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CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

War Leads to Slavery.....	321
Due Course of Law.....	321
The Fraudulent Anti-Trust Law.....	322
Discouraging a Bad Practice.....	322
Wisconsin's Changeable Supreme Court.....	322
Business Men to the Rescue.....	322
Tariffless Protection.....	323
Making Money.....	323
Something For Nothing.....	323
Getting Land for the Unemployed.....	324
An Unreasonable Complaint.....	324
The Rosenwald Case Ends Well.....	324
Chicago, a Sure Loser.....	324
Simplifying Municipal Government.....	325

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Chaos in Mexico—Resident Observer.....	326
Tax Reform Progress in New Jersey—C. H.....	327
Nebraska Politics—L. J. Quinby.....	327
Wisconsin Progresses Backward—Craig Ralston.....	329

NEWS NARRATIVE:

Mexico.....	329
China and Japan.....	329
The European War.....	330
American Submarine Disaster.....	331
Peaceful Methods Settle Uprising.....	331
Tax Reform News.....	331
Judge Lindsey and His Enemies.....	334
Death of Charles Francis Adams.....	334
News Notes.....	334
Press Opinions.....	334

RELATED THINGS:

Three Innocent Sufferers—W. G. Tarrant.....	335
My Year in Prison—No. 7176.....	335
The Singletax—Louis Kaplan.....	337
"Save Potato Peelings"—Benj. C. Moomaw.....	337

BOOKS:

The Work of English Militants.....	337
Man and His Kind.....	338
Periodicals.....	339

EDITORIAL

War Leads to Slavery.

Should it be true that Karl Liebknecht has been disciplined for expressing anti-war sentiments in the Reichstag, it will be additional evidence of the fact that war is an agent of slavery, whatever may be its purpose.

S. D.



Due Course of Law.

A good deal of sarcastic criticism has been made of the manner in which the Mexicans dispense justice. The protests of the American government, these critics say, are met by the various authorities with profuse apologies and promises of redress, but nothing more substantial follows. Without wishing to excuse the too frequent failures on the part of Mexico, or to belittle our own legal system, it may be questioned if this criticism is altogether just. Mexico is in the throes of regeneration. The body politic is being purged of the poisonous accumulations of centuries of political and social iniquities; naturally, there is confusion and disorder. That such conditions are not conducive to orderly procedure, and the dispensing of even-handed justice will readily be recognized. But are we of this country warranted in casting stones at Mexico? We are at peace. Civil law prevails throughout the land; and has so prevailed, with slight exceptions, for the past half century. There is absolutely no physical cause to interrupt the due course of law. Yet we manage to lynch about a hundred or so annually in defiance of law. Sometimes women are among the victims, and occasionally we burn a man at the stake. It is not so many years since a number of citizens of Italy were charged with crime in New Orleans, and thrown into jail; and the due course of law was interrupted by a mob of the best citizens, who went to the jail and murdered the prisoners. Italy was pacified by the payment of money to the families of the victims, but nothing was done to the offenders against the law. The Thaw case

may be following the due course of law; but one begins to wonder when the final decision is due. A little more attention to our own affairs, and a little less to Mexico may lead to better results in both countries.

S. C.



The Fraudulent Anti-Trust Law.

The anti-trust law, which could be used to deprive members of the Danbury Hatters' Union of their homes, can not be used to prevent oppression of shoe manufacturers by the shoe machinery trust, or prevent the Associated Press from monopolizing the news service. There is nothing remarkable about this. Somehow all laws have results, different from what their sponsors promise, which aim to prevent an evil without removing its cause.

S. D.



Discouraging a Bad Practice.

Judge Jacob A. Hopkins of Chicago's Municipal Court deserves credit for wisely discouraging the far too frequent police practice of tempting suspected persons into violations of law, in order to swell the number of arrests to their credit. Even if it were true that excessive zeal in suppression of vice is the cause of this practice, it would not be excusable. If tolerated in the case of minor violations of law it can not be prevented from spreading to more serious matters. In time we would have detectives, in quest of Sherlock Holmes reputations, instigating weak or ignorant persons into commission of burglary, highway robbery or even murder, in order to "detect" them later. In refusing to convict tempted persons on the evidence of tempters, Judge Hopkins has set a good example which should be generally followed.

S. D.



Wisconsin's Changeable Supreme Court.

Within a period of a few weeks the Supreme Court of Wisconsin on March 24 reversed its own decision declaring invalid two constitutional amendments. If this confession of error is due to a sincere desire to correct a mistake, then the action was commendable. Unfortunately, there are circumstances which—to say the least—justify doubt. A division in the progressive forces of the State has put the government temporarily in reactionary hands. Recognizing evidently that their lease of power is brief, the program of all branches of the government has been to undo as quickly as possible all that has been accomplished under progressive administrations. Suit was brought to annul a constitutional amendment which empowered the State to preserve the forests. The ground given was the technical one that in one of the two

times the measure had to pass the legislature, a clerk in one of the houses failed to spread it properly on the journal. On the same ground an amendment was contested which made citizenship the qualification for voting. In spite of the fact that both amendments had been ratified by the people, the court promptly nullified both. Then someone observed that the same objection applied to other recent amendments. One of these had increased the membership of the court and by virtue of it two of the judges held their seats. Another had increased the salaries of the judges. At once, on its own motion, the court ordered a re-hearing and found itself in error. There is no absolute proof that it was influenced by the discovery of the unforeseen effect of its first decision. But many judges would hold a person charged with crime guilty on evidence no more convincing and respect for the court must suffer.

S. D.



Business Men to the Rescue.

Ex-Senator Elihu Root's call to the business men of this country to "fight to the last ditch against increased governmental regulation of business," as the mission of the Republican party, might have been taken as sarcasm, were it not for his well-known reputation for seriousness. That a man of Mr. Root's ability should have made this call upon business men in the name of the Republican party shows the extent to which the ablest minds are unconsciously influenced by environment. The Republican party had scarcely arrived on the scene of action than it began to regulate business; and from that beginning down to the present day the regulation of business has been the very center and core of its being. The difference between the Republican idea of regulating business and the Democratic idea is that the former rests when it has set up a condition in which the favored businesses are freed from competition, while the latter seeks to distribute the benefits among all the people. The fact that the Democrats have not been wholly successful as yet in distributing the benefits of Privilege does not warrant any man in returning to the old policy of unrestricted Privilege. Rather does it admonish us to note wherein the Democrats have failed, and to supplement what they have done with further acts looking to elimination of all privileges.



Mr. Root is right in sounding the alarm against the growth of a Federal bureaucracy. As men come to study the natural law of business—and business is governed by a natural law as certain

as gravity—they will realize the futility and the un wisdom of attempting to regulate it. All that business needs is to be let alone, and it will regulate itself; but it cannot and will not be let alone until all its privileges have been withdrawn. So long as certain kinds of business are entrenched behind the tariff, fortified with special freight rates, and armed with exclusive rights to the earth; in a word, so long as business is allied with monopoly, the struggle must continue. The indictment is not against business as business, but against business as monopoly. And once the monopoly features have been removed, there will be no trouble with business. That the unthinking should attribute the prosperity of this country during the Republican administration to their restrictive laws, instead of to the vast area of free land, to which labor and capital could turn, is not surprising; but that a man of Mr. Root's great ability should be thus deceived illustrates again the difficulty of getting a new idea into an old head.

S. C.



Tariffless Protection.

The economic fallacy that underlies protectionism is responsible for the following editorial in the Boston Post of March 17:

The published estimate that "a million a year is wasted" by carting goods from one part of Boston to another makes a bad choice of words. A million dollars may be "unnecessarily spent"—wouldn't that be a better way of putting it? But is money "wasted" that goes (mostly) into the pay envelopes of thousands of industrious, self-respecting workingmen, and which is used by them in support of their families? We think not.

According to the Post's statement "thousands of industrious self-respecting workingmen" are being paid for work, which accomplishes no result but what could be accomplished without that effort. Their work is, consequently, as unproductive as if they were employed in digging holes in the ground and filling them up again. If it is done only for the purpose of paying them wages, then they could be just as self-respecting and could put the money to as good use if it were paid them without any requirement of work. Would it not be better for the men employed, as well as for other citizens of Boston, if the million dollars thus "unnecessarily spent," were used in producing some of the many things that most Bostonians want and must go without? Why have unnecessary work done when there is so much necessary work left undone? That it is not for lack of labor, the employment of men at needless carting of goods alone shows. That it is not for lack of capital is shown by unnecessary

expenditure of a million dollars a year. That there is need of this wasted labor and capital in productive lines is shown not only in the needs of the very men employed in useless work and of their families, but in high and increasing cost of living and in unsupplied wants everywhere. The Post has overlooked not only the needlessness of putting men at unnecessary work while there is necessary work to do, but the needless and injurious legal restrictions which shut men out of opportunities of producing things that are needed. Because of these restrictions men able and willing to work are denied a chance to do so. Opportunities left open for useful work do not equal the number of men who want to work and employment of men at unnecessary work is regarded as a benefit by those who, like the Post, fail to see the fundamental wrong.

S. D.



Making Money.

What is spoken of by the press as "the largest realty transaction in the history of the city" has just been completed in Chicago. The price was \$3,650,000, \$650,000 for the building and \$3,000,000 for the land, or \$15,000 a front foot. This land, known as the Fine Arts Building property, is said to have been bought by the Studebakers between 1883 and 1885 for \$600 a front foot. Twenty-four hundred per cent increase in land values in thirty years privately appropriated will account for a number of idle men—some who cannot get work, and one who does not need to work.

S. C.



Something for Nothing.

Complaints are being made by Chicago citizens that the million and three-quarters of dollars appropriated by Congress is insufficient to buy a site for the new post office. They declare that it will fall far short of buying sufficient room to meet the requirements of the city. This \$1,750,000 is not to build a post office, but merely to secure a piece of ground upon which to set it. The agitation for a new post office has been going on for a number of years. When it began a million and three-quarters of dollars would have been sufficient for the site. During that time, however, Chicago has increased in population several hundred thousand, and a great deal of capital and labor has been expended in that neighborhood. One railroad in particular has spent twenty million dollars; another is about to spend sixty-five million dollars. The consequence is that "property values in this section of Chicago have gone up by leaps and bounds." Thus do we behold the

beauties of an economic system that enables one man to reap where another has sown. s. c.



