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EDITORIAL

A Successful Imperialist Needs a Good Memory.

The latest move of the imperialists is to report an agitation among the Filipinos against independence. It is only a few weeks since we were told that these same Filipinos were about to rise in revolt to secure independence by force. These imperialists should try to improve their memories.

S. D.



Militarist Logic.

Representative Gardner of Massachusetts displays some more of his Alice-in-Wonderland logic by citing the sinking of the American submarine F 4 in the harbor of Honolulu as conclusive evidence of the inefficiency of the present Administration. Sixteen submarines, according to the Navy Department, have been lost by accident, 1 Italian, 1 Japanese, 1 German, 2 Russian, 4 French, and 7 British. The seventeenth accident happened to be an American. If the guns of the militarists were as crooked as their logic they would be shot in the back.

S. C.



Atrocities of Peace.

It has been suggested by a writer to the press that in view of the large number of immigrants that are likely to come to this country upon the conclusion of the European war, preparations should be made in advance to prevent their falling into the hands of tricksters and schemers, to be despoiled. He thinks it incumbent upon us to use every means to prevent the exploitation of the immigrant after he has reached this country. This is a commendable idea. We profess to be a civilized nation, and to have a reasonable regard for common justice. It would seem advisable, therefore, that the newly arrived immigrant should come in contact with our best citizens, rather than with our worst, and that he be shielded from sharpers until he is able to look

after himself. The chief interest of the new-comer, however, is in finding an opportunity to work, and it is our duty to see that he has this opportunity. Heretofore, it has been the custom of the owners of the land of this country to mark up the price according to the increase in population, whether coming by vessel from Europe, or by stork from heaven. If this practice continues the immigrant may find here unpleasant reminders of conditions he thought to escape. Are we to take no steps to prevent this condition? There are vast quantities of unused land in this country; and a family settled on it can produce much more than its own keep. It is for us to say whether that surplus is to go into the private pocket of the person who owns the land, or remain with the person who works it.

s. c.



Misgoverned Porto Rico.

News from Porto Rico indicates a state of affairs in the island much like that existing in southern Colorado. There is the same story of workers driven by bad conditions to strike, the same abuse of authority by local officials and the same suppression of the right of assemblage and of free speech. No Ludlow affair has so far been reported, but the conditions said to exist might easily produce one. Must that actually happen before these conditions will be remedied? Or will Governor Yager take measures to stop unlawful interference by local officials with the rights of Porto Rican citizens struggling to better their condition?

s. d.



Duty of Self-Government.

People talk of the right of self-government. Why not the duty of self-government? By what right does a State or city ask others to govern it? Not only is it the right of the individual, or of any unit of society, to govern and control its own affairs, but it is its duty. It has been the vogue of late, however, to place city affairs under State control, thus withholding from the citizens not only the right but the duty of attending to their own interests.



The preceding Illinois legislature enacted a law that took public utilities out of the hands of the local communities and placed it in charge of a State board. Had there been any doubt as to the ulterior motives of the men who accomplished this, it has been removed by the testimony before the committee of the present legislature that has in charge the measure re-establishing home rule.

Samuel Insull, president of the Commonwealth Edison Company, and said to be the largest individual operator in public utilities in the country, and Bernard E. Sunny, president of the Chicago Telephone company, together with others representing public utilities companies, declare for State control. A little reflection upon the strife between these companies and the public during past years offers a suggestion as to their reason for preferring State control.



"Personally I believe in regulation," said Mr. Insull to the committee, "though I will frankly say that if we were left entirely alone for ten years, the rate for electricity would be lower than with regulation." Mr. Insull's experience should qualify him as a witness; hence, it must be concluded that there is little virtue in regulating bodies, or else he is actuated by higher motives than those of the average public utilities manager. Experience has shown that unregulated public utilities are intolerable. If regulated utilities are no better—and experience would seem to declare that to be a fact—there would seem to be no recourse but public ownership.

s. c.



"Mistakes" of the Fathers.

How have the protectionists been able to excuse the Fathers of the Republic for establishing free trade in the United States? It is a well-known principle in the philosophy of protection that to buy goods produced outside the community is to have the goods only, while another community has the money; whereas, to buy goods produced at home is to have the goods and the money. Were it not for the foolish provision inserted in the Constitution by the Fathers we could have a tariff wall around every state, which, by keeping the goods and the money in each, would enrich all.

s. c.



Why Political Quackery Flourishes.

Fraudulent as is the cry of "full dinner pail" raised by tariff advocates, it takes something more to combat it than exposure of its dishonest nature. A man who is sick will prefer to be treated by a fraudulent quack who claims that a harmful drug will cure him, rather than by an honest physician who tells him that he knows no remedy for his condition. The way to combat the quack is not merely to show that he is a fraud, but to show that there exists a true remedy which can be applied. There is a remedy for unemployment. Not the

quack remedies of high tariffs or making of artificial opportunities for work, but removal of the obstructions to natural opportunities. In the campaign of next year Republican standpatters will offer the quack remedy. Who can blame the sufferers for accepting it should the Democratic party persist in refusal to offer the true remedy?

S. D.



A University on Trial.

That the sound economic teachings of Professor Scott Nearing should be disagreeable to the heads of the University of Pennsylvania is not surprising. The university's economic department, known as the Wharton School of Finance, owes its existence to a donation from one Joseph Wharton, who urged in bestowing his gift that, instead of correct economic principles, the fallacious doctrine of protectionism be represented to students as though it were the truth. It was only natural, therefore, that the teaching of Professor Nearing should have caused uneasiness in quarters higher up. For he considered it more in line with his duty to point out the truth to his students, than to teach error in accordance with the wishes of a bigoted millionaire.



One effort, some months ago, to dispense with Professor Nearing was prevented by indignant protests of the student body. But that did not end the matter. On April 9 the Board of Directors received a report of a committee regarding the Wharton School. It referred to "one discordant note" in the administration, a "tendency on the part of a certain element in the teaching staff to seek publicity by discussion of various conclusions based upon a biased attitude of mind." Evidently that committee had no sense of humor when it spoke disparagingly of a biased attitude, or it had not noticed how its remark might have been more properly applied to Joseph Wharton's gift. The committee further recommended that ex-President Taft and ex-Senators Root and Knox be secured to address the students and stimulate ideals. The head of this committee is one Thomas S. Gates, president of the Philadelphia Trust, Safe Deposit and Insurance Company. It is fortunate for the Mathematical Department of the university that no one has given it money conditioned on the teaching that two and two make five, or for the Department of Astronomy that no millionaire wants the Ptolemaic theory taught there as truth. On the action that may be taken on this committee's report rests the decision whether students at the Wharton School shall be

permitted to hear truth, or be forced to listen to fossilized absurdities such as a dead millionaire and living Tories have ordered for them to hear.

S. D.



Colorado's Dangerous Legislature.

The Colorado legislature has probably broken the record for servility to plutocracy. It has passed bills making it a crime to advocate a strike, and making it treason to resist the militia even though it indulges in a Ludlow massacre. It is not surprising, therefore, that in spite of recent disclosures concerning the fight made against Judge Ben Lindsey, it has listened to its master's voice and passed the anti-Lindsey bill. It is true that the people of Denver have overwhelmingly elected Lindsey and a recall movement has failed for lack of support, but the legislature cares little for the will of people it is supposed to represent, when there is in certain quarters a determination that Lindsey shall not be allowed to serve. Fortunately Governor Carlson has vetoed the bill, thus making it unnecessary to invoke the Referendum, which would surely have otherwise been done.

S. D.



Rockefeller's Defense.

In the Saturday Evening Post of April 10 Mr. John D. Rockefeller lets it be known how he believes charity work should be conducted. His own experiences in carrying on such work are also touched upon. If this was intended as a refutation of many severe criticisms recently bestowed upon him and his business associates, it does not seem adequate. Mr. Rockefeller appears not to understand wherein he has failed in his duty. Charity may cover a multitude of sins, but it neither conceals nor excuses a part taken in creating the poverty and distress which it is designed to relieve. Mr. Rockefeller's article does not refute the charge that he has obstructed justice. He says himself that "the best philanthropy is . . . an attempt to cure evils at their source." That is the very thing that he has not done. That, moreover, he has sought, with all the power he possesses, to prevent others from doing. There has been the most strenuous opposition from him and those in charge of his interests to every movement to abolish or to lessen the power of predatory privilege. This applies equally to efforts made locally, as in Colorado, to strike at monopolization of national resources; and to efforts on a national scale to stop tariff robbery, and to lessen oppression resulting from monopolization of highways. Charity does

not atone for such wrongs. It is, at best, but wretchedly inadequate restitution to a few victims of evils which exist, because some make no better use of their citizenship than does Mr. Rockefeller.



A Lincoln Who Upholds Slavery.

A proper appreciation of the services of Abraham Lincoln does not seem to be shown by his son. Robert T. Lincoln has had the best of opportunities to see that emancipation is by no means complete. As the head of a great corporation sharing in the excessive profits of transportation monopolies, his business experience must tell him that workers are still enslaved. This must be evident from the fact that he can get all the Negroes he needs to serve as porters on his cars, and need pay them no more, if as much, as it would have cost him in antebellum times to feed, clothe and otherwise care for a slave engaged in similar work. Were these porters and their families today his personal property he would surely find the expense of keeping them in good condition far above what he pays them, unless the traveling public would then, as now, contribute to their keep in addition to paying an exorbitant price for accommodation. For this, however, Robert Lincoln is not to be censured. Not individuals, but conditions not generally understood in Abraham Lincoln's time are responsible for enslavement of the sons of those whom he emancipated. Wherein the son of the great Lincoln deserves blame is that he has done nothing to aid those who are trying to finish his father's work. On the contrary, he has opposed them. Toward the emancipation movement of today he occupies the position that was held by the pro-slavery men of the 50s and early 60s. And the difference between Abraham Lincoln and his son is typical of the difference between the party of Abraham Lincoln and the tory Republican party of today.

s. d.



Riding to a Fall.

