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CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

Roosevelt, Barnes et al.	417
Rule of Wealth in New York.	417
Why Representatives Don't Represent.	417
Peace and the Big Stick.	418
A Statesman.	418
Undermining Character.	419
Making the Eagle Scream.	419
Mistaken Patriotism.	420
Menace of Red Tape.	420
A Legal Outrage.	421
Judge Lindsey Triumphant.	421
Repeating Seventeenth Century Mistakes.	422
Cause of Porto Rican Conditions.	422
Millions Given Away.	422
Privilege Fights to Control Pittsburgh.	422
Denver's Opportunity.	423
Ignorant Civil Service Commissioners.	423
Cincinnati Monopolists Still Scheming.	423
A Bad Beginning.	424

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Legislation in Maine.	424
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INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:

Ill Luck—E. H. Davis.	424
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NEWS NARRATIVE:

The Barnes-Roosevelt Case.	425
Commission on Industrial Relations.	425
Tax Reform News.	427
Mexico.	427
China and Japan.	427
European War.	428
Women's Congress at The Hague.	428
News Notes.	429
Press Opinions.	429

RELATED THINGS:

Why Do the Wheels Go Around?—Harriet Monroe.	430
A Half Told Tale—W. A. Douglass.	430
A Vision—George Hughes.	431
Companion Sonnets—Richard Warner Borst.	432

BOOKS:

The Rockefeller Education Board.	432
Books Received.	433
Periodicals.	433
Pamphlets.	434

EDITORIAL

Roosevelt, Barnes, et al.

When politicians fall out, voters see how they have been buncoed. S. C.



Rule of Wealth in New York.

The Barnes-Roosevelt trial throws some light on how money controls legislation. It shows that bribery of legislators by big interests is not necessary. All that is required is that these contribute to campaign funds. The party managers can then be trusted to do the rest. They will see that the legislature does nothing disagreeable, or refuses nothing agreeable. The argument used by Barnes to Roosevelt against the franchise taxation bill was not as brief as it might have been. The people are not fit to govern, Mr. Barnes is reported to have said. Party organizations must look after that. These organizations can not be maintained without money, and if business interests that contribute money should be disobeyed, then party organization must disappear. This was a round-about way of saying that moneyed interests should have full control of the government regardless of popular wishes. In the light of this revelation an explanation of the record of the New York legislature for many years is easy. It is easy to see why every bill was rejected or badly disfigured, that tended to give the people, to any extent, control over their own affairs. A remedy for this can be applied by the Constitutional Convention now in session in New York State. Even though presided over by a faithful servant of Privilege, Elihu Root, it has no more important duty than to write into the organic law the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. That is the first step required to end the rule of those who issue orders to the partisan bosses. S. D.



Why Representatives Don't Represent.

Legislatures taking orders from bosses, eager to oblige monopolistic contributors to campaign

funds, are not confined to New York State. Roosevelt's testimony in the Barnes lawsuit practically tells the inside history of many other fights for progressive legislation than those in which the Colonel participated, and explains why other legislatures, than those controlled by the late Senator Platt, have flouted the popular will. Some day more secret history may be made known and the public learn the details concerning influences brought to bear on Illinois legislators who violated their pledges and defied public sentiment by defeating the Initiative and Referendum. S. D.



Peace and the Big Stick.

There is such a dash and go about Mr. Roosevelt, such an intense energy and high-pressure activity, that unreflecting persons are apt to be swept from their feet, and to be carried away by the force of action, rather than by the power of reason. But his recent attack upon the Woman's Peace Party, and his glorification of physical force as a means of righting moral wrongs, has brought forth many and able answers. That of Lucia Ames Mead, so widely known for her work in behalf of peace, leaves the doughty Colonel with no other support than that of the Big Stick. Emphatically disclaiming in behalf of the Woman's Peace Party many of the things Mr. Roosevelt charges, and showing that rival armies and navies may be partly right and partly wrong, she says:

Success in war turns on material considerations, not on justice. Whatever degree of justice any war achieves is always accidental, or incidental, and brings a long train of injustices upon the innocent. . . . The Woman's Peace Party demands that war be abolished for the same reasons that men whose arguments were doubtless called base and silly a hundred years ago, abolished the duel.



Mrs. Mead boldly proclaims the Woman's Party principles:

Democratic control of foreign policies, concert of nations to supersede balance of power, action toward the gradual organization of the world to substitute law for war, an international police substituted for rival armies and navies, removal of the economic causes of war.

These, she submits, embody constructive, rather than destructive, statesmanship. It is hard for the average man to realize that woman is outgrowing the role of man's plaything. He is dimly conscious that she is not just what he has been thinking she was. He has faint glimmerings that she is beginning to assume the form of an individual, responsible being, capable of reasoning and reflecting, and of asserting her right to pass

judgment. But of all those who have difficulty in grasping the new idea, the slowest are those who are devoted to the policy of the Big Stick. But grasp it they must. And once they comprehend the moral basis of the woman's cause, they will save themselves from much absurdity. S. C.



A Statesman.

President Wilson's address before editors and publishers from all parts of the country, at the luncheon of the Associated Press in New York on the 20th, was a remarkable statement at an opportune time. Intended for foreign audiences as well as for home consumption, it raises American statecraft to its highest point. It was a dignified, temperate and kindly answer alike to the carping critics at home and to the impudent revilers abroad. In striking contrast to the screed of Mr. Roosevelt, who denounced pacifists as physical cowards, and condemned the Administration for not denouncing the invasion of Belgium—as though the present war were justified except for the invasion of Belgium—and overlooking the impudence of a foreign representative who undertakes to lecture the American people in an address to the Secretary of State, and gives it to the press without permission of the recipient, the President lays broad and deep the foundations of international comity.



In standing for the motto, "America first," the President says:

Let us think of America before we think of Europe, in order that America may be fit to be Europe's friend when the day of tested friendship comes. The test of friendship is not now sympathy with the one side or the other, but getting ready to help both sides when the struggle is over. The test of neutrality, gentlemen, is not indifference, it is not self-interest. The basis of neutrality is sympathy for mankind. It is a fairness, it is a good will at bottom. It is impartiality of spirit and of judgment.

And as a gentle rebuke to the small but noisy factions, whose clamorous criticism of the Administration is understood abroad as representing a divided country, the President adds:

I for one have a complete and abiding faith in that great silent body of Americans, who are not standing up and shouting, and expressing their opinions just now, but are waiting to find out and support the duty of America.



Impressing alike upon his hearers the responsibility of the press in sifting its facts, and upon

the reader in avoiding too hasty conclusions, he says:

I have known many a man to go off on a tangent on information that was not reliable. Indeed, that describes the majority of men. The world is held stable by the man who waits for the next day to find out whether the report was true or not. . . . We are trustees for what I venture to say is the greatest heritage that any nation ever had—the love of justice and righteousness and human liberty. For, fundamentally, those are the things to which America is addicted and to which she is devoted. There are groups of selfish men in the United States, there are coteries where sinister things are purposed, but the great heart of the American people is just as sound and true as it ever was. And it is a single heart; it is the heart of America. It is not a heart made up of sections selected out of other countries. So that what I try to remind myself of every day when I am almost overcome by perplexities; what I try to remember, is what the people at home are thinking about. I try out myself in the place of the man who does not know all the things I know, and ask myself what he would like the policy of this country to be. Not the talkative man, not the partisan man, not the man that remembers first that he is a Republican, or Democrat, or that his parents were Germans or English, but who remembers first that the whole destiny of modern affairs centers largely upon his being an American first of all.

How like the crackling of thorns under a pot is the chatter of politicians, when the voice of a man is heard!

S. C.



Undermining Character.

Militarism is one of the few things of which it may be said, it is altogether bad. The mass of human institutions and activities are made up of good and bad elements; but of militarism who, in view of the last few months' experience, will name anything that is worthy of praise? We are confronted with the saddest event in history; yet the worst of it all is not to be found upon the field of battle, where indescribable slaughter is taking place, nor on the sea, where non-combatants are destroyed, but in the state of mind which, in time of peace, makes preparation for these atrocities. It is the doctrine of suspicion, distrust, and spying that turns neighbors who should be friends into enemies. We are accustomed to police and secret agents who protect society from those imperfectly developed individuals who prey upon their fellows. The militarist, however, includes all humanity in the category of criminals, and sets his secret agents to dog the steps of all alike. As the police department has detectives to ferret out the individual law-breaker, so the militarist has spies to observe the acts of neighboring nations,

It is said of one of the nations now at war that its system of espionage reached such a high state of development during the last half century that many thousands of spies were maintained in a neighboring country. Ostensibly they were innkeepers, shop keepers, salesmen, peddlers, and laborers, professing friendship for the people among whom they dwelt, yet all the time making secret reports to their military superiors in their home country. These spies were not criminals escaping the law, and shunning the eye of decency, but men and women who honestly believed they were serving their country by living a lie.



