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EDITORIAL

Wasting Good Material.

Those meddlesome bodies who are talking of burying Brand Whitlock in the Vice-presidency should have a care. Should the long established custom of the Senate prevail, the United States would be deprived of the services of a man which it can ill afford to lose. But Mr. Whitlock is a man of action. His election to the mayoralty of Toledo was followed by continual struggles against municipal graft. His appointment as Minister to Belgium was followed by the European war. And should his fortune continue, his entrance into the "greatest deliberative body on earth" would be the signal for a political cataclysm such as never before disturbed the somnolence of that august body. Let the Senate take warning.

S. C.



Opposition That Encourages.

Henry Ford may well be encouraged by the frantic efforts of militarist newspapers to ridicule and discredit his peace efforts. They would not treat him that way did they not fear that he may meet with success. The abuse that is being heaped upon him is like that which monopoly organs in Oregon and Missouri heaped in 1912 upon Joseph Fels. It is the same as that which upholders of any established wrong have always heaped upon opponents who seemed capable of overthrowing it. The more bitterly that Henry Ford's work is opposed, the more reason there is for confidence in the value of what he is doing.

S. D.



Newspaper Coercion of Advertisers.

What difference is there morally between an advertiser who tries to coerce a newspaper into an editorial policy which it holds to be wrong, and a newspaper publisher who debar proper advertisements from his columns in order to punish the advertiser for his political opinions? A number of London newspapers are reported to have so treated Henry Ford, to punish him for his ad-

vocacy of peace. These publishers have shown by their actions, whatever their verbal professions may be, that they do not stand for free speech, free press or for democracy in any form. S. D.



The Right Spirit.

Had there been among the Socialist deputies of the German Reichstag, or among the democratic elements of any other European national parliament, the same steadfast adherence to principle that is displayed by democratic congressmen like Warren Worth Bailey in opposition to militarist plans, there would be no fratricidal war in Europe today. S. D.



Adjusting the People's Burden.

The old admonition to lay taxes as the old woman picked her geese—to get the most feathers with the least squawking—is still treasured among the axioms of the near-statesmen. Some of the more timid Preparationists hesitate, stammer, and apologize when confronted with the problem of raising the \$500,000,000 that is to be the “starter” in carrying out the preparation program; but the more hardened ones, those who would sacrifice the last widow's son, and the last orphan's dollar before yielding to arbitration, are fertile with suggestions.



To begin with, the \$500,000,000 need not be paid at all. All that the money lenders ask is the interest; and if the bonds be floated at four per cent the annual charge will amount to only twenty cents per capita. Is there a man, woman, or child beneath the folds of the American flag who would begrudge the trifling sum of twenty cents a year for its protection? Perish the thought. Should the tax be levied per dollar, instead of per capita, it would be another matter; but since the poor excel in children as the rich surpass in wealth, the per capita tax meets with the approval of the near-statesman. Hence, his support of the sugar duty. The proposition to repeal the law putting sugar on the free list, which goes into effect May 1, 1915, now has a rival in the shape of a proposal to let sugar go on the free list, according to the present law, and then lay a tax of one cent a pound on all sugar consumed in the country. This plan, according to J. Rex Allen, representing the Federal Sugar Refining Company of Chicago, would secure to the Government \$84,000,000 a year, instead of half that amount as at present.



The proposal to distribute this tax per capita—for children eat the sweets, and the poor have

the children—would make it square with Washington ethics; but it contains a fatal weakness in that it would stop the largesses given to American sugar growers. It would never do to remove the protection from the seventy-five-year-old infant industry of sugar-growing in Louisiana—to say nothing of the still younger infant beet sugar growers of the western states, and the cane growers of Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines. No, no, no, we cannot spare the sugar tax. What other tax bears so equally upon men, women, and children? And is there not a sort of divine fitness in laying the cost of dreadnaughts and superdreadnaughts upon the children? Who, indeed, needs so much protection as an infant? By all means let the Preparationist Congressmen stick close to the nursery. S. C.



The Consequences of a Blunder.

What is described as a war between tenants and laborers on one side and land owners and merchants on the other is reported in press dispatches of November 23 as having broken out in south-east Missouri. It is a literal war in which battles have been fought between armed adherents of both sides. That such a situation should exist is deplorable. It indicates the existence of grievances from which the sufferers see no other escape than through violence. Yet only three years ago these same tenants and laborers rejected an opportunity to peacefully do away with the evils of landlordism. In 1912 the voters of Missouri were called to pass upon a Singletax amendment to the constitution. How did they respond? In many sections of the state no discussion of the matter was even allowed. Probably the uprising will be speedily put down. But the grievances that caused it will remain, and cause more uprisings of the same kind, until the voters realize the mistake they made in 1912, and correct it. S. D.



What Arizona Needs.

A call has been issued by Governor Hunt of Arizona for contributions to relieve distress among the striking miners of the State. The Governor might do more than that. This distress exists because the laws of the State make it easy for owners of mineral lands and other natural resources to hold them out of use until laborers agree to their terms. It is within the Governor's province to call the attention of the Legislature to that fact. The Legislature could remedy the matter by providing for an increased tax on land values, and proportionate relief from taxation of improvements and other labor products. The contest of

endurance between mine owners and miners could not then be so one-sided an affair. Should the Legislature refuse to act, the Initiative could be invoked. It would be a pity if Governor Hunt should let slip so fine an opportunity to advance economic justice in Arizona.

s. D.



Solving the Labor Problem.

That it is the unexpected that happens is again demonstrated by industrial conditions. The problem of the unemployed has been the great world-question of the day. And lo, its solution appears when least expected. Last winter our cities were crowded with idle men, and crime dogged the footsteps of the hungry. This winter employers are casting about for labor to carry out waiting industry. It has all come about as the result of the war. All the men of fighting age are in the armies, and the rest, including the women and children, are engaged in making supplies. Not only is all Europe employed, but the surplus labor of this country has been called upon to make war supplies. Great is Mars, and mighty above all things.

It is now understandable why the Preparationists are in such feverish haste. Should this war cease without another to take its place there will be vast numbers of men thrown out of work, and we shall again be confronted with the problem of unemployment. But if we can get started on that two billion dollar preparation program it will give employment to many men; and before the number of idle becomes threatening we can start a war of our own. It is all very simple. Malthus guessed the answer more than a hundred years ago. Idle men mean too many men. Nature removes the surplus by disease. When she is too slow, man assists with war. This is all very clear to Preparationists. Why are other people so stupid?

s. C.



"Prosperity is Here."

So the newspapers say—but "our" prosperity is a good deal like Greek liberty. It was there all right, but only a few of the privileged class got any of it: the rest were Helots.

BOLTON HALL.



Unemployment and the Divorce Evil.