Not all Bourbons are politicians; some are engaged in trade. The fatuity with which the United Societies, in behalf of the liquor interests, continue to defy public opinion would do credit to the most stupid of French royalty. Since the liquor interests are dependent upon the good will of the public for permission to conduct their business, one would think that in view of the widespread attack on those interests, they would do all that was possible to avoid public prejudice. Yet it would seem as though no saloon-keeper can be

so bad that the controlling liquor interests will not stand behind him. Time and again when efforts have been made to close notorious resorts it has been only to run into politicians with a "pull" reaching back to the liquor interests. The recent effort of Chicago to close the bars in dance halls, frequented by young men and women, at one o'clock, the general closing hour for saloons, instead of three, has been defeated by this same interest. As a fitting climax of this shortsightedness the secretary of the United Societies announces a campaign for the education of women to the legitimate sphere of the saloon. Prohibition may not be the best means of dealing with intemperance, but the present course of the liquor interests is doing more to further that cause than all the temperance workers in the field.

s. c.



The Chicago Result.

Because the successful candidate for the mayoralty of Chicago happened to be running on a ticket labeled "Republican," and his chief competitor on a ticket labeled "Democratic," an effort is being made to represent the result as having national significance. That it had in fact no such significance is far from a comforting reflection. The result was not due even to so much thought on things worth while as would be required to blame the party in power for an existing evil, or to expect relief from the party seeking power. Of two equally unfit candidates a choice has been made. The party label had nothing to do with the result, except insofar as some Democrats voted for Thompson to save their party from the disgrace of Sullivan domination, or to saddle on the Republican party the discredit for the kind of administration Mr. Thompson may be reasonably expected to give. Many voters succumbed to an appeal to religious prejudices. A counter appeal to nationalist prejudices proved a boomerang. The rivalry between the friends of the candidates to get votes by any discreditable method was further enriched through Thompson's resurrection of the fraudulent "full dinner pail" argument. He was discreet enough, however, to refrain from speaking of this when circumstances made clear that his audience would resent it as an insult to intelligence. Most effective of all was the aid more or less openly given to Thompson by the adherents of Mayor Harrison. The vote for Sweitzer was many thousands below the total Democratic primary vote of a few weeks before. The party has the undeserved good fortune to escape the calamity which

Sweitzer's election would have brought upon it. The Republican party must have fallen to a lower moral plane than its most bitter enemies have heretofore charged, if the Chicago result may be rightly construed as an endorsement of its policies.



No Further Alienation of School Land.

More importance than appears on the surface is involved in the election to be held on April 20 on the question of annexation to Chicago in the village of Clearing. Within that village is the only complete section of school land in Cook county that is still public property. Private interests with a view to grabbing it are reported to be colonizing the village, the colonized voters to endorse a proposition to sell the land. A proposition of this kind has failed to get on the ballot this year. Annexation will protect this land from further attempts of the kind. The mistake that was made in selling the greater part of the square mile which was once school land and is now the business center of Chicago should never be repeated. This tract in Clearing containing 658 acres is estimated as worth \$750,000. Experience with the other square mile is enough to show the desirability of holding on to what is left.

S. D.



No Seed Lost.

The zealot who, seeing the exasperating deliberation of the conservative over what he considers a self-evident truth, is apt to grow disheartened, and to declare there is no progress. But the long view teaches us better. No word spoken or written fails of some effect; and the greater the truth embodied in that word, the greater the result. Since the earliest days of the Singletax movement a little group of progressive men and women in Canada have proclaimed the truth to all who would listen. They had Henry George there to lecture several times; and John Z. White, and other Singletax lecturers, have often included Canadian cities in their lecture tours. Able and earnest Canadians like J. W. Bengough, W. A. Douglass, A. B. Farmer, Allan C. Thompson, and others, labored to spread the gospel, but the lack of practical, definite results discouraged some who were impatient to see progress. Old laws remained undisturbed on the statute books; and the great mass of Canadian society seemed to be as little impressed with the new idea as though it had never been.

But this was not so. The idea had found lodgment in many minds, where it was germinating, and biding its season to shoot forth into the light. When the great western territory was opened up for settlement, it was peopled largely by men and women from eastern Canada; men and women who had heard the principles of land value taxation explained, and though approving, had seen no way of grafting it upon the old institutions. When they entered the new territory, however, they made the taxation of land values one of the foundation stones of the new society. Then it was seen that the seed sown and nurtured in eastern Canada, had burst into fruit in western Canada. Now the great wave of truth that swept from the East to the West is returning again to the East; and the recent debates in Parliament at Ottawa were sprinkled with such phrases as "free trade," "taxation of land values," and "Singletax." It would be a bold man who should say that we are not now upon the verge of accomplishing this great reform. This experience is another demonstration of the fact that the world has no room for pessimists. The man or woman who sits down in doubt to watch the little seed he or she has planted grow into a great tree may despair at its slowness of growth; but the men and women who go on sowing the seed regardless of the time of their maturity will, ere they realize it, be surrounded by trees laden with fruit.

S. C.



Even in Australia.

Various races and nations in different parts of the world have problems peculiar to themselves, but there is one that is common to all: The land question. In nothing, perhaps, is the universality of law better illustrated than in the relation of man to the land upon which he lives. The Australian Worker notes an incident that makes the American reader feel that he is reading home news. Nearly a century ago a crown grant of land came into the hands of the Wentworth family, where it lay snug and safe for three generations. A few years ago the Australian government constructed a deep water harbor at Port Kembla, together with commodious railway facilities. These fine shipping facilities led to the establishing of various industrial plants, and Port Kembla began to boom. Before the boom, land was valued at thirty-five dollars an acre. But after the Government had expended large sums of money for public improvements, and private capital had made still larger expenditures, a block of two acres needed for a public school was found to be worth five thousand dollars an acre.

The Australian Worker declares that this increased value rightly belongs to the whole people, and that the government should step in and resume the land at its own price. The government, as a war measure, took possession of the wheat in Australia at a fair price, in order to protect consumers; and the Worker asks if it is going to do less in the case of the land.

S. C.



Making Tenants.

The Nebraska Farmer calls attention to the recent survey made by the Agricultural Department of three typical areas in the corn belt in Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana, where it was found that landlords were receiving an average return of 3.5 per cent on the value of their farms. Commenting upon this the Farmer says:

If a piece of land valued at \$150 an acre yielded 3.5 per cent, the return would be \$5.25 an acre. But \$5.25 an acre is 6 per cent on only \$87.50. The difference between \$87.50 and \$150, or \$72.50, represents unproductive value—something for which the land buyer must pay, but upon which he realizes no immediate returns.

This is a concrete illustration of the evils of the present land system. The State, by levying taxes upon labor products, and to that extent remitting the tax on land values, enables the owners of lands to retain for their private use the value that comes to land through the growth of population. This growing increment serves as a speculative medium; and men buy land at the higher figure, despite the small interest return, in the hope and expectation that they will be able to recoup themselves through future increment. But men with little capital, wishing land for use, find it inadvisable to borrow money at six per cent to buy land that they can rent on a basis of three and a half per cent. Consequently, the same law that makes speculators of capitalists turns farmers into tenants. It is merely a question of keeping on in the present course to make this a nation of small tenants and great landlords.

S. C.



ABSENTEE LANDLORDISM.

A good story is told of Charles A. Dana giving instructions to a young reporter. "Young man," said the great editor, "if you see a dog running down Broadway at top speed with a tin can tied to his tail, and everybody laughing at the sight, that is not worth reporting. But if you see a dog with a tin can attached to his tail walking leisurely down Broadway, with nobody paying attention to him, that is the stuff for a good story." That the

dog should run at full speed when he has such an attachment is the common thing. Perhaps it is because Absentee Landlordism is such a common thing that newspapers pay so little attention to the subject.

Whatever the reason, the papers paid very little attention to a remarkable committee report which was made at the meeting of Governors held in Madison, Wisconsin, on November 10. This report of the committee on rural credits, of which Gov. Emmet O'Neal, of Alabama, was chairman, contained the following sentence: "Absentee Landlordism is annually becoming more and more a menace to our agricultural progress and gradually sapping the foundations of rural prosperity." The report went on to say that there has been an alarming increase of tenant farmers during the last decade of 15.3 per cent.

Now when we consider the importance that is attached to the question of rural betterment, when we consider how much has been said in recent years about the unfortunate trend from country to cities, when we consider that this whole problem was considered so vital that we had a few years ago a national commission on country life, is it not surprising, in spite of the Dana story, that so little attention has been given to this report that was made by Governors of States to Governors of States?

A few years ago I drove in a buggy about a dozen miles through a county in Governor O'Neal's State, and was informed that I had seen only three peoples' land, and that these three people lived in cities. It is so in other States. I am somewhat familiar with conditions in Louisiana, and was about to make a statement in regard to that state which might sound rash. But I wish some investigating commission would find out and tell how much of Louisiana is owned on Prytania street in New Orleans. I will venture to make this assertion, and run the risk of rashness, that Ireland in her worst days never suffered from Absentee Landlordism more than the Southern States are suffering today. I do not know so much about the east and the west, and I am not writing from statistics, but from personal observation. I know that the regeneration of the rural life of the South, in any healthy way, depends upon taking measures which will check the growth of this fundamental evil of absentee landlordism. The farming lands of the South have increased enormously in value and will continue to increase. The assessments have by no means kept pace with the increased value. Owners and investors know

these facts. Hence the results which Governor O'Neal and his committee deplore.

Let us hope that more publicity will in time be given to this report. Why not? Do we not all profess to be concerned for the improvement of country life? Have we not heard the repeated cries of "Back to the land"? Why not go into details a little more fully and ask about the remuneration for the toil and the holdership of the soil? When Charles Lamb's physician advised him to walk a mile on an empty stomach, Lamb said, Whose? When a man is tilling the soil it is a quite important question. Whose?

J. H. DILLARD.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

PROGRESS IN CHINA.

From a private letter to Bolton Hall by Dr. W. E. Macklin of University Hospital, The University of Nanking Medical School, Nanking, China, dated February 20, 1915, published by permission.

The land tax is just going to be reorganized here in China and there seems to be a tendency to compel owners to disgorge. The famine region is to be improved by draining and diking and the expense to be charged up to the landlords in taxes \$45,000,000 to be loaned by the Red Cross Society. The chief engineer is Col. Siebert of the Panama Canal.

