

# The Public

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

Vol. XVIII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, APRIL 23, 1915.

No. 890.

EDITORS, 1898-1913: LOUIS F. POST AND ALICE THACHER POST

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Published by STANLEY BOWMAR, Manager  
Ellsworth Building, 527 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

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

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

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## EDITORIAL

### Why Use a Poor Remedy?

There may be greater evils than war, as militarists claim, but to properly treat them, there are much better methods than war.

S. D.



### Another Jingo Crisis.

Suddenly, and as a bolt from a clear sky, the news was flashed over the country that three great Japanese warships, manned by more than four thousand men, had taken possession of Turtle Bay, Lower California, within 409 miles of San Diego. On the unquestioned authority of an anonymous correspondent of the Los Angeles Times, the men were encamped on the shore, the bay had been mined, and no effort whatever was being made to relieve the warship Asama that was lost on a reef last November. One inference, and one only, was to be drawn: The Japanese had at last shown their hand; they had begun their campaign for the subjugation of the United States. Hobson had at last been vindicated; Gardner could say, I told you so; and the grape-juice administration of Mollycoddles was covered with confusion and shame. The fact long known to every Jingo that the Japanese will never be satisfied until they have reduced the United States to a state of vassalage was on the point of realization.



But alas for the bogey-chasers! Before the fighting Congressmen could mobilize the Loyal Legion word comes back by wireless from an investigating American commander:

The Asama still aground in San Bartolome Bay. Only other vessel present one repair ship and two collers. No indications of other than salving work.

But let not the Jingo despairs; General Huerta is now in the United States, and there is every reason to believe that he has designs on this country. Possibly instant mobilization of the Loyal Legion may avert the disaster.

S. C.

### Still Going Down.

Those who recall Mr. Roosevelt's terrific silence, following the New York election, after his return from Europe, and his thunderous stillness after his last presidential campaign, were not surprised when he let go both barrels at the dove of peace. He could keep still for two weeks when his party lost an election, and he was able to contain himself when the last remnant of the party disappeared; but the departure of the peace delegation of women for Europe was too much. Jingo nature could stand no more. Peace men, says Mr. Roosevelt, are physical cowards. "They fear death or pain or discomfort beyond anything else, and like to hide their fear behind high-sounding words."



It may be questioned if Mr. Roosevelt has not slightly overstepped the mark in setting physical above moral courage. It may be doubted whether Alice Thacher Post and Jane Addams would have the temerity to fight a duel with shotguns at ten paces. It may be doubted, indeed, if there are in the whole party of women now bound for The Hague more than a dozen who would have the courage to shoot a fleeing Spaniard in the back. And worse is yet to come; for the men of physical courage are in the trenches killing each other, while the mollicoddles remain at home to breed their kind. Besides, it is estimated that Europe at the end of the war will contain an enormous excess of women over men. Whatever will the world do then for valiant men to fight its battles?



But let not the fighting Colonel be discouraged. He is making wonderful progress—downward. Nominated by scheming politicians as Vice-President for the purpose of getting rid of him, a shot of a "knight of physical courage" made him President. With great strenuousness he laid about him with his Big Stick so lustily that he not only split his own party, but he succeeded in destroying his own party. But let him be not downhearted. There is still possible for him a brilliant career in the movies.

S. C.



### Roosevelt and the Pacifists.

The cause of militarism would soon be laughed to death if all of its champions would speak as Roosevelt has done in his letter to Mrs. Rublee. The use of billingsgate and of appeals to prejudice can convince no one whose opinion is worth anything. His denunciation of pacifists as physical cowards is not argument. If true it has nothing whatever to do with the merits of the cause for

which they stand. If untrue it only discredits Mr. Roosevelt that much more. If the charge were worthy of discussion it would not be hard to show that there are pacifists, who can not be terrorized into abandoning their principles, even though such a bullying spirit as has been displayed by the Colonel were more prevalent than it is. It would also be easy to show that cowardice is not entirely monopolized by pacifists. But that kind of discussion should be left to Mr. Roosevelt and his admirers.



In finding fault with peace advocates for not specifically denouncing the invasion of Belgium, Mr. Roosevelt shows a surprising inability to understand that this is implied in every denunciation of aggressive war. He also seems unaware of another fact equally plain. He has waxed very indignant over the treatment of the Belgians. But in arguments, he has from time to time advanced in behalf of a militarist policy, and in his criticisms of those opposed to such a policy, may be found statements enough, which, should their truth be conceded, would justify every thing that has been done to the Belgians and every thing that has happened to the people of East Prussia, Poland, Galicia, Serbia and France. His endorsement of the conquest of the Philippines is alone sufficient. One can not advocate war as a means of settling any kind of international dispute and at the same time consistently criticize an act, however cruel, which those in charge of a war may consider it necessary to commit.



Mr. Roosevelt criticizes no one so strongly as himself when he speaks of those who condemn wrong in the abstract but fail to stand against it in the concrete. As applied to war it may be said that he still refrains from condemnation of his unjust conduct toward Colombia, and still upholds a tariff policy, but for which international war could far more easily be abolished. What the Hague conference will do can not be foretold, but if it fails to ask for abolition of specific causes of war, and does not object to transfer of sovereignty without consent of the people affected, it will be guilty of no greater neglect to denounce wrong in the concrete than may be charged against Mr. Roosevelt.

S. D.



### Friendly Difference.

The thought seems to linger in certain minds that neutrality is impossible, that nations are for

or against us. Knowing that all men must take sides in their secret thought, they feel that such thoughts in the minds of public officials must inevitably lead the nation to favor one side or the other in time of war. But such an idea is far from reality. There is no reason why nations may not clash on matters of international policy, and enter vigorous protests against certain specific acts, and still have the sincerest friendship for each other. This idea is brought out in an article in the *New Republic* on our relations with Great Britain. Regarding England's interference with our commerce, the writer says:

Our country does not intend to yield, yet it refuses to consider the possibility of fighting. It is treating Great Britain just as one party or class within a nation treats another ruling party or ruling class with whose opinion or policy it disagrees. The differences are not abandoned, and so far as they concern essentials they are not compromised, nor arbitrated. They are firmly asserted; and the assumption behind their assertion is that as the result of agitation and discussion a just protest against the official policy will prevail. The ruling power is given the credit for being open to conviction, and for willingness to conciliate a resolute and reasonable opposition.



This translation of an international controversy into a party dispute makes the whole matter clear. The political controversies in this country lead sometimes to great bitterness of feeling, but there is never any occasion for armed conflict. Though a party in error may secure control of the government, the opposition continues the agitation until a sufficient number of voters have changed their minds to reverse the decision. And so it can be in international affairs. The United States does not yield to Germany's claim that it may destroy our shipping. Neither does it accept England's interference with our commerce with neutral nations. But it is not necessary that we fight one or the other. We protest now against the injustice; and when the war has been concluded, and the people of those nations have recovered their sanity, we shall discuss these acts with them with a view to making good the injury to innocent persons in the past, and to preventing their repetition in the future. To demand an adjustment of grievances while the people are mad with passion would lead to certain war; to wait until normal conditions have been restored will as certainly avoid war.

s. c.



### No More Forcible Annexation.

Unofficial reports regarding peace terms in Europe are to the effect that Germany is willing to

evacuate Belgium and to recognize its independence, but that the Allies demand in addition payment of an indemnity and cession of territory to France and to Russia. If these reports are based on fact, then the war is henceforth one over indemnity and cession of territory. Regardless of the justice of the demand for indemnity, a war to compel its payment is not justified. That involves not only the risk of throwing good money after bad, but of sacrificing more lives. Even if finally obtained, the indemnity is not worth the cost. The same applies to a fight which has no other object than to avoid payment of indemnity for damage actually committed. The wiser and more humane nation will be the first to waive that point in order to avoid further bloodshed. As to the demand for cession of territory without consulting the wishes of the inhabitants, that, if made, would be inexcusable. It would make a mockery of all previous claims of fighting for democracy and against militarism. It would be as disgraceful a proceeding as the American conquest of the Philippines, the conquest of the Boer republics or the partition of Poland. Though the world has not yet become wise enough to avoid war altogether, there should be no toleration of a demand for forcible annexation. When acceptable terms of peace shall be officially made known, it is to be hoped that neither side will prove itself still so barbarous as to insist on forcing its authority on people, who have not been allowed to say whether or not they want it.

s. d.



### One Touch of Nature.

It is a most striking contrast to turn from the press and lecture platform where the Allies and the Germans so bitterly attack each other, to the trenches where, as one officer said, he "had to change certain troops three times because the men in the trenches got too friendly with the enemy."

A correspondent writing from the front says:

The soldiers are thoroughly enjoying themselves—they are not brutal, they do not entertain the idea of killing, but are kept up through all their trials and deprivations by an intense patriotism.

On Christmas night he witnessed thousands of soldiers in the trenches singing "Holy Night," without any sense of the incongruity. A final note is given by the touching words of M. Romain Rolland in the *Journal de Geneve*, in praise of the work of the English Emergency committee for the assistance of starving Germans and Austrians in England, and of the sister societies in Berlin performing the same act of Christian kindness to English people of like situation in Germany.

s. c.