Getting Land for the Unemployed.

If vacant lot cultivation is to be seriously pushed as a means of relieving the unemployed situation more aggressive measures to secure use of land should be employed. Thus, in Chicago, the Chairman of the special Park Committee having the matter in hand, Mr. S. J. Rosenblatt, is reported in *The Herald* of March 25 as saying that: "The Committee is desirous of finding out the names of those who will donate the use of vacant property for this purpose." Little will be accomplished in this way. Many owners of vacant property who have no objection to its use by the unemployed may, nevertheless, be too indifferent to offer it. Others who would prefer not to let it be used will lack the courage to refuse if asked to donate it. The unemployed question is a serious matter, and regard for the feelings of vacant land owners should not be allowed to stand in the way of relieving the situation. A practical plan would be for the Committee to serve notice on every vacant land owner in the city that, unless informed to the contrary, it will assume that he has no definite intention of using his land during the summer, which will therefore be included in the land offered for the use of the unemployed. No answer within a certain time should be considered as consent. Such a notice would put on land owners, not intending to use their land, the burden of publicly refusing to allow its use by others, and of deliberately assuming responsibility for intensifying unemployment. Unless municipal authority be used in some way to force vacant land into use, the city will be responsible for repetition next winter of the intolerable situation that has prevailed during the winter just passed. Of course vacant lot cultivation does not offer anything like a complete and satisfactory solution of the unemployed problem. But it is the one palliative measure that will make easier the education of the public on the fundamental cause of unemployment and the need of its removal.

s. d.



An Unreasonable Complaint.

A recent occurrence in Minnesota proves the old saying that "one story is good until another is told." The Oliver Mining Company, with mines at the town of Hibbing, complained to the legislature of lavish expenditures made by the town, the expense of which was largely met by taxes on min-

ing property. The chief grievance was that most of the city's residents had been put on the municipal pay roll and the company has asked the legislature to restrict the town's expenditures. An investigation of the story for the *Chicago Herald* was made by Richard Henry Little. The situation, as Mr. Little found it, is described in his delightfully humorous style, in the *Herald* of March 26. He found that the Oliver Mining Company, after bringing to the town a large number of foreign laborers, shut down the mines, and thus the town was forced to face a serious unemployed situation. This the town met by hiring the men to pave the streets, paying the cost by a tax which fell mainly on the unused land of the Oliver Mining Company. For that reason the company has gone to the legislature with a request for interference in local affairs. After throwing a number of men into the ranks of the unemployed it objects to being taxed for withholding from these unfortunates the right to make use of one of Nature's gifts. What Minnesota legislators will do about the matter remains to be seen. What they should do is to advise the company to either make use of the lands on which it finds the tax burdensome or let others do so.

s. d.



The Rosenwald Case Ends Well.

Unless the legislature takes some action, refusal to file schedules of personal property for taxation in Illinois is a practice that may be indulged in without incurring criminal liability. That much is made clear by the quashing of the indictment of Julius Rosenwald. Personal property schedules will hereafter be filed only by those mistaken ones who hold it to be their duty to do so, or by those who do not know that refusal involves little risk. The legislature ought to repeal the almost harmless civil liability that Judge McDonald's sensible decision in the case still leaves intact. In that way personal property taxation in Illinois can be abolished in spite of a constitutional provision to the contrary. The fact that correct assessment of personal property requires the testimony of the person who must pay the tax, is enough to discredit it.

s. d.



Chicago a Sure Loser.

The campaign methods of Robert M. Sweitzer and William Hale Thompson, candidates for the Chicago mayoralty, indicate that neither is fit for the office. Both are indulging in mud-slinging, making demagogic appeals to ignorance and prejudice, and expressing glittering generalities about

efficiency, safety and economy. Neither has anything definite to say about important concrete matters, such as traction, telephone, taxation, and school affairs, on which the next mayor must act. In the case of each it seems that getting into office has first place, and what should be done while in is secondary. In favorable contrast with these methods is the campaign conducted by Seymour Stedman, the Socialist candidate. He has ideas on all of these matters and is not deterred from clearly expressing them by the fact that some hearers may not approve of his views. If the contest were to be decided on merit there is no question but that he would be an easy winner. But, unfortunately, it will not be decided so. Whether Sweitzer or Thompson wins, Chicago is sure to lose.

S. D.



Simplifying Municipal Government.

A slavish desire on the part of the Fathers of the Republic to be consistent led them to embody principles of government in forms poorly calculated to express them; and an inordinate regard for the memory of the Founders has led their descendants to cling to those forms long after their uselessness had been demonstrated. The "check and balance" theory, as expressed in the National government, has not worked so well as to necessarily warrant its continuance in the several States, and certainly not in municipal governments; and had the people not ignored the fact that a different form of government was necessary to give expression to the will of a people scattered over a continent—where those in one part knew comparatively little of the affairs of those of other parts—from that of a city, town, or village, it might not have been necessary to wait until the system had utterly broken down, before attempting new experiments. Once that fact was realized, however, progress in municipal government began.



The commission form of government, supplemented by direct legislation in the form of the Initiative and Referendum, marked a decided advance in popular government; but there remained too much of the element of chance in securing the man of greatest efficiency for the management of municipal affairs. This chance is now reduced to the minimum by the employment of the business manager. The village board, or the board of commissioners in larger political units, with the business manager, gives to the people the benefit of the counsel of several minds, and the advantage

of a single executive head. Under this system the voters are free to pass upon the character of the candidates for the board, a thing that they may properly judge; but the choice of the executive officer is left to the men of character on the board who have the opportunity to examine and choose an expert. It is the right of the voters to say whether or not a street should be paved, or a water system installed, but they are seldom qualified, and rarely have a fitting opportunity to select the expert to perform the work.



The unsatisfactory condition of municipal government in the United States is due to our practice of putting complicated business interests into inexperienced hands; for municipal government in its last analysis is nothing but business. It is peculiar and difficult of solution only because the prevailing practice is to put it in the hands of men who have not devoted the necessary time and attention to prepare themselves for it. No man can afford to give this time and labor to prepare himself for the office of mayor, as he would for the management of a great mercantile establishment, for the reason that he can have no assurance that when he is prepared he will be chosen for the place. He can be mayor of his own city only, and the number of mayors chosen within his working life too limited to warrant any man's making the outlay. The business managership, however, restores the municipal executive department to the field of competition and emulation. Men who would not devote three months to a course in municipal government, in the hope of being chosen mayor, would give years to the preparation as a municipal manager, because he would be studying in the same spirit as the civil engineer, knowing that his talent would be as applicable in one municipality as in another; and the best natural talent could be devoted to this course since, like the civil engineer, success in one place would bring calls from other localities, until we should have many men of the rank of a Goethals, a Gorgas, or a Blue, who have demonstrated that social functions can be performed with the same efficiency as commercial activities when properly trained men are set at the job.

Too often our mayors are as the swallow that flitted in at one window of the king's banquet hall and out at the other, whereas the business manager, as a trained expert, may abide as long as he can be of service. Every line of human endeavor should have before it, so far as possible, the fullest scope for development; and behind it,

the greatest incentive to progress. Such, it would seem, is the office of municipal manager; and it is an encouraging sign of the wholesomeness of American political life that so many cities, towns, and villages should be willing to demonstrate by practical application the truth of this principle. Dayton, Ohio, with its 125,000 population, as well as River Forest, Illinois, with its 3,600, and many cities in between, are putting the plan to the test; and it begins to look as though we had at last discovered a means of conducting public business as efficiently as private business. S. C.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

CHAOS IN MEXICO

II.

Mexico, March 9, 1915.

Since the flight of Gutierrez, the Convention party has been practically the Villa party; and I will now explain my preference of this party over that of Carranza, judging solely from the record of each in southern Mexico since last August. And I will confine discussion to five headings as follows: Finance, efficiency, discipline, sincerity and foreigners.

Finance.—When Huerta departed last July, the Mexican peso was still worth 30 cents in U. S. money. Carranza had not ruled a month before the peso was quoted at 20 cents, and last month the quotation fell to 13 cents. The chief effects here have been as follows: All the thrifty who have their savings in the form of mortgages, bank credits, or cash, have lost three-fourths of the fortunes they had in 1912 and have thus been made, indirectly and surreptitiously, to pay the greater part of the money cost of the Revolution. Most of the remaining cost has fallen on the working masses; as wages have scarcely risen at all since 1902, while the price of many domestic articles has doubled, and of all foreign articles has more than tripled.

Carranza dismissed in September his finance minister, F. Villareal, because the latter wished to issue bonds instead of more currency. Villa not only showed his sanity by having Villareal put back as finance minister in December, but he is said to personally favor the speedy restoration of the ancient Mexican free-silver system which was only disastrously changed to the gold standard by Limantour, in 1906. But Carranza's first move on entering the capitol was to abrogate the double Federal taxation inaugurated by Huerta to pay the army; on the theory that "people shouldn't be bothered with taxes when one has a greenback-printing press handy."

Efficiency.—The Carranza officers have devoted much more time to pasting up paper decrees than to military drill. They are an extreme example of that school of legislators, so numerous in the United States, who believe that the universe can be reversed by human fiat. Seldom has a great modern country been exposed to the caprices of such ignoramuses in all matters of political, social and economic science as are Carranza and his clique of governors.

They are so dense that they even lack the sense to purchase expert assistance for their undertakings.