Our Colonization Association is doing pretty well and quite a number are getting on the land. I could place many hundreds on the land in short time if it were not for landlords and official obstructionists.

I published a translation I made of Protection of Free Trade, some six months ago.



GERMANY AND THE WAR.

Zurich, Switzerland, March 12.

There probably has never happened in Europe anything so incomprehensible to Americans as the present war. Of the opinions expressed by leading American newspapers at the outbreak it can only be said that they reminded one of the explanations given by schoolboys here on the matter. But the American press is not alone at fault. The press of all countries, belligerents and neutrals, will undoubtedly get from history a very severe censure. They have, with some exceptions, catered unscrupulously to the lowest instincts of hatred and contempt, instead of serving the cause of impartial enlightenment. They have behaved so badly that in Austria even an officer's journal has strongly protested against the vile abuse with which the Austrian press covered the enemies of the dual monarchy. But the Austrian press has not been unique. The papers of the so-called democratic countries have surpassed all others in abuse of liberty. There has not been spoken a truer word than that of Ambassador Gerard in Berlin when he said that the press everywhere has displayed a sad lack of that generosity of judgment which seems

to have been a privilege of the past. The daily newspapers have once more proven to be bad leaders of public opinion in great affairs. Those who do not want to base their judgment on prejudices will have to think and learn much.

A week before the outbreak of the war I set on a journey to Leipzig to see there the international exhibition of the printing trade. The day before, the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia had been made known and had caused much excitement. It made clear that Austria was willing to risk the utmost in order to punish Serbia. When news came that Russia was not willing to tolerate the humiliation of Serbia, all the world realized the danger of a great European conflagration. Of course, most people still believed that the danger of war would pass as it so often had in former years. But all the world was awaiting with anxiety the reply of Serbia. Everywhere the people were talking politics. In the cafes of Vienna, Berlin, Munich, Strassburg and other big cities of Germany and Austria the multitude was chattering and listening to its favorite pieces of music awaiting the extras of the newspapers. Suddenly the newsboys drop in with the news that Austria has declared herself not satisfied with the answer of Serbia, and that the Austrian Ambassador has left Belgrade. Chattering and music ceased for a short while, and then the crowd began spontaneously to sing the Watch on the Rhine. Singing and music worked up the feeling of the multitude to a frantic enthusiasm. One patriotic hymn followed another and this continued not for days but for weeks uninterruptedly. Weeks before and after the outbreak of the war there has not been heard in most of the German cafes and other places of entertainment anything but patriotic and soldiers' songs and marches, and similar music. Every attempt to distract the people from their excitement by playing a favorite waltz was at once suppressed by disapproving whistling and trampling. Every evening in the big cities of Germany the young men formed processions, singing patriotic and soldiers' songs. At the beginning of this movement, the Socialists sneered at it and made some opposition. They called out their people to demonstrate for peace. But it proved too strong for them. Already, several days before the declaration of war, the Socialist papers changed their tune. At this nobody will wonder who has lived these days in Germany. The people were mad with enthusiasm, and they would have felt disappointed if war had been avoided. The Government evidently was trying to calm the public, and, perhaps, would have succeeded, but the news from Russia made the air hotter from hour to hour. At last the mobilization of Russia made it clear to everybody that war was not to be avoided except through humiliation of Austria and Germany.

I left Leipzig for Berlin on the same day when the mobilization was made public. We arrived at Berlin two hours behind time. What I then saw in this city was so strange that I asked myself if this was reality or dream. The city where the Socialist party polls over 70 per cent of the total vote was mad with enthusiasm for war. Every group of soldiers, every officer was greeted with thunderous hurrahs and the generals were suddenly more popular than

ever was a Socialist leader. Nowhere was heard a word of criticism of the government. I talked with a Socialist freely for hours and not a word of reproach to the Government came from his lips. In all the big cities of Germany where Socialism reigns supreme, the young men offered themselves by the thousands voluntarily for military service. About two million men have offered themselves voluntarily, besides the many others who were obliged to go. Young people traveled from one end of the country to the other in slow and uncomfortable mobilization trains in order to find a regiment where they would be accepted as volunteers, servant-girls offered their whole savings of many years to the Red Cross, golden wedding-rings were changed by the thousand for iron ones and the difference in value sacrificed for patriotic purposes. The authorities had to admonish the public not to do too much in its patriotic zeal.

Besides this boundless enthusiasm there was another thing that struck me very much, namely, the general conviction that Great Britain would join the enemies of Germany and try to destroy her. One of the first men who expressed this belief was the already mentioned Socialist with whom I traveled from Leipzig to Berlin. I tried in vain to convince him of the contrary. In Berlin everybody was of the same opinion. The privy councillor as well as the commercial traveler and any man in the street expressed all the same opinion, that England would seize the opportunity to destroy Germany. The German people need not be convinced by their Government that Great Britain has caused the war for they were convinced of it before. The German Government seems to have been surprised by the British declaration of war and it is certain that the Emperor has been badly hit by the action of the British Government, for he was so much an admirer of everything British that he has often aroused popular discontent in Germany with his attempts to win the friendship of the Anglo-Saxons.

It is certain that a change has come over the German people but this change has not come so suddenly as it appears. About twenty years ago there was no task more difficult for the German Government than to get increased credits for Army and Navy; and the Reichstag had to be dissolved twice in six years in order to secure an increase for the Army that seems small compared to the sums voted later without opposition. The change dates from the time when King Edward founded the Anglo-Russian alliance. Since this time the German people have felt uneasy. Since the beginning of the Triple Entente nearly all the increases of Army and Navy asked for by the Government have been voted, and sums have been obtained which a Bismarck with all his authority, would never have dreamt of asking. Is it possible that this change has had no serious cause? Several years ago the German Government suddenly asked large sums for military purposes. There was at first some grudging in the papers of nearly all parties, as increased credits had been voted a short time before. The Government then called together a secret session of delegates of all parties and then the credits were voted by all parties, except the Socialists, who made, however, very little opposition. The closer the under-

standing became between Great Britain and Russia, the greater grew the suspicion in Germany that these hostile powers were uniting for the purpose of crushing Germany.

Strange as it may seem, there is in many respects, a close resemblance between revolutionary France of 1792 and conservative Germany of today. The world was then believing that France, suffering under a Reign of Terror, would be glad to be liberated, just as it is believing today that Germany grudgingly bears the burden of an oppressive Junker government which the majority of its citizens would like to destroy. But the French went to war with an enthusiasm which set at naught all the calculations of the diplomatists, and so do the Germans today. It was a general complaint of German officers at the beginning of the war that the German troops were not to be kept back when coming in contact with the enemy, and that they neglected all precautions without any regard to danger and losses. As the French of that time, so the Germans of today, are deeply convinced that they have a special message to the world, and letters from soldiers of all classes show this belief to be still alive after seven months of war. And what Napoleon was to the French, that seems to have become General von Hindenburg to the Germans. There is practically the same coalition in arms against them as was 120 years before against the French. But the French, being a revolutionary people, went to war for a revolutionary principle. The Germans, as a conservative people, are going to war for a conservative principle. It is, no doubt, that the war will work a great change in political ideas. Some people of high culture and sober judgment, and by no means exaggerated patriotism, expressed to me the opinion that the war will be a blessing to the German people. In their opinion, they needed such a lesson in order to get rid of many ills and errors.

All the enemies of Germany without exception have declared that the object of the war must be the destroying of German militarism. But there is no doubt that the very worst means of abolishing militarism is making war with another people. It is like putting out a fire by pouring oil on it. Every word that is said in hostile countries against German militarism makes militarism more popular in Germany, and arouses the suspicion that it is only a pretext to influence the opinion of neutral countries. This would hardly be necessary as the opinion of nearly all the neutrals is hostile to Germany. The Germans naturally ask themselves what harm they have done to these people, and as they rightly or wrongly cannot see that they have ever injured them, they conclude that it is envy and hatred which makes them hostile to Germany, and that universal peace is still very far.

Americans seem to have wondered that the Socialists had not the courage to offer any serious resistance to the war, and that they voted the war credits practically unanimously. But the situation in Germany is not so different from that in America as might appear. In Germany, as well as in the United States, the people who have real power over the labor movement are not the theorists and men of letters of socialism, but the leaders of trade unionism and co-operative societies. And these are

following now the Government through thick and thin. The military bureaucracy which is ruling the state today has developed an unexpected understanding of the necessities of the working class. One of its first measures was to force all employers to pay trade-union wages and to punish severely every attempt at lowering wages, and asking inflated prices. Germany is practically today a Socialist State, and the trade-union people cherish the hope that some improvement will also remain when war is over. The workmen are living in the belief that work will become scarce and wages will be lowered if Germany should lose, and they are determined to support the Government. The Socialist theorists, like Karl Liebknecht, are utterly powerless, and they will never be able to force the Government to make peace an hour before it likes to do so. Their speeches get no hearing in the public. They are not replied to by the other parties.

It is certainly not yet the time to determine all the causes of the war and to say to what extent every nation involved in it is right or wrong. But I think that all those are thoroughly mistaken who find the cause in a single country or with some single person, be he King or Emperor, Minister or General. The war is an outcome of the rivalry between European nations and this is probably the reason why Americans were so utterly incapable of understanding the situation. He who wishes to do no wrong by hasty and partial judgment can only follow the advice: "Wait and see."

G. BUSCHER.



MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN SEATTLE.

Seattle, April 2, 1915.

There has lain in my basket for some time a copy of the "Traction Bulletin." This publication contains a tirade against Municipal Ownership in Seattle, quoted from the Seattle Daily Times. It is simply a sample of vilification and misrepresentation that is being dished out here constantly. The majority of people in this city pay no attention to this constant vilification of our publicly owned utilities.

During the last year and a half the public service corporations, through their papers, have kept up a continual fusillade of abuse and misinformation concerning our public utilities. The principal subject of attack has been our light and power plant. Before the people voted bonds to build a light and power plant users paid twenty cents a kilowatt hour for light in their homes. Power rates were much in the same ratio. When the municipal plant was put in operation these rates were immediately cut in two. Numerous reductions have been made since the plant started, until the maximum rate for residence charge is five and one-half cents a kilowatt hour, with a rate of two cents for all consumption over 45 kilowatt hours in one month. The minimum rate also has been reduced from one dollar a month to fifty cents a month.