Court records, says Frank J. Bruno, executive head of the Associated Charities of Minneapolis, show that more wives are granted legal separation on account of the desertion of their husbands than from all other causes combined; and the rec-

ords of the Associated Charities show that a "tremendously large percentage of desertions are brought about by unemployment." And he asks, why not combat the divorce evil by removing unemployment. Mr. Bruno might have made several guesses without coming nearer the truth. The man who said to the woman by his side at the altar, "With all my goods I thee endow," may think, when broken by adversity, and out of a job, that his wife and children would fare better on charity, and so take himself out of the way. This may not depict a very high order of man, but he is quite numerous; and it is possible that the number would be still larger if those who look down upon him with contempt were subject to the same nagging drain of poverty.



Unemployment comes in a state of society where there are more men than jobs; and it may be corrected either by decreasing the number of men, or by increasing the number of jobs. If the problem were one of houseless men, the answer would be more houses. And if there were plenty of empty houses at hand, a move would be made to get the unhoused men into them. The same answer will serve for the unemployed, or jobless, man. All jobs consist of applying labor to land, or to transforming things on the land. All wealth comes out of land by the application of labor. And land is useless without labor. The conclusion seems inevitable that if we can put idle land to use we shall by that act put idle men to work. But society has given its land into the keeping of private individuals, many of whom find more profit for themselves in holding it idle for speculative purposes than in using it productively. Hence, the spectacle of a few men enriched by idle land and many families ruined by idle men. If society owned the idle land, it could invite the idle men to use it in the production of wealth; but since it does not own the land it supports by charity the idle men.



But though society has given away the land to private individuals, it has not surrendered its right to tax it. If, therefore, it should lay a burdensome tax on idle land, as it does on saloons, and ogs, and the issuance of money by State banks, it would have the same tendency to diminish the number of idle lots and idle acres. But with this difference. The things now repressed, or destroyed by taxation, are made by man, so that their destruction means less demand for labor; but the land being already in existence, nothing can be done to it without increasing the

demand for labor. Should society, therefore, lay a burdensome tax on vacant land the owners would be compelled to put it to use, thereby employing labor, and—according to the reasoning of Mr. Bruno—reducing the number of divorces. The proposition frequently heard of taxing bachelors for the purpose of increasing matrimony is sound in principle but wrong in application. Taxation will increase matrimony, but it should be applied to the land, and not to the man. Hence, the conclusion: To decrease divorce, and increase marriage, remove taxes from men, and from the products of their labor, and place them upon land values.

s. c.



Expatriated Virginians.

Attorney General John Garland Pollard, in an address before the Richmond Advertisers' Club, berates those of his fellow citizens who are threatening to move out of the State rather than submit to the inquisitorial methods adopted to determine the taxpayers' liability. He says they are overestimating the importance of their residence in the State, and adds that however much Virginia might like to have them remain, "we cannot afford to pay the extravagant price of unjust and unequal taxation." Just and equal taxation, in the mind of the Attorney General, means the payment to the State by every citizen of a percentage of his wealth, whether tangible, or intangible, visible or invisible; and it is in defense of the law requiring banks to publish lists of their depositors that he criticised the action of his fellow citizens.



It may be questioned, however, whether the attorney general is taking the right course to secure just and equal taxation. Even were he to succeed in getting at all bank deposits, mortgages, and credits—which is something that no State or country ever yet has accomplished—he would merely have raised the rate of interest in Virginia. Virginians may not feel sufficient resentment to make them move out of the State, but unless borrowers paid the tax for them they would very quickly send their money out. If interest be five per cent in Pennsylvania and in Virginia, and the latter State should collect a tax of one per cent, while the former did not, money would flow out of Virginia until the rate of interest rose to six per cent; or, in other words, until the borrower paid the tax. And then where would be the just and equal taxation? Attorney General Pollard should take another look into the subject of taxation.

s. c.

Where American Rule Has Failed.

That the Philippine Bureau of Labor estimates the number of unemployed Filipinos at two millions, is reported by the Manila Independent in its issue of October 16. Sixteen years of benevolent assimilation have evidently failed to benefit these people. How much worse off would be these 2,000,00 unemployed under their own government? How much worse off would be the employed Filipinos whose wages must necessarily be kept down by this army of unemployed? Why should these people be concerned about any possibility of passing under the sovereignty of any other nation than the United States?

s. d.



Encouraging Revolution.

In addressing the Lake Mohonk conference on October 30 Governor Yager of Porto Rico, according to a report in *Justicia* of San Juan, declared universal suffrage on the Island to be a mistake since about 70 per cent of the people are illiterate. Governor Yager is not himself an illiterate and yet he knows no better solution of the labor problem in Porto Rico than emigration. Could an illiterate voter display less knowledge about this most important problem? Governor Yager said further that "most people have acquired their rights of self-government through revolutionary effort," and "there have never been any revolutionary struggles in Porto Rico and this sort of training is lacking." That sounds like a suggestion to Porto Ricans that they had better fit themselves for self-government by engaging in a revolution. The incompetent way in which Porto Rico's problems are being handled, not by illiterates but by officials with school education, might easily provoke the people to try to fit themselves for self government in the manner that Governor Yager recommends.

s. d.



The Basis of Suffrage.

In the November issue of *The Crisis*, Dean Kelly Miller of Howard University opposes woman suffrage. In addition to stereotyped objections he declares that there is no common basis for woman suffrage and Negro Suffrage. If the Dean is correct, then there is no basis for either, or for any other kind of suffrage. The right of suffrage depends upon the right of the governed to participate in government. If it is true that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, then that principle forms the common basis for suffrage to all, women and Negroes included. If that principle is not a cor-

rect one, then the only persons who are justly entitled to vote are those who can prove their divine right to rule the rest. When Dean Miller opposes woman suffrage he opposes democracy, even though he does so unintentionally and unconsciously.

S. D.



Cleveland's Preferential Vote.

The defeat of Peter Witt for Mayor of Cleveland is one of those deplorable mistakes which must be expected to happen occasionally in a democracy. On the face of the returns it would appear as though Cleveland's adaptation of the preferential system was responsible. Witt had a plurality on first choice votes so that under the old method he would have been elected, provided all votes had been cast exactly the same way. On the assumption that this would have been the case, there have been expressions of dissatisfaction with the preferential method, and even advocacy of return to plurality elections. It is natural that there should be disappointment. But that does not justify reaction. The forces of progress can better afford to suffer an occasional defeat, than to give aid and comfort to opponents of majority rule. If the recent result in Cleveland was in accordance with the wishes of the majority it should be accepted. Those who voted wrong must suffer the consequences as well as those who voted right. If the result was not what the majority actually wished, then the remedy is to cure whatever defects there may be in the particular form of preferential voting in vogue. In neither case is return to the old system justified.