Villa demonstrates the natural superiority of his mind by his mental humility. His was the only Revolutionary army that succeeded in winning pitched battles against Huerta's professional soldiers, and the chief reason for this was Villa's deference in technical matters to the trained officers on his staff. Besides, a Villa officer had to make good or lose his job, and cowards or shirks even ran the risk of immediate execution. In consequence, Villa's is one of the few Latin-American armies where the common soldiers outnumber the officers. As a contrast, General Coos not only was promoted by Carranza, after his disgraceful retreat from Pueblo in December, but was reinstated in his former job as governor, soon after the city had been recovered for him by Obregon, in January.

Discipline.—The lack of discipline and disobedience to proper authority, which starts at the cradle and is seldom cured during life, is perhaps the fundamental reason why most of the Mexicans are still barbarians. It is probable that Carranza realizes the bad political effect of his officers' crimes against civilians; but he lacks the nerve and ability which would insure their obedience.

Villa, on the contrary, is fearless and a natural leader of men; woe betide his subordinate who deliberately disregards his orders! Many rash culprits have had no time for benefit of clergy or even of court-martial; for Villa has acted both as judge and firing-squad and executed them on the spot. Such methods may remind one of the age of Alaric the Goth, but the orderly behavior of the Villa cohorts shows their effectiveness.

Sincerity.—As the months go by, the similarity of the Carranza regime to that of Huerta becomes every day more striking. Both have proved themselves in favor of dishonesty, Huerta by his non-payment of the army contractors and by private grafting, Carranza, by "interventions" and by his paper currency. Neither has had any scruples in slaughtering thousands rather than abate a jot of his personal ambitions, and each has maintained a mendacious press and stifled the expression of all contrary opinions. Carranza has now attempted the complete suppression of all political news between Mexico and other countries. His Censor Bureau at Vera Cruz only permits the ingress or egress of a few letters, but no newspapers, and nearly all these are brazenly opened and then labelled "By the Censor."

By contrast, Villa detests the perfidy and disloyalty which is perhaps the worst legacy left by the Diaz regime to Mexican society. Both Huerta and Carranza are post-graduates in Diaz duplicity; as the first was captain of Diaz's bodyguard and the latter spent 10 years in the Diaz senate. Villa believes that the only way to regenerate Mexico, is to clear her of all Diaz grafters, as one would clear a warehouse of rats. He detests perfidy and nearly lost his life in 1912 because of his loyalty to Pres. Madero at Bachuita in opposition to the pretensions of Huerta. But Carranza delights in chicanery; I have had it from several sources that his readiness, as governor of Coahuila, to take the field against the Huerta usurpation in March, 1913, was due to his having prepared the state troops to revolt against Pres. Madero, who was

about to investigate the disappearance of \$300,000 that had been entrusted to Carranza.

Foreigners.—The insulting telegram which Carranza sent to Pres. Wilson last April, demanding his immediate withdrawal from Vera Cruz, might have aligned the whole revolutionary north on the side of Huerta, had not Villa flatly refused to budge an inch against the United States. A large and noisy faction of mestizo officers in the Carranza armies hated foreigners, especially Yankees, worse even than they hated Huerta, and the result of the seizure of Vera Cruz, had it not been for Villa's friendliness, might have embroiled all Mexico with Uncle Sam. Except for his enmity against Spaniards, which he shares with most Mexicans from historical causes, Villa has been uniformly favorable to foreigners and has many of them among his officers.

Whatever Carranza's personal feelings towards foreigners, he now sees political advantage in the proposals of the anti-foreign faction. In his excellent program for practical reform—not announced, by the way, until January and after he had been repudiated by the Convention—Carranza proposes to "humble the pride of foreigners." What this may ultimately mean in practice may be surmised from recent events, which include the appropriation of the Yankee "National Railways" and Wells-Fargo Express Co., of the English Mexican Railway, and of the Canadian Mexican L. & P. Co.—the greatest public utilities of the country.

Carranza's personally-conducted Casa Mundial has just announced a boycott of all foreign merchants in Mexico City, because they obtained exception from Obregon's poor tax, and his Vera Cruz organ "El Pueblo" has begun to publish articles advocating the same law which has been chiefly responsible for the decadence of Haiti, i. e., the prohibition of alien ownership of any form of real estate. Finally, it is rumored that Carranza is only awaiting a favorable chance to decree that all foreign residents must either become citizens or immediately leave Mexico.

RESIDENT OBSERVER.



TAX REFORM PROGRESS IN NEW JERSEY.

Trenton, March 26, 1915.

One of the most interesting and prolonged debates of the present legislative session entertained the crowded Senate Chamber on Monday evening, March 22nd, when the so-called Hennessy-Hammond Home Rule Tax Bill was up on the order of final passage. This is the bill introduced by Senator Charles O'Connor Hennessy of Bergen County, who had a similar bill in the lower house during the sessions of 1912 and 1913, and in the Senate last year. In 1912 the bill was smothered in committee, notwithstanding a public hearing at which a number of prominent citizens, including Joseph Fels, Charles H. Ingersoll, George L. Record and others, advocated the passage of the bill.

In 1913 it got sixteen votes in the Assembly. In 1914 after Mr. Hennessy had taken his seat in the Senate, the bill appeared in both houses, its sponsor in the Assembly being Clinton E. Fisk, a fundamental Democrat from Hudson County. Among those last year who made earnest pleas for the bill at a

public hearing were Mayor Mark M. Fagan of Jersey City, and Frank H. Sommer, general counsel of the Public Utility Commission. The bill was brought to a vote in both houses last year and received sixteen votes in the Assembly and the votes of five out of the twenty-one Senators who compose the Senate. In the Assembly this year the sponsor for the bill is Assemblyman James Hammond, a Republican, who is a pronounced single taxer.

This year the Senate fight against the bill was led by Senator Pierce, Republican, of Union County, who is considered a taxation expert. He is a follower of Prof. Seligman of Columbia College, and during the debate declared himself in favor of an Unearned Increment tax. He denounced the Hennessy Bill as a single tax measure pure and simple, that would demoralize the taxation system of New Jersey.

Senator Hennessy, in reply, declared that he was proud to call himself a single tax man, but that his bill was only a mild approach to the realization of that complete economic freedom which would come only with removal of all constitutional restraints so as to permit the raising of all public revenue, national, state and municipal from land values. He explained his measure as a first step toward setting free the industrial energies of New Jersey on the farm and in the factories. The bill would require all classes of property to be assessed as at present, but would permit municipalities to exempt personal property and improvements on land from taxation by a gradual process extending over a period of five years. The system, he explained, could not go into operation in any municipality until adopted by popular vote. It would compel no change in the existing system, but would, as soon as the people were enlightened enough to demand it, permit the adoption of a plan that would tremendously stimulate thrift, enterprise and industry.

Senator McGinnis of the large manufacturing county of Passaic spoke eloquently in favor of the bill as a measure that would open the door of prosperity to the great silk manufacturing industries of Paterson. On the final vote Senators Hennessy of Bergen, McGinnis of Passaic, Ramsay of Middlesex, Ackley of Cumberland, Barber of Warren and Munson of Sussex, all Democrats, were recorded for the bill. Nine Senators voted against it and two remained silent on the roll call.

Afterwards Senator Hennessy said: "I am satisfied with the progress we are making toward fundamental taxation reform in New Jersey. If we are not making new law just yet, we are surely spreading new thought on this most vital question. We are gaining ground each year. Should I live till next year this bill will be introduced again in the Senate, and it will probably be introduced every year until it becomes a law."

C. H.



NEBRASKA POLITICS.

Lincoln, Nebraska, March 23, 1915.

The criticism on page 277 of the Nebraska House of Representatives was based upon misinformation. Regarding our public school lands, the House, in committee of the whole, recommended that bill for their sale for passage. I did what I could with members of the House to have them kill it, and this was

done when the bill came to third reading. So now the House skirts are clear. I was ready to do what I could in the Senate to kill it, should it ever reach us, but the House saved me that trouble.

I cannot agree with your opinion of Judge Read in deciding against Pastoriza. So long as we seek to use government machinery, we must not complain when that machinery is against us, except, of course, only to abolish it. Pastoriza was doing just what I would have tried to do, and I am glad he did it. So did Judge Read do as I would have done in his place. We must not complain of Judge-made law when it is against us, if we defend it when it is for us. The City of Houston is the creature, so far as the law is concerned, of the State of Texas. It must therefore be bound by the laws of the Legislature that created it. No judge could have decided differently from Read without arrogating to himself the right to legislate, and that right we have denied to judges for these many years.

I mention this case, not so much to raise a controversy as to point to a matter that was recently before the Legislature. A Senator introduced two bills, the ostensible purpose of which was to compel every citizen to make a truthful statement of his holdings of whatever kind. It did this by providing that in case of loss by fire, tornado or otherwise, no recovery for loss could exceed the amount of the assessment for taxes.

These bills I vigorously opposed, and I used the occasion to expound the infamy of the present system and to point to a better. I told the other members that those of them who defended the present system were morally bound to vote for those bills or confess themselves apostate, but that I, being opposed to the present system of taxation, was the only one of them who could with clear conscience vote against them. I did this, however, as a legislator, and on the ground that it was my right to see that only wise laws were enacted. Nevertheless, had I been in the position of our friend Locke, editorial writer of the State Journal, I would have done as he did—advocate these bills because of the horrible example they would have made of the present system.

Now, were I in Pastoriza's place, I would obey that court decision to the letter, as I believe he is going to do. I would show them with a vengeance what it means to enforce such laws. I don't see how any one in this State could ever have gone as far as he did in violating the law, for our State Board of Equalization could have removed him and prosecuted him for perjury, for in our State the assessor makes oath to every assessment that he has included therein all property required to be assessed by law and at its full market value. Under our laws, therefore, he could never have gotten anywhere without great personal risk.

So if our County would elect me assessor I would enforce the law and use every arbitrary power at my disposal to show what such enforcement would mean. I believe that such a course will upset the present system the quickest. I hope Pastoriza will do the same.