Contrast this military espionage with those societies of French and German families for the purpose of mutual education. A French family wishing to place a child in a German family where it could learn the language and customs of that country applied to the head of the society to find a German family who wished their child to learn the French language. The society effected these exchanges; and the children thus living abroad a few years were able to acquire the language of the neighboring country, and an appreciation of its life and institutions. These children, returning again to their own homes, brought with them kindlier feelings for the foreign country and its people. Had this continued longer, had these people in learning each other's language discovered each other's virtues and acquired each other's point of view a war between the two countries would have been as improbable as an outbreak between neighboring provinces of either country. Had the governments of those countries, professing the same civilization, worshiping the same God, and having in common the same ideals, sent children, instead of spies, into the other countries, it would have been the means of building character, rather than of destroying it. And the nations would have been uplifted through learning the best of their neighbors, instead of degenerating because of their own evil. Nations war because they misunderstand each other; and they will misunderstand each other as long as they depend upon spies for their information. Could they be seen by each other through the eyes of friends, instead of through the eyes of enemies, they would appear altogether different; and there would soon grow up a mutual esteem that would relegate militarism to the ignorant and stupid past. S. C.



Making the Eagle Scream.

United States Senator William E. Borah, of

Idaho, attributes our failure to bring about peace and order in Mexico to the mistake of supposing the Mexicans had a republican government. "The fact is," says the Senator, "they never have had a republic in Mexico at any time. The Mexican people have never been trained to free government." It is quite apparent that the conception of a republic is different in Mexico from what it is in this country. At least the ideal of the worst people in Mexico is not the same as the ideal of the best people of the United States. And while it is perfectly proper for the people of this country to maintain their own definitions, and to adopt their own form of government; the same reasoning should permit Mexico to adopt its form of government. Though it is true, as the Senator says, that a cowardly peace is only temporary, the same may be said of an enforced peace. But it is when he declares: "I would make it the business of this Republic to protect our women against ravishment, and our men against murder, upon whatever part of God's footstool they might be found," that he betrays the jingo taint in his political philosophy.



America has certain duties toward its citizens; but the citizens have a reciprocal duty toward their country; and should they elect to venture into needless danger, they cannot complain if they alone suffer the consequences. What Senator Borah says about Mexico's not having had a republican form of government is in a measure true. The country has been recognized as being in a lower state of political development, working its way upward in the course of evolution. Law and order there lack somewhat the sanctity they enjoy in this country. Yet all this was known to those American citizens who ventured into that country. They took risks because of the larger profits they expected to receive. Their insurance lay in those extra profits. When, however, the autocratic government of Diaz broke down, and the people renewed their struggle for their rights, the United States government warned its citizens of their danger, and took steps to help them escape. Those who still remained did so of their own choice; and if in consequence of this bold risk some suffered personal violence, are the whole American people to enter into a war that will repeat on a lesser scale the horrors of the present struggle in Europe? The Senator's bold deft may win applause from the swashbucklers, and knights of physical courage, but it is neither the act of a Christian nor of a statesman.

s. c.

Mistaken Patriotism.

Rear Admiral Peary's words regarding the destiny of this country should not be taken too seriously. They mark the conclusion of an imperfect judgment. They expose to the world a second time the want of understanding of a man who thought to add to his own glory by sending back—when within a few miles from the Pole—the last white man who had accompanied him, in order that he might complete the journey with a negro and some Esquimaux, and thus say he was the first white man to reach the Pole. The man who was unable to understand the lack of enthusiasm among his countrymen over his discovery, after such an exhibition of colossal egotism, may be at a loss to comprehend the criticism of his declaration, "We cannot stand still. A hundred years hence we shall either be obliterated as a nation, or we shall occupy the entire North American segment." The North American continent may or may not be under one government at the conclusion of another century. That will depend upon whether the nations find it to their advantage to develop a separate individuality, or a collective individuality. If they adhere to the principles of economic and political liberty, if they refrain from militarism, if they remove the tariffs that interfere with trade, and look upon each others' presence as an advantage, rather than a disadvantage, they may enjoy all the benefits of a common union, while maintaining their separate identity. The point of Rear Admiral Peary's utterance lies in the fact that it centers the thought upon might, rather than upon right. The greatness of nations should be measured by their moral and intellectual growth, and not by their geographical expansion. To turn people's attention toward geographical expansion, rather than to the moral and intellectual triumphs, is to rob the world of its dearest ideals.

s. c.



The Menace of Red Tape.

In denying the appeal of Leo Frank, the United States Supreme Court practically declares red tape of more importance than the merits of a case. Should Frank be hanged it will be, figuratively speaking, with a band of red tape. The Court found that it could not go into the question of the fairness of his trial. Red tape forbade, since the State Supreme Court had not gone into the matter. It happens that it was respect for red tape that prevented the State court from passing on the fairness of the trial. Should Frank be executed, it will be under circumstances that leave the question

of his guilt or innocence in doubt. Only one thing will be clear beyond question—the possibility of legally convicting and hanging a man in Georgia whether guilty or not. The higher courts have declared that should a jury be coerced into conviction, regardless of evidence, they cannot interfere unless there has been some disregard of a technicality, and they can not interfere even then should there be any deviation from red tape requirements in presenting the application. Even though Frank be as guilty as charged, his punishment can have no preventive effect on crime in view of the widely prevailing doubt about his case, and refusal of the courts to let this doubt be cleared away. A commutation of his sentence by the Governor is the only thing that can save the State of Georgia from deep disgrace. S. D.



A Legal Outrage.

Eighteen years ago a suit was begun against the City of Chicago in behalf of a girl of nine years, who had been injured by a fall on a broken sidewalk. The facts were known, the parties in interest were present, and there was no reason why the claim should not have been disposed of then and there. Whether the City or the child were at fault should have been determined, and the matter dismissed. But it was not. The case that began when Bryan was nominated the first time did not end with his campaign. Nor did it end with the next campaign. When Parker went down to defeat the case was still alive. And when Bryan suffered his third defeat it still dragged its way through the courts. Today, after two years of the Wilson Administration has been completed, the case of the injured girl of nine—now a crippled woman of twenty-seven—is up for a third trial. It would be a rash prophet who should undertake to say that she will live to see the end of her case.



If this were an exceptional case, or the only one of its kind, some excuse might be offered; but it is not. There are too many cases of a similar nature; and the reason there are not many times more is because the contestants lack the means of carrying on the suit. Such a system of legal procedure is a disgrace to civilization. It is a reflection upon the intelligence of every man connected with the law. And those who stand aghast at the idea of recalling judges may, if something is not speedily done to mend matters, see such

drastic action taken by the people that the judicial recall will appear to be a conservative measure.

S. C.



Judge Lindsey Triumphant.

The world has marveled for nineteen centuries at the stupidity of the populace that cried out for the life of its greatest friend, in answer to the false charges of his enemies, and then hastens forth to crucify its present-day friends, in answer to the same stupid cry. Whether the man be a Tom Johnson, who strove so hard to restore to the people of Cleveland the rights filched from them by legal privilege, or a Ben Lindsey, who made Denver's youthful offenders realize that the hand of the law can be sympathetic, understanding and helpful, as well as chastening, the populace of today accepts the charges of those of sinister motives, and heedlessly takes up the cry of "crucify him."



Judge Lindsey might have gone on his way, reforming youthful offenders to his heart's content, had he been willing to close his eyes to causes of social degeneration. But because he would not shut his eyes, nor hold his tongue, the beneficiaries of evil institutions set out to destroy him. Few people knew whether the charges brought against him were true or not, and fewer still made an honest effort to discover the truth. Mob-like, they accepted the decision of their leaders, and mob-like, they undertook to work the destruction of the victim. Most of the people who voted against Judge Lindsey, Colorado's first citizen—those who spread the tales and charges defamatory of his character—bore the judge no malice; nor were their interests in accord with those who led the attack upon him. But the mob spirit that holds a man to his party when it is wrong had such a grip upon them that they suspended their own judgment, foreswore their own reason and yielded themselves into the hands of his designing enemies. Had the Judge been a man of mere physical courage he might long ago have been destroyed; but possessing that infinitely greater strength, moral courage, he boldly faced his enemies; and by almost superhuman strength and persistency overthrew them.



Judge Lindsey's triumphant vindication should give us pause. We may well ask ourselves why those who would do us good have to fight so hard for the privilege of doing it. We should ask ourselves if we are doing our whole duty toward cul-

tivating an intelligent social conscience when we receive the message, and leave the messenger to defend himself. It is enough that he should have to meet the attacks of the beneficiaries of privilege, without having also to overcome their deduced victims.

s. c.



Repeating Seventeenth Century Mistakes.

An interesting account in the Springfield Weekly Republican of April 15 tells of labor legislation in Massachusetts in the 17th century. Instead of minimum wage legislation there was a maximum wage law, which indicates that in those primitive times laborers needed no special laws to protect them. The fact is furthermore noteworthy that the law proved futile. Had there been in Massachusetts of that day a thorough student of economic principles he might easily have foretold this failure. Had such a student sympathized with efforts to reduce wages he would probably have suggested a more effective way. He would have suggested that the natural resources of the colony, then open on easy terms to all who wanted to use them, be privately monopolized as quickly as possible. That done, laborers denied the opportunity for self employment would have been forced to compete for jobs, and would have underbid each other to secure them. However, if any one did offer such a suggestion, it is probable that the maximum wage advocates sneered at him as an impractical utopian theorist, even as some of the social workers of today, working for minimum wage acts, sneer at the suggestion that they might do better work in Labor's behalf by working to free natural opportunities once more.

s. d.