S. D.



Ohio's Stability League Complains.

A charge of misrepresentation against The Public is brought by the Ohio Constitutional Stability League. The charge has reference to the editorial entitled "Tories' Fraudulent Tactics," on page 1090. Therein the statement was made that the league had in a newspaper advertisement misquoted a statement in the October issue of Equity so as to convey a false impression concerning the position toward the defeated stability amendment assumed by Dr. C. F. Taylor and his editorial counselors; Wm. S. U'Ren, Senator Robert L. Owen, Dr. William Preston Hill, Senator Robert M. La Follette, Judge Ben B. Lindsey, Samuel Gompers, Senator Moses E. Clapp, Senator Morris Sheppard and William Allen White. The advertisement is too long to be entirely reproduced, but the principal part about Equity's position is as follows:

And Equity, the Organ of the People's Power Movement, then makes a splendid argument for the pending amendment in Ohio, when it says:

"We think it good public policy that decisions by direct vote should be reasonably stable."

"Constant agitation and resubmission at every election we consider hurtful to the idea of reasonable stability in government."

"Equity" is not convinced that a six-year period between elections is a good thing, although it does advocate a four-year period of rest. The paper further discusses the Ohio situation in these words:

"The Ohio proposition aims at any proposal which has already been rejected more than once since September 4, 1912. That limits this proposition at present to some phase of the liquor question, which is a constant disturber in politics. Hereafter, the principle will apply generally, and it would be better to decrease the stasis period from six years to four, or not oftener than at an alternating biennial election.

"The report is circulated that the Constitutional Stability League is in reality the organ of the liquor interests, though the officers of the league insist that the movement is strictly nonpartisan and assert that many supporters of the I. and R. are with them.

"But the stand taken and now reaffirmed by Equity, regardless of which side of the liquor or any other question is behind the Ohio proposal, is on the principle involved. We are for it in principle and believe that a four-year interval for the resubmission of questions twice voted on would increase respect for the Initiative and make it more useful."

The casual reader would gather from this that Equity had endorsed the Stability proposal. With the exception of the paragraph beginning "Equity" is not convinced," all of it seems to approve unqualifiedly, while acknowledgment that it "is not convinced" does not by any means show that it opposed the measure. It should be observed, moreover, that this particular paragraph is the only one that is not in quotation marks, but is so placed as to easily lead a none-too-careful reader into the assumption that it is also a part of Equity's statement. Yet it is upon this sentence that the Stability League rests its defense against the charge of misrepresentation. So far from constituting a defense it is clear that it was inserted to serve as an excuse for omitting the following from Equity's editorial:

But we advise our readers to oppose the present proposition in Ohio because the interval of six years is too long.



The letter from the secretary of the Stability League, Mr. H. A. McKenzie, is as follows:

My attention has been called to the issue of "The Public" November 12, 1915, of an editorial headed "Tories' Fraudulent Tactics."

For your information, I am enclosing herewith copy of the advertisement referred to, in which it is clearly stated throughout that the "Equity" was opposed to the Ohio Constitutional Stability Amendment.

You have either been misinformed, or have wilfully misstated the facts, and I request that you publish a retraction of same.

Your attention is called to the recent Ohio Statutes referring to newspaper libel, etc., which provides for a correction of any newspaper misstatement, etc.

Mr. McKenzie is mistaken. It is not "clearly stated throughout that Equity was opposed to the Ohio Constitutional Amendment." If the statutes referred to by him have any force they must apply to political advertisements. It seems strange that with knowledge of their existence, the Stability League should have been so careless as to suppress a vital sentence, and yet, so careful as to supply a comment of its own to offer a chance to quibble should the suppression be noted. S. D.



ROSEBERY'S WORDS OF WARNING

What wiser words could the American people listen to at this critical period than those which Lord Rosebery spoke incidentally, in a speech recently delivered, about the likelihood and danger of our entering into a policy of preparation? It is nothing short of silliness to accuse a man like Lord Rosebery of having any other purpose in view than the welfare of the whole world. He is a profound thinker, an able historian, a great man, one whose career shows nothing that is mean or narrow. He is a Liberal, in the best sense of the word, a broad-minded statesman with the democratic vision. To attempt to minimize the earnestness and seriousness of his words, as some newspapers have done, by implying that he spoke as a narrow-minded Englishman wishing all countries save England to reject militarism, shows that the writers have no knowledge of the man.

To the honor of the newspapers, however, be it said that they have given wide publicity to the speech, whether or not they agreed with its sentiments. It is well that thousands of Americans had thus the opportunity of reading this utterance of a great and friendly statesman in support of what many of us believe to be the truest patriotism.

But the main thing is that our people, regardless of the author, should ponder the words for what the words are worth. Let us read them again. They can not be printed or read too often.

"I know nothing more disheartening than the announcement recently made that the United States—the one great country left in the world free from the hideous, bloody burden of war—is about to embark upon the building of a huge armada destined to be equal or second to our own. It means that the burden will continue upon the other nations, and be increased exactly in proportion to the fleet of the United States. I confess that it is a

disheartening prospect that the United States, so remote from the European conflict, should voluntarily in these days take up the burden, which, after this war, will be found to have broken, or almost broken, our backs."

Lord Rosebery is not the only statesman of foreign lands who has looked to this country as the hopeful field for the development of new and truly democratic policies, one of which would be freedom from the staggering burden of permanent militarism. Since the foundation of this Union of States, the statesmen of all countries who have believed in popular government and human rights, have looked to us to come out and dare to be different from other nations, and thus to lead in new and better ways. Are we to turn back and simply follow in the old steps of militarism and narrowness, along which have fallen so many nations and civilizations? Are we to decline the opportunity of setting the new example which the nations need? If we do, we shall present the most gigantic example which the world has ever seen of what Dante called The Great Refusal.

There can be no doubt that we are in a critical period, and that the decision will soon be made. The fearful pity is that the chief danger seems to lie in the hands of those who think there is no danger in yielding the fateful inch, which they call preparation.

J. H. DILLARD.



A DISHONEST CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

The Chicago Civic Federation is beginning its campaign for the adoption of the tax amendment to the Illinois Constitution, which is to be voted on November 7, 1916. Data gathered from the recent elections in New York, Maryland, Massachusetts, and Kentucky have been summarized to show the hopeful prospects for the Illinois amendment.

Maryland's action is most encouraging to honest tax reformers. Kentucky has at last ratified a sensible law that it is hoped the courts will not be able to nullify. Massachusetts has taken a step, but only a short one. And New York declined to hasten its pace backwards. But why an advance of the tax reform movement in other States should be accepted as a reason for predicting the success of the Illinois amendment does not appear.