I want to mention another thing. Contrary to all my devotion to personal liberty and to the principles of freedom, I shall vote for prohibition at the first opportunity. The liquor interests are a menace,

not so much for any particular harm they may directly do, but because they are the silly goats for The Interests. Last summer the tool of the railroads went into every district and succeeded in controlling the nominations of candidates of both parties for the Senate. He paid no attention to the House, and he was only concerned in making sure enough votes in the Senate, merely a majority of 33, to control all legislation. The result has been that though the House has passed with big majorities several progressive measures, these have met their death in the Senate. Now this tool of the railroads and other interests made his plea for a "liberal" Senate, and succeeded in that way in fooling enough people to send to our body simply water-carriers for the breweries and special interests. This is but an instance of the constant practice, and I am going to kill the "goat."

One of these progressive measures was for a constitutional convention. It passed the House 90 to 9. We lack just two votes of the constitutional majority in the Senate to submit it to the people. Yet, both houses and the governor are "democratic." You understand that according to our Constitution the Legislature can only submit the question of a Constitution, whether or not, to the people. It is they would decide whether they want a Constitution or not, and these "democrats" declare they will not allow their constituents to pass upon the question. I am planning a revolutionary movement to get a "voluntary convention" and submit its work through the initiative or to provide in another form for such a convention through the initiative, though the Constitution provides that the Legislature only can submit the question of a convention.

In addition to this measure, we secured through the House the passage of other progressive measures looking to a more equitable and practical method of amending our Constitution, but all of these have met their death in the Senate, and solely through these liquor votes.

I am for prohibition for the same reason that I am for government ownership of public utilities—merely to remove from the halls of legislation such economic interests. For until we remove these interests from influencing legislation it will be impossible to get anywhere.

I introduced a bill including among exemptions from taxation in this State, "fruit trees." Our Constitution, framed in the early territorial days, when Nebraska was almost treeless, provided that fruit and forest trees might be exempted by the Legislature. All exemptions allowed by the Constitution, except fruit trees, were allowed years ago.

I thought it would be a good opening to add "fruit trees." My bill has had an awfully rocky path, but, strange to say, I got it through the Senate, and now it hangs fire in the House. They say it is only an opening wedge for the Singletax, and perhaps the sifting committee, which now "sits" upon it, will remain sitting. Though it passed, the Governor would likely veto it, for he has declared for a "stand-pat" policy.

I had another bill for a Constitutional amendment for local option in taxation, and our sifting committee now "sits" upon this, together with others.

L. J. QUINBY.

WISCONSIN PROGRESSES BACKWARDS

Madison, Wis., March 29, 1915.

During the debate in the Wisconsin assembly on the constitutional amendment proposed by Assemblyman Edward Nordman—an amendment to give local units power to exempt improvements from taxation—there was read a summary of conclusions reached by Prof. R. T. Ely, of the University of Wisconsin, on conditions in New Zealand, whence he has just returned. The statements were made by him to Mr. Nordman in reply to telephone inquiries, as follows:

New Zealand is one of the most prosperous countries in the world.

In regard to the per capita wealth there, the per capita export would be \$120 for a man, woman or child, or \$600 for a family of five after supplying themselves with food, shelter, etc.

Did not notice any great poverty anywhere in New Zealand, but great prosperity everywhere. Perhaps had seen no greater prosperity and more widely diffused prosperity anywhere. Not so many rich. Great comforts and abundance everywhere. They have a restricted immigration there. Must have intelligence and property before they allow them to come there. No Negroes or Chinese allowed.

Question: How do you explain this 50 million dollar tax?

Ans.—They are making improvements and building railroads, going into forestry, developing the country. The Government helps along. Buys up big estates and divides them up. They think the Government will get it all back ultimately. It is buying houses for the working people, but do not think the Government will lose by it in the end.

They are more prosperous there than we are here in Wisconsin.

Question: What is the cause of this great prosperity?

Ans.—Good population, good education, good climate, good soil, mild climate (temperate zone).

Increment tax does not affect it.

They exempt a poor man's home up to \$1,500. Restrictions of large areas of land. No man shall have over 400 acres of first-class land, that is, they are working towards that.

The people have it almost too easy there. Not struggle enough. Wide-spread prosperity.

Prof. Ely is opposed to the land value tax, and does not give that any credit. However, his observation proved interesting nevertheless.

The resolution was defeated 57 to 29. It passed the session two years ago, and was on its second consideration.

This means that the attempt has been set back considerably, as it is necessary for an amendment to pass two sessions before going to the people for a vote, and so the work will have to be begun all over again.

Two years ago land owners and speculators did not pay much attention to the amendment. This year, however, they became alarmed, and an avalanche of lobbyists swept down, representing most of the big timber companies which hold the land in northern Wisconsin. Probably a majority of the 10,000,000 acres of unoccupied land in the state was represented. They made an extremely scared and bitter fight.

CRAIG RALSTON.



Do not forget in your judgments, if you could "put yourself in his place" things might appear differently. —San Francisco Star.

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of The Public for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, March 30, 1915.

Mexico.

It is announced that the National Convention has resumed its sessions in the National Palace, Mexico City, with Colonel Roque Gonzales Garza as presiding officer. An understanding has been reached that a new president shall be chosen April 1st to succeed the present presiding officer, whose term expires with March. No further outbreaks are reported from the city. [See current volume, page 309.]



General Villa has invested Metamoros, Mexico, opposite Brownsville, Texas. The fortified garrison is given as 3,000 strong, while the besieging forces are reported as numbering 8,000. It is feared that the bombardment of the town will result in injuries in Brownsville and lead to complications similar to those in Naco, Arizona.



China and Japan.

Negotiations at Peking, between the Chinese and Japanese representatives, have led to an agreement, according to press dispatches, regarding five of the demands of Japan, as follows:

1. The Japanese government's consent shall be obtained before a loan is made with a third power involving the pledging of local taxes in South Manchuria.

2. The Japanese government's consent shall be obtained whenever permission is granted to a subject of a third power to build a railway or when a loan is made with a third power for the building of a railway in South Manchuria.

3. If the Chinese government in South Manchuria employs advisers or instructors for political, financial or military purposes, the Japanese government shall first be consulted.

4. The transfer of the Kirin-Changchun Railway to Japanese control for ninety-nine years.

The fifth article was proposed by China, and provides for the continuance of such treaties as are not affected by the present treaty. Japan has withdrawn her demand that the two countries jointly police "important places." It is announced that other demands will be waived. Chinese opposition to Japan is manifested in some places by a boycott of Japanese goods. Riots also have occurred, in which Japanese shops have been stoned. [See current volume, page 309.]

A letter from Dr. Sun Yat Sen, former president of the Chinese Republic, and now a political exile in Japan, written to friends in Honolulu, denies that he has entered into any kind of agreement with President Yuan Shi Kai of China. Dr. Sen warns his compatriots that President Yuan has entered into a private agreement with Japan to concede that government's demands in return for Japanese support in suppressing "liberty loving Chinese."



A new Japanese House of Representatives was chosen on the 25th to replace the House dissolved by the Emperor last Christmas day because it would not ratify the military program of the Cabinet. The campaign was most spirited and resulted in the endorsement of the government.



The European War.

Pause and preparation mark the past week in Europe. Fighting continued in the East and the West, and at the Dardanelles, but not in a way that leads to decisive results. The fall of Przemyśl, or Permyśl, according to the Russian spelling, was of greater moment than was at first thought, for later reports give the number of men surrendered as 119,000. Budapest, and not Cracow, is said to be the present objective of the Russian army in Galicia. The struggle continues for the passes through the Carpathian Mountains, with gains reported for the Russians. In the West there is an ominous feeling that forces are being massed for a final struggle. Particularly is this true along the line in Belgium and in northern France. A similar feeling exists in regard to the operations in the Dardanelles, where the bombardment of the Allies continues at an even pace, while preparations are perfecting to land troops. An army is reported to have been landed on the Peninsula of Gallipoli, from the Gulf of Saros; but as the Turks have large forces to resist the Allies, the supposition is that the final assault of the fleet awaits the landing of more troops, and further operations of the mine sweepers. The Russian Black Sea fleet is reported to be bombarding the Turkish forts at the entrance of the Bosphorus. [See current volume, page 309.]



Interest in Italy's action has been intensified by the announcement of the strictest censorship after March 31. The country has made all preparations for armed conflict, but there are those who still believe Italian co-operation with the Allies will be limited to closing her ports to Austria and Germany. For thus aiding in the blockade she would receive the Italian provinces now held by Austria. The prevailing opinion, however, is that she will enter directly into the contest. The

Balkan states grow more restive, but mutual distrust and uncertainty holds them in check. Bulgaria, still smarting from the defeat in the second Balkan war, when her former allies despoiled her of the fruits of earlier victories, is ready to take revenge on any who turns her back to her. Should the Allies force the Dardanelles, Bulgaria will have no choice but to join them, but short of that she is biding an opportunity to regain her former possessions.



Little change is to be noted in the naval warfare. Great Britain continues to control the surface of the sea, while Germany harasses her underneath. The submarines pick off a merchantman here and there, and the British now and again sink a submarine; the net result is the sacrifice of the lives of non-combatants, without materially affecting the outcome of the war. Much ill feeling among the neutral nations has resulted from the interruption of their commerce; but no satisfactory replies are made either by Germany or Great Britain.



Colonel E. M. House, President Wilson's personal representative, who has been informally and unofficially sounding the belligerents regarding peace terms, has concluded his stay at Berlin, and has gone to Switzerland. It is understood that Colonel House has sent to the President valuable information, but that he found small basis for peace overtures at this time. The claims of each country appear extravagant to the others. Great Britain insists upon reparation for Belgium, and the substitution of German democracy for Prussian militarism. This is preposterous to the German government, which is in possession of Belgium, and regards militarism as necessary to its very existence. France wants Alsace and Lorraine and an indemnity besides. Russia wants Poland, on the understanding that it shall be autonomous, under the suzerainty of the Czar. More blood must be shed before the nations will talk peace in earnest.



The French commission appointed to inquire into the capture of the ship *Dacia* has declared the seizure to be valid. The *Dacia* was a German ship bought by an American citizen after the beginning of hostilities, and admitted to American registry. She was bound from Galveston to Rotterdam with a cargo of cotton when seized by a French cruiser. The case now goes before the French prize court, which has two months in which to make its decision.