Cause of Porto Rican Conditions.

Labor conditions in Porto Rico are but the logical result of monopolization of natural resources. This monopoly, established under Spanish rule, has been confirmed under American rule. Whatever improvements in other lines have been introduced by the United States government have increased land values and the land owners' power. It is not surprising therefore that Labor should be oppressed—the prevailing rate of wages for common labor being but forty cents for a day of fourteen hours—and that the landed interests should control the government to such an extent as to have its co-operation in suppression of strikes. It is not surprising that something like this was long ago foreseen. In the National Single Taxer of January, 1899, a magazine formerly published in New York City, Louis F. Post showed that unless

land monopoly in Porto Rico were destroyed the Island would become under American rule a tropical Ireland. To make such a prediction accurately required nothing more than an understanding of economic principles. Political economy—many professors of “economics” to the contrary notwithstanding—is an exact science and enables its students, through reasoning from cause to effect, to determine what must be the result of given conditions. The cure for bad conditions in Porto Rico is the abolition of land monopoly.

s. d.



Millions Given Away.

The mere announcement that Seward, Alaska, is to be the terminus of the government railroad has already started a land boom in that village of 350 inhabitants. E. O. Sawyer, correspondent of the Chicago Evening Post, in a letter dated April 14, and published in the issue of April 26, says that one man has been made a millionaire overnight, and a hundred others “have been tapped by the magic word of the goddess of fortune.” He further says “Thousands more are pouring in equipped with golden dreams and a stake.” In other words all the financial benefits which the government road will bring to Alaska are being anticipated, and grabbed in advance by a few who have done nothing to create them. To prevent the Morgan and Guggenheim interests from exploiting the wealth producers of Alaska, the government decided to build the road. But because Congress failed to adopt the proposition of Congressman Bailey to pay for the road out of the land values it would create, Alaska labor is going to be exploited anyway. It will be exploited by the foresters now grabbing lands for future rise in value. And these will do the job as thoroughly as any multi-millionaire corporation would have done. It is still possible, however, to avoid the folly of presenting to non-producers, values created by the people who must furnish the money to build the road. When Congress meets, the Bailey proposition should be taken up once more and pushed to passage.

s. d.



Privilege Fights to Control Pittsburgh.

The lower house of the Penrose-controlled legislature of Pennsylvania has passed a bill depriving Pittsburgh of its recently acquired control over its own local tax system. The city had begun to untax improvements to the extent of ten per cent and to increase taxation of land values to the same extent. This naturally displeased the interests that thrive on exorbitant rents and speculative land values.

If the process of untaxing improvements were continued, enough houses would eventually be built in Pittsburgh to make it possible for the poorest laborers to live within easy access of their work without herding into crowded slum districts. There would moreover be such increased demand for labor in Pittsburgh that a shortage in supply would be imminent. This is not the kind of protection to labor that Pittsburg's monopolistic interests relish. So the legislature has been called upon to restore the good old system under which nothing effective could be done to stop rack-renting, congestion of population and underpayment of labor. Should the Senate be as subservient to predatory interests as the House, Governor Brumbaugh should not hesitate to apply his veto. In his inaugural address he plainly took a stand in favor of local home rule and for a tax system that would encourage industry. A veto of this iniquitous measure would surely be consistent with that position.

s. D.



Denver's Opportunity.

More than of local significance is the pending Singletax amendment to the city charter of Denver, to be voted on on May 18. Its adoption will not only give the city an ideal system of taxation and tend toward making it the most prosperous American city, but will hasten similar reform elsewhere. It will be the entering wedge for emancipation of Colorado labor from the conditions that a year ago culminated in the Ludlow massacre. It will be serving of notice on the monopolists of Southern Colorado, as well as on those of Denver, that their days of irresponsible power are numbered. It will be a message of hope to labor and to useful business throughout the nation. To Denver is given the opportunity to lead in this grand work. The hysterical opposition of a press controlled by the Rockefeller and other monopolistic interests is alone enough to make this clear.

s. D.



Ignorant Civil Service Commissioners.

Civil service reform would soon be discredited were all the examiners to prove as incompetent as a recent occurrence shows the Civil Service Commission of Cleveland to be. In that city the position of Commissioner of Charities and Corrections has been ably filled by J. B. Vining. When the time came for reappointment Mr. Vining was required to stand examination. One of the questions asked was, in substance, what is the best method of relieving poverty? Mr. Vining an-

swered this question as a thorough study shows that it should be answered. He declared the best method of relief to be the Singletax. An answer so correct was more than the examiners could understand. It affected them as Galileo's answers to questions about astronomy affected his inquisitors, or as Columbus's answers to geographical questions affected the "wise men" of his day. The Cleveland civil service commissioners apparently wanted as a reply something in favor of charitable aid, minimum wage laws, public employment agencies, palliative legislation or some of the other futile schemes to treat symptoms without touching the cause. When, instead of such a conventional but incorrect reply, Mr. Vining gave the correct answer they were shocked, and they punished him with a low mark. As a result Cleveland may lose the advantage of having in charge of the bureau, that has most to do with the victims of poverty, a man with accurate knowledge of the cause and cure of the trouble. That shows how ignorant examiners may make a mockery of civil service reform, and inflict harm on the public interest as bad as any inflicted under the most shameless spoils system. If civil service reform is to be a success, or a benefit to Cleveland, it would be well that the civil service examiners be required to pass an examination for fitness before being authorized to examine others.

s. D.



Cincinnati Monopolists Still Scheming.

Cincinnati's street railway monopolists are preparing to make use of a reactionary State legislature and Governor while they have them. On the principle of "make hay while the sun shines" they have had a bill introduced creating a commission to decide on revision of street railway fares. The franchise held by Cincinnati's street railway monopoly provides for revision of fares by the city council next year. But the company evidently prefers that this be done by a hand-picked commission. Hence the bill. Of course if passed the Referendum can be invoked, but this would have to be a State referendum on a matter of local application. That public sentiment in Cincinnati does not approve any extension of privileges to local monopolies was made emphatically clear in a recent referendum. The street railway monopolists do not want to take any more chances with the people who have had most experience with them. They prefer a pliant State government with the possibility of dealing with an electorate that may not be sufficiently interested to block their design.

s. D.

A Bad Beginning.

Class consciousness is evidently to be a leading characteristic of the administration of Mayor Thompson of Chicago. That much is clear from the fact that he has openly allowed his cabinet to be selected for him by a committee of 200 so-called business men dominated by bankers with public service corporation affiliations. What would these business men say of a Mayor who would allow a committee of 200 laborers to select his cabinet, or even a committee in which laborers were represented in proportion to their number? They would severely condemn it, of course, on the ground that a public official should not cater to any particular class. However, it is well to know at the start where the city's new Mayor stands. Unless he breaks away from the control of interests back of this committee, predatory monopolies will rule the city for the next four years.

S. D.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

LEGISLATION IN MAINE.

Dover, Me., April 20.

The Maine Legislature met Jan. 6th, 1915, with five Progressive members holding the balance of power, but dividing their votes so that on joint ballot the Republican and Democratic parties were tied. After two weeks of fruitless balloting on State officials, the House, which had a Democratic majority, met and unseated Levite Thibodeau of Van Buren, a Republican, and seated Fortunat Michaud, Democrat, in his place. This action was in direct defiance of a decision of the Maine Supreme Court, which has held that in using "stickers" on the Australian ballot they must either cover the name of the "scratched" candidate, or the scratched candidate's name must be erased by ink or pencil mark. The House by vote of 78 to 72 accepted a majority House committee report on elections that "The vote of every man, who was able to make his intent clear to an intelligent person, should be counted." This decision, by the representatives of the people, is considered to have established an important and reasonable precedent.

The tie being broken, the Democrats, with the help of two Progressives, elected an entire slate of Democratic State officials.

The "Third House" of the Legislature—the lobby—was conspicuous by its absence, having transferred its attentions to the Public Utilities Commission, where the Public Service Corporations and Interests had attorneys looking after their interests.

One unusual feature was the large number of farmers, the House having 34 members who devote their whole private attention to farming, and the Senate having 16 members who were connected with farming interests. Defeated were bills substituting the Massachusetts for the Australian ballot, the bill referring to the people a constitutional amendment

permitting equal suffrage, and a bill abolishing primary elections.

Among bills enacted were one providing for a woman's reformatory, one restricting to 54 hours a week employment of women and minors, and a workman's compensation measure. Real estate mortgages were exempted from taxation when held by savings banks, as they were formerly when held by individuals. A bill exempting neat stock under 30 months and sheep and swine, introduced by Dr. Albert W. Plummer of Lisbon, a Singletaxer, was also passed.

CORRESPONDENT.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

ILL LUCK.

Omak, Wash., April 20.