It has been necessary for the private corporations to meet the various reductions made by the city. The direct result of that has been to squeeze large quantities of water out of the Puget Sound Traction Company stock. It is this continual forcing of rates down to a reasonable basis that causes the organs

of this company to cry out against our municipal light and power plant.

They very rarely write anything concerning our light plant without bemoaning the burden that is being placed upon the poor taxpayer. Of course, you understand that if it really would place a tax upon the poor taxpayer these corporations would be the last to complain. It is because it accomplishes just the opposite, and places more of the burden upon the corporations and other wealthy interests, where it properly belongs, that they complain.

One purpose in the constant attacks upon our light and power plant was to influence voters in our last election, March 2d. Since Seattle abolished the ward system, the corporations have lost control of our City Council. The election last fall appeared to have a decidedly reactionary trend, and it was thought possible by carrying on a steady campaign of opposition to our publicly owned utilities to elect three councilmen of reactionary stripe. The campaign carried on undoubtedly had some influence, as the most reactionary and outspoken candidate against municipal ownership received the largest vote of any of the twenty-two candidates in the primaries.

The reactionary forces were elated at this result, and the majority felt confident that the plans they had laid would be successful. But the primaries had the effect of arousing the progressive element in the city. Josiah Collins, who received the largest vote, had been a member of the Legislature. His record in that body was given wide publicity, and an enthusiastic campaign carried on in defense of our publicly owned utilities. As a result of this campaign, the tables were reversed in the final election. Collins was overwhelmingly defeated. The most progressive municipal ownership advocate of all the candidates was elected, and with him two others who were the least objectionable of those who were in the final contest.

Quite a number of questions involving our publicly owned utilities were placed before the voters in the form of charter amendments and various propositions. Some of these did not fare so well from the municipal standpoint as we had hoped, but on the whole the result was satisfactory, and showed the public sentiment of this city strongly progressive. One resolution which was submitted in regard to our light plant was calculated to show the temper of the people in regard to the management of that institution, and it was carried in our favor by a vote of two to one.

Our water system, which is owned by the city, is so completely entrenched in the people's favor that very little opposition manifests itself against that institution. It has been such an unqualified success that any effort to attack it would meet with no favor whatever. There are few cities, if any, in the United States that have such a magnificent water supply as the city of Seattle. And when the distance which it is carried is taken into consideration, there is probably no city in the Union that furnishes water any cheaper.

Our municipal street car system is only in its infancy, having been operated but a few months. It is but part of a system, consisting of two lines which are located in the outlying districts. Until these lines have been brought into the heart of the city

and some extensions made into outlying districts, no judgment can be passed as to how successful it will be. Because the Traction Company and other corporate interests realize that it will accomplish in the transportation of passengers what our light plant has done in its field, every obstacle that can be devised has been used to block its completion.

OLIVER T. ERICKSON.

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, April 13, 1915.

Commission on Industrial Relations.

Owing to a claim of illness, Robert T. Lincoln, chairman of the Pullman company's board of directors, failed to appear to testify on April 7 before the Commission on Industrial Relations. John T. Bourke, a former conductor, told that he had resigned because the company withheld from him the names of two women who had brought a charge against him. H. H. Seawall, another conductor, said that it is customary for conductors to "knock down" seat fares. Several porters estimated their tips as averaging \$75 and \$80 a month. Charles H. Markham, president of the Illinois Central, told about trouble with labor organizations. He considered it dangerous to place power in the hands of a few men representing labor. Asked by Commissioner Garretson whether it were less dangerous to put power in the hands of representatives of capital he answered, "decidedly." Arthur O. Wharton of the American Federation of Labor told on April 8 of the strike of 1911 on the Illinois Central, which had failed. Samuel H. Grace, business agent of machinists on the Union Pacific, told on the 9th of the strike in 1902. He said that the strikers had trouble with thugs who had been hired to assault and shoot them. This was especially the case in Wyoming. He mentioned by name several characters in this category. Julius Krutchnitt, chairman of the Union Pacific's board of directors, testified on April 10. He declared publicity to be the remedy for industrial troubles. Henry C. Baning, a striking truck builder, said he had made about \$55 a month in the shops except when by "speeding up" he had reached \$60 or \$65. He gave the following account of his monthly family expenses:

Rent, \$15; food, \$20 to \$23; fuel, \$4.50; gas, \$2.50 to \$2.60; milk, \$2.40; life insurance for entire family, \$4. Baning has three children.

"How often do the children need shoes?" he was asked.

"Every six weeks."

"How often do you buy a new suit of clothes?"

"I haven't had one in six years."

"How do you manage to make ends meet?"

"My wife took boarders."

"How did piece work affect you?"

"It made me tired at night. I lost eleven pounds in a year at it."

Frank Comerford, attorney for the strikers, read the results of a social survey made among them. In 1,000 cases investigated his figures showed that 81 per cent of the strikers were married, with 2,438 dependents. His estimate of the number of children "driven into child labor" by the strike was 2,940 and of wives compelled to work 268. Other items were: Percentage of homes lost, 15.7; compelled to sell furniture, 12.8 per cent; period of average individual idleness, one year; average individual indebtedness in excess of average savings after thirty-four months of strike, \$104.75. [See current volume, page 355.]



Newcomb Carlton, president of the Western Union Telegraph Company, testified on April 12. He favors collective bargaining, he said, if the labor organization is a responsible one. He would refuse to deal with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union since he does not consider it representative. Hundreds of operators had been discharged for membership in the union, he admitted. Sylvester J. Kokenkamp of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union described the grievances of employees. Operators, he said, were paid better wages in 1870 than today. The slightest increase in wages is accompanied by a "speeding up." He also told about the black list maintained by the companies.



Government Owned Railroad.

Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane announces the first step in Government railroad building in Alaska. Two routes were advocated for opening up the coal fields, the Cordova-Fairbanks, and the Seward-Fairbanks, the former starting from the east shore of Prince William Sound, and the latter from Resurrection Bay on the west shore. The Seward-Fairbanks route was chosen; and the Government took over, for \$1,150,000, the property of the Alaska Northern Railway Company, which had already constructed 71 miles of road. The total distance from Seward, on tide water, to Fairbanks on the Tanana River, a tributary of the Yukon, is given as 471 miles. A thirty-eight mile branch will extend from Matanuska Junction into the Matanuska coal field. Congress limited the cost to \$35,000,000; the present estimated cost of the entire system is given as \$26,800,000. The price paid for the Alaska Northern is less than the physical valuation made by the engineers of the Interstate Commerce Commission; and the road is to be taken over free of all debt or obligations. [See vol. xvii, pp. 439, 1021.]

The President has issued an order directing that the work be carried on by the Alaska Engineering Commission, which will have the general preparation of plans for construction, the employment of labor, and the purchase of supplies. In accordance with the power vested in the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Lane has named William C. Edes chairman of the commission. Lieutenant Frederic Mears, former superintendent of the Panama Railroad, and Thomas Riggs, Jr., have been ordered to Alaska. Owing to the fact that the immediate appropriation is limited to \$2,000,000, it is expected that only 40 miles of road will be built this season. For this reason the Secretary warns the public against a stampede to Alaska.



Bank Asks for Injunction.

The Riggs National Bank of Washington applied on April 12 to the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia for an injunction to restrain the Secretary of the Treasury and Comptroller of the Currency from interfering with its business. The bank claims to be the victim of persecution. The Comptroller of the Currency had charged the bank with conducting a brokerage business and with making loans on speculative securities. He had warned it that this rendered it liable to a fine. The bank attributes those charges to personal malice. The Riggs Bank is one of a chain headed by the National City Bank of New York.



Lindsey Again Victorious.

The Colorado Senate on April 10 passed the bill which has already passed the House, abolishing Denver's Juvenile Court and ousting Judge Lindsey. On April 17 Governor Carlson vetoed the measure on the ground that Denver voters had power to recall Judge Lindsey if they did not like him, but it was not a proper matter for the State to take up. The Denver grand jury on the same day absolved Lindsey from all charges brought against him, and indicted for perjury one of the leaders in the fight against him. [See current volume, pages 284, 297.]



New Jersey's Chief Justice Declared Unfit.

In a letter to Governor Fielder of New Jersey on April 4, Senator Charles O'Connor Hennessy, Democratic leader in the State Senate, protested vigorously against the proposed reappointment of Chief Justice William S. Gummere. Senator Hennessy said in part:

William S. Gummere, in my opinion, is unfit to be chief justice, or to sit in any other capacity in judgment upon controversies between citizens of the State and the powerful corporate interests whose cases constitute so large and so important a part of the business of our highest court. I do not, of course, raise any question of his integrity, nor of his

learning as a lawyer. But no one familiar with his record on the bench, from the day that he was transferred to the court from his employment in the service of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company down to the present, can fail to note his bias for privileged interests and the significant and invariable consistency with which he leans to the side of so-called property rights when they conflict with human rights. His support of the late remarkable decision in the ninety-cent gas case, which would effectively destroy the power to regulate the service rates of public utilities, is a late evidence of his bent of mind. His famous decision during his early service on the bench that the life of a child, killed by a trolley car in Jersey City, could not be valued by the jury at more than six cents, may have accorded with a brutal legalism, as is alleged by his defenders, but I cannot find this or any other excuse for the extraordinary part which he took on two notable occasions in Newark (according to statements made to me by responsible citizens) in protecting the Public Service Corporation against the just consequences of its criminal neglect of duty.

You, no doubt, recall the Clifton avenue tragedy on a winter morning eleven years ago, when eight girls and a boy on their way to high school lost their lives, and many others were crippled or seriously hurt by a collision between a trolley car in which they were riding, and a Lackawanna train. It was shown that the trolley company had been warned by the Mayor, the President of the Lackawanna Railroad and by various citizens to take precautions against the obvious danger at this crossing, and had taken no steps such as might have averted the frightful accident that occurred. It is known that the Grand Jury sought to bring individual indictments against the directors of the corporation and that Judge Gummere sent for the Grand Jury and made a long argument to them against indictments. An indictment was, nevertheless, found against four men of great wealth, who were at that time the executive committee of the trolley company. One of these men was, I believe, the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, which had formerly employed Mr. Gummere. When they came to trial for manslaughter, some months later, Justice Gummere directed the jury to acquit these men on the ground that it did not appear that they had any knowledge of the conditions existing at the fatal crossing, nor of the fact that there was no sand on the trolley car that might have been used to check its velocity on the icy morning of the collision. The outcome of this case has, I believe, been generally recognized as a flagrant miscarriage of justice.