It may be presumed that the amendments voted on in Maryland, Massachusetts, and Kentucky were drawn by men who had a regard for the public decencies, and some conception of a gentle-

man's obligation to abide by the rules of the game; while the members of the legislatures recognized the fiduciary relation between representatives and constituents. The sponsors for the Illinois amendment, however, as well as the members who put it through the legislature had neither the substance nor the appearance of these virtues.

Politicians often profess to be following the will of the people when there is room for an honest doubt as to just what the people want; but in this case there is absolutely no room for doubt. The people had spoken: They had voted upon this particular question, expressed in clear and definite phraseology. In 1912 the question was submitted to the voters of Illinois:

Shall the next General Assembly (in order that the people may be relieved of a system of taxation which places a comparatively heavier burden upon the poor man than upon his wealthier neighbor, which is unjust to all who fall under the full force of its operation and which places a premium upon dishonesty), submit to the voters of the State of Illinois at the next following State election an amendment to the State Constitution providing for the classification of property for purposes of taxation with taxes uniform as to each class within the jurisdiction levying the same?

A spirited campaign was made throughout the State by the friends of the amendment. No one could claim that it was not understood, or that the decision went by default. The vote in favor of the proposition was 541,189, the vote against it 187,467. The legislature chosen at that election frittered away its time, unable to choose between submitting the Initiative and Referendum amendment—which had been endorsed in 1910 by a vote of 447,908 to 128,398—and the property classification amendment endorsed in 1912. As but one amendment could be submitted at a time, the Legislature, like the proverbial ass between two bundles of straw that starved to death because unable to decide which to eat first, died without passing either.

The next Legislature did make up its mind at the last moment, and pass the classification, or tax, amendment. But in doing so advantage was taken for the display of a peculiar talent that is never wholly absent from, and too often is lavishly displayed at, Springfield. Continued references to the popular will by the amendment's sponsors had thrown the friends of tax reform off their guard. But it turned out that while urging obedience to the people, these sponsors disregarded their wishes. It was not discovered till too late for action that the constitutional amendment submitted by the Legislature—in answer to a demand

of the people by a three-to-one vote for the right to classify property for purposes of taxation—gives them only the right to "classify personal property" for purposes of taxation.



This is the amendment that the Civic Federation, the Chicago Real Estate Board, and fellow interests are supporting. The emasculation of the amendment by the secret insertion of the word "personal" was not an accident. This act, which reversed the meaning while retaining its apparent form, was done by design, and is one of the most contemptible pieces of political trickery that has disgraced American politics.

It is not likely that all those who worked for the tax amendment were cognizant of this betrayal of trust; but it is certain that those who continue to support it after the fact is pointed out do by that act make themselves a party to the crime.

The Civic Federation need not look to other States for indications of the fate of this amendment. That was decided the moment the legislative treachery became known. The story will be told throughout the State. The farmers are against it, organized labor is against it, and every honest voter in any calling is against it. It will be the most overwhelmingly defeated amendment ever submitted to the voters of Illinois. s. c.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE FUNERAL OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

Camp Hill, Ala., Nov. 19, 1915.

His earthly career had ended, and his body was surrounded by groups of students and friends. Thousands were upon the grounds. Everywhere were signs of mourning. A subdued spirit was regnant over all the place. The bugle call, summoning the students for the last march in honor of their great teacher, seemed hushed and far away. Almost with the announcement of the death on Sunday, colored folk began gathering for the funeral, and on the morning of the funeral (Wednesday) this steady stream was augmented by other currents, representing hundreds of sorrowing colored people in all sorts of conveyances—automobiles, trim buggies, and surreys, mule carts and two-horse wagons; still others walking—all going up to do homage to their leader. And such an outpouring of white people, friends from New England and New York and the Central West, neighbors from everywhere in Alabama, educators, editors, lawyers, judges, ministers of the Gospel, together with such an outpouring of the farmers of the country-side and citizens of Tuskegee, Birmingham and Montgomery! Every place of business at Tuskegee was closed during the hour of service. Was there ever such an occasion before in the State

of Alabama? Few occasions similar to this have ever occurred in this country. Every one seemed to be standing at the bier of a friend. The beautiful chapel was thronged. Nearly half of its space was reserved for white friends. The immense platform, which all friends of Tuskegee will remember, was banked with beautiful flowers. Such a collection is rarely seen. Flowers of every kind and variety, flowers from everywhere, immense set pieces from some sorrowing fraternity or organization, mingled with a tiny bouquet from some humble admirer. All seasons were represented, the flowers of the spring with those of summer and autumn. The great simple-hearted man, no doubt, would have mourned the plucking and fading of the God-smile among the plants, but he could not speak, and it seemed as though the multitudes were mutely saying: "This is all we can do; we bring these flowers." And such a stream constantly pouring in from all entrances to take the last look. Young students in regulation uniform of the school stood as a guard of honor. A judge of the court, followed by an old mammy with turbaned head and unsteady gait and then perhaps a distinguished bishop of the colored church. Then awkward country colored youth carrying their horse-whips as they pass by, elegant ladies from Montgomery or Tuskegee also in the march, and the statuesque guard of honor always at attention. A far away strain of music, Chopin's Funeral March, over and over again we hear. Finally, the arrival of the students marching—a march that seemed endless, filling up pew after pew and standing in the aisles, then the quick appearance of the girls, with another seemingly endless procession, and finally, with the last strains of the music dying away, the widow, led by the venerable John H. Washington, with the immediate family, enter and take their places. Lastly, the Board of Trustees, led by the chaplain, find seats on the platform. The great choir sings and a few sentences by the chaplain follow. A marvelous interpretive reading of the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians is given by a member of the Phelps Hall Bible School, followed by "Lead, Kindly Light." Dr. Hollis B. Frissell, the distinguished head of Hampton Institute, who had been Mr. Washington's teacher and long-time friend, offered prayer, the most beautiful, the most haunting, that the writer has ever heard. Then the choir sang, "Swing Low, Sweet Charlot." A brief telegram was read from Seth Low, addressed to the Vice-Principal, Mr. Warren Logan, and Mr. W. G. Wilcox of New York paid a brief, but touching tribute to the great founder and assured the workers of the hearty support of the Board of Trustees. At no time was there uncontrollable anguish. It did not seem that he was gone. The sublimity and grandeur was almost overmastering. The choir rendered, "Tell My Children Not to Grieve For Me," and it seemed to be his word to his friends.

Years ago Mr. Andrew Carnegie, while visiting at Tuskegee, said that to his thinking, the most wonderful thing about the whole institution was not her factories nor shops, nor yet her schoolrooms nor library. "The most wonderful thing," said Mr. Carnegie, "is her heavenly music." Mr. Carnegie had heard music all over the world, but at Tuskegee he heard the best. I have been at Tuskegee many times, and have

heard many programs, but never such rhythm, such harmony, such divine touch and tone as at this funeral.