The action of the Washington Legislature in memorializing Congress, which was appropriately commented upon by *The Public*, is a striking illustration of how history repeats itself even in the most absurd things. But one has to go back six hundred years to the wild tribes of northern China to find a perfect parallel in ridiculousness.

Marco Polo, in his travels in China, wrote that the Grand Khan of the Mongols conquered a tribe in northern China where the immoral custom prevailed of turning the daughters of the tribe over to licentious travelers for a pecuniary consideration. The Grand Khan abolished the immoral custom, as the Democratic Congress partially abolished the immoral custom of permitting the few to exploit the many through a protective tariff. Soon after the Solons of the tribe memorialized the Grand Khan as the Solons at Olympia memorialized Congress. The Solons of the Asiatic tribe prayed for a restoration of an immoral custom—so did the Solons at Olympia. The former alleged that its abolition had brought them ill luck; and that is what the latter said; but not so laconically.

Such things make one ponder upon the following questions: If we had those wild barbarians for legislators, instead of our present legislators, would we lose anything by the change? Wouldn't we be better off if a Grand Khan ruled at Olympia? I do not think the farmer was consulted in the preparation of that memorial or that his condition suggested it. But as four out of the seven of the articles are produced of the farm, the importation of which has brought "ill luck" to the state of Washington, one would infer that the memorial was got up at the solicitation of the farmer. The farmer is used as a cat's paw to gather chestnuts for the timber land owners and the owners of the salmon industries, but he is rapidly catching on to the game; and the jeremiads and crocodile tears erupted by politicians over his sad fate are producing nausea in all but the strongest stomachs.

The condition of a large majority of the farmers of Washington is similar to my own. A perennial protection tariff does not suit my condition. My case demands a kaleidoscopic tariff: one that can be changed up and down with the facility of the old oaken bucket that hung in the well. To illustrate: During the molting season for hens and during the

coldest months of winter I have to buy eggs; then, I should want the tariff to "swing low." At other times a high tariff would be agreeable to my interest; for then I have eggs to sell. Free trade in butter suits me just now; but next Monday my cow comes in, if she don't run overtime, then a protective tariff would be conducive to my interest. I have got to the bottom of my pork barrel, and have to buy pork, so free trade is all right for the present; but next fall I shall have pork to sell, and a high tariff would be pleasing.

I have described my own condition and a large majority of the farmers of Washington are in an analogous condition; and I hope I have made it plain that a perennial high protective tariff such as the farmers have had for half a century, until recently, to their injury, and which the Solons at Olympia want restored, is not for the interest of Washington farmers.

B. H. DAVIS.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, April 27, 1915.

The Barnes-Roosevelt Case.

Testimony in the lawsuit of William Barnes against ex-President Roosevelt for libel began at Syracuse on April 20. Called to the stand Mr. Roosevelt under questioning of his counsel told about the fight, while he was governor of New York, over the Ford franchise tax bill in 1899 and 1900. Barnes has come to him as a representative of Senator Platt in opposition to the bill. Barnes had declared that Robert Pruyn and Anthony Brady were interested in rapid transit corporations and did not want the bill passed. Pruyn, a Republican, and Brady, a Democrat, had each contributed to the campaign funds of both parties. Barnes had said, according to Roosevelt's testimony, that such contributions were matters of business, not politics. He also said that if the Republicans did not treat big business right, and if they became socialistic, the Democrats would get all contributions and the Republicans none. He also used the widow-and orphan argument. Roosevelt had thereupon assured Mr. Barnes that he did not wish to injure big business. Later Mr. Roosevelt spoke to Barnes about a special message he had sent to the legislature which had been torn up by J. P. Ailds, then Republican leader. Barnes then told him that he was foolish to expect the legislature or the speaker to do anything on so important a matter without orders from the party organization. Barnes had furthermore said that the people were not fit to govern themselves, that they must be run by party organizations and that organizations or lead-

ers were not to be had without money. [See current volume, page 406.]



On the following day, April 21, Mr. Roosevelt continued his testimony. He told of a conversation with Barnes, when he first became governor, concerning boss rule. The conversation was due to the fact that Senator Platt had told him (Roosevelt) that no man would be elected speaker of the House who would not agree to carry out his (Platt's) orders or those of the organization. Barnes declared that boss rule was the only kind of government that could exist under a party system, and that a party system could not exist without bosses. Roosevelt produced a letter from Barnes protesting against establishment of a state printing concern on the ground that it "would be a serious if not a fatal blow to me financially."

He told about information he had received that Senator Grattan of Albany had voted against the first Agnew-Hart racing bill under orders from Barnes, and later became clerk for Albany County. He told of a conversation with Barnes concerning the renomination of Governor Hughes in 1908, which Barnes had opposed because Hughes had tried to break down the organization.

Speaking of Barnes, Mr. Roosevelt said: "He stated that the organization controlled the legislature, and that the Democratic organization was in sympathy with the Republican organization, and would join it in defeating any legislation which Gov. Hughes backed and to which they were opposed." Roosevelt told about the defeat of the primary election bill in 1910. Senator Davenport, a Republican, had told him that the machine Republican members of the Senate went into conference over the measure in one room with Mr. Barnes, and the Tammany senators in an adjacent room with Senator Brady. Both sides came out together and each side contributed exactly the same vote, 14 each, toward beating the measure.



On April 22 began the cross-examination of Roosevelt by Barnes counsel, William M. Ivins. Mr. Ivins produced correspondence that had passed during 1898 between Roosevelt, Senator Platt and the latter's lieutenant, Lemuel E. Quigg. Quigg's letter, dated September 10, 1898, related to securing the gubernatorial nomination for Roosevelt from Platt. In this letter Quigg told Roosevelt that he had informed Platt that "you would adopt no line of policy and agree to no important matter or nomination without previous consultation and that you wanted him to agree to the same thing on his part." He further said:

I told him that you said it would be grateful to you to have Mr. Odell or some man of similar position near you in Albany in order to facilitate intercourse and for the purpose of supplying general in-

formation about the conditions of the state, and, finally, that while in the end, as an honest man, you would have to act on your best judgment, and in the light of your oath, you would seek with him to keep the party united and the organization intact.

Replying to this, Colonel Roosevelt said, under date of September 12:

Your representation of what I said was substantially correct; that is, it gave just the spirit. But I don't like the wording of some of your sentences.

At first, on account of this, I hesitated how to reply, but finally came to the conclusion that the last sentence of your "report" covered the whole matter sufficiently.

A letter from Senator Platt, dated May 6, 1899, contained the following:

My belief was that a franchise tax bill taken by itself was inopportune, that radical legislation of that sort was bound to strike the conservative business community, which is the strength of the Republican party, as an extreme concession to Bryanism, and that this was a bad impression to create right on the verge of a presidential election with Bryanism as the direct issue.

Mr. Ivins brought up the matter of Roosevelt's eligibility to the governorship. In answer to questions, Roosevelt admitted having made an affidavit in 1897 stating that he had given up his residence in New York State and was a resident of the City of Washington. The affidavit was made to avoid payment of personal taxes. Mr. Ivins then called the Colonel's attention to the provision of the Constitution of New York requiring five years' residence in the state for eligibility. He questioned Roosevelt closely to secure an admission that he knew of this disqualification. Roosevelt referred to a legal opinion by Elihu Root who upheld his legal right to the office. Asked by Mr. Ivins why he did not attack boss rule when he was himself nominated by bosses, Roosevelt answered that "There was no feeling against it at that time in the shape of an important independent movement." Being pressed further, he said:

I attack iniquities, I attack wrongdoings. I try to choose the time for an attack when I can get the vote of the people to accept the principles for which I stand. I believe that you can only accomplish reform of a permanent character when you can educate the people up to the point of standing by them.

On April 23 Mr. Ivins called Roosevelt's attention to the list of large contributors to the Republican campaign fund of 1904. These included Jacob H. Schiff, H. C. Frick, George W. Perkins, Andrew Carnegie, James H. Hyde of the Equitable Life Insurance Company, Senator John F. Dryden of the Prudential, George Gould, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, E. H. Harriman, James Stillman, president of the National City Bank; E. T. Stotesbury and others. Roosevelt claimed that he knew nothing at the time of these contributions and did not see any more connection between business and politics appertaining to them

than if they had been made to the Y. M. C. A. In answer to further questions, Mr. Roosevelt admitted that the presidential nomination of 1904 had come to him after he had made a pledge not to be a candidate again.



The cross-examination continued on April 26. Letters were produced tending to show that Roosevelt had himself acted as boss in 1908 in forcing the nomination of Governor Hughes against the wishes of William Barnes, Herbert Parsons and other leaders. In a letter to Parsons, dated August 23, 1908, Roosevelt expressed himself as not altogether pleased with Hughes, but held that to refuse a renomination to him would damage the party, and this damage would extend beyond the State. That Roosevelt had at many times consulted with Platt and his lieutenants while governor, taken their counsel, and also made appointments to please Democratic bosses, was brought out through questioning of Ivins's associate, William L. Barnum.



Commission on Industrial Relations.