Consistent with this attitude of Justice Gummere in this famous case was his dealing with the Essex County Grand Jury in March, 1907, when indictments were found against the North Jersey Railroad Company, a subsidiary of the Public Service Company, charging various infractions of the law relative to the unsafe, unsanitary and overcrowded conditions maintained by the company. I have been told by a responsible member of this Grand Jury that Justice Gummere exhibited extraordinary zeal in the interest of the trolley company by advising the Grand Jury that they must not yield to "public clamor" with respect to the complaints against the railroad. They, nevertheless, found various indictments which, it

seems, were afterwards quashed. Mr. William Fel-lowes Morgan, a citizen of the highest standing, who was foreman of this Grand Jury, and a majority of his associates have, I believe, recently joined in a protest to you against Justice Gummere's reappointment. . . .

The support of certain influential citizens may be explained in two ways. Some of these gentlemen, I fear, share the point of view and bias which makes Judge Gummere, in my judgment, ineligible for this appointment. The support of others may be accounted for by the fact that the Public Service Corporation and its allied banking interests are exerting every influence available to them in support of this appointment. Their power to reach and influence business men is well known. The fact that these privileged interests are actively backing Judge Gummere, however, is in itself a sufficient reason, in my judgment, why no Governor, sworn to act for the whole people, should appoint him as the presiding officer of a court where these interests have an immense financial stake in the outcome of litigation.



Milwaukee Election.

The city of Milwaukee elected a school board on April 6, and the county voted for judges. The school board election resulted in election of four out of five Socialists over a "non-partisan" alliance. Mrs. Meta Berger received the highest vote. For five judgeships, for which there was a contest between Socialists and Nonpartisans, the Socialists elected one and the Nonpartisans four. [See vol. xvii, page 370.]



Progressive Victory at Springfield.

Springfield, Illinois, elected on April 6 Charles T. Bauman, a progressive, as mayor and three progressives out of six members of the City Commission. One of the commissioners elected is Willis J. Spaulding, who has led a vigorous fight for municipal ownership and was bitterly opposed. The vote was very close, Bauman's majority being but 48.



Municipal Ownership Victory in Kalamazoo.

Kalamazoo, Michigan, voted for municipal ownership on April 5 by an overwhelming majority. A proposition for a bond issue of \$975,000 for a municipal gas plant received 6,930 votes in favor and 1,912 against. An alternative proposition to grant a new franchise to the gas company and fixing the price of gas at 85 cents was rejected by a vote of 4,918 to 2,114. A proposition to extend the present municipal lighting plant which now furnishes public lighting only to furnishing of light and power to private individuals carried by a vote of 6,429 to 1,304. This vote was 98 per cent of that cast for city officials. The larger vote on the bond issue was due to the fact that women tax payers in Michigan are allowed to vote

on such matters. The municipal ownership issue entered also into the mayoralty campaign. James B. Balch, Democrat, declared for municipal ownership. Dwight Curtinius, Republican, dodged the issue, but was known to favor public service monopolies. Balch was elected by a plurality of 81, overturning a heavy normal Republican majority. Every member of the new council elected is pledged to municipal ownership.



The victory is the culmination of an agitation of the past few years led by A. M. Todd. Through his efforts a municipal ownership league was formed three years ago and a campaign of education carried on. The price of gas in Kalamazoo has heretofore been \$1.22 for ordinary consumers and 90 cents for large consumers. Mr. Todd and the Municipal Ownership League secured the services of an English expert, William Newbigging, who made a survey of the gas situation in Kalamazoo. He found that for \$800,000 the private gas plant could be duplicated, if it could not be bought, and that by fixing the price for all consumers at 75 cents a profit of 8 per cent a year could be secured. The city council would not take any steps in the matter until a threat was made to invoke the initiative to secure submission of a municipal ownership ordinance. Then the council submitted the bond issue. The gas company offered to reduce its charges to 85 cents to all consumers if given a new franchise. This led to submission of the alternative proposition. The municipal ownership campaign received effective aid from Judson King of the National Popular Government League, who went to Kalamazoo for that purpose.



I. and R. Enabling Act Vetoed.

Governor Spry of Utah vetoed on March 26 the enabling act for the Initiative and Referendum. Although the I. and R. amendment was adopted by an overwhelming popular vote in 1900, the enabling act was not passed until this year, and the Governor in vetoing it declared that no popular demand for it exists and that it is opposed to fundamental principles of representative government. [See current volume, page 284.]



Tax Reform News.

The Turlock Irrigation District of California adopted the Singletax principle for local purposes on March 30, by a vote of 993 to 260. The district comprises 175,000 acres, and immediately adjoins the Oakdale and Modesto districts which have had the system in operation for some time. [See current volume, pp. 103, 130.]



A different result was that of the election on

April 6 at Colorado Springs, Colorado, on the proposed Singletax amendment to the city charter. It was defeated overwhelmingly. [See current volume, page 205.]



The Maine Legislature passed an act exempting from taxation mortgages on real estate held by savings banks and trust companies. The act takes effect July 1, 1916. These holdings are now taxed on what is called a franchise tax at about six mills on the dollar, the tax being paid directly to the state. The estimated loss in revenue is about eighty thousand dollars per annum. Mortgages held by private individuals and corporations were exempted by legislative act in 1911, previous to which time they were subject to municipal taxation, the average throughout the state being over twenty-two mills. As is the case everywhere, however, very few were ever taxed at all. Attempts at the last two sessions to revive this form of taxation have utterly failed. Another act of this session exempts neat stock thirty months of age and under, and all sheep and swine from taxation. Previously all these over six months old were taxed. Advocates of this measure urged that something should be done, as the number of sheep has diminished rapidly for many years, while cattle do not quite hold their own. [See current volume, page 182.]



The following bill has been introduced in the Illinois Legislature:

All acts now in force relating to the assessment and taxation of real estate shall, as far as practical, be made to apply to personal property and that all Acts and portions thereof which make provisions for the assessment and taxation of personal property not by its terms applicable to the assessment of real estate are hereby repealed and that all judicial proceedings for the enforcement of taxes shall be in rem; that no individual liability shall attach to any person or corporation for failure to pay taxes and that all penalties against individuals provided for the enforcements of any provisions of the revenue law are hereby repealed. Nothing in this Act contained shall be so construed as to affect the Act relative to the taxation of gifts, legacies and inheritances nor to repeal any statutory provisions for the assessment and taxation of franchises granted for the operation of public utilities.

[See current volume, page 356.]



The Committee on Political Action, appointed at the Ohio Singletax conference at Columbus on February 2, has proposed endorsement of the following Constitutional amendment which has been introduced in the Legislature by Stephen M. Young:

Section 1. That for the purpose of limiting taxation for local (township), (municipal), (school), purposes to a direct tax on land value only irrespective

of improvements in case the majority of the electors of any such taxing district voting on said question shall vote in favor of such method of raising local revenues, there shall be submitted to the electors of this state, in the manner provided by law, on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, 1915, a proposal to amend section 2 of article XII of the constitution to read as follows:

Sec. 2. Laws shall be passed, taxing by a uniform rule all moneys, credits, investments in bonds, stocks, joint stock companies or otherwise; and also all real and personal property according to its true value in money, excepting bonds of the State of Ohio, bonds of any city, village, hamlet, county or township in this state, and bonds issued in behalf of the public schools of Ohio and the means of instruction in connection therewith, which bonds shall be exempt from taxation; but burying grounds, public school houses, houses used exclusively for public worship, institutions of purely public charity, public property used exclusively for any public purpose, and personal property to an amount not exceeding in value five hundred dollars, for each individual, may, by general laws, be exempted from taxation; but all such laws shall be subject to alteration or repeal; and the value of all property, so exempted, shall, from time to time, be ascertained and published as may be directed by law.

Provided, however, that any municipality, township or school district may raise all of the revenues needed for municipal, township or school purposes by a direct tax on land value only, irrespective of improvements in or on the land, in case a majority of the electors of any such taxing district voting on said question shall vote in favor of such method of raising local revenues. Said question may be submitted in the manner provided in section 8 of article XVIII of the constitution, "Legislative Authority" therein referred to being for townships, the board of township trustees, for school districts, the board of education, and for cities and villages as provided by law. Such tax upon land values for the purpose of raising the needed local revenues may be equal to, but shall not be more than the amount locally determined to be needed for local government, and provision for a sinking fund for the liquidation of the indebtedness of such taxing district.

At any election this question shall be placed on the official ballot in the manner prescribed by law as:

For limiting taxation for local (township), (municipal), (school) purposes to a direct levy on land value, irrespective of improvements.

Against limiting taxation for local (township), (municipal), (school) purposes to a direct levy on land value, irrespective of improvements.

And if a majority of the electors voting for the same shall exceed the votes against, such provision shall be in full force and effect on and after the first of January following such election.



The program for the Michigan Tax Reform Conference at the Chamber of Commerce, Lansing, on April 21 includes addresses by Governor Woodbridge N. Ferris, Mayor J. G. Reutter of Lansing, F. F. Ingram of Detroit, J. W. Helme of Adrian, James Schermerhorn, C. S. Beadle,

and Dr. George H. Sherman of Detroit, David Gibson of Cleveland, publisher of the *Ground Hog*, and others. W. S. Blauvelt of Detroit will call the meeting to order and preside at the evening session. Andrew Fyfe of Grand Rapids will be chairman of the morning session, and A. M. Todd of Kalamazoo of the afternoon session. Judson Grenell, 59 Dunedin avenue, Detroit, is chairman of the Committee on Arrangements. Discussion will be on the tax laws of Michigan and how to improve them. An urgent request to attend is made to all interested.



Mexico.