Alcoholic drinks continue to occupy the minds of statesmen in the belligerent countries. Russia prohibited Vodka, France restricted the use of

absinth, and now England is considering steps to overcome drunkenness. David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, declared that of Britain's three deadly foes, Germany, Austria and drink, the last was greatest. He promised to place before the Cabinet a plea for the total prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors during the remainder of the war. It was claimed by a deputation of the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation that in spite of the fact that the yards were running night and day, the total working time on the average was less than before the war began. The Chancellor said he had a "growing conviction, based on accumulating evidence, that nothing but root and branch methods would be of the slightest avail in dealing with the evil. I believe it is the general feeling that if we are to settle German militarism we must first of all settle with drink."



American Submarine Disaster.

The American Submarine F 4, manned by a crew of 21 men, sank during target practice off Honolulu Harbor, and it is thought the crew have perished. The boat lies at a depth of 300 feet, which is beyond the reach of divers. Attempts are being made to raise the boat by means of grappling hooks, but thus far without success. As no signals were received from the submarine after it sank, it is supposed that the men may have been suffocated through the bursting of the sulphuric acid tanks.



Peaceful Methods Settle Uprising.

The report of General Hugh L. Scott telling how he settled the Piute Indian uprising was published on March 24. General Scott said:

We left Washington to come out here to attempt to settle this little misunderstanding on March 3. With me were Lieutenant-Colonel Robert E. L. Michie, my aide-de-camp, and Trooper P R. Randolph, of the Fifth cavalry, my orderly. We reached Thompsons on March 8, and went to Bluff, going by automobile, wagon, sleigh, horseback and on foot. At Bluff, we learned that Polk and Posey and their Indians had gone to the Navajo mountains, some 125 miles west of Bluff. We stayed a day in Bluff and then went to Mexican Hat, on the San Juan river, twenty-eight miles west of Bluff.

We sent a friendly Piute, called Jim's Boy, out to tell the Piutes that I wanted to see them. Some of them came in near where we were camped, but it was not until the third day any dared to come to the camp.

Posey and four other Indians then came into camp. We talked a little through a Navajo interpreter. It was in the evening and I just asked them how they were. I told them I did not feel very well and did not want to talk to them until the next day. They helped us kill a beef, and we gave them a good meal, the first they had had for weeks. They were poorly clad and we gave them some blankets. Posey and his

men did not have any weapons, but I have reason to suspect that they had hidden them in the rocks nearby.

The next day Polk and Hatch and about twenty-five others came in to see me. I asked them to tell me their troubles. They said the cowboys had come in the daylight on horseback and surrounded them, shot their children and wounded a squaw. They said they didn't like the cowboys. It seemed they had previously had trouble with the cowboy.

Then I told them some of my troubles. I told them I didn't think they would like to have their children chased by soldiers and cowboys all over the mountains and killed. I told them that I wouldn't like to have my children treated that way and that I would be glad to do anything I could to stop it.

I didn't try to push matters with them. I told the agents to see that they had provisions and blankets for the rest of their people and for their squaws and children. I told them that after they had thought matters over I wanted them to tell me what they wanted to do about it. They talked together and then said they wanted to do just what I wanted them to do.

Then we sat down in a circle and I said, "The marshal wants you and you and you," indicating Posey, Polk, Hatch, and Posey's boy, "to go with him to Salt Lake. The rest of you can go back to your people and go to the reservation with the agents. Is that all right? They said it was, and further they said that if I said so they would all come to Salt Lake.

Then we broke camp and all rode ponies back into Bluff. We rode ahead and let the Indians follow us. They have never been ironed or shackled, never even led to believe they are prisoners. They never tried to get away. Why, I don't believe we could get rid of them if we tried. All night they have slept together and nobody has stood guard over them.

They are perfectly harmless now. All the Indians are satisfied. The whites are over their scare and there will be no more trouble from this band of Indians.

None of the four Indians talk English. Through an interpreter, Tse-Ne-Gat, or Hatch, said he was not guilty of any crime. When asked about the Mexican he is accused of killing, he said, "The Mexican was my friend. We camped together. I did not kill him. Why should I kill my friend?" [See current volume, pages 238, 302.]



Tax Reform News.

Governor Frank M. Byrne of South Dakota sent a letter to be read at a gathering of single-taxers at Vermillion, on March 25, which was published in full in the Vermillion Plain Talk. After expressing regret at inability to attend, the Governor said:

I am interested in any movement, or the activities of any group of people, looking to reform or improvement in taxation methods. The most needed "Practical Change in Taxation" with us here in South Dakota at the present time is an amendment to Article XI of the constitution, providing and

limiting methods of assessing properly and levying tax thereon. In fact, we can make no fundamental change, and so no permanent improvement, under our present constitutional provision, which is that taxes shall be uniform on all kinds of property, regardless of character or what used for, commonly designated and known as the "general property tax." Its requirements are inherently inequitable, and, at the same time, impossible of enforcement. It is inequitable and unwise, because if carried to its logical conclusion, it would tax industry and thrift while letting favored privilege escape. It would penalize a man for earning, saving and accumulating and for improving the community, instead of requiring him to contribute to the support of government for privileges received from the community.

It is impossible of enforcement because a flat, uniform system of taxation cannot be successfully applied alike to all classes of property, as is demonstrated by universal experience. Attempts at this have always failed, here as elsewhere. For one instance, let us look at our own ineffectual attempts to tax certain classes of intangible property. Not only does our constitution provide that "taxes shall be uniform on all property," but also, in the most specific and definite way includes and designates moneys, credits, notes, bonds, stocks and dues of every description. We have enacted various statutes, taxing our skill and ingenuity to devise ways to enforce this provision, but without effect. Assessors and other tax officers each year solemnly swear to enforce it. Yet how much of this class of property is actually placed on the assessment rolls and pays tax? And such tax as we do get from this source is in violation of every principle of equity and justice. A few people report moneys and credits to the assessor, and high local taxes absorb the greater part of the income. Others do not report this class of property, and so entirely escape taxation. We cannot, and so do not, lay the tax uniformly on all classes of property, however solemnly we may pretend to.

The legislature at the late session enacted and submitted for the approval of the people an amendment to Article XI of the constitution, which will be before the voters for approval or rejection at the next election. The advocates of improvement in taxation methods can render no better service than to acquaint the people with the advantages of this amendment, and create sentiment in its favor. This amendment permits classification of property for purposes of taxation, and the exemption of such classes as the people may want to. In fact, it does away with the "general property tax" provision that taxes shall be uniform on all property, and will permit the people to adopt an equitable, fair and serviceable system of taxation, in fact, whatever system they may see fit.

I know of no reason why the farmer who, through industry, thrift and enterprise improves land, establishing thereon a habitable home and adding personal property to it, should be taxed heavily, while the speculative absentee land holder alongside who adds no improvement, creates no value, and only absorbs and takes over the value that is added by the energy and enterprise of the community, should be taxed lightly. In fact, there is no equitable reason why the speculative holder should not pay as much

on the same area of naturally similar land as the farmer alongside who improves his land and thereby benefits the entire community.

A city, town or village is laid out on a tract of land into lots and blocks. So far, little, if anything, is added to the natural value. But people come along, erect buildings, and make improvements and the value of all lots and tracts, improved and unimproved, increases according to the extent of the improvement. So that it may truthfully be said that most of the commercial or selling value of land in cities and towns has been created by and represents the industry, thrift and enterprise of the community. Why, then, should one who acquires tracts of such land, adds no improvement, but only holds it for the added value created by the enterprise of the community, be favored in matters of taxation at the expense of those who create the value?

The important thing in tax reform and improvement is to make a start. The trouble with us is that we can make no start until we get a change in the constitution.

I am convinced that the effective way to progress in equitable taxation is to make changes and improvement step by step, demonstrating the wisdom of each change as we go along. A study of tax reforms as accomplished in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and some of our own states, is evidence that gradual accomplishment, rather than academic propaganda, will secure concrete results, and bring recruits to the ranks of the advocates of tax reform. Not that I object to organized propaganda in behalf of ideal tax conditions, nor minimize its value. What I want to say is that the way to bring about improvement and at the same time bring people to see the value of the improvement, is to commence and go along step by step, demonstrating to all the justice and equity of the changes as they are made.

It is sometimes said that aside from death, only taxes are absolutely certain. In any event, taxes, the money contributed for the support of the various branches of government, vitally affect all of us, and we all are, or should be, interested in the fair and equitable distribution of its burdens. We should all be willing to contribute in proportion to the benefits we receive, but are we? If we are not, we should so educate ourselves that we will be. And really, this is a very important point, to educate ourselves and others to the point that each will be willing to bear his fair share of the burden. If we ever get to that point, then it will be comparatively easy to devise means and systems.

I am glad to see people meeting to consider and discuss equitable methods of tax improvement, and want to encourage such in every way I can, and I extend to you and those meeting with you on this occasion my heartiest good wishes.

[See current volume, pages 78, 85, 308.]



As a result of Judge Read's decision declaring the Houston Tax System illegal, Commissioner Pastoriza is compelled to assess all property at 100 percent valuation. How it has affected public sentiment toward the individuals responsible for the decision is shown in the following from the Houston Telegram of March 17.

"I wish the taxkickers were in perdition," said a man who called at the assessor's office today to render his property. "I don't know how to render my improvements. My house cost me \$1,200 and I have kept it in repairs, but if I should sell it now, I don't know whether it would bring anything or not.

"Those taxkickers own property across the street from me. If I get them a buyer for a lot at \$1,350, they won't sell. But they want the lots assessed at about \$650.

"I built on my lot and several of us fellows did. It has caused values to increase in that neighborhood. Yet I'm supposed to pay more taxes than they because I had energy enough to make their property increase in value. Those rats ought to be run out of town. I want more houses built in the addition so we can have some neighbors, but they have shot the price up so high no one can afford to buy a lot. They are asking prices the lots will be worth several years hence."