That John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was not as inactive as he claimed in directing matters during the Colorado strike, was the charge given to the press on April 23 by Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the Commission on Industrial Relations. Mr. Walsh quoted from correspondence in possession of the Commission, showing that Mr. Rockefeller had kept in constant touch with what was going on. He further declared there was evidence to show that Governor Ammons' letters in the matter had been influenced by Mr. Rockefeller. A letter, dated June 10, 1914, from Mr. Rockefeller to his press agent, Mr. Ivy Lee, contained the following:

Several points in my memorandum, however, could well, even more appropriately, be used in the letter from Governor Ammons to President Wilson, which you are proposing to prepare as soon as the Major's memorandum reaches you, which I hope will be very shortly.

In a letter to Mr. Lee, dated June 29, Mr. Rockefeller said:

I should be interested to see the letter from Governor Ammons to the governors, and also the Tarrytown article which you are preparing.

Mr. Rockefeller will be recalled to the witness stand when the Commission meets again in New York, Mr. Walsh said. [See vol. xvii, p. 1211; current volume, pages 234, 309, 402.]



In a public statement on April 26 Mr. Rockefeller emphatically denied Walsh's charges. He said that the memorandum mentioned in the letter to Lee had not been used by Governor Ammons.

He expressed himself as quite willing to testify again.



Tax Reform News.

The opponents of the Houston system who secured the order of the court against it made a demand on Tax Commissioner Pastoriza that he assess land and buildings equally at 50 per cent of value, and that cash and notes be not assessed. They were informed that the court's orders would be followed literally and that all forms of property would be assessed at one hundred cents on the dollar. Abstract companies have been employed by the city to secure records of all mortgages and all taxpayers are being rigidly questioned regarding their cash and other valuable effects. Many property owners and business men have tried to secure some relaxation from this policy, but were informed that the city authorities are powerless, and no relief is possible unless the tax kickers withdraw their suit. [See current volume, page 402.]



The lower House of the Pennsylvania legislature on April 20 passed a bill repealing the law empowering Pittsburgh to partially exempt improvements from taxation. It is now before the Senate. This is the result of a movement inaugurated by landed interests of the city with the help of the present mayor. A circular withheld from the general public has been issued, to be sent to financially interested ones, giving reasons for favoring repeal. The reasons given are (1) It is a "decided step toward the Singletax Theory of Henry George"; (2) a similar law was declared unconstitutional in Houston, Texas; (3) annexation of outlying territory will be discouraged, since this territory consists largely of vacant land, the owners of which will object to higher taxation; (4) the main purpose of the act is to compel property owners to either sell or improve; (5) selling and improving of property is controlled by the law of supply and demand; (6) it is a hardship on owners of unimproved suburban land; (7) it will cause congestion and discourage ownership of front and back yards or lawns; (8) it has not met the expectations of its promoters; (9) it will penalize manufacturers who have poor buildings on valuable land in the heart of the city; (10) it penalizes the owners of land, apart from buildings, in the heart of the city, and also land owners who own but fair sized buildings; (11) if allowed to run for ten years it will result in shortage of revenue; (12) exemption of buildings will increase the rate on land; (13) practically the same as (7); (14) unimproved land owners are the poorest of property owners; (15) substantially a repetition of (7) and (13); (16) it is unlawful, unjust, unfair and un-American. Examples are given of poorly improved property on which taxation will

be increased, and of some well improved lots on which it will be decreased. The total land valuation in the business part of Pittsburgh is stated to be \$208,771,450, and the building valuation is \$65,326,300, which, it is said, shows that the law will increase taxation in this district to the extent of \$145,778.59 a year after 1925. [See vol. xvi, p. 151; vol. xii, p. 820; current volume, page 12.]



The circular was distributed to a selected list of citizens on April 17, and these were asked to attend a meeting in a small room in the Oliver Building on April 19 to secure backing for the repeal. The meeting was well attended, Mayor Armstrong presiding. But among those present were such friends of the existing measure as W. D. George, Bernard B. McGinnis, Julian Kennedy and Harry H. Willock. These opposed the repealer. When a vote was finally taken the mayor announced the result 42 in favor to 31 against. This is looked upon as a substantial victory for the exemption law, since the meeting was a carefully hand picked one.



Mexico.

Duval West, the personal representative of President Wilson, telegraphed on the 20th that he had had a long conference with General Zapata at Cuernavaca. This completes his interviews with the several Mexican commanders; and he will now return to Washington to make his report. Of the 5,000 foreigners in Tampico, most of whom are Americans, only 300 availed themselves of the privilege of returning to this country on a United States transport. [See current volume, page 406.]



No military operations of note are reported. General Villa is gathering his shattered forces for another stand.



China and Japan.

Sir Edward Grey, speaking in the British House of Commons on the 20th, regarding Great Britain's position on the China-Japanese negotiations, declared that his government stood for the preservation of the common interests of all the powers in China by the insurance of the independence and the integrity of the Chinese republic and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China. In answer to questions of members of Parliament, he replied that under present conditions, while the negotiations were still proceeding, he was unable to give a detailed statement; but that speaking generally, the policy of the British government in China continued to be governed by the terms of the Anglo-Japanese agreement, as defined above. [See current volume, page 406.]

Since Sir Edward Grey's declaration, Japan has submitted a modified set of demands to the Chinese government. Among other things it proposes to restore Tsing-Tao, the German Chinese colony taken from the Germans by the Japanese, on condition that China accept the Japanese terms at once.



European War.

Interest has shifted to the west front, where the Germans have again resumed the offensive. Fighting in Flanders on both sides of Ypres has been continuous for several days. The British advance southeast of Ypres five miles resulted in the capture of Kemmel, or hill 60, the highest elevation in that part of the country. The repeated efforts of the Germans to re-capture it have resulted in what is said to be the worst horrors of the war. Northwest of Ypres the German assaults have pressed back the Allies' lines, resulting in a balance for the gains of the British, but with enormous losses to both sides. Large re-enforcements of German troops are reported in Flanders, and the battle is still in progress. Comparatively little action is reported from the eastern front. Wet spring weather is given as the immediate cause. Large re-enforcements of Russians are reported in the Carpathians, and the forecast is made of renewed activities at an early date. A large force of the Allies, given by some as 200,000, is reported to have landed on the Gallipoli Peninsula to co-operate with the fleet in its attack on the fortifications of the Dardanelles. [See current volume, page 405.]



Nothing of moment is reported from activities at sea. Rumors continue that there is a battle impending in the North Sea. The German war vessels are said to be venturing into the open; but all reports are in the nature of rumors. Great Britain has stopped all vessels between England and Holland, which deepens the mystery. The steamer Noordam, having on board the peace delegation of American women to the conference at the Hague, was detained two days by the British government, but is reported to have been released. The commander of the Kronprinz Wilhelm, which put into Hampton Roads, April 11, has notified the United States authorities that he will intern.



No decision appears to have been reached in the Austro-Italian negotiations. Both nations continue to send troops to the frontier. Italy is reported to have now more than 400,000 men on the Austrian border, with troop trains still carrying more to the front. But no indication whatever is given as to the part the country is to play in the present war. No further moves have occurred in the Balkans.

Chancellor Lloyd George said, in answer to inquiries in Parliament that the British now had 750,000 men in France and Belgium. He also said, in attempting to convey an idea of the magnitude of the present war, that in the recent advance of the British at Neuve Chapelle more ammunition was consumed than in the whole Boer War in South Africa, which lasted two and a half years. The call everywhere is for more heavy guns and more ammunition.



President Wilson in his reply to the German note charging the United States with unfairness in selling arms to the Allies maintains that this country is observing both in letter and in spirit the strictest construction of international law, that it has yielded none of its contentions for the rights of neutrals; and that to place an embargo on arms would be an act of unneutrality, in that it would be a changing of international procedure during hostilities. This note was preceded by President Wilson's address before the members of the Associated Press, in which he made an appeal to all citizens to stand for America first during the war, and maintain the strictest neutrality, in order that we may aid the belligerent countries when peace is restored.



Women's Peace Congress at The Hague.

Some difficulty has been experienced by delegates in reaching The Hague for the Peace Congress on the 28th. It is reported that the Swiss delegates were denied permission to cross Germany. The French women declined to participate in the Congress, according to dispatches. The 40 American delegates who sailed on the Noordham from New York on the 13th were detained in English waters on account of the suspension of communication between England and Holland. The Noordham is said to have been released. [See current volume, page 360.]



A difference of opinion as to methods of procedure is reported among the delegates. Nine American delegates, who reached The Hague on the 27th by way of Copenhagen, under the leadership of Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, president of the Hungarian Woman's Suffrage Association, are urging direct intercession by the women with the rulers of the warring nations for a cessation of hostilities. This meets with the approval of the Danish, Swedish and Norwegian delegates. Other delegates, under the leadership of Mrs. Fanny Fern Andrews, of Boston, and comprising all the members of the resolutions committee, and the Dutch women members of the Congress, have taken the stand that such interference is not within the province of the present Congress.

NEWS NOTES

—A bill to compel Bible reading in the public schools passed the New York State Senate on April 21.

—The lower House of the Wisconsin legislature rejected a resolution to again submit the question of woman suffrage.

—The highest personal property schedule filed so far this year in Chicago is only \$15,000, and State's Attorney Hoyne's crusade against tax dodgers seems to have failed of its intended result.