A battle is reported at Celaya, 150 miles north of Mexico City, between Carranza forces under General Obregon and Convention forces under General Villa. General Obregon reports a complete victory, with enormous losses inflicted upon the enemy. General Villa denies it all, and reports continued preparations to dislodge his opponent. A battle is reported at Mazatlan, Sinaloa, on the west coast, but with unknown results. Reports of military operations are so contradictory that the actual situation is not known. [See current volume, page 369.]



General Carranza has refused the American request that he agree to the neutralization of Mexico City and the railroad at Vera Cruz. He has, however, offered to place a train at the disposal of Americans in the capital who wish to leave. Three hundred unemployed Americans in Tampico have asked the United States Government for aid to return. A transport has been dispatched from Galveston to bring them home. The United States has protested against the decree issued at Chihuahua, providing for the forfeiture of mines on which taxes have not been paid, or upon which development has been suspended beyond a fixed period. It is urged that the decree works undue hardship on American and other foreign owners.



General Victoriano Huerta, former Mexican dictator, arrived in New York from Spain on the 12th. General Huerta announces the purpose of his visit as pleasure and private business. He promised to give his opinions on the Mexican situation in an interview on the 16th.



European War.

Russia continues her advance in the Carpathian Mountains. The Czar's men claim to hold Tarnow, Dukla, Lupkow, and Rostock passes, and to command nearly a hundred miles along the crest of the mountains. Petrograd dispatches announce that the invasion of Hungary has already begun. Austria, however, is making a stubborn resistance, and claims to be holding the Russians in check.

The necessity of protecting the Italian border has caused the abandonment of the Austrian campaign against Serbia. In the West the French continue their vigorous attacks on the German line east of the Meuse, in their efforts to dislodge the Germans at St. Mihiel, the point that projects like a wedge into the French line. Small gains are reported day by day by the French. This attack is of such proportions that it is assumed by the war critics to be the beginning of the spring campaign. The necessity of meeting this move has kept the Germans from sending help to the Austrians, which may account for the steady Russian advance in the Carpathians. Kitchener's army in the West is supposed to be nearing the completion of its preparation for an advance in force. General French declares his confidence in the ability of the British to break through the lines of the Germans, but says he must have a vast quantity of shells for his artillery before he begins. He expects an excessive quantity of shells to save his men when they advance. Intermittant bombardments have occurred in the Dardanelles, but no definite results are announced. Rumors continue that an army will be thrown upon the land side of the forts, and it is hinted that the Balkan states, or Italy, will furnish the army. [See current volume, page 357.]



Italy's intentions are as much a mystery as ever. All manner of rumors are heard, but nothing has occurred to indicate the final decision. The populace appears to be growing more restless. Meetings were held Sunday, despite the prohibitive order of the government, and rioting resulted when the soldiers endeavored to enforce the order.



No changes are to be noted in sea operations. German submarines and mines continue to take toll of British shipping, but British commerce continues as usual. The German auxiliary cruiser *Prinze Eitel Frederick*, which sought sanctuary in Hampton Roads and secured repairs, with coal and provisions to run her to the nearest German port, was interned at the last moment of her time. The captain who had continued his preparations for departure explained that the failure of "expected relief" prompted this action rather than to run into certain destruction at the hands of the British and French cruisers lying in wait. On the 11th the converted cruiser *Kronprinz Wilhelm* also sought sanctuary in Hampton Roads. This is the last of the German raiders of the seas, and should she intern Germany will have no other force at sea than the submarines, which so far have failed of their purpose in blockading the British Isles.



Germany has formally notified the United

States that she will pay for the American sailing vessel sunk by the Eitel Frederich, and that she will pay for the cargo if it is found to have been American owned. The American claim of indemnity for the loss of the American passenger on the British ship Falaba, sunk by a German submarine, has not been admitted. Germany claims that on account of her warning that neutrals take passage on British ships at their own risk in the war zone, she is not responsible for those who venture. This excuse is not acceptable to the American Government. The German Ambassador at Washington gave to the press on the 11th the text of the note he recently presented to the State Department charging that the neutrality of the United States is unfair, and in favor of the Allies because of the exportation of arms to Germany's enemies. The note sets forth that the British claim of justification for putting food on the contraband list because the German government took charge of food in Germany is not warranted, because the German decree refers to wheat and flour only. The note continues:

The seizure of an American ship under these circumstances was in contradiction with the recognized principles of international law. Nevertheless the United States has not obtained the release of the ship, nor has it after eight months of war succeeded in safeguarding the legitimate American trade with Germany. Such a delay, especially when the supply of foodstuffs is concerned, seems equivalent to complete failure. It is therefore to be assumed that the United States government has accepted England's violations of international law. . . .

Conditions in the present war are different from those in any former wars. For this reason it is not justified to point at the fact that perhaps in former wars Germany furnished belligerents with war material, because in those former cases the question was not whether any war material was to be furnished to the belligerents but merely which one of the competing countries would furnish it. In the present war, with the exception of the United States, all the countries capable of a noteworthy production of war material are either at war themselves or completing their armaments and have accordingly prohibited the exportation of war material. Therefore the United States of America is the only country in a position to export war material. This fact ought to give a new meaning to the idea of neutrality independent of the formal law.

Instead of that and in contradiction with the real spirit of neutrality an enormous new industry of war materials of every kind is being built up in the United States, inasmuch as not only the existing plants are kept busy and enlarged, but also new ones are continually founded.

The international agreements for the protection of the right of the neutrals originate in the necessity of protecting the existing industries of the neutral countries. They were never intended to encourage the creation of entirely new industries on neutral states as, for instance, the new war industry in the United States, which supplies only one party of the belligerents.

In reality the American industry is supplying only Germany's enemies, a fact which is in no way modified by the purely theoretical willingness to furnish Germany as well, if it were possible.

If the American people desire to observe true neutrality they will find means to stop the exclusive exportation of arms to one side, or at least to use this export trade as a means to uphold the legitimate trade with Germany, especially the trade in foodstuffs. This spirit of neutrality should appear the more justified to the United States, as it has been maintained toward Mexico.

NEWS NOTES

—Manitowoc, Wis., re-elected Henry Stolze, Jr., Socialist, mayor for the fourth time on April 7.

—The Hawaiian House of Representatives passed on April 7 a bill for compulsory military training.

—Governor Whitman of New York signed on April 7 the bill for widows' pensions. [See current volume, page 335.]

—The entire Republican ticket of twenty-eight aldermen was elected by about 25,000 plurality in St. Louis on April 6.

—A proposed woman suffrage constitutional amendment was defeated in the Connecticut House on April 7. The vote was 124 to 106.

—Colonel William R. Nelson, editor and owner of the Kansas City Star, died on April 13 at his home of uraemic poisoning. He was 74 years old.

—Attorney General Gregory on April 5 rendered a decision that national banks may, if they wish, guarantee deposits by insuring them in guarantee companies.

—The New York Senate on April 8 passed a bill that has already passed the House increasing hours of labor for women in cannery establishments from 66 a week to 72.

—Frank Abarno and Carmine Carbone, charged with placing a bomb in St. Patrick's Cathedral, were found guilty by a jury on April 12. [See current volume, page 355.]

—The bill fostered by Duke C. Bowers to abolish capital punishment passed the Tennessee Senate on March 26. It had already passed the House. [See current volume, page 287.]

—Governor Moses Alexander of Idaho has been commended by labor organizations throughout the State for his veto of a workmen's compensation act on the ground that it was unfair.

—Mayor Roberts of Terre Haute, Ind., and 26 other defendants in the election conspiracy case were found guilty on April 6 and given five-year sentences on April 12. [See current volume, page 334.]

—The Alaska Senate on April 10 passed a bill submitting territorial prohibition to the voters. The bill has already passed the House. If the voters approve Alaska will become dry on January 1, 1918.

—Exports of crude petroleum from Tampico, Mexico, to the United States for 1914 amounted to 11,710,508 barrels, as compared with 11,150,399 barrels in 1913, and 5,805,476 for 1912. On January 1, 1915,

there were about 20,000,000 barrels in storage in the Tampico district.

—Nearly all of the beet sugar factories of Belgium, according to a correspondent of the London Times, have been at work on the beet crop. Little or no profit was possible, but \$6,000,000 worth of beets were saved.

—The Constitutional Convention of New York State opened its session at Albany on April 6. Former Senator Root, as president, addressed the members urging respect for "the great body of rights and liberties which have grown through many centuries."

—The official count in Chicago of the mayoralty election gives Thompson, Republican, 399,038 votes; Sweitzer, Democrat, 251,061; Stedman, Socialist, 24,452, and Hill, Prohibitionist, 3,974. Total vote, 678,525, of which 248,806 were cast by women and 429,719 by men. The women voted as follows: Thompson, 148,825; Sweitzer, 89,882; Stedman, 8,032; Hill, 1,967. Eighty-six per cent. of registered men and the same of registered women voted. [See current volume, pages 151, 236, 357.]

PRESS OPINIONS

No Escape from Government Ownership.

(Lincoln) Nebraska Farmer, April 7.—Evidence given at the western railroad rate hearing in Chicago shows that the well-managed roads are doing very well, and are making good returns upon their capitalization. It is the poorly-managed roads and the roads that have been looted and bled to death, that are in financial straits. Yet the demand is for a blanket increase in rates that would affect all roads alike, both the weak and the strong. In justice, any increase granted should be only to the weak roads, the ones that are in bad financial condition. But that raises this further question: Should the people be called upon to guarantee returns to railroads that have been looted? If the people through a government agency must guarantee profits to railroads regardless of what their management has been, it seems to us that the people through the government should have something to say about who should manage the railroads. This regulation business gets us in deeper and deeper. Surely it must end ultimately in government ownership.



Where the Benefit Goes.

Farm and Fireside (Springfield, O.) April 10.—The building of a great deal of fine paved roads in Manatee county, Florida, has shown how good roads affect land values. From 1911 to 1912 land along these roads increased on the average \$20 an acre, while lands a mile from the road increased only \$10 an acre. Dinwiddie county, Virginia, is another instructive case. The building of 125 miles of fine roads caused land adjacent to the roads to increase in value from \$24.25 to \$30 an acre, while lands ten miles away increased an average of \$16.32 an acre. The State builds the road, and the landowner sells it if he sells the land. That would look queer to a man from another planet. The man miles away is taxed to build roads, and the people along the pike get the

selling value of them. Rather queer, too, when one thinks of it a few minutes. The figures are a powerful argument for good roads, and also for a better way of apportioning the burdens and benefits.