This man said he was not a singletaxer.

"I'm not trying to get out of paying a few dimes, but I want a square deal," he said.

There is plenty of kicking going on at the tax assessor's office these days. But it's all against the men who upset the Houston plan of taxation.

Finance Commissioner Pastoriza says he has heard indirectly from some of the taxkickers. They have discovered under constitutional taxation they will have to pay more than under the Houston plan. It leaves a bad taste in their mouths.

[See current volume, page 285.]

The effect on Houston's prosperity of enforcement of the general property tax law is thus forecasted by Commissioner Pastoriza:

When the members of the Harris-co Taxpayers' Ass'n, of which Jos. F. Meyer, J. J. Settegast and H. F. McGregor are prominent members, secured by suit an order from the District-c't, compelling the city of Houston to assess all forms and classes of property in conformity with the state constitution (an antiquated document, which has no place in this day and age of progressiveness), they killed the goose which laid their golden egg. This way: They have vast areas of vacant land in and outside of the city. They want to sell this land at a profit (for which I do not blame them), but to sell the land it is necessary to increase our population and to employ the increased population so that they will have the money with which to buy this land. The Houston plan of taxation, by not taxing money brought money out of hiding into the banks, who loaned it to business men and home owners. The United States comptroller's report shows that our bank deposits increased seven million dollars, while we had the Houston plan of taxation. The Houston plan taxed buildings at only 25 per cent of their cost. This encouraged the land owners to erect many buildings, which gave employment to our population, so that they could earn the money with which to buy the lots from the land speculators.

Now comes the tragedy. These men, through the court, ordered the city to assess cash and notes and credits and buildings as high as land. Result our banks have already received orders to send money to

be collected on notes due this year to the effete East, where it will not be taxed.

If you try to borrow money now to build a home, you will have to pay in addition to the regular interest, an additional interest equal to the tax. If you don't believe me, try it and report to me. On account of the court's order, the city has to increase the tax on buildings four times. Just watch the building permits after April 1, and if they are not far less than last year, I will set up a banquet to the five men that brought suit and pay \$20 a plate for the love feast.

Thus you see by the end of the year there will be less people with less money to buy lots. Our people will not be steadily employed and the landlord will necessarily lose some rent. By the order of the court, the landlord himself, if he is honest, and taxes his cash and notes, will pay more taxes—all because he said he wanted constitutional taxation, and with it wanted to kill Pastoriza and the Houston plan of taxation.

The tax office of Houston, while I am in charge of it, will be run openly. All rulings will be public. No secret orders will ever be given to exempt from taxation, cash or anything else or any individual. If I violate the constitution relating to the tax laws, I will do it openly and take the consequences."

In a letter to the Houston Post of March 22, H. F. Ring, who upheld Commissioner Pastoriza in applying the Houston system, opposes strict compliance with the state tax laws. He calls attention to the fact that he attempted to intervene in the suit to show the bad results of constitutional and legal taxation, and since those who brought the suit do not want the laws strictly enforced, he suggests the following compromise course:

Let the judgment against the city and its officers be set aside. This can be done immediately in the court of civil appeals by confession of error, and when the case comes back, let it be dismissed in Judge Read's court. Let this be done with the tacit understanding and agreement, as in the case of the Southern Pacific shops, that improvements shall be assessed hereafter at say about fifty per cent and land values at say about seventy per cent. Let this be done, however, not in accordance with any fixed rule, for it was strict adherence to a fixed rule which decided Judge Read to issue that injunction. That rock can be avoided hereafter. Then let it be known that parties who desire to assess household furniture, bank deposits, credits and so on, can have the pleasure of doing it if they want to, but that the city officials, as has been the case from time immemorial, are not making any special effort to put property of that kind on the assessment roll. Renditions so far made have not yet been approved by the city council. New rolls can be quickly prepared from the data in last year's renditions, and since in every instance, values would be lower on the new rolls than on those already prepared, no taxpayer who has already rendered his property could legally object to the rendition being transferred to the new rolls. After the new rolls are finally approved it will be too late

for anyone to object to them and no one will want to do it any way.



The Virginia legislature has passed an act segregating state from local taxes. Under this act taxes on bonds, stocks, bonds, mortgages, money on deposit, all the property of railroad companies, and license taxes on insurance companies, are to be used only for state purposes; while real estate and tangible personal property are to be taxed only for county purposes, or for county and city purposes when such property is in a city. A tax for state purposes on incomes over \$1,00 a year is also provided.



The Davis singletax resolution in Oklahoma was defeated in the State Senate on March 16. A movement led by Senator Davis to submit the measure through the initiative, was editorially announced in the Oklahoma City Oklahoman of March 18. [See current volume, page 286.]



The Chambers of Commerce of Pennsylvania's third class cities have joined in an effort to secure from the legislature the exemptions which have heretofore applied only to Pittsburgh and Scranton. These are exemption of all tools and machinery from taxation and gradual exemption of buildings and improvements until fifty percent exemption has been reached. Two bills introduced by Senator Tompkins provide for applying the same system to third class cities. The argument for their passage presented by the Chamber of Commerce of Reading is as follows:

Senate Bill No. 320 provides for legally extending the exemption of tools and machinery to third class cities. The same reasons which have established the wisdom of such legislation for Pittsburgh and Scranton, now call for this general extension; and the unfairness of discriminating against manufacturers located or desiring to locate in other parts of the State is an additional reason for such extension.

Senate Bill No. 343 provides for extending the same partial exemption of buildings and improvements which the Act of May 15, 1913, now implies to Pittsburgh and Scranton only. This exemption encourages new enterprises and improvements such as all communities want, by reducing the tax burden put upon them; and at the same time discourages the withholding of unused or poorly improved sites from proper use. Civic progress and active employment of labor are thus promoted, and these benefits would be extended, and the present discrimination corrected, by applying the exemption generally. Moreover the provision made for the separate valuation of land and improvements, lays the essential foundation for systematic equalization of assessments, which is urgently needed.

Both bills have passed first reading. [See current volume, pages 107, 181.]

Judge Lindsey and His Enemies.

Investigation by a Colorado legislative committee of the plot to defame Judge Lindsey is proceeding. On March 23, Dr. Mary E. Bates, head of the so-called Woman's Protective League, was a witness. In answer to a question she explained that she had sent \$15 to Representative Howland (since expelled from the House for perjury), to be paid by him to a woman detective to shadow Lindsey. "If that is true," asked Representative Dunklee, of the committee, "why did you and Howland remain silent? Why did you sit still and allow him to perjure himself?"

"Mr. Howland and myself remained silent over the truth of the money package, because he and I were ashamed of our connection with the anti-Lindsey campaign, and did not wish it to be brought to light," replied Doctor Bates. On March 29, Judge Lindsey went before the grand jury at Denver to submit evidence of a conspiracy to defame his character. His charges include Dr. Bates and others. [See current volume, page 284.]



Death of Charles Francis Adams.

Charles Francis Adams died on March 20 in Washington, aged 79. He was well known for public spirit shown by activity in many progressive movements, such as proportional representation, tax reform, anti-imperialism, and opposition to protection. Plain speaking was a characteristic method of proclaiming his views. One example of this was furnished during the campaign of 1908 when he wrote to a Massachusetts Congressman saying that he divided protectionists into two categories—thieves and hogs—and that the Congressman addressed belong in the former class. Yet he could not be classed altogether as a radical since he held conservative views on a number of questions such as municipal ownership. He was a prolific writer, especially on historical subjects. He was a great grandson of John Adams, second President of the United States, but his own merits and accomplishments were sufficient to make him well known. His widow and five children survive. [See vol. iii, p. 457; vol. vi, p. 357; vol. ix, p. 124; vol. xi, pp. 818, 859.]

NEWS NOTES

—An association to further vacant lot cultivation by the unemployed has been started in New Rochelle, N. Y.

—The mayor of Newark, N. J., has appointed a committee to take charge of vacant lot cultivation by the unemployed.

—Trial proceedings in the Federal Court at Indianapolis of persons charged with election frauds in Terre Haute, caused the arrest on March 24, of Mayor Roberts of the latter city on a charge of

tampering with witnesses. A number of defendants have already pleaded guilty.

—A bill to eliminate party lines in State elections passed the California Assembly on March 25. It now goes to the Senate.

—A debate on the Singletax has been arranged to take place at Lawrence, Kan., on April 15 between students of the University of Kansas and University of Oklahoma.

—A mothers' pension bill passed the New York Assembly on March 24. It had previously passed the Senate and now awaits Governor Whitman's signature. [See current volume, page 311.]

—The Philadelphia Singletax Society will celebrate the birthday of Thomas Jefferson on April 13 with a dinner at the Hotel Windsor. Henry W. Hetzel of Meylem, Pa., has charge of arrangements.

—Reading of the Bible at opening of the public schools and recitation of the Lord's prayer has been prohibited by a decision on March 23 of the Louisiana Supreme Court. The decision was the result of a suit brought by Catholics and Jews to restrain the school board of Caddo parish.

—The Southern Sociological Conference will meet at Houston at the Rice Hotel on May 8 and stay in session until the 11th. The call signed by Secretary J. E. McCulloch of Nashville, Tenn., states the theme of the program to be "The Conservation of Health." This will include more than a scientific discussion.

PRESS OPINIONS

Hugging Their Chains.

Kansas City (Mo.) Times, March 19.—Almost any wrong institution is maintained by the votes of those who are injured by the institution. Take the recent effort in Missouri to relieve the producing farmers of the State from the tax on what they produced. So far as the country (that is, outside of the cities) was concerned, the only landowners who might have been hurt by that so-called "Singletax amendment" were the owners of land kept out of use. And yet that amendment was beaten overwhelmingly by the working farmer and by the tenant farmer who would have been helped immensely by it. Where the land user and the land holder are the same, there, of course, the best economic conditions prevail. But the confusion of the interest of the land holder with that of the land user has been a most serious error. The testimony coming to the front now in the Dallas, Tex., hearings of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations is proving this.



Progressing Backwards.