Booker Washington is not dead, and some way no one there seemed to feel that he was gone. He lives in the lives of millions of his race. He was yesterday and is today in countless homes where he had taught his people a new life and living, and into the old homes he has given a new grace and tenantry. Booker Washington lives in the hearts, not only of those who speak the English tongue, but in the lives of those who do not know our language and its meaning. Booker T. Washington lives as Christ lives. He is alive as Paul is yet alive. His voice is as the voice of Lincoln—that Lincoln who cast off the shackles. Call Booker T. Washington educator, orator, statesman, patriot, if you will, but above them all, call Booker T. Washington the real emancipator of his race. And at every new success his race attains, we will say in our hearts: Booker T. Washington still lives.

LYMAN WARD, Principal,
The Southern Industrial Institute, Camp Hill, Ala.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE PREFERENTIAL BALLOT IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

Cambridge, Mass., Nov. 23.

The question has been asked if, in the light of the recent Cleveland city election, I still think that the Bucklin preferential ballot is the best available for municipal purposes. My answer is unqualifiedly Yes; and so far as I can judge from the returns, the Cleveland election should have none but confirmatory influence on this conviction. It certainly should not militate against it for the Cleveland election appears clearly to have done precisely what the preferential ballot is intended to do. It worked perfectly in harmony with what is expected of it, and what more could one ask?

I need hardly say that that I am personally much disappointed that the people of Cleveland are not yet quite ready for Peter Witt. The election shows, however, that he was the minority candidate, and no fundamental democrat under those circumstances could consistently desire his election. The flutter over the preferential ballot which his defeat has caused among a few fundamental democrats is rather surprising to me, but I feel confident it will be short lived. Such persons ought to be the first to see that the preferential ballot is intended to defeat a good candidate desired only by the minority, just as certainly as it is to defeat a bad candidate under similar circumstances.

I would not oppose the Hare system as an essential part of the proportional representation plan, simply because for that purpose I believe it is the best we can do. For the election of a single candidate, however, like the Mayor of Cleveland, I regard it materially inferior to the system used in Cleveland, not only on account of its clumsiness, the necessity to grade candidates numerically in order to vote for them, and, worst of all, the danger, inherent in its feature of dropping the low men, of

being likely to elect one of the worst of the candidates. I mean by that, one of the least desired of the candidates rather than one of the most desired. While the Bucklin system may sometimes fail to elect the very best from a list of candidates, it is very unlikely to elect any but one of the best, and is particularly safe against the worst.

I think I am right in stating that the believers in the Bucklin preferential ballot agree in advocating it merely as the safest and simplest known means for protecting, in the choice of public officials, the majority interest against machines, as well as too advanced or other minority interests. It cannot, of course, insure a majority for the winning candidate—no system of voting can do that in any but a factitious sense—but it does, I believe, offer a greater likelihood than any other known practicable procedure that the winner will be of a type reflecting the majority sentiment of the community. It minimizes the chances for harm and opens wide the chances for good. This is as much as can be expected of an instrument for public expression. No election procedure can be expected to be either apathy-proof or fool-proof.

Some well meaning people are doubtless disturbed over results from preferential voting in other places than Cleveland. For example, in some places there is a rash assumption that the second and other choices are of no value because in a recent election they did not happen to affect the final result; in other places, as in Cleveland, there is perturbation because they did. Elsewhere there is disappointment because the number of second and other choices is few.

The answer to the first two criticisms is fairly obvious. Because the candidate leading in first choices frequently wins is no reason why we and he should not have the important additional knowledge that he was really the one of the lot whom the voters on the whole preferred in spite of an apparent majority against him in first choices. This in addition to the safeguarding effect of the second and other choices against deliberate attempts to defeat the majority by a close knit minority behind a selfish candidate, is of course ample justification for the additional choices. Whether the people use them or not will depend a good deal whether there are a number of desirable and well known candidates. Undoubtedly, it frequently happens that such candidates are few; in such case there is no reason why there should be many second or other choices. Voters are not to be expected to vote for unknown or undesirable candidates just for the sake of increasing the number of choices voted. Moreover, how fully a citizen will mark his ballot will depend very largely upon the means afforded by the local press and other agencies for acquainting him with the merits of candidates, to say nothing of acquainting him with the importance of the second and other choices. In some large cities I infer that very little has been done by the press, or otherwise, to familiarize voters with the importance of the choices other than first. In Portland, Oregon, however, the Oregonian, in a recent campaign, did some admirable work in instructing voters as to the full possibilities under the new method of election.

In a word, I regard the Cleveland election a good

illustration of the value of the preferential ballot, even though the winner was not the man of my choice. I think we should waste no time bewailing this form of election, but in developing a better comprehension of it as the best one known for cities—at least until something superior is suggested. Your readers may be interested to know that it has been adopted in forty-eight American cities with an aggregate (1910) population of 2,514,260.

LEWIS J. JOHNSON.



NOT TRUE SINGLETAX.

Berkeley Springs, W. Va., November 22, 1915.

I notice in *The Public* for October 29th, a quotation from the Pittsburgh Press on the report of Professor Haig of Columbia on the project of adopting Pittsburgh's tax system in New York. In this quotation occurs the following passage: "The Professor is obliged to concede, however, that the system in its most radical form—namely the Singletax—has worked well in western Canada, where it has been in operation extensively for many years. (Pittsburgh has had it for four years.)"

The Press seems to be making as loose statements as even Professor Haig. Western Canada has not had the Singletax in operation at all, anywhere, and if Pittsburgh has had it for four years I have been defrauded of the opportunity of moving to Pittsburgh by that fact having been concealed from me.

It would seem to me wise to lose no opportunity of calling attention to erroneous statements like these. The news was widely bruited abroad that Vancouver had the Singletax. Some of us kept constantly pointing out that no city, even though it may collect taxes on land values exclusively, can be said to have the Singletax when it is constantly floating great issues of city bonds for the purpose of carrying on its municipal program. The boom in Vancouver and its subsequent collapse have shown that Vancouver not only has not the Singletax, but that she probably does not know what the Singletax is.

HERBERT QUICK.



ANTI-CHRISTIANITY IN THE PULPIT.

New York, Nov. 26, 1915.

The imposing array of pulpit "pleas for preparedness" launched in this long-suffering city yesterday would have been more effective if an incautious reporter had not included in his this morning's summary the remarks of Dr. John Henry Jowett of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church. Dr. Jowett, it seems, refused to discuss preparedness and said, towards the close of his sermon:

Last week I received a printed circular requesting me to use my sermon today for the advancement of military and naval preparedness. I desire to express no opinion. It may be desirable or it may be undesirable, but with all my heart and soul I will say to you that in my opinion the pulpit is not the place for that question.