### Obvious Improvement.

The difference between common sense and stupidity, in management of the Immigration Department, may be noted on comparing the different treatment accorded Huerta, on arrival at New York, with that given some years ago to Castro. There was no good reason for excluding either, but when Castro came, the Department had so gotten into the habit of excluding unpopular visitors on frivolous pretexts, that it made itself particularly ridiculous by making Castro's official conduct, as President of a foreign nation, a cause for excluding him. The fact that Huerta—a far more offensive character than Castro—was admitted, shows how much more intelligently the Immigration Department is now managed, as compared with management under the Taft and Roosevelt administrations.



S. D.

### Prison Reform.

It may be questioned if penologists have not overlooked some valuable data in connection with the wholesale prison deliveries in South Carolina and Arkansas. Students of criminology have striven to impress upon the public mind the wisdom of considering crime from the point of view of helping the criminal, rather than of avenging the victim. But, although much progress has been made, more remains to be accomplished. It would seem, indeed, as though society had been as unfortunate in devising means for caring for prisoners after they have been convicted as it has been in finding means for determining their guilt. That our prison treatment has been a failure is the conclusion of nearly all who have investigated it. It is charged that the present prison life works a great hardship upon the criminal's family, that it is a needless expense to the State, and that it does not reform the criminal. The summary emptying of the prisons in South Carolina and Arkansas may lead to the acquirement of some needed information. It would be interesting to know how many of those liberated have been returned to prison; how many have continued a career of crime; and how many have made good through this second chance for a better life. Comparison of this data with that of prisoners liberated after a full term has been served might offer a guide to governors and boards of pardon. It is coming to be recognized that crime is committed more on account of ignorance than of viciousness; and that the protection of society is best obtained through such means as will enlighten the criminal as to his true relation to his fellows. Mere force

and power do not do this. Honest sympathy and intelligent kindness promise better results. And it may be that when we have discovered how to reform criminals we shall be close to the knowledge of how to prevent men and women from becoming criminals.

S. C.



### Shrines of Democracy.

Four recent Chicago meetings, weeks apart, in personnel unlike, in purpose unrelated, yet were spirit-kin, and more characteristic of their city than the farcical mayoralty election just over or the latest strike and stock-yards news.



Early last month on a weekday evening, Frederick Douglass Center celebrated its tenth anniversary with a program of music and brief addresses. The ten years since two of Chicago's devoted citizens had gone to make their home in the big old-fashioned house among the colored people of the South Side had been spent very quietly so far as the big city around them knew. Their modest spirit of democracy, of human brotherhood, made no special claims upon the community nor any particular promises of tangible result. But out of the roomful of colored and white citizens who came together that March evening to look back upon that decade and to rejoice over it, not one could ever see the "race problem" again as "hopeless." Never could he forget the personal charm, the cultured grace and rare spirituality of one of the colored leaders, nor the lessons in thorough democracy, in perfect human justice that two of the white speakers taught.



One Saturday noon, a couple of weeks later, three hundred energetic, busy men and women from all parts of Chicago and her suburbs lunched together at the open invitation of the City Club, to discuss their city's "neighborhood centers." Twenty men and women, school principals, librarians, playground superintendents, chorus leaders, athletic directors and club presidents, each spoke briefly of his neighborhood's community life, its ambitions and problems, its civic achievements. Adults and children, foreign-born and native, in school and at work, all were represented and vocal. So much being accomplished, so much left to do; but so many eager to help and so dominant the spirit of a common citizenship that the big dining room rang with young enthusiasm and a better acquainted, more friendly and united Chicago seemed to rise when that noon hour was over.

Some few score women, not long afterward, many of them leaders in their city's civic life, met in the Woman's Club rooms to bid an informal "Good-bye" to the Chicago delegates to the International Congress of Women at The Hague. Only a quiet hour in the late afternoon it was, to listen to the latest personal news about the journey and the plans for the Congress, to hear from some and see all of the women that were going across the ocean to meet their European sisters and with them attempt to speak for the first time in history a woman's word about war. Yet a faith in the coming peace among peoples seemed there to be born again, to live once more in that little group of women, diverse in race and religion and talents, who could blot out all these disturbing divisions in the dawn of an international day.



And within a week another gathering—this one full, too, of promise for the future, and filled now with the new civic spirit that centers really in the children. The public school teachers of the city, officially as organized into federations of high school and grade teachers, gave an evening reception at the Art Institute in honor of the graduating class from the normal school—a beautiful and complete party with music and welcoming speeches and refreshments, where everyone by hundreds met his friends and made more, and talked shop if he pleased, and found a comrade in every corner; where the hideous strife between nations in Europe was utterly forgotten in the free and joyous cooperation of their emigrants' children in America; where, instead of professional rivalry between old and young, there shone the spirit of common service in a great cause, of united and wide-awake devotion to the city's youth and the nation's democracy.



Not far apart in time were these four gatherings, and very close together in spirit. All alike in their unconscious promise of a universal brotherhood. In every one the antagonisms of race and nationality and sex, the false distinctions of wealth and class and culture, all were forgotten in their own very presence, lost in a common humanity. No, not lost, transformed into the strength of diverse qualities united for a common purpose. All four occasions are typical of Chicago, of every community in the United States. What American could not name as many more such assemblies of as recent date, just as democratic, just as cosmopolitan, just as prophetic of world-unity?

A. L. G.

### Undermining Confidence in the Courts.

Having reappointed Justice Gummere to the Supreme Court of New Jersey, in spite of the convincing evidence of unfitness placed in his hands by Senator Hennessy, Governor Fielder must be neither surprised nor shocked should he find confidence in the fairness of that court lacking in the future. The Governor has furnished another example of the need of the Recall of Judges.

S. D.



### "Mistakes" of the Fathers.

Of all the blunders of the Fathers of the Republic, what has been more humiliating to the nation than the Constitutional provision that Congress shall not convey titles of nobility? This has necessitated our rich citizens paying enormous prices for foreign titles, some of which were a little the worse for wear, and compelled a part of the citizens to be satisfied with such plebian appellations as general, colonel, major, captain, and a few naval titles; while the remainder of the population has been forced to content themselves with the title of "doctor."

S. C.



### A Powerless Majority.

A majority of the members of the Illinois legislature, chosen by the people at the last election, voted in favor of submitting to a popular vote the question of holding a constitutional convention. But the question will not be submitted—at least not this year. A minority of little more than one-third of one house blocked it. A majority of members of both houses voted to submit an amendment to the amending clause of the constitution. But it won't be submitted. A minority forbids. A constitution that was neither framed nor adopted by the present generation of Illinoisans is the supreme law of the State and can not be changed without consent of a minority. What becomes of the oft-heard argument that if the people don't like a law they should elect representatives who will change it? On what moral grounds may obedience be urged to unjust laws, the power to repeal which is denied the majority?

S. D.



### More Troubles for the Rich.

When one considers the handicaps and disadvantages under which the rich labor, the question arises: Is it worth while? Leaving out of consideration the parasites, impostors and sycophants who prey upon the elders, the

dangers attending the children would seem to be sufficient to deter a normal-minded man or woman from struggling to enter the ranks of wealth. For, notwithstanding nineteen centuries of Christianity, and a civilization hoary with age, we still have the kidnaper; and no matter how democratic parents may be, or how much they would like to have their children play with the children of the neighborhood, they cannot forget the blackmailing child-stealer. They are under the same necessity of employing means to protect the child as they are to preserve a rare jewel.



Some of the Chicago rich attempted a solution by establishing a private playground, where, protected by guards and fences, the properly accredited children can enjoy a feeble imitation of child-sport. In this million-dollar playground these little unfortunates disport themselves sedately in the presence of parents and nurses, while the children of the hoi polloi peer in through the fence. One hesitates which to pity the more, the child born into the rich family, which must be carefully guarded, or the child of the poor, who wonders at the fence and guards that shut it out from mingling with its kind. When one reads of the million-dollar baby that must be followed as closely by an armed guard as royalty in time of revolution, who is given a carefully selected play-fellow to preserve the human touch, and an exclusive playground to keep it from becoming contaminated by contact with common clay, it is not to be wondered at that the rich have so few children.

s. c.



### Straining at a Gnat.

Speaking of the carpenters' strike in Chicago, the Tribune of April 16 says:

Public opinion will not welcome a disastrous check upon building operations in Chicago.

Which goes to show that when it comes to a protest from the Tribune it all depends upon whose ox is gored. The strike is neither the first nor the most disastrous check upon building operations in Chicago. For many years building operations in Chicago have been checked through land speculation and this check is far more serious than any strike. In addition to this check, the laws requiring taxation of improvements also constitute a greater check on building operations than any strike. A strike, however stubbornly it may be contested, is but a temporary affair, lasting a few weeks or months at most. The withholding of valuable land from use, and taxation of improve-

ments have been going on so long that they are looked upon as matters of course. The public opinion that regards these evils with complacency can not consistently complain about interference with industry through a strike.

s. d.



### Propaganda Matter in Business Advertisements.

Enterprising real estate agents are unconsciously doing much through newspaper advertisements to help singletax propaganda. There is a steadily growing tendency among them to call attention to the prospect of gain without labor through investments in land, which will increase in value without effort on the owner's part. Such advertisements have become so common that a singletax propagandist need but look over the real estate department of any Sunday paper to find therein a text for his sermon, bristling with statements from experts proving the correctness of his position.