—The Massachusetts Singletax League will hold its annual meeting on May 25, at 8 p. m., in room 410 Huntington Chambers, 30 Huntington avenue, Boston. Officers are to be elected. Nominations must be filed on or before May 13, with the secretary, Ernst E. Brazier.

—Elections were held in Illinois on April 20, in all the smaller towns and villages. The village of Clearing voted for annexation to Chicago, and this brings into the city the only complete section of school land still left in public hands. Ten wet towns voted to become dry.

—In the trial of John R. Lawson at Trinidad, Colorado, on April 22, a demand was made on the local district attorney to proceed against the president of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company for the death of strikers during the strike of last year in Southern Colorado. Lawson is an international officer of the Miners' Union. He is being tried for murder of a mine guard, although the prosecution admits that he took no part in the battle resulting in the guard's death. The prosecution is based on the claim that as an influential member of the union he was responsible for the act of individual members. The defense claims that the same reasoning makes the heads of the mining companies responsible for killing of union miners and their families [see current volume, pages 234, 309].

PRESS OPINIONS

No More Squandering of Birthrights.

Chicago Herald, April 26.—The village of Clearing voted last week in favor of annexation to Chicago. . . . In the annexed territory is a "school section" yet intact save for the right of way of a railroad through it. This is the only square mile in Cook County out of the one in every thirty-six granted by Congress for the endowment of free public schools the greater part of which has not passed into private ownership. Concurrently with the movement for annexation came a movement to sell this school land. That effort should be rejected and defeated. Chicago has had ample experience of the unwisdom of parting with the landed endowments of the public schools. Among them was once the entire square mile bounded by Madison, State, Twelfth and Halsted streets. That case is one in which "there is no use in crying over spilled milk." The citizens of Chicago and the public officials of years ago could not foresee what

would be the growth of their little city, but we today have no shred of excuse for any such lack of foresight. We know how Chicago will keep on growing and that all lands in or near her borders will grow in value. That no school lands shall now or hereafter be sold should be a fixed and settled policy. No price that a private buyer would pay can replace their loss as permanent endowments of our public schools. Here's an opportunity to apply "conservation" principles right at home.



Calling Out the Women.

The Nation (London), March 27.—Mr. Lloyd George said, the other day, that if we were beaten in this war it would be a great setback to democratic ideas. . . . We hope he will recognize that if democracy is to be given a fair trial the Government itself must show some confidence in democratic methods and some respect for democratic principles. We urged long ago that the trade unions should be called into council, and that at every stage in the organization of industry the workpeople should be treated as responsible partners in the cares and perils of the State, and not as children or as mere instruments. A very important point has now been reached in the readjustment of our industrial machinery to our new situation. The mobilization of women for the services from which men have been withdrawn by enlistment has become a definite Government policy, and registers have been opened for this purpose at the Labor Exchanges. The advantages of this course are obvious enough. It is essential that all our energies should be brought into play; it is all to the good that the importance of women's work and women's capacity should be thus publicly and formally recognized; the experience will be for thousands of homes an adventure in new ideas, with consequences that promise emancipation from a good many cramping conventions. But it is not less clear that the manner in which this policy is put into practice is of the utmost importance. If it were to degenerate into the supplying of cheap labor, it would bring a great train of misery and degradation to men and women. If it is to succeed, it must be a deliberate, careful scheme, safeguarded against sweating, with the fullest provision both for the present and for the future; a plan not less complete than the plans for mobilizing an army. How is such a plan to be prepared? It is, on the face of it, absurd enough that the society which is calling on women in this way allows them no vote; that absurdity clearly cannot survive this final and crushing exposure of its injustice. Nobody can pretend that the conditions on which women take employment at the urgent call of the State are important only to men, or that men are alone entitled to any voice in determining those conditions.



We ought not to teach children the sciences, but to give them taste for them.—Rousseau.



The jail for Thought is the ante-chamber of the Pantheon! And the magistrates cannot go out without passing the statue of one of their victims.—Kropotkin.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

WHY DO THE WHEELS GO AROUND?

Harriet Monroe.

Why do the wheels go whirring round,
Mother, mother?

Oh, mother, are they giants bound,
And will they growl forever?

Yes, fiery giants underground,
Daughter, little daughter,
Forever turn the wheels around,
And rumble-grumble ever.

Why do I pick the threads all day,
Mother, mother,
While sunshine children are at play,
And must I work forever?

Yes, shadow-child; the livelong day,
Daughter, little daughter,
Your hands must pick the threads away,
And feel the sunshine never.

Why do the birds sing in the sun,
Mother, mother,
If all day long I run and run,
Run with the wheels forever?
The birds may sing till day is done,
Daughter, little daughter,
But with the wheels your feet must run—
Run with the wheels forever.

Why do I feel so tired each night,
Mother, mother?
The wheels are always buzzing bright;
Do they grow sleepy never?
Oh, baby thing, so soft and white,
Daughter, little daughter,
The big wheels grind us in their might,
And they will grind forever.

And is the white thread never spun,
Mother, mother?
And is the white cloth never done,
For you and me done never?
Oh, yes, our thread will all be spun,
Daughter, little daughter,
When we lie down out in the sun,
And work no more forever.

And when will come that happy day,
Mother, mother?
Oh, shall we laugh and sing and play
Out in the sun forever?
Nay, shadow-child, we'll rest all day,
Daughter, little daughter,
Where green grass grows and roses gay,
There in the sun forever.



There are two kinds of talkers, those who don't stop to think, and those who don't think to stop.—
Advance Advocate.

A HALF TOLD TALE.

For The Public.

In one of the text books used in some of the colleges I found the following statement: "During the war of Independence, the British manufacturers accumulated large stocks of goods, which they shipped after peace was restored to this country at a low price, thus threatening our manufacturers with great loss. Accordingly, the congress increased the duty on the British goods, thus protecting the home manufacturer."

I had the privilege of an interview with one of the authors of that book.

"Let us complete that story," I suggested. "During the war of Independence the food supplies, the lumber and other raw materials, which the Americans could supply in such abundance, were cut off to such a degree that many of the people in the old land were reduced to starvation, while the great landowners were enabled to extort larger rents. As soon as the war ceased the Americans threatened to inundate the old land with the abundance of their products at a cheap rate, and thus reduce the incomes of the land owners. To save themselves from this intense competition they succeeded in getting the obnoxious corn laws passed to protect their home industry.

"Tell me, please?" I asked. "Did not the American manufacturers and the British landlords try to prevent the people getting the blessing of peace?"

The professor nodded assent.

"When the British tried to send the abundance of their cheap products to this country, and the Americans tried to send their cheap timber, their cheap wheat and other products to the British, were they not doing just exactly what God intended they should do?"

The answer was a little hesitating.

"Were they not doing their duty to one another, each trying to confer his greatest benefit on his fellow men, an exchange of enrichment for enrichment?"

Again he indicated his assent.

I asked further, "Were not these two parties, the American manufacturer and the British landlord both trying to restore and perpetuate the villainy of the blockade? Was not this practically restoring one of the conditions of warfare?"

"It looks like it," he replied.

"And you must have noticed the effect of all this on the souls of these men. I know a gentleman who is reputed to be a millionaire. He is at the head of a large manufacturing establishment. When he wants to hire laborers, he insists on the privilege or right of getting his labor wherever it is the cheapest on the face of the earth. In that he wants absolute free trade, abundance and cheapness. He wants the workmen to be subjected to the most intense competi-

tion of the whole world. But, when he goes to sell, then he votes for a tax of nominally forty per cent, but practically upwards of sixty per cent to be placed on the poorest of the poor. That man has great influence with the government and he has spared no pains to take the poorest of the poor, metaphorically, by the throat, to squeeze a considerable share of their small pay into his pocket. Love of justice and love of fairness seem to have withered in that man's soul and yet he occupies a foremost place in the church."

The professor, whom I believe to be a very good man, seemed to agree with all I said.

I could not avoid a good many thoughts. Without freedom of trade all civilization and all prosperity would inevitably cease. We would lapse into starvation and the depths of barbarism. Men would no more think of abolishing free trade between the different states than they would think of tearing up their railroads and sacking their cities, and yet let them come to the invisible line that separates the States from a neighbor, then they dread free trade as though it were a desolating army and therefore they call it an invasion.

People can look across the river from Windsor to Detroit; but for many transactions they might just as well be at the antipodes.

W. A. DOUGLASS.



A VISION.

For The Public.

It was THE holiday, which is yearly getting a little better understood. I was in my car rolling peacefully to the farm for cream and milk and eggs, and to greet my co-operator who lives on this "only farm." My! but the snow glistened and sparkled in the glorious sunlight; only the road my wheels ran on was not white and glistening with it. The patient colored man had dragged the snow off the road track and so my car rolled along in peace and comfort.