However, Dr. Jowett left it free for some others of us to express our opinions as to the organizations who thus attempt to influence the pulpit. . . . and as to the clergymen who allow themselves to be thus influenced and who then give their "on order" sermons as their own ideas.

A wide-spread knowledge of the facts will be quite sufficient to condemn these "ministers of God."

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

QUESTIONS TO THINKING AMERICANS

Dallas, Texas, Nov. 22.

(1) If, after the present conflict in Europe is ended and all scores are settled, one of the first powers were to disarm, say England, France, Germany or Russia, would you as a citizen of the United States desire your government to press our demands more strongly in any controversy with that nation than you otherwise would desire if such nation had not disarmed?

(2) Have you any reason to believe that the majority of the 18,000,000 citizens of the United States would feel different about this proposition?

(3) What would you think of a citizen of the nation who would be more inclined to press our claims in a dispute with a disarmed nation than with a nation armed?

(4) Have you any reason to believe that the people of England, France, Germany or Russia would entertain views on this proposition as applied to the United States different from yours towards them?

(5) Then under such reasoning, would not disarmament by the United States of America be practically a reasonably safe move for the government to take?

G. B. FOSTER.

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, November 30, 1915.

Mexico.

A conference between General Carranza and Governor Ferguson of Texas at Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, has resulted in an understanding whereby the American and Mexican authorities will cooperate in the suppression of brigandage. Appeals to central authorities will be waived, and local officers will have power to act. [See current volume, page 1147.]

An exchange of shots took place at Nozales, Mexico, on the 26th between the American and Villa troops. When the Villa soldiers evacuated the town at the approach of Carranza forces, some of the men fired into the American ranks. The fire was returned. More than twenty Mexicans are reported killed or wounded. One American was killed and two were wounded. General Villa's defeat at Hermisillo is said to have been severe. He is reported to be at Magdalena, whither General Rodriguez with his army is trying to join him. Villa's fortunes seem to be at a low point.

Emphatic denial of Mexican outrages on Roman Catholic priests and nuns is made by Joseph P. Tumulty, secretary to the President. Mr. Tu-

multy, himself a Catholic, spoke for the Administration. Replying to the letter of Dr. James J. McGuire inquiring why the Carranza government had been recognized after it had committed such outrages on the church, Mr. Tumulty said:

There is no official record of a single proven case of this crime upon the records of the State department.

There have been many unsubstantiated reports of this nature, but none of our consuls or special agents who have diligently investigated reported cases has been able to verify them.

The Spanish cabinet decided on the 25th to recognize General Venutiana Carranza as head of the de facto government in Mexico.

European War.

Reports from the eastern front indicate that the German forces have abandoned for the present efforts to take Riga, and are retiring to points where they can dig themselves in for the winter. Petrograd reports minor successes in repeated attacks south and west of the Dvina River. Elsewhere on the eastern front no changes are reported. Lesser engagements have occurred in northern France and Belgium, but little change has occurred in the long, fortified line. Recourse to the use of aeroplanes is more frequent, both for shelling fortifications, and in attacking other aeroplanes. [See current volume, page 1147.]

Berlin announces the attainment of the Teuton objective in Serbia. An unobstructed rail communication to Constantinople, the northern Serb army driven into Montenegro and Albania, and the southern Serb army, with the Allies held on a line running east and west a little north of Monastir. This announcement is interpreted by military critics to mean that the Austro-German forces will not press the Serbs further until they have assured themselves of immunity from the threatening Russians and Roumanians. Roumania has shown more friendliness to the Allies, and it is persistently rumored that she will join them when they have 500,000 men in the Balkans. The French and British are reported to have 125,000 men in Serbia and Bulgaria, with 4,000 landing daily at Saloniki. Italy is said to be sending 40,000 to Albania. And Russia is credited with assembling on the northern bank of the Danube at Reni and Ismail, and at Odessa, 350,000 men, who will cross the eastern border of Roumania into Bulgaria. If there is truth in these reports the Teutonic forces will be unable to make much use of their rail route to the East until the Allies have been overcome. The Serbian capital has been moved to Scutari in Albania.

Italy's increased activity appears to be attain-

ing practical results. Small gains have been made in the Trentino, where they now occupy Roveredo and Mori at the head of Lake Garda. The assaults upon Goritz continue with increased fury. The city is said to be a heap of ruins. Many of the outlying forts have been taken, and there is every indication that the city is on the point of capitulation. The decision of Italy to send troops to the Balkans is thought to mark the concerted action of all the Allies, following the meeting between the British and French cabinets at Paris, and Earl Kitchener's visit to the East. With the exception of the Anglo-French forces in France and Belgium each country has conducted its own campaign on its own responsibility; but in the Balkans all have come together, and efforts are being made to coordinate their movements.



Earl Kitchener has arrived in Paris, on his way home. During his eastern trip he visited the Dardanelles, Saloniki, Athens, and Rome, effecting a better understanding among the several countries, and concentrating their efforts. His return is taken to indicate that the rumors of uprisings in Egypt and India, which he was destined to repress, were unfounded.



Kaiser Wilhelm entered Vienna on the 29th, to visit the aged Emperor Francis Joseph. This is the first meeting of the two Emperors since the beginning of the war. The German Reichstag begins its sixth session since the war began. Questions of food, the conduct of the war, and its aims are expected to be taken up. It is reported that a new credit of \$2,500,000,000 will be asked by the government.



Persia is reported to be almost in a state of anarchy. Great Britain and Russia who divided the country in spheres of influence had but small garrisons in the country; and German agents have been able to introduce by way of Bagdad sufficient arms to incite an uprising. Russia is sending in troops from the north that are expected to restore order. Britain is pressing her campaign against Bagdad, to capture which would stop Persian supplies through Turkey. The British forces approached within ten miles of Bagdad, but were compelled to fall back for lack of water.



The French cabinet's call for a \$3,000,000,000 Loan of Victory was taken so quickly by the French people that it is expected that the subscriptions will run up to four billion dollars. The cabinet has decided to call 400,000 youths of the class of 1917 to the colors. These young men are 18 years old, and in time of peace would have begun military training in 1917. Instead, they will begin now.

Intense suffering is reported in Poland and in Serbia. It is worse even than that of Belgium during the first year of the war, and less easy to relieve. The question of food excites more and more discussion in Germany, where the poor are reported to be suffering. The Canadian government has commandeered the wheat in Canadian elevators, amounting to 20,000,000 bushels, for the use of the Allies.



Efforts to Bring Peace.