A little more definite than ordinary real estate testimony proving the claims of singletaxers is an advertisement in the Colorado Springs Gazette of April 12. Referring to the recent rejection of a singletax amendment to the city charter the firm of Wills, Spackman and Kent begins to speak about its bargains as follows:

**Shadow of Singletax Removed. You need hesitate no Longer to Buy Vacant Lots.**

The wealth producers of Colorado Springs having obligingly voted down a slight application of singletax may now see how they have bettered the opportunity for speculators to appropriate their earnings. This much the advertisement quoted makes clear. The "Shadow of Singletax" was the shadow of a movement to enable those who earn to keep their earnings, and thus make less the commercial value of opportunities to get wealth without labor. This shadow has now been removed, says the sanguine real estate firm. With no desire whatever to interfere with the business of this firm, it must be said that it is mistaken about removal of the shadow. The Singletax in Colorado Springs has been postponed but, unfortunately, there has been no postponement of the evils which land monopoly produces. These evils will keep the shadow of the Singletax hovering over Colorado Springs until the substance shall appear.

s. d.



### Back to the Farm.

Collier's in a recent issue printed a charming

picture of rural life well calculated to stir the blood of the city-bred. In the foreground of a barnyard stands the well-balanced figure of the farmer who, with a look of contentment on his face, scatters food to the chickens that cluster about his feet. To the right stands the complacent cow, with a wabby-legged calf at its side. At the watering trough by the barn door a fine span of horses is drinking. A lithe young man leans against one of the horses, as he chats with a spruce young girl who stands in the doorway with a milk pail. Sparrows are twittering on the roof of the shed by the pigpen, while two little satisfactions. The buildings look hospitable, and the people happy. Commenting upon this picture, the editor says:

The estate which Frost portrays with sympathetic charm is one which every man can have for his own. All that is needed is to want it strongly enough. The Singletaxers groan, the uplifters deplore, but it still remains as true as it was in Solomon's time, that each man's best salvation lies in his own soul. Land is still free enough in America for any man who wants to—wants hard enough and long enough—to get a piece of it, set up his home and raise his family on it. Independence, children, content, comfort—most of the things which Dr. Eliot once called "the durable satisfactions of life"—are to be had by almost any man who prizes them enough.



It is true that "each man's salvation lies in his own soul." But the soul is encased in the material body upon which it depends for expression; and the material body depends upon surrounding conditions, which vary, and may be varied. The editor qualifies his statement by saying that this beautiful picture is possible for all who "want it strongly enough." But it must be apparent to the most casual observer that this required amount of determination is greater than the amount possessed by all save a few men. Science has discovered that the hook-worm robs its victims of the will to do. Who shall say that there are not other causes that weaken the will; and to weaken the will of those who would set out upon hazardous enterprises is equivalent to crippling the legs of a mountain climber. But a weakened will, while unequal to a heroic task, may yet essay an easier work. It is quite apparent that a man of bright mind, strong body and great determination, with a healthy family in sympathy with his purpose, can now go upon the land and make a success of the venture. It is equally true that the man failing of any of these requisites is likely to fail.



A hundred years ago almost any sort of a man

could go upon the land and make a success. He had crude tools, and he won rude comforts, but he led a free and independent life. He worked from sunup to sundown without complaint, because that was the workday in city and country. Today, if he goes upon the land, even if he has the capital to command the necessary tools and machinery, he will find it necessary to work from sunup to sundown; and his wife who rises in time to get his breakfast, and does the family mending after supper, is busy the whole day long. When the eight-hour man in the city contemplates this, he hesitates. The man who said farming had become a sedentary occupation because of the great quantity of machinery that has been devised, was witty rather than accurate. The farmer can, it is true, ride his plow, his harrow, his seeder, his mower, his rake, his self-binder, and various other machines; but when it comes to riding these machines, and operating other machinery as long as there is light to see, the sedentary features become less prominent. Even light work becomes heavy when continued too long.



There are men in the cities who would like to get on a farm. Their souls long for the free and independent life of the country, but conditions are such that few of those who investigate them make the venture; and a large part of those who do venture fail and return to the city. In the early days when land was cheap it did not so much matter about the equipment or the taxes; but now land has advanced in value till its price or rent represents the advantages of civilization, and it is only the exceptionally gifted who can withstand the toll of rent and the burden of taxation. The world has always yielded comforts to the exceptional man. It has yielded a living to the mediocre man. Why does it not, in view of all that science and invention has placed in its hand, yield comforts to the average man? It is not enough that a few can scale the mountains; we must construct a road, so that all may ascend.

s. c.



#### An Error in Need of Correction.

The \$30,000,000 to be spent on the government railway in Alaska will add value to Alaskan lands. This will be the case particularly at the point selected as a terminus. There the establishment of a thriving town is certain. To whom should this increase in land value go? To private individuals who have done nothing to create it, or to the government which built the road? Should

holders of Alaskan lands be encouraged to hold it out of use for a rise in value, or be compelled to let it be put to its most productive use? The late Congress had an opportunity to pass on this matter and decided in favor of private appropriation of publicly created values, and in favor of encouraging land speculation. This occurred when the Bailey amendment to the railroad bill was voted down. That amendment provided that these increased values be taken to pay for the road. Unless such a measure shall be adopted, monopolization of Alaska's privately owned resources can not be prevented. The new Congress will have a chance to correct its predecessor's mistake. S. D.



### No Cause to Worry.

"The man that owns his own home," says that aggressive publication, *The Ground Hog*, "is not worrying about the channel through which he pays his taxes. It is the man that derives his income through letting out land for others to live or work upon that is doing the worrying about the coming change in the laws to provide that buildings and personal property shall be exempt from taxation and taxes shall be raised on site-values."



This point should not be lost sight of when considering the objections of the landowners. Tenants cannot possibly lose anything when taxes have been shifted from the products of labor to land values; and the tenant class is large and growing. Small home owners and most farmers will lose nothing, because they own more labor value than land value. It remains then only for the few who own more land values than labor values to be adversely affected. Most of these are what are called rich, and can well afford to bear the burden of the transition from the unjust to the just condition. Those who happen to have large holdings of vacant land will be affected most; but they can make no complaint in a court of equity when their unearned revenue is shut off. The plea that the shifting of taxation from labor values to land values will work great injustice to small land owners is exactly of a piece with the plea made seventy years ago that the freeing of the slaves would bring hardship to the poor widow whose sole support was the slave her husband had left her. The plea comes now, as it did then, from the few beneficiaries of an unjust system, and is echoed—but echoed more faintly with each passing day—by the unthinking mass of the victims.

S. C.

### Edward McHugh.

The announcement of the death of Edward McHugh at Birkenhead, England, on April 13, marks the passing of another veteran in the struggle for social justice. As labor agitator and as follower of Henry George he was an efficient and tireless worker for betterment of conditions. In the year 1881 while a resident of Glasgow his attention was called to some chapters of Progress and Poverty in a radical paper. This led to further reading of the works of Henry George, and enthusiastic advocacy of his doctrines. When the first branch of the Irish Land League was formed outside of Ireland he was made its secretary. When Henry George, as correspondent of the *Irish World* of New York, visited Great Britain in 1882, McHugh organized meetings for him to address in Glasgow and other important cities.



McHugh's work in behalf of English labor has a remarkable number of successful results to its credit. He organized the dock laborers and secured a considerable increase in wages for them. He organized the rack-rented crofters of the Isle of Skye and forced the landlords to concede a heavy reduction in rents. In 1896 he came to the United States to organize the dock laborers here. That kept him in this country until 1899. During that time he did valuable singletax propagandist work. He was an active worker in Henry George's second mayoralty campaign in 1897. On returning to England in 1899 he continued to work for organized labor and economic justice. During the budget campaign of 1909 he was a vigorous campaigner for Lloyd George. In 1911 he visited Australia and New Zealand to work in those countries in behalf of the Joseph Fels Fund. He campaigned there for a year, returning in 1912 to England through the United States. Details concerning his death are lacking but it may well be assumed that while strength remained he was in the fight to which his life was devoted. S. D.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### AMENDING THE SINGLETAX.

Warren, Pa., March 1, 1915.

The Fifth National Conservation Congress, in its report, says that "The Singletax, applied to forests, forces cutting regardless of demand," and then tells us what wasteful destruction of forests will certainly follow from such "cutting regardless of demand," and finally shows us, none too lucidly, the beauties of a "yield tax." This erudite and timely economic instruction has enabled certain "Singletaxers Lim-

ited" to discover that the Singletax would be unjust to Lord Timberland and the lumber trust. It therefore becomes necessary to amend the Singletax so that it won't do such mischief to forestry and such injustice to Lord Timberland and the lumber trust. So the proper resolutions are promptly "resolved" with a "Whereas" telling us that "the taxing annually, as a land value, of standing timber is unjust, encourages the premature cutting of the forests and discourages the practice of forestry." And the question is now before the house, and the Singletax will soon cease to be a harmful and unjust tax if only we fix it with the correct "fixing."

Let us be grateful for kind assistance and—something to vote for before it has been discussed. But ere our hearts begin to swell, let us go back to the starting point of this train of events and look the ground over a little.

Did we start on this business of amending the Singletax from a premise which is a truth, or a premise which is a sophistic falsity?