Now, my car is a 1912 model; none that I ever heard of turned round for a second look at its splendor three years ago when it was new; if they had any interest at all it was rather as to how I had paid cash for it, or if not, how I had got the credit. I properly pass as an amusing inefficient among the skilled car drivers of my acquaintance; while this is hard upon my ambitious soul, it does not seem to keep the good old car from ticking right along. Early in life it was drilled into me that, if you treated others, persons and things included, as you would be treated, you would have an easier time and more joy. This became so much a matter of course with me that the old car has always had the proper amount of oil everywhere, and is seldom asked to do as much as its horse power says that it can; personally I hate to go hungry, and to have to do all that I possibly can.

I do not know what happened to me that morning, but I was not thinking of my debts and pressing needs, nor of the things undone upon the "only farm," which usually fill my mind to overflowing on that road. Instead I was listening to the clean song of ticks my engine was singing, and was reveling in its instant response to the throttle and clutch. I was wrapped up in the sound of it, as I drove up a grade as slowly as I could go, when over the glistening snow there approached me a group of men in clothes I never saw except upon the stage. As I marveled my engine seemed to say with its clean exhaust ticks, "These are the men who did not worship explosion as a fearful god to be propitiated and avoided; they approached, and finally understood in consequence, explosion. I run because of the courage which drove these men long ago, to make this God-created power, explosion, useful for the service of mankind." There followed another body of men; some were in clothes more common, some of them in the garb of today. Said my engine, with its clean-cut ticks, "These are they who were so untiringly curious that they found out the various powers in petroleum and metals, and latent in God's universe, and systematized their attainment for the service of mankind. Because of that burning and unturning spirit that drove them I run today." Next came a body of keen and satisfied-looking men, not so impressive quite as those who went before. Said my engine, "These are the men who could and did collect what of their incomes people do not use for shelter, food, clothes, education and amusements, and turned this money into refineries and factories, paying the owners of this money interest; because of their labor in using an economic law I run today." Then came a fine crowd of men in business clothes and overalls and some naked to the waist. The air filled with sounds; I distinguished the clang of the German tongue, the healthy bath-towel effect of the Scotch tongue, the rippling smoothness of the Italian, and the slur of the southern English. Said my engine, "These are the men who actually make and sell me; because of their labor I run upon this road today." And the slopes seemed to suddenly become a crowd of people, people of today, and all colors and nations, a veritable host the landscape hardly held them. Said my engine, "These are the men who teach, who farm, who railroad, who sew, who carpenter and build, who mine, who run 'movies' and circuses and grand opera, who preach, who agitate, who govern; because of their labor in feeding, teaching, amusing and governing these others. I am running along this road today."

And the joy if it filled me to the brim; why, I was right next to the folk who had increased the life of myself, and my lady, and the kids forty per cent; it fairly spoiled my sense of the fitness of things. Forgetting that I had not been introduced, and did not know their names, I cried aloud

with all my power, my thanks and gratitude for the priceless gift, my car, which was due to their labor, courage, persistence, and understanding. But this enthusiasm of mine seemed to be a frost; their faces assumed a pitying and scornful look, and as one man they answered, "Do not swell up, brother; you did not enter our minds; we have never been introduced to you and you may be an anarchist, free trader, wife beater, or thief, for all we know. We work that we may live and satisfy our desires; you do not figure in the deal when we exert our reason and our faculties, when we labor."

But the scene had got into my blood so that I never could be snubbed or silenced; something in me, better than am I, answered with an organ's power: "It does not signify whether you know me or not; to me it is nothing that you made my car to satisfy your own desires; it is because of your labor and your reasoning power, and your resistance, that my family and I are made broader and more efficient by this flying carpet, this beloved car. Because you, co-operating under the natural law of self-preservation and least resistance, produced this joy of ours, this priceless aid to living, in no way changes the fulness of our thanks and gratitude. That it may not seem to you that I am using hot air merely, I hereby pledge myself to so use my reason, my faculties, and my persistence, that co-operating with the students of the farm colleges, the manufacturers of farm implements and fertilizers, and my immediate neighbors, there may be more and better pork, apples, butter, eggs and milk come off this 'only farm,' for your satisfaction while you labor."

And then I turned into the farm, and shut off the magneto, and wished my co-operators the seasonal wishes; and then I checked up what ought to be done and provided, and got right back among my debts and needs and undoneness. But until I die, or go too broke to buy gasoline, I shall never fail sometimes to see that goodly host of my brother man while my engine sings. And as I listen, at least I shall never forget the pledge I made, driven by something better and more far-seeing than am I.

GEORGE HUGHES.



COMPANION SONNETS

For The Public.

I.

The Poets to the Martyrs.

Our futile lays may show in faltering line
Your deeds, who suffer, toil and sink;
Our feet may stand secure on terror's brink
While pensively our pitying eyes resign
Their gaze, aloof, to scrutiny benign
Of all the woes that human flesh may shrink:
While grinning inquisitions nod and blink,
And all convention spurns your dear design.

For lo, 'tis ye, where horror's face is white
Who know, through gaping wounds, the thing we
write.

'Tis such as ye who bear the aching lash;
Receive on cheek and brow the livid gash,
Red mark of mailed heel and human greed.
Ours, service of the lip—yours of the deed!

II.

The Martyrs to the Poets.

In sleep and sloth, we lay on lotus fed;
Our dreams drew swiftly onward from our sight;
Upon our couches fell the dew and blight
Of drowsy autumns. Then, a voice that pled:
"Arise, O man, and from your heavy head,
Throw back the hair! Stretch forth thine might!
Hark ye, how pallid women shriek in fright;
Behold, your brothers stoned and left for dead!"

Clear rang the challenge from the upper air;
The notes were vibrant with a fierce despair.
Our blades leaped out like lions from the lair!
Say not, O poets, that your songs are vain;
Have ye not suffered with a subtler pain,
A deeper torture—that of heart and brain?

RICHARD WARNER BORST.

BOOKS

THE ROCKEFELLER EDUCATION BOARD.

The General Education Board. 1902-1914. Published by the General Education Board, 61 Broadway, New York. 1915.

There is much to learn from the report of John D. Rockefeller's educational gifts since 1902, which have during that period been administered wholly by the General Education Board, then created for the purpose and now publishing the first formal account of its activities. The distinguished personnel of this Board is a matter of general interest. Frederick T. Gates has been chairman since 1907, and the other members at present are: Walter H. Page, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Albert Shaw, Wallace Buttrick, Starr J. Murphy, Edwin A. Alderman, Hollis B. Frissell, Harry Pratt Judson, Charles W. Eliot, Andrew Carnegie, Edgar L. Marston, Wickliffe Rose, Jerome D. Greene, Anson Phelps Stokes, Abraham Flexner, George E. Vincent. Not including a \$13,000,000 designated gift to the University of Chicago, and \$10,000,000 to the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, there had been distributed by this board up to June 30, 1914, nearly sixteen million dollars. Of this \$10,500,000 went to colleges and universities, \$2,600,000 to medical schools, \$1,000,000 to farm demonstration and rural school work in the South, and \$700,000 to Negro education. "At the present time the Board's resources are valued at \$33,939,156.89."

Improvement of educational facilities in the South was one of the special objects of the Board and—strange to discover!—the first lion in the road was Poverty. "The great bulk of the people of the South [85 per cent rural] was simply not earning enough to provide proper homes and to support good schools." With its good climate and redeemable soil, the South should be prosperous; "but the Southern farmer suffered from lack of scientific knowledge of agriculture. . . . It was therefore deliberately decided to undertake the agricultural education, not of the future farmer, but of the present farmer, on the theory that, if he could be substantially helped, he would gladly support better schools in more and more liberal fashion." The Co-operative Farm Demonstration movement, under the direction of Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, was the result. This work was done, according to a mutual agreement signed in 1906 by the United States Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the General Education Board, under the entire control of the Federal Department of Agriculture but financed by the Education Board. To this combination of Federal and private agencies there has recently been voiced popular objection and the partnership has, we believe, been discontinued. The work itself showed immediate and increasingly marvelous results, as it spread here and there all over the Southeastern States. One Negro farmer expressed it thus: "You done turned de kivers down and waked us up."

The college and university endowment work of the Board is supposedly better known; but its extent is still a surprise. Full information with tables and maps is given. The chapter on medical education, with its advocacy of "the full-time clinical teacher" as in Johns Hopkins and the medical department of Washington University, St. Louis, is a fairly good argument against the present almost universal custom of combining clinical teaching with private practice. Negro and country school improvement in the South is described briefly in the last chapters, which, like others, are most interestingly illustrated by photographs, of three-room schools where one used to be, of prize gardens and proud pupils and industrial exhibits.

The Rockefeller Board has apparently seen the need for the person of large executive and tactful originating powers in the educational field, has sought him out and then presented him with those rarest of teachers' tools, freedom and money.

Organized philanthropy, religion and commerce all appreciate the vital importance of education, and, frankly or covertly, consciously or instinctively, in large or little, seek to bend it to their individual purposes, at least to shape it to their own ideals. Out of some of these private experiments much good can come if only organized society is not caught napping; if, fully awake to the limitless possibilities in education and the fundamental

principles of equality upon which American education is based, the whole people themselves shall more generously endow the public school and always jealously ward off any attack upon its democracy.