Henry Ford has chartered the Scandinavian steamers Oscar II and Frederick II to take to Europe delegates to a great peace gathering at the Hague. Among these are Louis P. Lochner, John Wanamaker, Governor David I. Walsh of Massachusetts, Mrs. Joseph Fels, Miss Jane Addams, Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones of Chicago, Rev. Washington Gladen of Columbus, Dean Samuel S. Marquis of Detroit, Governor McCreary of Kentucky, Henry C. Morris, formerly United States Consul at Ghent, ex-congressman Richard Bartholdt, Mrs. Helen Loring Grenfell, Mrs. Mary Wright Sewall, John D. Barry, Miss Helen Keller, Rev. Charles F. Aked, Arthur L. Weatherby and others. The Oscar II will sail on December 4, the Frederick II on December 8.



In a letter published on November 28, Mr. Ford says that the party will first proceed to Christiania and take on Norwegian delegates, then to Stockholm to meet Swedish delegates, to Copenhagen for Danish members and thence to Holland. At The Hague the party will meet Dutch, Spanish and Swiss delegates and also representatives of all belligerent nations. The resulting discussion, it is hoped, will show a way toward peace. [See current volume, pages 741, 850, 910.]



Ten thousand telegrams were sent to women's clubs of the United States on November 23, by the Women's Peace Party, of which Jane Addams is president, suggesting that telegrams be sent President Wilson urging him to call a conference of neutral nations to end the war. On November 26 a mass meeting was held at Washington and addressed by Madame Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary, Mrs. Ethel Snowden, wife of Philip Snowden of the British parliament, Mrs. Louis F. Post, and Henry Ford. Resolutions were adopted calling on the President to call the conference of neutral nations. Madame Schwimmer and Mrs. Snowden then called at the White House, presented the resolutions to the President and discussed the matter with him. They received no definite reply.



Anti-War Association.

A call for an Association to abolish war has been issued by Nathan Haskell Dole, 91 Glen Road, Jamaica Plain, Boston, Massachusetts, who

will be temporary secretary, and to whom all requests for information should go. The call states in part:

We believe that the United States ought at once to abandon the hideous war-system and thus lead the way to the universal use of suitable international tribunals and the development among nations of that healthy public opinion which tends everywhere, under a genuine government by the people, to support reasonable decisions of the courts. We believe that national defense consists not in machinery to kill with but in patient and friendly behavior toward other nations, in honorably keeping our treaties—as for example with China and Japan—in refraining from interference with the affairs of weaker neighbors for the sake of scheming business interests, in overcoming mistrust by a sane humanity. We favor every effort to bring the nations into closer and freer relations and a better understanding of one another. We should like to see created at once a joint commission representing neutral States for the purpose of bringing the belligerent powers together and stopping the war. We ought not to be content until we have a Congress of the Nations which shall agree to neutralize the ocean, dismantle all fortifications and disband standing armies. What place is there in a civilized world for armies intended to destroy other armies?



McAdoo Suggests Heavier Taxation of Labor.

In a formal statement issued on November 25, Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo suggests sources of increased revenue as follows. Reduction of income tax exemption to \$2,000 for single persons, and \$3,000 for married ones, an increase in the surtax on large incomes, special taxes on gasoline, crude and refined oils, automobiles and internal combustion engines. He further suggests retention of the sugar tariff and the emergency taxes authorized at the last session. [See current volume, page 667.]



Congressman Tavenner and the Navy League.

Congressman Clyde Tavenner of Illinois, who has been conducting a vigorous publicity campaign against the "War Trust" made public on November 24, the following letter he has sent to A. H. Dadmun, secretary of the Navy League.

I notice in your statement of yesterday that you state J. Pierpont Morgan is an "American Patriot." Evidently you miss my point. I do not charge that Mr. Morgan is not an "American Patriot." I charge that he is a war-trafficker, and that he is a director of the Navy League, which is advocating larger appropriations for the war-traffickers.

I also note that you state Mr. Morgan has contributed only \$125 to the Navy League. I understand that the J. Pierpont Morgan estate contributed \$2,000 on June 10. Will you please inform the public whether this is correct and what individual or individuals made this contribution on behalf of the Morgan estate?

I also understand that Elbert H. Gary, who is de-

scribed in the Directory of Directors for 1914 as "Chairman of the Board of Directors and Chairman of the Finance Committee of the United States Steel Corporation," contributed \$1,000 on the same date.

Will not the Navy League please issue a special statement to cover these two contributions and also state whether the Board of Directors of the Navy League is considering the advisability of going on record in favor of the government manufacture of munitions, battleships, submarines, etc., in order that the people may obtain a dollar's worth of preparedness for every dollar of their money appropriated, which they have not been getting in the past?



Tax Reform News.

In a report made on November 15 to Mayor Newton D. Baker of Cleveland, the city's Tax Commission unanimously recommends abolition of the uniform rule for taxation of all kinds of property, legislation for classification of property, exemption of mortgages and substitution of a recording fee and preparation of a new tax code by the State Tax Commission. A majority of the Commission recommends land value taxation for local purposes and an inheritance tax for state purposes.



The controversy between the Town of Hibbing, Minnesota, and other towns in the district, and local mining companies was settled on November 23. The companies agree to pay at once back taxes of \$750,000 and the towns agree to levy no more against the companies next year than this. The intention had been to levy \$1,900,000. [See current volume, page 324.]



Chicago School Affairs.

Judge Sullivan of the Cook County Circuit Court refused on November 29 to dissolve the injunction against the Chicago School Board forbidding it to enforce its rule against the Teachers' Federation. In his decision Judge Sullivan said that the Board had failed to present any evidence to uphold its contention that the Federation was harmful to the schools. A claim that it was harmful has been urged as the reason for adoption of the rule. The resolution repealing the anti-Federation rule was rejected by the School Board on November 24 by a 11 to 7 vote. Of the three new members, Max Loeb voted for repeal and Harris Huehl and Mrs. F. E. Thornton against it. The old members present voted the same way as before. On November 29 Mayor Thompson sent to the city council for confirmation the following school board appointments: Edward J. Piggott to succeed John J. Sonstebly; Charles R. Young to succeed Dr. Stephen R. Pietrowicz and Charles Ffrench to succeed Robert Roulston. No action was taken on these appointments. Of the members displaced Sonstebly and

Pietrowicz are friendly to the Teachers' Federation and Roulston is hostile. [See current volume, page 1123.]

Cleveland School Affairs.

The Supreme Court of Ohio on November 20, decided that Superintendent Frederick of the Cleveland schools has the legal right to discharge teachers for belonging to the Grade Teachers' Club, an organization affiliated with the Cleveland Central Labor Union. This ends litigation started two years ago when the Board of Education passed an anti-union rule. [See volume XVII, page 1069.]

The Labor War.