Look with "the mind's eye" at those words "cutting regardless of demand"; there's a picture back of them, visible to the "eye" that is open to see it—lots of things in that picture—see that fellow with a care-worn face who stands "every inch a man?"—he's a lumberman—see that shallow-headed bloat-belly on legs?—he's Lord Timberland—keep your eyes open—it's a moving picture—keep your ears open; there will be some interesting talking; we are going to touch the button and set the Singletax a-going—see that?—did Lord Timberland hear the words Singletax?—he's put himself out of breath already to get behind the lumberman—now touch the button and see what he does?—poor fellow! See him try to "double up"—it was like a blow in the solar plexus—he must have an awful belly-ache—is he going to have a fit?—see the lumberman—his face brightens up as if he were waking out of a nightmare—see him walk around and back and forth—talking to himself—"Easy to get timber now—wonderful demand for lumber—prices slowly going down—wages going up—but profits far better than ever—bottom knocked out of stumpage—legs closer to mill—mill closer to market—business buzzing—no crazing uncertainties—ready money—life's worth living!—Hello, Lord Timberland! How are you?" "Bad, very bad!—Running down fast—can't live much longer—gotta get things in shape right off—taxes!—taxes!—take that 60,000 acres and make the stumpage fifty per cent less."—"Ha, Ha!—Oh no!—can do much better." Well, put in two more mills, run day and night, take all the timber you want and call the stumpage one-tenth what you paid on that last tract."—"We lumbermen get plenty such invitations to glut the market now-days—we've no capital to fool away in piling up lumber years ahead of the market—better let the timber grow."—"But taxes are eating up the stumpage?"—"Not at all!—you bit off more than you can chew—that's what's the matter—dodge the taxes—you're good at that game."—"Dodge 'em?—how?" "Let your timber land go to tax sale."—"Who'd bid on it?"—"Well, let 'er go then."—"What, give the government the whole thing!"—"Give nothing!—you've got to stop taking—because the government has stopped giving—that's all—I used to stand the racket—you'll have to stand it now—tell you what to do, close out—

save what you can—stop trying to get something for nothing—come in with me—we'll do a rousing big business—you'll save your life and enjoy it better than ever you did." . . . . . Whoop!—the picture has changed a little—two lumbermen instead of one—here comes a fine-looking fellow—shaking hands with the lumbermen—"I'm the head forester of this forestry district"—"Glad to see you—glad you have come."—"Want to get acquainted with folks—you lumbermen and we foresters have got to work together."—"Certainly."—"Of course."—"Well, gentlemen, you'll want to log some of this government timber, by-and-by—when you are ready for it, and you know the government will do the very best it can for you consistent with the people's rights and well-being."—"Certainly, that's all we can ask."—"Certainly."—"So we must keep this timber well protected and constantly growing until it comes to the logging."—"Certainly, of course we must."—"Certainly."—"Headquarters will be at Deer-lick Post Office—telephone connections plenty—if anything goes wrong send me word—tell the boys about it and we'll all work together to keep things in the very best shape possible—I'll be around to see you now and then—good day!"—"Good day!"—"Good day!" . . . . .

Lord Timberland has always shirked a large part of the taxes that the laws have laid upon him. If he had been made to pay those taxes, he never would have been able to monopolize so many square miles of forest lands; and if he were made to pay them now, the government would soon have a good part of his unrighteous holdings. The tax dodging of this speculator has always increased the tax burdens and injured the business of the producers; and this unjust burden has been especially heavy on the agriculturist and the lumberman, whose smaller holdings are more for use than for speculation. "A cutting or yield tax" levied on these producers would be a contemptible injustice; the government has already been well paid for what little stumpage they hold—well paid in the extortionate taxes levied on them. Besides all this, Lord Timberland is the man who got a duty put on Canadian lumber; it raised the value of his stumpage. And he is also the largest stockholder and the real head of the lumber trust. The Singletax can do him no injustice, but is simply a just way to do justice to him and to end the injustice which he is causing. And we must not forget that justice is a natural law ordained by the Infinite Intelligence who is the designer and maker of all things, and that no man will ever be able to show that his law is inexpedient, nor to so amend it as to make it more expedient.

Any man who has land can practice arboriculture, but however extensive his arboriculture may be, it will not be forestry. Forestry can only be practiced on the people's lands for the people's good.

What the National Conservation Congress has to say about the Singletax is not a warning intended to promote forestry, but a plea for Lord Timberland and the lumber trust.

ASHER GEO. BEECHER.



"When two masters fight, the peasant receives the blows."—Polish Proverb.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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Week ending Tuesday, April 20, 1915.

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### Commission on Industrial Relations.

Belvedere Brooks, vice president of the Western Union Telegraph Company, and Edward Reynolds, vice president of the Postal Telegraph Company, declared unalterable hostility to the Commercial Telegraphers' Union before the Commission on Industrial Relations at Chicago on April 13. Mr. Brooks admitted that the operators are underpaid. Mr. Reynolds stoutly insisted that his employes are satisfied. Henry Lynch of Winnipeg, Canada, said that he had been forced to leave the United States because the Western Union and Postal had blacklisted him. Other former employes told of the blacklist on the following day. J. C. Kennedy, Socialist Alderman-elect of Chicago, told the Commission on April 15 of the poor conditions of labor in the Chicago packing houses, and declared that the men are badly in need of organization. Housing conditions in the stockyards district he described as worse than in any other large industrial community. He held that many philanthropic gifts are made to draw attention from bad conditions. J. Ogden Armour, president of the Armour Packing Company, testified on the following day. He objected to Mr. Kennedy's suggestion that his men organize, and said that he felt himself in the position of trustee of their interests. Unions had always worked badly in the stockyards, he declared. His company is capitalized at \$20,000,000. Its dividend rate is 10 per cent, but it has an undivided surplus at present of \$90,000,000. Last year it earned \$7,000,000. [See current volume, page 378.]



### Tax Reform News.

Three bills have been prepared for introduction in the Mississippi legislature by Robert S. Phifer Jr. of Jackson. One is a constitutional amendment for local option in taxation as follows:

Any Levee District, County or Municipality shall have power to exempt from taxation for local purposes, in whole or in part, any one or more of the following classes of property: Improvements over, on, in, or under land; shipping; railroad rolling stock, equipment, rails, crossties, buildings and improvements over, on, in, or under land, or any other personal property; household effects; live stock; merchandist; machinery; tools; farming implements; vehicles; cash; securities; and all personal property except franchises. All real or personal property not exempt from taxation shall be assessed

at its true value. Taxes levied upon property not exempt from taxation shall be uniform.

Another is a proposed legislative enactment applying to farmers, as follows:

That all buildings or other improvements over, on, in, or under land used for agricultural or stock-raising purposes, said land being situated outside of the corporate limits of any municipality, shall be totally exempt from all State, Levee District, and County taxation.

The other bill is as follows:

That all bulls, oxen, cows and calves shall be totally exempted from all State, Levee District, County and Municipal taxation. That all fences, silos and cattle barns situated outside of the corporate limits of any municipality shall be totally exempt from all State, Levee District, and County taxation.



The Massachusetts Supreme Court on April 12 declared unconstitutional four tax reform bills pending in the legislature. These provided for taxation at different rates of different forms of property and also for income taxes. [See current volume, page 308.]



In the Houston Press of April 15, Tax Commissioner Pastoriza tells of public effort by opponents of the Houston plan to secure a compromise. Mr. Pastoriza says in part:

Since a few of the taxpayers of Houston secured the order from Judge Read on March 3, I have been too busy trying to enforce that order to pay any attention to the various attempts that have been made to draw me into a newspaper correspondence. Since, however, there seems to be a general misunderstanding regarding the manner in which the city is assessing property for the year 1915, I take this method of stating the full facts. The Houston plan contemplates that buildings should be assessed at a less percentage of their value than land. This was done. The Houston plan recognized that in order to build up a city we must encourage money to come to our banks, so that it could get into circulation; therefore, the Houston plan totally exempted money from taxation. It also exempted notes and other evidences of debts so that interest would not be high.

This was the condition when Messrs. Meyer, Settegast, et al. secured the celebrated order from Judge Read, which order compels the city to assess all forms of property equally and uniformly, and not to exempt any single one, unless exempted by the constitution of the state. This is the way Houston is assessing property at this time, although I believe that it is very destructive to the future of Houston to continue this constitutional taxation; still we will be compelled to do so, or be in contempt of the court, and liable to imprisonment for same.

During this week the chairman of this committee called at my office and asked me if I would be willing to meet the taxpayers who had brought the suit in a compromising spirit. I replied that I would,

and that just as soon as they withdrew their suit, the city would be in a position to stop taxing money and mortgages and household furniture. So the chairman told his committee and interviewed Messrs. Meyer, Settegast and W. H. Wilson, their attorney, and tried to get them to agree to compromise, so that the city could be free to cease driving money out of the city by taxing it, and by increasing the rate of interest by taxing mortgages. These gentlemen positively refused to do anything.

From this you must conclude that the responsibility of a failure to modify the carrying out of the order of the court in regard to the taxing problem of the city of Houston must rest with the men who brought the suit and not with the city administration.

[See current volume, page 331.]