The Australian Worker, February 25.—When Mahomet swept the Western world with fire and sword, he issued an edict to his soldiers, that no wells were to be tampered with, and no date palms cut down, for, said he, "These things are the gifts of Allah to all men." During the Maori war it is recorded that on several occasions the savage Maori warriors voluntarily suspended hostilities in order to allow their enemies to obtain food and water. Mahomet, from

the orthodox point of view, was the Anti-Christ; the Maoris were pagans. Today two great Christian Empires are endeavoring to bring what is called in military circles "economic pressure" upon each other by cutting off food supplies. Not content with utilizing all the resources of science in the shape of devilish inventions for mangling human flesh and blood, these great Christian statesmen and war lords are each striving to drive brave men to despair by starving their women and children. And yet in vast cathedrals surpliced choirs chant anthems, and millions of worshippers are sending up to Heaven the prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread!" Meanwhile, the "gifts of Allah," in the shape of cargoes of food, are being sunk in the ocean. Even the devils of the nethermost pit might well shudder at such awful blasphemy. As one writer has said, "Were the dome of Heaven stone-paved instead of star-paved some mighty avenging angel might be tempted to hurl on our hypocritical heads a suitable answer to all such prayers."

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THREE INNOCENT SUFFERERS.

W. G. Tarrant.

In Dundee (Scotland) Free Religious Movement.

Hans, and Jean, and Johnnie
Were gay little lads of late,
Each was born 'mid the fields of corn
And played at a cottage gate;
Each had his playfellows merry,
And Father was best of them all,
Till—Father went to live in a tent
And follow a trumpet-call.

The trumpet-call has sounded;
A battle is lost and won;
And nevermore to the cottage door
Comes Father at set of sun.
Do you hear the wail of the children
That clutch at their mother's gown?
I wouldn't have that to expiate
For the worth of a monarch's crown!

Hans, and Jean, and Johnnie
Will be men, please God, one day;
And War shall cease in a League of Peace
When the cottage-folk have their way.
But oh, for the hearts now broken,
For the homes and the lives laid low,
And oh, for the ban of God and man
On the heads that made it so!



MY YEAR IN PRISON.

By No. 7176 in Our View Point, published at Washington State Penitentiary.

One year ago I was sent to the penitentiary to become a ward of the state, there to be detained until I had been "reformed." The judge who sentenced me told me that I was to be taught to

become self-supporting, to see the errors of my criminal course, and that I would be released when it became evident that I was capable of again becoming a good citizen. . . . As I had never before been arrested and was as ignorant as the ordinary citizen concerning prison life, I entered the gates with my intellect keenly awake, and on the *qui vive*. As I have been informed that I am shortly to be released, I shall sum up the results of my year's experience as conforming with the statements of the judge.

The State has been at an expense of nearly two hundred dollars for my maintenance, without any pecuniary return from my labor. My wife has been deprived of all income from my labors, in fact has had to go out to earn her own living. Her home has been broken up and she has had to suffer far more than I. Of course I can never go back to my home, for no matter if I lived honorably until I was a hundred, I would never cease to be an object of curiosity, to be pointed out as a man who had served a year in the penitentiary. I remember as a boy having some other boy companions point out such a man, and my wonder that he had no visible horns. The loss to me cannot be computed in dollars and cents.

I was told that I would be made self-supporting; yet I have not even been able to earn my tobacco. I have received no instruction in any line of work other than in making jute sacks. As the State, using free labor, acknowledges that there is no profit in this industry, I fear that I shall never become self-supporting on the outside through the making of sacks. Besides, as there is only one other jute mill in this country, and that in another prison, I shall have to go a long time without work if I use the knowledge I have gained along these lines and remain law-abiding. The year's loss of work along my own lines has made me so rusty that I am not to-day as well equipped to earn my own living as I was a year ago. The judge made a mistake when he said that I would be taught to become self-supporting.

I was told that I would be taught to see the errors of my criminal course. As the place where I found myself a year ago was a new world to me, and as there were no restricting signs about, directing my footsteps, I wandered where my curiosity led me and where it was most freely fed on the delights of novelty. As the larger portion of all the men here were as ignorant when they arrived as I was concerning the criminal life, I turned to the cavaliers of the rebel forces. Have I learned the evils of "my criminal course?" Years ago I learned that the criminal course could never be other than evil, but in here I have also learned other things as well. I know now how the "hobo" lives; how easy it is to spot the "dick" and the "bull"; how the "yegg" makes his "soup," locates his "crib" and "pulls off his

stunt." I have learned the ways of the "dip" and the workings of the "wire" and the "stall." I have been told how to open the locked and bolted door without noise or detection, as well as a thousand and one other things equally valuable for a person to know who is being taught to live an upright and honorable life. As the expert in here guards his secrets much as does the expert on the outside, it is but fair to state that I have had to seek out this information. I have proven to my own satisfaction, by so doing that while it is impossible for one here to learn any useful trade whereby he might become self-supporting, it is not impossible for any inmate to gain a knowledge, which if used might confirm him in a life of crime. Have I learned that it is wrong to commit crime? Not in here; so I pity the man who did not learn that lesson before he came here. I have learned in here, though, that it is wrong to *get caught*. And in this connection I have it impressed upon me that the little things of life are the really important things. To me it is now no wonder that the little pebble thrown by the small boy at the Duc de Guise, led to the massacre of Vasey and the thirty years' war, or that the failure to lock a suit case led the curious waitress to look inside, much to the regret of one inmate. But again I ask, how about seeing the errors of my ways that the judge told me about? I have to reply that however learned the judge may have been about other things, he knew nothing about prison life. He may have honestly believed the beautiful theory of the lawmaker that a prison is a place of reform. . . . I know that I myself used to belong to that indolent class which believed that the great "problem of crime" had been effectually and finally solved by closing the iron door upon some occasional offender. . . . I know better now, and I believe that the man who makes good after having been to a place of this kind deserves far more credit than a man who does so without ever having been here. I also believe that the judge should be compelled to look behind the iron door to see where he has put his man.

Am I capable of again becoming a good citizen? Certainly, because I know that I am the same as hundreds of other men here, and have never been a bad citizen, and not because I have been in prison a year; rather in spite of that fact. Here I have not been in a moral atmosphere and been taught absolutely nothing relating to a better life, except by the Chaplain, and he is a human being. He has over eight hundred men to teach; one teacher would find it most difficult to teach even arithmetic to eight hundred men, let alone the more difficult subjects of morals and ethics. Why does not this administration change things? Because there is no possibility of its doing so under present conditions. The trouble is with the system. My year has been wasted, without any corresponding gain or advantage to anyone, the same

as is the case with thousands of other men in such institutions. . . . I am capable of being a good citizen when released, and shall be one, but I have two things to do: I have to go where it will not be known that I have been in prison, and I then have to forget all I have learned while I have been here.



THE SINGLE TAX.

Address of Louis Kaplan, winner in High School Contest Before Chicago Single Tax Club, March 26.

Three factors enter into the creation of wealth. These are land, labor, and capital. Without any one of these wealth cannot be created. By "Labor" we mean the human exertion expended. By "Capital" we mean the tools which makes labor more effective, and by "Land" we mean the natural elements. The bigger the proportion that goes to the land owner the less there will be for Labor and Capital. Increase in rents leaves less for Labor, and to this may be attributed increasing poverty amidst increasing wealth. Private land ownership decreases production, both on the farm and in the city. The agricultural tenant makes no repairs. He cultivates for the present only. He selects such crops as will give an immediate return with the least possible labor. He permits the buildings and improvements to go to decay. He exhausts the land itself by failing to fertilize it, and finally abandons the property because it is no longer profitable. In the cities production is also checked by monopoly of land. If land were not withheld from use, new houses would be built, and many men hired to build. Many more would be hired in factories to furnish material. But under the present system these houses are not built, these thousands of men are not hired, and because of such drawbacks Chicago has today its army of unemployed.

By the Singletax is meant a tax on land values irrespective of the improvements thereon. If all public revenue were raised by this tax and no other, every branch of industry would be stimulated except the industry of holding vacant land out of use. It would stimulate industry because it would make it unprofitable to withhold valuable land from use. The money that a factory owner now pays for a lot could be used to enlarge the factory, and thus more men would be employed and production increased. In fact, there would be no other way to use capital than in production of wealth. Monopoly would be destroyed, industrial liberty established and the present unjust distribution of wealth rectified. Society would take what society has created, and in so doing would leave free all that the individual by his effort has created. With the singletax established our country would become a paradise.

"SAVE THE POTATO PEELINGS."

(Proclamation of the Prussian Minister of Commerce.)

For The Public.

Oh, Gretchen of the Rhineland,
Oh, maiden of the vineland,
Thy love has gone, has gone afar,
Alike some wonder-gleaming star
To redden in the stain of war;
And with you he is mating
A proud and anxious waiting.

Behold, O gentle maiden
Within the love-lit Aiden,
How much, how much is he to thee?
For what world-treasure would you be
Bereft of all there is to thee
In yonder trenches gory,
Upon the field of glory?

Oh, maiden, save the peeling!
And tho' your brain is reeling
Sick with the ghastly hell of war,
A million maidens from afar
May also lose a love-lit star,
And find their solace feeling
That they have saved a peeling.

So this the wise are brewing,
And this the wise are doing,
Who fling a million lives away
As tho' it were an idle play
To trick the tedium of a day,
But save by proclamation
The peelings for the nation.

BENJ. C. MOOMAW.

BOOKS

THE WORK OF ENGLISH MILITANTS.

My Own Story. By Emmeline Pankhurst. Published by Hearst's International Library Company. New York. 1914. Price, \$2.00 net.

A perusal of Mrs. Pankhurst's account of her part in woman's struggle for the ballot in England impresses one with the intense earnestness and devotion of those taking part in the movement. It is the world-old story of the zealot that has been found in all countries, regardless of race, creed, or sex. A few big-hearted sensitive souls, seeing the oppression of their fellows, devote their lives to securing their freedom. The course is not always wisely chosen; but the zeal is never lacking.