Yellow Journalism in Turkey.

Literary Digest, April 3.—Entirely unsuspected information is given in a dispatch reaching the Constantinople Servet-i-Fuunoun by way of Aleppo, but quoted as having been received "on excellent authority":

His Islamic Majesty Wilhelm II. has made his state entry into the conquered French capital. In celebration of the victory over Paris, his Majesty made a speech from the throne in the former French Chamber of Deputies. After its conclusion he offered the Imperial hand to be kissed by the French ex-Deputies, who were deeply touched by this magnanimity.

Worthy of the style of the "Arabian Nights" at its best is this delightful item which we cull from the pages of the Hanumlar Gazettassi, a ladies' paper published in Scutari:

The harem of his Islamic Majesty Wilhelm II., the principal officers of the harem, and the general staff are expected in Constantinople early this spring. Ten powerful captured British dreadnaughts will escort the Imperial harem.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

TALKING HORSE—TALKING GOD.

Sam Walter Foss.

They sat and talked where the crossroads meet,
Four men from the four winds come;
And they talked of the horse, for they loved the theme,
And never a man was dumb.
And the man from the North loved the strength of the horse,
And the man from the West his pace,
And the man from the South loved the speed of the horse,
And the man from the East his grace.

So these four men from the four winds come,
Each paused a pace in his course,
And smiled in the face of his fellow man,
And lovingly talked of his horse;
And each man parted and went his way,
As their different courses ran,
And each man journeyed with peace in his heart,
And loving his fellow man.

They met next year where the crossroads meet,
Four men from the four winds come;
And it chanced as they met, they talked of God,
And never a man was dumb.
One imagined God in the shape of a man,
A spirit did one insist,
One said that Nature itself was God,
One said he didn't exist.

But they lashed each other with tongues that stung,
 They smote as with a rod;
 Each glared in the face of his fellowman
 And wrathfully talked of God.
 Then each man parted and went his way
 As their different courses ran;
 And each man journeyed with war in his heart,
 And hating his fellowman.



THE SERVICE-PROPERTY CONFLICT.

For The Public.

The conflict between those who derive income in return for services and those who receive it through property ownership grows sharp with each passing decade. Property rights are heaping skyward. The growing intelligence of the unpropertied masses leads to question, to protest, to revolt.

Economic issues are rapidly shaping themselves in a manner calculated to draw a sharp line between the recipients of service and of property income. Over night, in the world's history, the American people have built a huge, intricate, industrial machine, which creates pyramidal masses of wealth. A part of the net return from this wealth is turned back to those who operate the machine, while another part goes to those who own it. The workers and the owners are contending on opposite sides and with unabated vigor for a larger share of the wealth which the industrial activities of the community produce.

The rapidity with which the system of income distribution now in vogue in the United States has leaped into being taxes the imagination. Three centuries ago there was practically no such thing as property income in the United States. People held property, of course, but it was their work upon the property, and not their ownership of it, that yielded them an income.

The basis for the increase in property incomes lies in the increase in the amount of income-yielding property, first, in the increasing demand for land; second, in the increased amount of income-yielding property. Both factors are constantly operating in a growing, progressive society.

The increase of land values is inevitable in the United States. The total amount of land is limited. Each increase in the population of the country makes a greater demand for land. Each progressive step in civilization which leads to new uses for the products of land makes a greater demand for land. Step by step the people of the United States are moving forward and upward along the path of developing civilization. Each step adds to the value of some one of these million square miles of land which constitutes the natural storehouse to which men must always turn for their subsistence.

The inexorable character of this increase in land

values becomes more evident if selected areas of land are considered. The argument sounds true when applied to the entire country. Land is limited in amount, so the argument runs. Each increase in the population adds to the demand for the land. Since the supply of land is stationary, the value will necessarily rise in the face of an increased demand. The facts are patent in the case of the Illinois farm land, which sold in 1880 for \$25 per acre, and in 1910 for \$250 per acre. The farm land of Iowa was valued at \$1,256,751,980 in 1900 and at \$2,801,973,729 in 1910. The land on which Boston stands was worth \$350,404,975 in 1889 and \$716,435,800 in 1913.* Greater New York reported a land valuation of \$3,367,233,746 in 1906 and of \$4,602,852,107 in 1914.† The choice portions of the land of the United States are rising in value. Each year adds to the power which their owners have over community earnings.

The second basis for increasing property incomes lies in the growing value of income-yielding property. The value of property in the United States is growing much more rapidly than the population. During the years for which the property values are available they are as follows:

INCREASE IN POPULATION AND IN CERTAIN FORMS OF WEALTH.¹
 UNITED STATES, 1850 TO 1910.

Year.	Total Population (Millions.)	Total Wealth (Millions.)	Manufactures ²	
			Value of All Farm Property (Millions.)	Total Capital (Millions.)
1850	23	\$ 7,135	\$ 3,967	\$ 533
1860	31	16,159	7,980	1,009
1870	38	30,068	8,945	1,694
1880	50	43,642	12,181	2,790
1890	62	65,037	16,082	6,525
1900	75	88,517	20,440	9,813
1904	82	107,104	12,675
1910	92	40,991	18,428

The population is increasing much less rapidly than income-yielding wealth. In 1910 the population was four-fold larger than in 1850. Total wealth has increased somewhere between 15 and 20-fold; farm property has increased more than 20-fold; the capitalization of manufactures, and parenthetically, the capitalization of the railroad industry has increased over 20-fold in sixty years. The income-yielding wealth during the last half century has apparently risen in value at a rate equal to approximately five times the increase of population.

Viewed from an income standpoint, this vast increase in property-yielding wealth has enormously augmented the property charge which the industrial activities of the community must carry. To

*Annual Report of the Assessing Department for the Year 1914, p. 18.

†Report of Commissioner of Taxes and Assessments in the City of New York, 1914, pp. 20-21.

¹ Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1913.

² The figures from 1850 to 1900 included hand and neighborhood industries. The figures for 1904 and 1910 include factories only.

all appearances, the opportunity to live on an income, without rendering any necessary return service, is growing in the United States with astonishing rapidity.

SCOTT NEARING.

* * *

SCHOOL HOUSE AS A CIVIC CENTER.

For The Public.

California, following Wisconsin, has a civic center law which opens the schoolhouses of the State for the use of the people for civic discussions and recreation purposes. This puts the responsibility for the wider use of the schoolhouses upon the people and opens up the way for realizing democracy as nothing else could do.

In Los Angeles a Civic Center League has been organized for the purpose of encouraging and helping citizens to form civic centers in the schoolhouses in accordance with the civic center law. The movement was started by the Men's City Club. A conference of representatives of the civic clubs and civic settlement organizations of the city was called. The result is an organization in which forty or fifty societies of the kind are represented in a council, whose membership is composed exclusively of these representatives. Civic Centers are being organized in the schoolhouses of the city. The ideal for which the League is working is a simple organization of the citizens of each school district for the purpose of holding at least one meeting a month in which an attractive program is presented. Music, the school orchestra, glee clubs, neighborhood talent, readings, dramatics and a short address on some subject of vital interest to the people of the community by someone who can speak with authority upon that subject.

Standing committees of experts on all the subjects of special interest to citizens are being organized. These committees will be responsible for furnishing authentic, reliable information on these matters, which are becoming more and more complex and which the citizen must understand in order to fulfill his obligations intelligently and efficiently. This information will be given out through the local centers as called for by competent speakers. Thus when occasion demands an educational campaign of great value will be possible. Both sides of public questions are presented and so every discussion is a school of citizenship.

This educational work of the League is doubtless to be its most important function but the fact that in this way the people are independent of all special interests in matters of information is surely to be greatly emphasized. The important thing is that the people are to be organized for the realization of democracy, just as big business has been organized through the bosses to exploit the people who have been unorganized and helpless. When

thus organized citizens may bring to pass all those things which an intelligent public welfare demands.

The League is city wide, non-partisan and democratic in the best sense of that most significant word. What possibilities of social service and improvement of social conditions may thus be realized! Civic secretaries, perhaps school principals, are to be the peoples' sentinels, definitely made responsible for the intelligent direction of all those activities which the people of the district shall, from time to time, determine to be desirable in their club houses, the public schools.

C. C. KELSO.

BOOKS

CITY GOVERNMENT.

The Modern City and Its Problems. By Frederic C. Howe. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

Mr. Howe's latest city book opens with a brief historical survey of the rise and development of the city from ancient, through mediaeval, to modern times, and of its relation to civilization. An appraisal of the American city follows: assurance of its great successes, admission of its "conspicuous failures" found "where the city deals with business interests."

These failures are largely due to the following five "institutional causes" which the author considers at some length, comparing American cities in these respects most instructively with European: "1. Lack of municipal freedom or home rule in the conduct of local affairs. 2. Unworkable city charters with many checks and balances and limitations on the power of officials. 3. Private ownership of the public service corporations which use the streets. 4. The ascendancy of private property in the planning and building of the city. 5. The regulation of the excise and saloon problem by State laws rather than by city ordinances."

"Generally speaking, the American city has large power over persons and but little control over property." "None of our cities have anything like the freedom enjoyed by the cities of Germany." "While in America the city can do only those things that are specially enumerated in the municipal code, in Germany the city enjoys all the powers that are not specifically denied to it." "The British city has none of the large freedom of the German city. . . . In many respects it has less freedom than have the cities of America. If it desires to acquire a water-plant, it must go to Parliament for approval of its plan. . . . The most serious of all these limitations upon the British city is the state control of the system of local taxation." "The simplicity of the

city charter is one explanation of the success of the British city. There is but one official to be elected, which makes it easy for the voter to make a choice. In addition there is the most direct responsibility between the official and his constituents, while the organization of the council itself makes it easy to locate the praise or the blame. There is no conflict between the legislative and the executive departments, for there is but one department, the council. Its procedure, too, is very simple and the transactions are reported at great length in the daily newspapers. "Public opinion would not tolerate the use of public office for partisan or personal ends."