### Illinois Singletax Conference.

The Conference of Illinois Singletaxers, called by the Chicago Singletax Club to effect a State organization, met in Chicago on the 17th and 18th. A working organization, under the name of the Illinois Singletax League, was formed, of which Louis Wallis is President and Hugh M. Reid is Secretary. Communications to either the President or Secretary may be addressed to 508 Schiller Building, Chicago. The President and Secretary are empowered to name an executive committee. A finance committee of five was named by the Conference, with power to add to its numbers. The present members are Otto Cullman, E. J. Batten, Jay D. Miller, Fay Lewis, and Stanley Bowmar.



### Proportional Representation for Municipalities.

Speaking before the Chamber of Commerce of Ashtabula, Professor A. R. Hatton, teacher of political science at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, and a member of the recent Charter Commission, made an earnest plea for the proportional representation amendment to the Ashtabula charter. He said in part:

It is a fact that in respect to new modes of better municipal government the smaller cities of the world have taken the lead, and like Ashtabula, are blazing the way for reforms in our larger cities. As a member of the charter commission of Cleveland, I can say frankly that many of the splendid things we adopted in our charter were not new with us, but were taken from the experiences of smaller cities. I congratulate the charter commission of Ashtabula, that in drawing the charter they provide for the business-manager plan, for that plan is coming to be the most popular by far of all the new form of municipal government. It has developed with rapid strides not only in this country but in England and cities on the continent; in short, it seems to be the necessary step if we are to obtain the highest degree of efficiency from our city governments.

In the United States we are beginning to get away from the idea of the middle ages, so long fos-

tered by makers of our municipal governments. We have gotten over the idea that the city must be operated like the state and nation, and its governmental affairs modeled after the state and nation. Cities nowadays have come to see that the old "two house" council plan is a relic of the past. On the other hand, the state and nation are beginning to model from the cities, and I dare say that within ten years the state legislatures will have but one house, for there is no need for more. The legislature of Ohio does not need two houses any more than I need three legs.

The point I want to make is that cities are making progress. If any man fifteen years ago had told me of the progress that American cities would make in that length of time I would have called him an idle dreamer.

The chief step you have made in Ashtabula toward better government may not have occurred to some of you. The city-manager idea in itself may appeal to many of you as a panacea for all the ills with which you are now afflicted, but in the end the greatest aim of the new form of government is that at last you will be able to separate politics from the purely administrative affairs of your city.

There is a place for politics, but it is not in the administrative affairs of a city. You can never get rid of politics entirely, nor do you want to, because politics is a difference of opinions, and so far as the council of your city is concerned you want opinions and you want to elect men to that body because of their policies and opinions. However, when once the policy is determined, there is no reason why the action of the executive who administers the policy should be colored with personal politics.

Now the adoption of the city-manager plan does not mean that you will keep out of politics; it means that you will have a good chance to keep out of politics, and it is here where the proportional representation amendment comes in.

In the first place, any body or organization which legislates for a people should be governed by two principles. First, it ought to reflect the will of the majority of the people of the community; in other words, the majority should rule. Second, it ought to be representative of the community; in other words, it should represent the large groups of opinion in the community. . . . Under the plan as at present provided in your charter the council will be elected at large, and one-factional rule will be possible because a group in a city which can carry one candidate can carry them all. Thus, one group can, and often will, rule a city.

The amendment as proposed would remedy this defect in your present charter. In reading it over I am greatly impressed with its ingenuity and completeness. The only thing against it is that people do not understand it and that is no reason at all.

To be very brief, the proportional representation plan is a scheme whereby majority rule will be given, but at the same time the minority will have some representation. The plan works out something like this:

Instead of dividing the city into wards and electing one man from each ward, which admits of much evil, it is possible to have the council so constructed that the constituency is not made up from geo-

graphical lines, but by the number of people composing that constituency. The constituency is divided by opinions rather than by geographical lines. You have a representative council and a majority council at the same time.

At the present time you do not get the type of men in your councils you should. Business men who would give the business interests of a city the right kind of support in council do not run for council seats because they know it would be useless under the present system. Under the proposed amendment, men of this type could be sent to the legislative bodies because proportional representation makes it sure that any constituency can elect its man.

The great danger of the city-manager plan is this: It opens a way for the council to hire a manager because of his political affiliations alone. If you leave the method of election as it now stands, this danger is confronting you. But if you construct a council which not only represents a majority, but also other groups, then you have provided the greatest preventive for the danger of a manager being employed for solely political reasons. In spite of the virtues of the city-manager plan, which I believe is far superior to any plan of city government, there is this lurking danger if you use the system of election as your charter now provides.

I will venture to say that if you men take a copy of this amendment home with you and read it through, you will be in favor of it. It is not difficult to understand. Neither is it a socialistic or solely a laboring man's doctrine; it is a doctrine of broad and highly intelligent men and is one which will particularly appeal to men of the business type. In theory it is right, in practice it is right, and mathematically it is absolutely accurate. To my mind it is the fairest method of election known.



#### Roosevelt on the Peace Movement.

In a letter to Mrs. George Rublee of the Woman's Party for Constructive Peace, published on April 16, Theodore Roosevelt said in part:

I assume from your letter that you have not read my recent little book called "America and the World War," and that you wish my judgment about joining the peace organization of which you write. I emphatically advise you not to join such an organization. The platform of principles inclosed in your letter seems to me both silly and base. . . .

Fifty years ago the Copperheads of the North held exactly the views about peace which are set forth in the platform you inclosed, and to a man they voted against Abraham Lincoln. They did all they could to break up the Union and to insure the triumph of slavery, because they put peace as the highest of all good; just exactly as it is put by the people who have constructed that paper you sent me. Some of the finest and most honorable men I have known in my life were former Copperheads. . . . A very large proportion of the peace at any price or copperhead sympathizers were undoubtedly physical cowards; and equally undoubtedly a very large proportion of ultra-pacifists of today who uphold such views as those outlined in the paper you inclosed, in championing peace without

regard to righteousness, are really most influenced by physical cowardice. They fear death or pain or discomfort beyond anything else and like to hide their fear behind high-sounding words.

I speak with scientific accuracy when I speak of this movement as both base and silly. It is silly because it is absolutely futile. It proposes to go on with just the same kind of futile agitation which, by the experience of a century and, above all, by the experience of the last thirty years, has proved wholly useless and on the whole slightly mischievous. . . . It is base as well as futile. There is nothing more repulsive than to see people agitating for general righteousness in the abstract when they dare not stand up against wickedness in the concrete. On the whole there is nothing that does so much damage to a church as to have a minister who thunders continually against wrong in the abstract, or against wrong committed by the Pharisees a couple of thousand years ago, but who cannot be persuaded to stand up against present-day wrong in the concrete; and the professional pacifist leaders in the United States are in exactly this position. . . . Any movement that speaks against war in terms that would apply as much to such a war as that waged by Lincoln as to the war waged to destroy free people is a thoroughly base and evil thing. . . . Above all it is base and evil to clamor for peace in the abstract, when silence is kept about concrete and hideous wrongs done to humanity at this very moment. Belgium has been trampled into bloody mire. . . . Yet this paper you inclose does not contain one protest against the commission of such wrongs as have been committed on Belgium, and does denounce war in such fashion as to include in the condemnation the Belgians just as much as the oppressors of Belgium. . . .

Let the people who advocate the platform and principles you inclosed hold a meeting specifically to denounce the invasion of Belgium by Germany and to demand that in the interests of peace the United States do what it can to put a stop to those wrongs.

Let them denounce Messrs. Wilson and Bryan for trying to force through the ship purchase bill, which was in the interest of the power that wronged Belgium and in spite of the fact that their action might tend to bring us into war with the powers that have sought to defend Belgium.

Let them do something that shows that they mean what they say and that they are really striving for righteousness.



#### European War.

Russia has extended her lines a little farther in the Carpathians, but the Austrians still hold Uzsok and Veresczke passes, which the Russians must take before they can safely advance into Hungary. Petrograd claims a pronounced advantage in present positions. It is rumored that more German troops are being sent to the assistance of the Austrians. Operations in the West indicate increasing offensive movements on the part of the Allies. The French claim continued small advances in Alsace, and at Arras. A small advance of the Belgians is reported on the Yser near Dix-

mude; and the British report an advance south of Ypres. The Germans appear to be on the defensive and report unbroken lines. As the weather becomes settled greater activity is expected at all points. Bombardments in the Dardanelles have been intermittent, and without decided results. The torpedoing of a British transport by a Turkish submarine gives color to rumors that the Allies are sending troops to the Dardanelles. [See current volume, page 382.]



The advent of better flying weather has been followed by increased activity on the part of Zeppelins and aeroplanes. Zeppelins visited England twice during the week, apparently for scouting purpose, and to determine the range of action of the airships. A large number of bombs were dropped, but little material damage was done. A German taube also visited England and approached within five miles of London. The impression is that a visit of German airships in force may take place at any time. Preliminary experiences, however, seemed to have removed much of the dread that people had at the beginning of the war. French and British aeroplanes bombarded German military points, and German aeroplanes returned the compliment.



No new developments are to be noted in sea operations, aside from the sinking of a Dutch vessel by a German submarine. This has awakened much resentment in Holland, and some papers demand armed resistance. A number of British fishing boats were torpedoed, one of which is reported to have lost its entire crew because the submarine would not permit another fishing boat to approach. No large vessels were reported lost during the week.