A. L. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Four Weeks in the Trenches. By Fritz Kreisler. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

—The Road Toward Peace. By Charles W. Eliot. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

—The Man Who Forgot. By James Hay, Jr. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.25 net.

—America in Ferment. By Paul Leland Haworth. Published by the Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

PERIODICALS

The People's War in Mexico.

Lincoln Steffens has just visited Vera Cruz, interviewed Carranza and, under the caption, "The Sunny Side of Mexico," reports his findings in the May number of the Metropolitan. The journey started off with a look-in upon Wall street and its opinion of Mexico; and next, a stop-off at Havana to inquire why the Cuban people dislike Americans, with the discovery that "intervention is interference, and the resentment of interference is human. And it is growing." At Vera Cruz "all classes, except only the leisure class, were riding, fast, and noisily, and gaily, up and down the narrow little old streets." One somehow sympathizes with this townful of joy-riders. This unholy leniency possibly may be Mr Steffens' fault. How it came about, he tells; and his conversations with all sorts of chance acquaintances are most enlightening. But it is the Carranza interview, with Mr. Steffens' comments, that all fair-minded Americans would do well to read. Wall street, Mr. Steffens says, understands Carranza too well and will have none of him.

The "Interests" that corrupted the Mexico of Diaz, financed the murder of Madero and the revolutions against the revolution, have sounded Carranza, and—they are dead against him. It was the hope I heard expressed of Villa's "reasonableness" in Wall Street and the despair of Carranza's that sent me, first, to Vera Cruz. . . . My impression is that Carranza, a mere indignant gentleman once, and a reformer, has been converted by the radicals about him and by events into a relentless revolutionist, and that, as such, he resents deeply the failure of the progressive part of the world to notice that "the" revolution which mankind has been looking for so long, with hope and dread, is "on" in Mexico. He said so. "What you don't understand, I think," he said, "is that this is an economic, not a political, revolution. You keep asking us to establish peace first, then set up a constitutional government, and then enact our reforms. I understand why you want that. That is the way you did it. Well, that is the way we did

it in our revolution for independence from Spain. We established a good, strong government with a great constitution; a constitution much more advanced than yours. But you foreigners—all of you, and our upper class Mexicans—the enemies of the Mexican people and of liberty and justice everywhere—they corrupted our government. They took it away from the Mexican people and made it theirs. . . . That's one big point where I differed with Villa. He wanted government first. But I said, 'No,' the buzzards that are sitting around watching and waiting in New York and El Paso, in London and Paris and Madrid and Havana; they are the modern doves of peace; they will come with loans and—' he flashed, 'with bribes, and they will get our government!' . . . We will fight on and on for all that we want; all. It's a people that is fighting. And we are all becoming poor, all; all together. There are fewer and fewer that can afford to make loans and offer bribes." He lifted his head, threw back his shoulders and, "All the while," he said, "We, on our side are legislating. My cabinet are commissioners; they join with others, experts and radicals, and very deliberately, very freely, they are drawing up laws, which I am uttering as decrees. These are being put into effect now. They go out to the states under our influence, and these laws and their purposes are explained to the people, who accept them, act upon them, get lands under them and— By the time the revolution is over," he said, "those laws will be laws of the land, customs of the country, a real constitution."

A. L. G.

Man, the Destroyer.

The April number of American Forestry (Washington, D. C.), looks at first glance like anything but a conservation magazine; for there have crept into its pages pictures of the irreparable destructiveness of war—photographs, for example, of soldiers chopping down great old forest trees to use for pontoon bridges and other temporary trifles. But especially is there a most interesting illustrated account of the bootless bombardment last September of Papeete, the port town of the French South Pacific island, Tahiti, by two German cruisers. An English-speaking native Polynesian, an eye-witness, tells the story, unedited, vivid, and lightened by the touch of humor that keeps man-kind sane, even when war in Europe suddenly shoots up a peaceful Society Island town 12,000 miles away.

A. L. G.

Tahanto on the Map.

A three column description of Tahanto, the single tax enclave near Harvard, Massachusetts, founded by Fiske Warren, is given in the Springfield Republican of April 25. It differs from the usual newspaper description of things unconventional in that it is written intelligently and in a spirit of fairness. Those who wish information concerning this latest development in the way of a single tax colony, will find what they want in this issue of the Republican.

S. D.

No laws are binding on the human subject which assault the body or violate the conscience. The right of personal security consists in a person's legal or uninterrupted enjoyment of his life, his limbs and his reputation. Both the life and limbs of a human subject are of such high value in the estimation of the law that it pardons even homicide if committed in defense of them, or in order to preserve them.—Blackstone.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

The Case of Billy Sunday. By Franklin Steiner. Published by The Truth Seeker Co., 62 Vesey St., New York. Price, 5 cents.

The Mexican Revolution and the Nationalization of the Land. Address by Doctor Atl, Whitehall Bldg., Room 334, New York. 1915.

Poems of a Socialist Priest. By Irwin St. John Tucker. Published by the Author, 68 W. Washington St., Chicago. 1915. Price, 25 cents.

Science of Value: A Cash Market. By Henry Rawie. Published by the Author, 1947 Broadway, New York. 1915. Price, 25 cents.

The Constitution and Public Opinion. By Frederic C. Howe. Reprint. Published by the Academy of Political Science, New York. 1914.

The International Institute of China, 23rd and 24th Reports. By Gilbert Reid. Published by the Methodist Publishing House, Shanghai, China. 1914.

Report of the Committee to Investigate Assessment and Taxation, State of Tennessee, 1915. Printed by the McQuiddy Printing Co., Nashville, Tenn.

Liberia and the United States. Address by Frederick Starr, February 12. Reprinted from Unity, and to be obtained from Frederick Starr, University of Chicago.

The Singletax. University Extension Bulletin of the Department of Public Discussion and Debate. Published by the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla., March, 1915.

The Church and International Peace. Europe's War, America's Warning. By Charles S. MacFarland. Published by the Church Peace Union, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Taxation in Indiana, Second Annual Conference Report. Indiana University Bulletin, January 15, 1915. For sale at the University Bookstore, Bloomington, Ind. Price, 25 cents.

Belgium and the "Scrap of Paper." By H. N. Brailsford. Published by the Independent Labor Party, St. Bride's House, Salsbury Square, London. 1915. Price, one penny.

What Can Military Force Do in Mexico? By Norman Angell. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. Reprinted from the Independent of May, 1914.

Wages and Hours of Labor in the Clothing and Cigar Industries, 1911 to 1913. Bulletin 161, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. 1914.

Wages and Hours of Labor in the Building and Repairing of Steam Railroad Cars: 1907 to 1913. Bulletin 163, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 1914.

Report of the Committee for an Investigation of Finances of Municipalities, Stewart L. Tatum, Chairman: Bulletin of the Ohio Legislative Reference Department, Columbus, O. February, 1915.

The Case Against the Singletax. Address by E. T. Allen, and Citations from other Addresses and Reports. Published by the Western Forestry and Conservation Association, Portland, Ore. 1915.

Illinois State Efficiency and Economy Committee Reports: On Charitable and Correctional Institutions, by James W. Garner; On Educational Administration, by John M. Mathews; On the Accounts of the State of Illinois, by George E. Frazer; On Public Health Administration, by John M. Mathews; On Public Administration

In Relation to Agriculture and Allied Interests, by James W. Garner; on the Administration of Labor and Mining Legislation in Illinois, by W. F. Dodd.

Unorganized Working Women in the Sweated Industries: Some Facts. Published by the National Women's Trade Union League of America, Room 1644, 127 N. Dearborn St., Chicago. 1914. Price, 5 cents.

Public Recreation. By Richard Henry Edwards. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin Extension Division, Number 513. Published by the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. February, 1915. Price \$1.00.

The Case of Belgium, in the Light of Official Reports Found in the Secret Archives of the Belgian Government after the Occupation of Brussels. By Bernhard Dernburg. Published by the International Monthly, 1123 Broadway, New York.



"What is a man-of-war?" said a teacher to his class.

"A cruiser," was the prompt reply.

"What makes it go?"

"Its screw, sir."

"Who goes with it?"

"Its crew, sir."—Sailor's Magazine.



One day small Margie was watching the cat perform her toilet. After observing the performance with deep interest for a time, she said:

"Mamma, why don't you put a basin of water on the floor so kitty can wash her face without spitting on her hands?"—Labor Clarion.

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THE SINGLE-TAX NEWS

Union, New York.

We received the following letter from a physician in Missouri: Dear Sir:—I am in receipt of Vol. 1, No. 1, of Single-Tax News. If subsequent numbers are maintained up to the standard of the initial number it is bound to succeed.

I am enclosing herewith \$1 for a year's subscription. Send us your subscription, 75c per year (50 numbers), or if you have any doubts send 2c stamp for a sample copy. Charles LeBaron Goeller, Editor and Owner Union, N. Y.

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Frequently we have calls for books other than those on which our Book Department specializes. A persistent call has been noticeable for books like "A Preface to Politics," "Christianity and the Social Crisis" and "Education and the Larger Life."

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Last year our sales of Singletax books were a little more than twice what they were in 1913. This year, in spite of the general depression, another gain will be registered.

Stanley Bowmar
Manager

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