Two most interesting chapters tell of City Planning in America and Europe, and the final chapter is concerned with New Sources of City Revenue. "Three general expedients are being urged or adopted," writes Mr. Howe. "(1) Special Assessments, (2) Excess Condemnation, and (3) The Taxation of Land Values. All of these expedients look to increased revenue from real estate, and especially from land."

And in a very few clear and hopeful sentences at the end of the book its substance and conclusion are revealed:

A survey of the cities of America, and particularly those of Europe, demonstrates that those cities are best governed, are most comfortable and beautiful, that have carried the process of socialization furthest. . . . The measure of the city tomorrow will be the service it renders to the people. And despite the magnitude of the programme evidences are not wanting that the American city will be equal to its task. Public opinion is coming to protest against the misery, suffering and poverty which the coming of the city has brought in its train. And to meet these new burdens new sources of revenue are being sought, and they are being found in the increasing urban land values, a natural source from which additional and adequate revenues can be derived. Land values increase with the growth of population and reflect every advance of the community. Public improvements add to their value as do the improvements in the public service. Land values are a social treasure awaiting taxation by the community for carrying forward a new civilization which will minimize the sacrifices which the coming of the city has entailed and socialize the wealth which is enjoyed by the few.

Two qualities combine to make Frederic C. Howe's book delightful: One is its compact, clear brevity and logically perfect arrangement. The other is its dominant tone of confident good cheer. Some Singletaxers may say it is his faith in a remedy for these economic ills that makes of Mr. Howe a municipal optimist. But it is more than that. The man who can look with the trained eye of a scholar and the true instinct of a democrat over the sea to Europe, over the centuries to Greece, will naturally, inevitably light up the American scene with a sound and human hope.

A. L. G.

OUR BAD GOVERNMENT.

Our Dishonest Constitution. By Allan L. Benson. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1914. Price, \$1.00 net.

The American Constitutional Convention of 1787 was a scheme devised "by the rich" to improve the Articles of Federation "for the rich." Authoritative, unimpeachable "Facts about these 'Fathers'" disclose "a group of grafters" not by any means wholly held in subjection by Washington and his group, who themselves were very far from being capable either by propertied circumstance or inheritance, of representing the common people's point of view. Of the fifty-five delegates in attendance upon the Constitutional Convention "most were lawyers. Fourteen were land speculators. Twenty-four were money lenders. Eleven were merchants, manufacturers or shippers. Fifteen were slave-holders. Forty of the fifty-five owned public securities."

These men, upon the old political principle of "Divide and Govern," pieced together a Constitution that has been an iron hand to keep the common people down ever since. But the best Constitution is not enough. The people must learn what is to their own interest; they must not be persuaded by the press to vote for a tariff, for instance. And they must stop all war by "repudiating all war debts." Furthermore, the example of Henry Ford, the automobile manufacturer, who is giving back to his employes in wages one half of his annual profits, should merely remind all workers that they are really the owners of all wealth; and the way to come into their inheritance is to vote for Socialism.

The author, though violent in manner, is nearer the truth as to reported facts than most violent persons are, and there is much sobriety in a few of his conclusions. But when he speaks repeatedly of the United States government's recent attitude and action in the Mexican revolution as "the second Mexican war," there comes over one a certain mistrust that impairs further implicit confidence in his good judgment.

A. L. G.

PERIODICALS

Freedom and Efficiency.

In the Atlantic Monthly (Boston) for April, besides the usual excellent war symposium, is a leading article by Charles W. Eliot on National Efficiency—an essay that the too-modest citizens of free nations will do well to read. One occasionally hears the remark that the individual German worker is efficient in the sense of being well-trained and industrious, but that he is sorely lacking in initiative, in "go." President Eliot would hold this to be a fact and to be the natural result of dependence. He believes, furthermore, and affirms that national, as well as individual, efficiency is best developed under free governments,

and looks to the victory of the freer nations in this war finally to prove his contention. "More and more as time goes on," he writes, "this war develops into a conflict between free institutions and autocratic institutions. . . . The government of Germany is the most autocratic in Europe. It has always been so in Prussia; and since German unification in 1871 that description applies to the whole of Germany. One of the most extraordinary phenomena in connection with this ferocious war is the unanimous opinion among German scholars, historians, statesmen, and diplomats, and, indeed, throughout the educated classes, that—as was lately said to me in a letter from a German friend—'We Germans are just as free as you Americans are.' They really believe that. This unanimous opinion is a complete demonstration of the effect of the autocratic government which has long existed in Germany on the spirit and temper of the German people as a whole. They do not know what political and social liberty is. They have no conception of such liberty as we enjoy. They know nothing at all about the liberty that England has won through Parliamentary government, through party government. Their complete ignorance on that subject is the explanation of the fatal mistake that the German government made in going to war last summer before they knew what England was going to do, or could do. The German government thoroughly believed that in the existing condition of party government in England, with the Ulster disturbance unsettled, and with the trades-union difficulties on hand, England not only would not go to war, but could not. One could not have a better illustration of the complete ignorance of the German people as to what political and social liberty really is. The German diplomats misinformed their government about the state of Great Britain and Ireland, and of France, in spite of their ample system of resident informers, because neither they nor their informers

understood the political action of a free people. And at this moment, the German government is being misinformed in the same manner about the state of American public opinion. To the German mind political liberty means public incapacity and weakness—particularly in war."

A. L. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Government for the People. By Thomas H. Read. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Happiness of Nations. By James MacKaye. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1915. Price, \$1.25 net.

—The Social Problem. By Charles A. Ellwood. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.25 net.

—Lower Living Costs in Cities. By Clyde Lyndon King. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Progressive Movement. By Benjamin Parke DeWitt. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Woman's Work in Municipalities. By Mary Ritter Beard. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Creation of Wealth. By J. H. Lockwood. Published by the Standard Publishing Co., Cincinnati, O. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Essays in Social Justice. By Thomas Nixon Carver. Published by the Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1915. Price, \$2.00 net.

—The King, the Kaiser and Irish Freedom. By James K. McGuire. Published by the Devin-Adair



"THE SHOVELCRATS"

A Satire on the Monopolistic Theory of Land Ownership.

By CRAIG RALSTON.

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Co., 437 Fifth Ave., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.35 net, postage, 15 cents.

—The New York Charities Directory including a Topical Index and a Name Index. By Lina D. Miller for the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York, 105 E. 22nd St. 1915.

—Church and State in Massachusetts, 1691-1740. By Susan Martha Reed, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. III, Number 4. Published by the University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. 1914. Price, paper, \$1.05.



Country Doctor (Superintendent of Sunday school)
—Now, children, who can tell me what we must do in order to get to Heaven?

Bright Boy—We must die.

Country Doctor—Quite right, but what must we do before we die?

Bright Boy—Get sick and send for you.—Sacred Heart Review.



Boreleigh—"Some men, you know, are born great, some achieve greatness—"

Miss Keen—"Exactly! And some just grate upon you."—Boston Transcript.



"What is your opinion of our foreign relations?" asked the patriotic citizen.

"They don't do you any good," replied the local politician. "What you want is a lot of relations

right here in your own country that'll vote the way you tell 'em to."—Washington Star.



Little Helen was taken to church for the first time one Sunday. The service was a source of wonder to her, but after the alms basin had been passed and she had put in her mite, her curiosity was uncontrollable, and she turned to her mother.

"Mother," said she, "what do we get for our money?"—Judge.



Ethel used to play a good deal in Sunday School, but one day she had been so good that the teacher said in praise:

"Ethel, my dear, you have been a very good girl today."

"Yeth'm," responded Ethel. "I couldn't help it. I dot a stiff neck."—Pittsburgh Chronicle.



"Sadie, what is a gentleman?"

"Please, ma'am," answered the well-bred child, "a gentleman's a man you don't know very well."—Sacred Heart Review.



Little Girl (who has been sitting very still with a seraphic expression)—"I wish I was an angel, mother!"

Mother—"What makes you say that, darling?"

Little Girl—"Because then I could drop bombs on the Germans!"—Punch.

THE READER'S DUTY

Under this heading Harper and Brothers print on the jacket of President Wilson's new book* these two paragraphs:

The truth spreads by testimony. There is a sort of high compulsion, which lofty spirits recognize, to bear witness to the truth wherever found. That is how the best books get their circulation. A reader who has dug treasure from a book spreads the news of his discovery to others whom he desires to enrich.

If this book has pleased or helped you, will you not tell about it to the most appreciative person you know?

More than 1000 readers of The Public feel that "high compulsion" and constantly recommend it to their friends.

Although in January and February our circulation had a tendency to drop, subscription postcards sold so well in March that our net paid circulation at the end of the month showed a gain of over 400.

Truth spreads by testimony! On our list there must be 5000 readers who have at least one friend to whom The Public would be interesting and helpful.

STANLEY BOWMAR, Manager.

* "When a Man Comes to Himself." 50c from our Book Department.

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Some friends of Bolton Hall's have got his "Mastery of Grief" and other books of his as advertised in the "Public" bound in limp leather with gilt tops, to sell at \$2.00 per volume, set of six for \$10.00. The agent makes one-half of the price, \$1.00 on a \$2.00 book.

"The Mastery of Grief" will appeal to anyone who has trouble or who has had troubles, and no such person will entirely repel an effort to call his or her attention to it. On request a leaflet of instructions to canvassers will be sent.

The book is not a devotional one and is the only book of comfort ever published that can be given to a sceptic or non-religious person. At the same time it appeals strongly to church people, among whom Mr. Hall's name is generally known as the son of the late Rev. Dr. John Hall of the 5th Avenue Presbyterian Church.

Of course it has the single tax principles imbedded in it. Some church people are doing well with it among their acquaintances, and so far no one has wished to accept Mr. Hall's own offer to refund the money to any who are dissatisfied with their purchase.

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THE PUBLIC, Book Department, CHICAGO

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, ETC.,

of The Public, published weekly at Chicago, Ill., required by the Act of August 24, 1912:

Name of—	Postoffice Address.
Editor—Samuel Danziger	
.....205 Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago, Ill.	
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.....205 Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago, Ill.	
Owner—Louis F. Post—205 Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago, Ill.	
Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders, holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: None.	

STANLEY BOWMAR,
Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of March, 1915.

JAMES S. PENNINGTON,
Notary Public.
(Seal.)
(My commission expires October 24, 1916.)