Negotiations between Austria and Italy are reported to be drawing to a close, with no indications of agreement, and with increasing restlessness on the part of the people. The Balkan countries are plainly awaiting a decisive turn of fortune before venturing into the arena of war. Rumors of peace continue, but the unofficial terms advanced by the partisans are so far apart that more fighting must precede acceptance. The statement issued by the trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace says:

The undersigned have been associated for some years in the execution of a trust to promote international peace and our duties have involved a continual survey of the efforts to that end throughout the world.

We wish to say to all friends of peace that the dreadful war now raging affords no just cause for discouragement, no discredit to past efforts, and no

reason to doubt that still greater efforts in the future may be effective and useful.

The war itself is teaching the gospel of peace through a lesson so shocking and so terrible that the most indifferent cannot fail to attend and understand it.

Not only have the destruction of life, the devastation and the suffering in the warring countries passed all experience, but the cessation of production, the closing of markets, the blocking of trade routes, the interruption of exchanges, have affected industry and caused ruin and poverty in all the peaceful countries of the world.

The universal interdependence of nations has been demonstrated and the truth forced upon every mind that the peace of all nations is the vital concern of every nation.

To cast our weak protest now among the tremendous forces that are urging on the great conflict would be futile, but the end of this war will come before long, and then the great question will stand for answer:

Shall the lesson be forgotten, the sacrifice lost?

That question the belligerent nations will have the power to answer; but every one in the world will be entitled to be heard upon it, for it will be a question of civilization, the most momentous of our era.

It seems incredible that after the war, stricken people will set their feet in the same old paths of policy and suspicion which must lead them again to the same result.

Finding expression through a great multitude of voices everywhere the general public opinion of mankind should influence the minds of the negotiators who settle the terms of peace and inspire them to a new departure in the establishment of justice as the rule of international relations.

While we must not be overconfident of our individual qualifications to point out the detailed methods through which the result may be accomplished, we still may advocate measures which seem practicable and appropriate to the purpose.

We can see that definite rules of national conduct should be agreed upon; that a court of competent jurisdiction should be established to judge of national conformity to those rules, and that new sanctions should be provided to compel respect for the judgments rendered.

Above all the move and spirit of the new institutions should be clearly and fully not the promotion of ambition or the extension of power, but the safeguarding of human rights and the perfection of individual liberty.

Toward this high end the courage and hope and conviction of the humblest citizen of the most distant land may contribute.

Joseph H. Choate, Andrew D. White, John W. Foster, Elihu Root, Luke E. Wright, Charlemagne Tower, Robert S. Woodward, Austin G. Fox, Jacob G. Schmidlapp, Thomas Burke, Robert S. Brookings, Oscar S. Straus, Samuel Mather, James L. Slayden, John Sharp Williams, Charles L. Taylor, Henry S. Pritchett, William M. Howard, Cleveland H. Dodge, Robert A. Franks, George W. Perkins, Nicholas Murray Butler, Andrew J. Montague, Arthur William Foster, James Brown Scott.

### China and Japan.

Negotiations in Peking between China and Japan over the latter's demands for Chinese concessions, and rights amounting to a Japanese suzerainty, have reached a deadlock. China demands the withdrawal of group 5, which contains some of the most important of the Japanese demands. The Japanese representative has forwarded the request to his home government. It is understood that China will communicate with the powers unless Japan yields. American merchants in China have called the attention of the American government to what they term "the serious nature of the Japanese demands." [See current volume, page 360.]



Leaders of the Chinese National Association have issued a call for a convention of representatives of Chinese revolutionary societies in the United States to meet in San Francisco, July 24 to August 3, for the purpose of devising means of unseating Yuan Shi Kai, President of China. Reports from China are to the effect that there is growing activity among the revolutionists. It is rumored that Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who has been hiding in Japan, is receiving Japanese money and arms.



### Mexico.

Indications are that the tide of war is going against General Villa at present. George C. Carothers, special agent of the State Department at Washington, confirms earlier reports of General Obregon's triumph at Celaya. Mr. Carothers, who is with the Villa forces, gives that General's losses as 6,000 men. General Villa is trying to rally his forces as he retreats northward. It is expected that he will make a stand at Aguas Calientes. The Villa troops besieging Matamoros have been called southward to re-enforce the main army at Aguas Calientes. Dispatches from the west coast report the collapse of the Villa movement there, and the ascendancy of the Carranza forces within a few days. [See current volume, page 382.]



General Huerta, in New York, made public on the 16th a statement of his relations with the Mexican revolution. He declared that he had nothing whatever to do with the killing of President Madero. He admitted knowing who killed him, but declared it a professional secret that he was not permitted to reveal. He charged the Administration at Washington with being unfair to him and to Mexico, but said that was due to false information. He closed his statement with these words:

I have hopes. My Mexico is young. My Mexico has plenty of life in it. Mexico will be saved by a Mexican. By a strong Mexican. Not by a bandit. Where is the man? Who is the man? When will the man appear? I do not know.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Former Senator Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island died on April 16 at New York in his 74th year. [See vol. xiv, pp. 1162, 1169.]

—Senator Poindexter of Washington, elected as a Progressive, announced on April 17 his intention to seek re-election as a Republican.

—The damage suit of William Barnes against Theodore Roosevelt for libel began on April 19 at Syracuse. [See current volume, page 238.]

—The Calumet and Hecla Mining Company of Calumet, Michigan, announced an increase of ten per cent in wages on April 15. [See vol. xvii, p. 372.]

—Governor Fielder of New Jersey reappointed on April 13 William S. Gummere as Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court. [See current volume, page 379.]

—The finance committee of the City Council of Sydney, Australia, has recommended the exemption of improvements from taxation. It is thought the recommendation will be adopted.

—Eighteen of the Latin-American nations have formally accepted invitations to send delegates to the Pan-American financial conference to be held in Washington, beginning May 24.

—Grazing permits on National Forests for 1915 will contribute to the public revenues \$1,200,000. The forests will furnish forage for 1,983,775 cattle and horses, 8,747,025 sheep and goats, and 64,040 swine.

—The United States Supreme Court on April 19 refused a writ of habeas corpus to Leo Frank, convicted of murder at Atlanta, Ga. Justices Hughes and Holmes dissented from the opinion. An appeal for commutation of Frank's sentence has now been made to the Governor. [See current volume, pages 9 and 18.]

—Both houses of the Illinois legislature defeated a resolution to amend the amending clause of the constitution so as to allow submission of three amendments at one time. The Senate voted on it on April 13 and the House on April 14. It received a majority in both houses, but lacked the necessary two-thirds vote.

—Eleven thousand carpenters struck in Chicago on April 16 demanding an increase of wages to 70 cents an hour. The employers thereupon locked out the union painters, lathers and sheet metal workers on their refusal to sign a peace agreement. On April 19 the carpenters signed an agreement to arbitrate at the request of the State Board of Conciliation. The Board has now taken up the matter with the employers.

—A stampede in Seward and neighboring Alaskan points followed the rumor that the Alaskan engineering commission had decided to throw open to settlement the sixty-acre terminal tract at Seward acquired with the purchase of the Alaska Northern Railroad. Prominent business men and several women were among the squatters, many of whom have armed themselves to prevent claim-jumping. [See current volume, page 378.]

Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see current volume, page 206) for the eight months ending February, 1915, as given by Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce for February, 1915, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance, exp.
Merchandise .....	\$1,633,387,905	\$1,055,631,627	\$577,756,278
Gold .....	140,387,009	46,267,209	94,119,800
Silver .....	34,705,211	18,055,601	16,649,610
Total .....	\$1,808,480,125	\$1,119,954,437	\$688,525,688

The exports of merchandise for February, 1915, the seventh month of the European war, were \$298,727,757, as compared with \$173,920,145 for February, 1914, and \$193,996,942 in 1913. The imports for February, 1915, were \$125,123,391, as compared with \$148,044,776 in February, 1914, and \$149,913,918 in 1913. American imports for February, 1915, are \$10,466,846 greater than in December, 1914, when they reached the lowest point since the war. The exports for February, 1915, were \$188,360,263 in excess of the exports for August, 1914, the lowest point during the war.

## PRESS OPINIONS

### Frank Walsh's Offense.

William L. Chenery, in Chicago Herald, April 17.—Many of the social workers and economists of the country dislike the United States commission on industrial relations, which has been holding public hearings in Chicago during the last fortnight. Another group is convinced that the commission is an advance on any governmental body which has entered the acrimonious field of industrial relations. They who dislike the commission belong roughly to the fraternity of expert technicians. They believe that it is much more important to work out the statistics of an evil to the fifteenth decimal point than it is to convince any considerable portion of the public that the evil can be remedied. They are closet philosophers. Speaking audibly seems to them essentially vulgar and ill bred. They crave neat reports in forty or more volumes. The commission, on the other hand, seems to be acting on the principle that an aroused public mind must precede and guarantee any important change in the nation. The commission appears to be collecting the material for its forty volumes, but at the same time it is talking in loud tones to the entire people.