There is a continual movement in society from a lower to a higher plane. Sometimes one part or class forges ahead, and, again, another class; but the sum total represents an advance. Oftentimes two or more movements are proceeding at once; one, under the broadest and most progressive

minds, including society as a whole; another, smaller and more intensified, is led by the zealots, who lose patience with the slow trend of events and demand immediate results. The Beechers and Greeleys and Lincolns sought to shape human affairs so that slavery would gradually disappear. The Garrisons and Phillips and Browns would wipe it out at once. This is not unlike the situation in England during the past decade. There was a great movement led by the Liberal party to enfranchise Englishmen by repealing the Lord's veto power. For, in the last analysis, no Englishman could be said to have the complete franchise so long as a hereditary legislator could veto his acts. It was necessary, if progress in government was to proceed, that the Lords should be overthrown. The logic of history told us that with this accomplished, the enfranchisement of woman was the logical consequence. A part of the suffragists were content to follow the course of evolution and await their turn; but another part would have immediate results. And this latter body, disregarding the greater struggle that was being fought out between the Liberals and the Conservatives, threw all their force into the movement.

The method adopted by the militants, that of using force, caused confusion and a division of opinion among the suffragists and their friends. The attempt to embarrass the government was an effort against a government struggling for a different phase of the very same movement as that of the militants themselves; and since their opposition in elections, and all other efforts to embarrass the government, were indirectly favoring the Conservatives, and the hereditary veto power, many persons throughout the world—and particularly in the United States—who were heart and soul with the suffragists as to principle, condemned them as to method. Now that the movement has become history it may be judged with greater fairness. John Brown at the head of a Kansas mob, raiding his neighbors, was not an edifying figure; but John Brown dead, in the cause of human liberty, was a name to conjure with. Had Emmeline Pankhurst succeeded in starving herself to death in an English jail for the sake of human liberty, the world would have been too small to hold her fame. But there is no reason why a just estimate of her work should be withheld because she was deprived of martyrdom. One gets a better idea of the woman and her work by reading her story. It was not as a suffragette that she began, but as a woman seeking to take her place in public life. As a member of the local school board, and as a poor guardian, she found methods antiquated and inadequate. But when she sought to secure better laws she received little attention. It was then that she realized that women, to secure the rights enjoyed by the men, must have the power of men, the ballot. From that day to the present she de-

voted all her energies to secure the enfranchisement of women.

It must be confessed that that campaign was planned with remarkable care, and carried out with wonderful fidelity. Although a great political party, that had been able to overthrow the Conservatives and disarm the Lords, was brought to the verge of distraction by the militant campaign, yet they destroyed no human lives, save that of the unfortunate girl who pulled down the King's horse at the Derby. But the bloodless war of militancy has been swept away by the real war. Says Mrs. Pankhurst, in closing her entertaining story:

Our battles are confidently over, we believe. For the present at least our arms are grounded, for directly the threat of foreign war descended on our nation we declared a complete truce from militancy. What will come of this European war—so terrible in its effects on women who had no voice in averting it—so baneful in the suffering it must necessarily bring on innocent children—no human being can calculate. But one thing is reasonably certain, and that is that the cabinet changes which will necessarily result from warfare will make future militancy on the part of women unnecessary.

The generous support of the militants given the government during this hour of trial is not likely to be forgotten when political housecleaning takes place at the conclusion of hostilities. S. C.



MAN AND HIS KIND.

Biology and Social Problems. By George Howard Parker. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1914. Price, \$1.10 net.

The William Brewster Clark memorial lectures begun in 1913 and to be given each year at Amherst purpose to aid in that too neglected and most vital task, the interpretation to society of recent discoveries in science—"to assist in throwing light in a genuinely scientific spirit upon the relation of the research, discovery and thought of the day to the problems of social control," as the founders express their object. The lectures of 1914, which were given by George Howard Parker, Professor of Zoology at Harvard, and are now printed in book form, are certainly most satisfactory reading. Clear, definitive, non-technical yet without assuming in the reader lack of all reasoning and perceptive power, the author in his four chapters considers man as a responsive, intelligent, reproductive organism and discusses the bearing of our present knowledge of this creature upon the problems of "social control."

Man's nervous system, including that thin layer of nerve cells in the cortex which is the seat of memory, the inflow of stimuli, the outflow of reflexes, the voluntary act, all are reintroduced to us as the physiologist sees them now. How the old discarded "Humors" are after a fashion revived in the "Hormones," another great means of

transmission of stimuli besides the nervous system, is told in a lecture that induces reflection on the risk of tampering with that mysterious machine, the human body. Little "ductless glands" formerly thought by physiologists to have no particular function and therefore lightly sacrificed when, in the way of the surgeons, are now discovered to be in control of the very life and sanity of their original possessors.

Exactly *why* does every child take after *both* its parents? Why is it that all efforts at sex-determination have so far failed? What is Mendelism? Everybody is asking and few are answering that last question. But Professor Parker really tells in plain English and in its simplest formula this latest discovery in heredity.

And Evolution? The precise status of the dispute to-day? Lamarck's "acquired characteristics" still unproved. So back now to Darwin, modified by the De Vries mutation theory and frank confession of ignorance. "Natural selection seems to be a real but subordinate factor in organic evolution, the mechanism of which is still to be discovered." Always back to the mysterious unknown, about which both materialist and idealist are cheerful—one in the hope some day of knowing it, the other in the joyful faith that in the materialist's meaning it is unknowable. A. L. G.

PERIODICALS

Louis F. Post Defines a Christian.

"An actual Christian is one who in individual concerns sincerely tries to practice the Christian ideal, and in common affairs sincerely tries to convert to the Christian ideal the social organism of which he is a part." "What is a Christian?" Everybody's Magazine (New York) asked its readers last summer. Out of the five thousand two hundred answers received, the five prize-winners, and Louis F. Post's are printed in the April Everybody's. The letter, one of Mr. Post's gems of compact expression, is a structural whole that leads straight to the final sentence here torn from its own context and from the comment of Mr. Winston Churchill, author of "The Inside of the Cup," who pronounced Mr. Post's reply the best of the selected group which Everybody's editors had sent him to read. Mr. Churchill's own letter on constructive Christianity today includes, like Mr. Post's, a clearer statement than one often sees of the vital relationship between economic and Christian progress. Everybody's editorial summary of the five thousand replies—their "three points of view" and the quotations that support them—is full of the spiritual common sense that furthers our mutual human understanding and so builds toward the divine.—Too bad that Everybody's managing editor could not have been induced to "kill," or at least to hold over until the next issue, the "Straight Talk" for a bigger navy to keep the peace. This mad advocacy of an increase in dangerous weapons so as to prevent murder is somehow in this "Christian" number particularly unpersuasive. A. L. G.

Building a Permanent Peace.

Much of the best constructive thought of America on the attainment and maintenance of a permanent world-peace is printed in the Survey of March 6, a special number devoted to "War and Social Reconstruction." George W. Nasmyth of the World Peace Foundation writes on "Constructive Mediation," and there is printed with his essay a brilliantly conceived analytical table comparing ten of the most prominent peace programs of the world. There is a remarkable unanimity on essentials in these programs. August Schvan, the eminent publicist of Sweden who has been speaking in the United States recently, sets forth his program. Free trade, an international court of justice and international police but no international parliament are what he advocates. All ten organizations—which include, for example, the British Union of Democratic Control, the Dutch Anti-War Council, the Woman's Peace Party and the South German Social-Democrats—all ten ask for a Concert of Powers and the Reduction of Armaments. Seven speak for an international police force, and for democratic control within each nation of its foreign policy, six forbid any transference of territory without the voted consent of the inhabitants thereof and four demand removal of the economic causes of war. And these economic causes of war are discussed by Frederic C. Howe in a two-page article as fundamental as it is brief, on "The Distribution of Wealth in Relation to the Invisible Causes of War." How the great landowners, the privileged economic class, really rule each of the great belligerent countries except France, is told in a swift survey of Europe: "It is these undemocratic, irresponsible classes in all these countries that are the war classes. Whether it be in England, Germany, Austria, or Russia, they are the government to an extent that we do not begin to comprehend. All opportunities for advancement to the climbing, commercial classes lie in the approval of these groups; who, in the last analysis, are the State. And these groups, for the most part, think of the workers, of the peasants upon their estates, as they did in earlier times. We get some vision of the point of view of these ruling classes towards the dependent classes from the treatment which even England accorded to the Irish up to very recent years,—yes, in the treatment accorded to agricultural workers and peasants in Scotland today. . . . Under democratic or really representative institutions, war would be prevented by treaties executed before causes of irritation arose, just as during the last two years, the United States has negotiated treaties for arbitration with over thirty countries; just as the United States has obviated war with Canada by a treaty now sixty years old, which forbade an army or navy or fortification on our northern frontier. When such treaties exist, appeals are made to them as naturally as are appeals to civil and criminal courts. This method of arbitrament of disputes, is accepted by us without comment or protest. We can prepare for peace just as we can prepare for war; not when war is imminent, but in years of peace and harmony. But such treaties are almost impossible between countries ruled by different classes. For the psychology and interests of the common people of France are as alien to the psychology and interests

of the ruling classes in Russia and Germany as are the differences between the ruling and the subject classes in each individual country. There can be no meeting of the minds between a country ruled by caste and a country ruled by people. They do not think the same thoughts, do not speak the same language, do not understand the same terms. Moreover, their economic interests are so much at war that any rapprochement in the form of a treaty is out of the question."

A. L. G.



"Mother, what is a Suffrage state?"

"It is the state your father is in, dear child, on election night, when his party wins."

"But what is his party?"

"His party, my darling, is the stout gentleman who

calls before the election and talks to him in a low voice out in the hall."

"And what does it mean—"The ballot was cast?"

"To cast, Algernon, is to fix. The ballot was fixt."

"Was it fixt by the party in the hall?"

"Little son, women don't understand politics; you'd better ask your father."—Puck.

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POEMS

OF A

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