

Dear Public:

Everyone can do something. In casting about for what I might do, I see nothing but to give away some reading matter.

As an inducement to readers of The Public to read that little booklet, SHOVELCRATS, and also have the pleasure of reading, and then of "passing along," Patrick Edward Dove's famous book, "The Theory of Human Progression," 410 pages, paper, I will send both Free upon receipt of 12c stamps to cover postage. The two weigh one pound.

As my stock of "Human Progression" is less than 200 copies, and no new edition can be marketed under 50c or more, everyone who wants a copy free should write promptly.

H. H. TIMBY,
Ashtabula, Ohio.

Write to us for all the sample copies of The Public you can use for distribution.

The Circulation Dept.

THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Bldg., CHICAGO

WANTED: An Introduction—Quick

Letters like those printed below make us impatient.

They are from new (not old) subscribers. That of course is good—it makes them particularly interesting. It is, however, impossible to handle much correspondence of this kind without asking: "Why isn't it multiplied a thousand-fold, and quick?"

Yellow journalism has slumped. Stand-pat Republican and Democratic papers bore all but partisans. The "more-or-less radical" press wobbles and doesn't satisfy. What thinking people are unconsciously looking for is a publication which, knowing fundamentals, has something to steer by.

It is a pretty big order. And readers are somewhat spoiled and mighty fly on long promises. The letters which follow have a value in this connection—they show what some of The Public's subscribers have accomplished by persuading friends, relatives and fellow strap-hangers (see the last letter) to try their favorite paper.

... Your publication is one of the most ideal of the times, and am sorry I did not get in touch with it sooner.

Joe. A. Shires, Denver, Colo.

... The six months' trial subscription sent me by Charles H. Porter has made me a sincere supporter and admirer of The Public, and I hope the new subscriptions I am sending you will do as much for my friends.

T. W. Helburn, Salem, Mass.

... Mr. C. B. Hemingway of this city recently loaned me a copy of your paper, The Public, and I am enclosing \$1.00 for a subscription. Your paper appeals to me, and I feel that it cannot fail to accomplish great good.

Miss Edith A. Fries,
Washington, D. C.

... Through the courtesy of a friend I have been enabled to read occasional issues of The Public which I pass along and keep in circulation among my fellow prisoners.

Those copies are eagerly read by the thinking element who have begun to realize how very much privilege has to do with their being here, and it would be a decided advantage if they could have several copies regularly and an opportunity to read up fully on Single Tax and allied subjects.

Albert Ryan, No. 23972,
San Quentin Prison, Calif.

... I am in receipt of your communication relative to your valuable paper, "The Public." I do not ever recall reading a little magazine that I like one-tenth as well as I do yours. You certainly have a paper that every thinking person should carefully read and study. I read every page in each issue and it is my intention to subscribe for the same as long as I live. It is, I think, the best paper on Fundamental Democracy published, and you should have the support of all patriotic citizens of this country.

R. B. Sturkie, Dade City, Fla.

... We are indebted to one of our readers for several copies of The Public, a democratic journal published in Chicago. The paper is a splendid one and, in our humble opinion, very near to the truth in its view of public questions. The opening paragraph of the current issue inquires, "Does it really require exceptional prescience to see the connection between an empty stomach, a fertile acre, and a willing hand; or are the Statesmen and the Professors looking in another direction?"

The Sentinel, Westbrook, Minn.

... Your letter to Walter W. Hall notifying him that the time of his paper had expired came a few days ago. Walter Hall (my son) is now in Cincinnati, Ohio, attending the University of Engineering. On leaving home last fall he left his paper for his father to

read. And now I am so attached to The Public that I have decided to accept your renewal offer to him. The Public ought to be in the hands of every American citizen. I am a great admirer of President Wilson, but I must say that I wish he had read your paper of April 24th, page 380, before entering Vera Cruz.

W. T. Hall, P. M., LaPorte, Tex.

... I am writing to renew my subscription. When I want to read the news I do not look at our Rochester papers. I read The Public. One year ago one of your local friends placed a copy of The Public in my hand, pointed to an article and said: "Read that." The article, by the way, was about a Mayor of a western city declining to attend a charity banquet. We were on a street car. He told me to keep the paper and I am glad he did. I sent you my subscription and I have been reading The Public ever since. Now I am sending you two dollars, one to renew myself, the other to give The Public to two new subscribers, names to be chosen by you. I am a working man with only a small weekly wage and can hardly afford this. Therefore, I hope it will do a heap of good. After one year's reading I believe The Public is right and true. And rightness and truth must win out in the end—God still lives and rules the world.

E. D. Marshall, Rochester, N. Y.

We will be glad to mail anyone who can and will use them, two or three extra papers every week, for distribution as "get-acquainted" samples.

\$2.00 pays for three subscriptions; \$4.00 for six.

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT

THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Building, Chicago