### A Sample of Monopoly Campaigning.

Reedy's Mirror (St. Louis), April 16.—Someone sends me a magazine called Public Service, containing an article headed, "St. Louis Water Works Run at a Loss for Last Ten Years." The article is just a plain lie. The St. Louis water works department is the most conspicuous example of successful municipal ownership and operation of a public utility in the United States. It does not necessarily follow that municipal electric lighting or municipal street car service would be a success here, but the public service corporations, in whose interest Public Service is published, do not help the cause of opposition

to municipal ownership by publishing such glaring falsehoods. If all the other articles in that periodical showing where municipal ownership of this, that or the other public utility has been a failure are no better grounded on fact than the article which was sent me for my misinformation, the magazine will do the corporations more harm than good. For myself, I shall never believe anything I may see or hear quoted from Public Service.



### Letters That Came Too Late.

The Truth Seeker (New York), Feb. 20.—The following paragraph is having its day in the press, to the amusement of readers and the hilarity of nations:

A letter was sent a few days ago to Oliver Goldsmith in care of certain New York publishers who recently issued a gift edition of "The Vicar of Wakefield." The epistle was from a clipping bureau and contained several printed notices. It suggested that the author would probably desire to learn everything the newspapers said about him and his work. The bureau would on its account be glad to furnish the writer with information concerning the progress his new book was making in public favor, and the prospective reception that any further production of his would receive.

It looks improbable that a literary bureau should have an employe who does not know that Goldsmith died one hundred and forty years ago; yet we got a similar message not long since, addressed to "Mr. Edward Gibbon" in our care. The sender had seen a review of "History of Christianity," and the Press Clipping Bureau with which he was connected wished an order from Mr. Gibbon to gather and transmit to him "100 items as gathered" concerning his book. The card stated that the Bureau "reads all newspapers published everywhere." Evidently the reader had overlooked the notice of Mr. Edward Gibbon's death, which occurred in 1794.

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### UNENDING CONFLICT.

By Henry Slade Goff.

Not that I love the few the less,  
 But the masses much the more;  
 And not that I wish any man distress,  
 Else poor were my writing's score.  
 But the thoughts that have come to me in verse,  
 As the years in their courses ran,  
 I have uttered, that tendencies toward the worse  
 Might be changed for the good of man.

Not the rights of a single soul would I take,  
 Be he pauper or millionaire;  
 But I battle the men that would strive to make  
 The unfair seem the fair.  
 And not in my heart is a single thought  
 Of ill will toward the few;  
 But I battle the wrongs that the few have brought,  
 The old wrongs and the new.

To every man under the dome of the sky  
 I would that all blessings might fall,

Be his rank with the lowly or with the high,  
 Or under or over all.  
 But the men that grind sore all the masses of men,  
 Their own sordid gains to secure,  
 These, these I would battle again and again,  
 And as long as life's strength shall endure.

The earth and its fullness is gift of our God  
 To His children, the weak and the strong;  
 And enough is the gift for each child of the sod,  
 Were there never a grinding wrong.  
 But over and over and over again,  
 The roll of the centuries through,  
 As an old wrong dies must the children of men  
 Give battle to one that is new.

And yet in the fullness of God's own time,  
 The high and the lowly shall know  
 That a wrong against man is the basest of crime,  
 And is certain of overthrow.  
 And yet in the rounding of God's great plan,  
 Each child of his Maker shall seek  
 The paramount good of earth's every man,  
 And the earth shall take care of the weak.



## MODERN SLAVERY IN LOUISIANA

By Maynard Holbrook Jackson in *The Crisis*.

Jean had decided to disgrace his slave fathers—nay, more, to sell his soul—for his chance had come to get the ever-elusive gold. Father Pierre carried a bag in his cape pocket, for had he not given Jean's sick child a few cents from it that very morning? And now Jean had deliberately planned to steal the charity bag, to rob the Lord. After all, none seemed to care for his troubles and to sympathize with him—unless it were Barbette and the "Mother Mary." So it was that honest old Jean freely doomed himself to perdition, to the unpardonable sin, for a paltry bit of gold. The priest would come that night to see the sick child, Marie; then he would get the bag; he could feel it in his hands already, even stood smilingly weighing it, feeling the golden pieces.

It had not been without effort that old Jean had come to his decision. He had carefully weighed the two issues—weighed them with great precaution—and he had taken his choice. Nor was it because Hell was not a reality to him; he believed most vividly in the sea of fire and brimstone and dreaded most definitely the life of everlasting punishment. In fact, Jean had always planned to spend eternity in the land of golden streets and great white thrones and had long been an ardent devotee of the church. The decision had been deliberate. The choice included the damnation of his soul as well as the bag; Jean knew it and chose the bag unflinchingly. . . .

Old Jean was a Creole Negro; his mother was a slave of pure African descent; his father was her French master. He and his mother had been sold when the father found another favorite, and when

freedom came they were upon the Lesage plantation, far down into the rich Mississippi delta, which smiled with almost extravagant bounty. . . .

When the glad word came to the Lesage place, a year after the Emancipation Proclamation had been published, Francois Lesage, owner and operator of a great sugar plantation, had magnanimously offered his assistance to his former bondsmen in that they might remain upon his place and work for him at a "reasonable" consideration. And his logic seemed fair to those poor, credulous progers, for it was as he said, "I have the land, the plows, the cattle, the seed—everything; you have nothing; now, I am willing to give you all you may need if you will stay and help me." And Jean and his mother had remained, toiling, suffering, always looking forward to the time when they might escape the wolf.

Then, when the mother had died, Jean decided to leave the fields of cane and cotton and seek the great, strange world where money was to be found everywhere, and where, he had once heard from some mysterious and unauthentic source, there was even a black man who owned the land which he cultivated. But he would stay and save a little money with which to make the journey; then he would go to the great city, New Orleans, of which his mother had so often spoken.

It was a painful task, this saving of enough to get some tough shoes and a new pair of cotton breeches so that he might go to the far-off world. The generous employer, Lesage, paid him twenty cents a day for his nominal wage and in turn had given him permission to run an account at the Lesage grocery, so that "he need never feel the pangs of hunger." The poor fellow began to save some of his twenty cents; it took ten cents a day for rice and beans, and then there was the bread, the occasional tobacco, the clothing, and other little items. He cut the tobacco from the list; a cotton jacket was made to last twice as long; then, too, he began to eat less—but a huge frame like his called for much food; he began to make his supper upon the sugar cane, and Barbette, the hands' cook, was kind, helping him with a pone of bread at intervals. So it was that, after four years, he finally saved ten dollars—enough to give him his desire. Very likely he owed for a bit of cotton cloth, a sun hat or some such trifling article, at the Lesage store; he would pay this and then make his way to the land of plenty. He would ask but one thing of the master—permission to go. He went to the store at Christmas time. The owner heard him with uplifted brows, startled at finding that monster, Ambition, upon his estate; but his answer showed no surprise or indecision: "Jean, you are a debtor now. You cannot leave until you pay me all."

"But, Master, I has something fer to pay yo' now," Jean answered in his broken accent, which smacked of his French forefather.

"What have you, Jean?"

"A bag full, Master; I don' know jes' how much, but you kin count it."

The rich Lesage took the greasy little bag and counted—one, two, three, four paper dollars; a five-dollar gold piece, and a dollar in pennies and nickels—ten dollars.

"Take what's yo' part, Master, and I'll take de rest and go."

"Jean," came the cold judgment, "you lack five dollars. You must pay me all."

Jean was brave and began the old, painful process all over again. He would work harder this year that he might wring some extra profit from the acres entrusted to him. He worked in the dusky hours of early dawn and far into the moonlit night. The other year had found him lazy and extravagant, he argued, but this year he would do his best; yet at the end of the year the debt was still on the side of the owner.

At last the Christmas came, when Jean made up his mind to leave by stealth. He had often seen the great ships going on to New Orleans and he had planned, more than once, to steal aboard along with the barrels of molasses and sugar that formed a regular shipment from the Lesage wharf. So it was that he hid himself in the hold of the big barge that came at the week-end and started for his land of promise. But they found him, the free slave, and took him back; and the kindly Lesage reasoned with him: "My son, why should you leave such a gracious employer, such a comfortable home? Have I not always given you food, clothing, shelter, although you owe me much? Would you leave such a master, and you, his debtor? Think well, boy; make yourself satisfied with such good fortune! Get yourself a wife and I will make you an overseer; even give you more money!"

Jean went again to his work; but with a broken purpose. He felt he could never save enough to free himself of the pernicious debt. He began to get tobacco again, to eat more of the fine, white bread from the Lesage commissary. Once he even took a day off to make love to Barbette from sunrise to twilight; in fact, Barbette was a great check upon Jean, for he feared to leave her with those dancing black eyes and winning smile, while he sought his fortune in the country over beyond Bayou D' La Fouche. What was the use of trying to do impossible things, after all? Jean and Barbette became one; then there were two mouths to feed and the dream-world began slowly to fade.

Then the children came—two robust boys and a beautiful, black-eyed girl. As soon as they could toddle they were in the fields with the father, sowing, plowing, reaping—sowing, plowing, reaping. Once again the youthful fire was kindled in Jean's bosom, and he swore by the Holy Virgin that he would leave his innocent children free to go into

the great world and perhaps some day they would learn to read from the great books that looked like huge catechisms—like those of the master. So they labored and stinted and suffered, but the pennies accumulated more and more slowly, until Jean, now old and silver-headed, feared that he should die before the debt was paid; and then—

Jean's thoughts were no longer of himself; he had given up his fond dreams of the golden world, sadly, unwillingly; he thought now of the children and prayed that they be not subjects of the Lesage debt.

Thus Jean Lesage had deliberately chosen to send his soul to the world of shades for a bag of gold, for means to pay the perpetual, ever-increasing debt. When the priest came that night Jean was, as ever before, talkative, even severely loquacious—but every word, every act, was a lie and guilt was written deep in his aged heart. When the priest knelt to pray, the old sufferer slipped from the room unnoticed and tremblingly got the longed-for gold into his hands—felt it—hard, chill, gold, yellow tyrant that rules the world and tortures its subjects at will. The old man paused for the first time; how could he explain to Barbette and the boys? Would they know he was a thief? What would Barbette say? Dear, faithful, bent-backed old Barbette! How would the lads feel when he was gone? Would they know he had been dishonest—a thief? The die was cast! He must be a debtor no longer! His children must reach the wonderful world!

The next morning Jean added his little savings to the stolen gold and made his way to the administrator's office. If they asked about the money he would say he had found it hidden in the old marsh or that he had saved it through many years.

The manager of the estate smiled as Jean entered. Everyone respected the worth and honesty of this old man and gave him some sort of deference. The manager's voice had the suggestion of warmth in it as he spoke:

"Mornin', Jean, what can I do for you so early?"

"I've done come to pay my debt, Mars Roland, and here's de money!"

He spread the coins out upon the old stone table that would have cried out in behalf of perjured freedom, had it a mouth. He spread them out tenderly, lovingly, stopping often to count on his fingers or to fondle some shining piece.

"Now, gimme my papers, Mars Roland!" He said it joyfully.

"When I have counted your money, then I shall give you a receipt—your receipt in full. Give me Jean's bill, Francis!"

He counted the golden pieces and then the others; ninety dollars in all. Finally the clerk handed him a slip, with a knowing glance. The administrator labored over the calculation, counted and recounted. So much figuring on such a small account!

Jean was dreaming; he was far away from the administrator's office, wandering in fields of his own, his children happy and free, Barbette bustling in their own cabin; he would die and go to purgatory, thankful. The manager was speaking in the sonorous voice which he assumed for official matters:

"Jean Lesage—'one hundred and fifty dollars.' Jean, you are still in debt!"



### THE GLORY OF WAR!

For The Public.

See, the once green fields are crimson  
With the blood of many slain,  
And the wrecks which once were human  
Nature's beauty doth profane.

Lying ghastly in the sunlight,  
Food for vultures, let them feed.  
Human flesh is not considered  
When it vies with human greed.

Slay them, kill them by the thousand,  
Bare their breasts to shot and shell,  
Men are cattle to a nation  
When it wages battle—HELL!

Dry your tears, O widow, orphan,  
Mother weeping for thy son.  
Soldiers are but human targets,  
Think of glorious victories won!

Take him from the field of carnage,  
He yet lives—a ghastly sight.  
Perfect manhood gone forever,  
But it was a wondrous fight!

Days of suffering, nights eternal,  
With a body racked by pain,  
"God in heaven," he cries in anguish,  
"Would I were among the slain!"

Christian people, Christian nations,  
Let your prayers for victory cease,  
To the God of hideous battles,  
GOD is only God of peace.

Would you mock the great Creator,  
Ask a blessing on a cause  
Marked by bloodshed, wanton slaughter,  
Out of touch with all His laws?

Know ye not that God created  
Man for love, and joy, and peace?  
And no nation call ye CHRISTIAN  
Until cruel wars shall cease.

ANNA W. RUST.



True glory consists in so living as to make the world happier and better for your living.—Pliny.



In the old time children were whipped up. Later they were dragged up. Then they were brought up. Now we let them grow up. Education by assault and battery is unfashionable.—Bolton Hall, in *Life*.

## BOOKS

### THE MAN AND HIS TIME.

**Abraham Lincoln.** By Rose Strunsky. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$2.25 net.

**Lincoln and Slavery.** By Albert E. Pillsbury. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 1913. Price, 75 cents net.

It must be confessed that one is likely to regard a new life of Lincoln with doubt of finding any least anecdote that has not been recounted by faithful biographers in the last fifty years.

But time, like distance, gives a new aspect to familiar objects; and a new viewpoint changes the character of the subject we had supposed settled and done for. It is hardly to be expected that the later students of our great national crisis should accept the standards of earlier historians and biographers, and it is to find the perspective of this new study of Lincoln and his times that one is drawn to review it.

Rose Strunsky tells us that it was not slavery but property in land that was the real cause of the Civil War and she supports her statement by reciting the historic facts which led up to the crisis of 1860. "From the very beginning the approach of the Old World towards the New was only for exploitation and profit. . . . Monopoly of the land was easy, but labor was difficult to find. . . . It was only the bewildered Negro who could be brought into the strange land and be kept in bondage forever."

And through the years in which the New Republic was growing in power and privilege it was the increasing demand for slave territory that led to the struggle which eventually freed the slaves as a matter of expediency. Lincoln, as a representative of the common people, "was more than a mere individual. . . . Whatever were the ideals and desires and faults of the common people of his day were the ideals and desires and faults of Abraham Lincoln. . . . To know him we must know the nation. Upon the foundation he helped to lay stands the social order, good or bad, which we enjoy at present."

This is doubtful praise if we regard the social order of the present in some of its aspects, but Lincoln's biographer in this case indulges in no hero worship. The plain truths of a life that made history are told with a view to issues that are yet unsettled; for the real cause of the war, according to our author's vision, was not removed by the Emancipation Proclamation. Nonetheless, Lincoln's abhorrence of slavery is distinctly shown by Rose Strunsky as well as by Albert E. Pillsbury, who in his small volume entitled "Lincoln and Slavery" brings ample testimony in denial of

the claim of many that Lincoln came "hesitating and reluctant to the Emancipation and decreed the freedom of millions as an unavoidable move in the game of war."

That the sympathies of the "People's Hero" were always with the oppressed, whether black or white, the records of his life unquestionably show. And it is as the moving spirit of moral reform in his generation and in the generations coming after him that Abraham Lincoln is presented in Rose Strunsky's clear, direct, logical way. That his influence did not fail with his sudden exit from the stage of action is evident from the claim that every party is making to the adoption of his honest and patriotic principles, however far short each party may fall in the establishment of such principles.

A. L. M.

## PERIODICALS

### A Word to the War Department.

The Forum of December, 1914, published a letter by James Howard Kehler addressed to the Federal Administration officials and to the public, beginning: "I beg respectfully to suggest that the department of Government now known as the War Department hereafter be called the Peace Department; that its Ministers hereafter be known as Secretaries of Peace; that what are known as War Policies hereafter may be known as Peace Policies." "My proposal," he explains, "is simply that they be called such, that our terminology be revised to accord with our practices, our intentions, and the ideals of the present day." The letter and its supporting argument have this year been republished in booklet form by Mitchell Kennerley, New York. But the author's premise is wrong. Armies are not and can not be peace instruments—nor can navies, and calling them so will only add hypocrisy to expense. The constant carrier of a deadly weapon can be neither a consistent nor a brave peace advocate. Name our War Department for one of its constructive functions, if somebody likes, sanitation, navigation, engineering,—but do not confound psychological confusion by plastering a peace sign over army headquarters.

A. L. G.



### Norman Angell on the War.

"We must all realize . . . that this thing for which Europe is now offering daily its holocaust of men, women and children, is not merely an empty and futile thing, but positively evil in its moral and material results to victor and vanquished alike; that this conception of force which it involves as the basis of men's relations, the idea that a group must either dominate or be dominated, is in a world which is necessarily a world of partnership and co-operation, a conception which sets the facts at naught; that it must necessarily misdirect the energies of men and in political practice end in disaster; that the belief that peace is best secured by large armaments, that only by armed strength can states exist, is an evil sophism; that to treat mutual confidence between

states and the attempt to form a society of nations based, as all societies must be, upon adherence to some compact rooted in common interest, as idle utopianism, is to paralyze efforts essential to a sound civilization. . . . The establishment of peace in Europe is a matter of the establishment of right ideas as to the relationship of nations, above all, a correction of the idea as to the value of political power. . . . This political domination over other men is, in terms of the deepest realities of human feeling, an empty and futile thing which adds neither to the dignity nor happiness of those who exercise it, and has in it an infinity of moral danger from which no people in history has yet escaped, and never can in the nature of things escape."—Norman Angell's essay in the Yale Review of January last, on America and the European War, has been reprinted in pamphlet form by the World Peace Foundation (40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston), for free distribution. Those who believe that the European war is a life and death struggle between democracy and autocracy can not wholly agree with Mr. Angell on the right road to peace. Very much that he says, however, is true. At any rate the Norman Angell point of view is one of the paragraphs in current history.

A. L. G.



A cub reporter, after spreading himself on the details of a murder naively concluded his account with this sentence: "Fortunately for the deceased, he had deposited all of his money in the bank the day before, so he lost practically nothing but his life."—Harper's.



The following string of Latin words, with the "rendering into English," is one of the perennial skits that never fade from memory and are never lost for long:

#### The Latin.

"Isabile haeres ego  
Fortibus es in aro.  
O, Nobile! themis trux,  
Vaticinem pes an dux."

#### The English.

"I say, Billy, here's a go!  
Forty busses in a row.  
Oh, no, Billy, them is trucks  
Vot is in 'em? Peas an' ducks."

—Truth Seeker.

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