Assaults on striking clothing workers by Chicago police have attracted the attention of the clergy of the city. On November 24, Rev. Oscar C. Helming of the University Congregational church, saw a policeman attack a striker. He remonstrated and was promptly arrested. The same happened to two students who had stopped to speak with a striker. On November 29, in response to an invitation to discuss the strike Mayor Thompson appeared before the local Church Federation and denounced it for holding meetings for such purposes. He declared that a previous meeting of the same kind had been followed by a murder on the next day and predicted that other murders would occur as a result of this meeting. He left before the ministers could reply. [See current volume, page 1146.]

Governor Hunt of Arizona on November 20 issued a proclamation calling attention to distress among the families of striking miners in the Clifton strike zone, and asking aid for them. A representative of the Federal Department of Labor is on the scene investigating. [See current volume, pages 1004, 1067.]

Twenty-two striking postal clerks and carriers were arrested at Fairmont, West Virginia, on November 23 on the charge of conspiracy to obstruct the mails, this being the legal interpretation that is put upon their act of going on a strike. The strike is said to be due to the dismissal for no good cause of the assistant postmaster. [See current volume, page 1146.]

NEWS NOTES

—The National Security League in a conference at Chicago on November 27 declared inadequate President Wilson's suggestions for defense.

—The City Council of Springfield, Missouri, on November 19, voted to call a special election on

January 11 to bond the city in the sum of \$400,000 for a municipal lighting plant.

—At the recent municipal election in Maritzburg, South Africa, the first since women received the municipal franchise, 76 per cent of the women voted as against 63 per cent of the men.

—Charges of contempt of court were filed on November 27 with the Arizona Supreme Court by Attorney General Jones of the State against Warden Sims of the State prison. Sims has refused to proceed with the execution of a condemned murderer, whom he considers insane.

—The German merchant marine at the beginning of the war amounted to 5,459,296 tons. Of this 230,000 tons have been captured by the British navy, 38,000 tons by her allies, 117,000 have been sunk and 397,000 tons have been interned in British ports. A few ships are on the Baltic, and the remainder are interned in German and neutral harbors.

—A pitched battle was fought near Clarkton, Mo., on November 23 between night riders and private detectives, resulting in the wounding of five night riders and two detectives. The night riders are a secret band of tenants and farm laborers who have been waging war against the landlords and merchants in the hope of forcing higher wages and lower food prices. Nine men charged with being members of the band have been arrested.

—The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor has included in its review the outlying territories of the United States, and reports that Alaska has forbidden the employment of boys under 16 underground in mines; Hawaii has passed a curfew law for girls under 16 in Honolulu; the Philippines have provided for dental clinics in the schools, and created a public welfare board to establish and maintain social centers; and Porto Rico has passed a modern juvenile court law.

—Announcement was made on November 26 by Robert J. Bulkley, chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of Cleveland, of intention to contest the constitutionality of the preferential vote provision in the city charter by which Harry Davis, Republican, was elected mayor on November 2 over Peter Witt. Mayor Newton Baker and all other members of the committee have emphatically declared themselves opposed to Mr. Bulkley's proposed action. [See current volume, page 1098.]

—Lecture dates for John Z. White have been arranged as follows: Indianapolis, December 4, at Saturday Luncheon Club, December 5, Unitarian church, December 6, Commercial Club; Detroit, December 7, debate with Arthur Lewis, St. Andrew's Hall, East Congress street; Toledo, December 8, debate with Arthur Lewis, Memorial Hall; Chicago, December 12, Cragin Congregational church, Armitage and North LaVergne avenue, December 14, South Side Club, Woodlawn avenue and 46th street, December 15, Gregg Business College, 6 North Michigan avenue; Ashtabula, O., December 16 and 17; Pittsburgh, December 18 to 24; Brooklyn, December 28, at Sheepskin Club; Wellesley Hills, Mass., January 16; Pittsburgh, February 9 and 10; Springfield, Ill., March 3.

PRESS OPINIONS

Who Bears the Tariff Burden?

Nebraska Farmer (Lincoln), Nov. 24.—“It is probably fair to say that no class of citizens has had less consideration in the making of tariffs than the farmers, and certainly no class has carried so large a share of the burden.” So reads the opening sentence of some press matter sent out by the tariff commission league. It is very true, but it is so different from what tariff advocates have always said before. Farmers have been led to believe that they received the utmost consideration in the making of tariff laws, particularly up to the last revision. And now we are told that it was all buncombe. That, in our opinion, is all the tariff ever will be to farmers. . . . The big protected interests know full well that protection for all is protection for none. Protection of farm products, if operative, destroys the value of protection on manufactured wares, because it increases the cost of food, clothing and raw materials and thus the cost of manufacturing. Somebody has to be the “goat” of the tariff, and up-to-date farmers and laboring men have served in that capacity.



The Inevitable Trend of Preparedness.

Ohio State Journal (Columbus), Nov. 22.—The Navy Department proposes to build two 36,000-ton battleships. We never had before any larger than 32,000-ton war craft. They will be larger than any other nation has. They will be equipped with 16-inch guns which are larger guns than any other nation uses. What shameful folly this is! We know we cannot have a monopoly on 36,000-ton battleships and 16-inch guns and what is the sense in trying? Our nation cannot get ahead of another on war equipment and it is simply idiotic to make the attempt. Any one looking on these ventures cannot divine any cause for them except the material and munitions-men back of them to urge the government to pour out its money. The most one nation can do is to keep up with the others. Our very effort to get ahead is proof that we cannot do it. Then why is it allowed? Why will Congress permit the people's money to be spent on this wild goose chase? The largest guns now on foreign men-of-war are 15-inch, and as soon as we put into service 16-inch they will all have the same or 17-inch. This whole rivalry cannot be regarded as anything but idiotic. Let us pray the President will stop it.



A Filipino Opinion of Taft.

The Independent (Manila, P. I.), October 16.—Ex-President Taft, a man of ungrateful memory to the Filipino people, has given his attention once more to those whom, in an Olympic tone of conqueror, he called in his happy days his “little brown brothers.” . . . Mr. Taft thinks or pretends to think that self-government should not be granted to the Filipinos until two generations have passed. . . . The Independent regrets to say that the attitude of Mr. Taft deserves our disdain and contempt. . . . Only one thing remains for us to desire; that the country will never again be subjected under the yoke of imperial-

ism of which Taft is the champion. Such yoke will revive in the country the old resentment now dead, because of the liberty and the prospect of better days which the policy of the Democratic party offers. . . . The Filipino people have been waiting for the advent of the Democratic regime with faithfulness and loyalty. . . . Imperialism can impose here its power, but it can never conquer our affection and adherence to it. It will rule by force, but it will never see the accomplishment of the American ideal of redeeming people under oppression.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

AN EDUCATIONAL FILM.

For The Public.

I dreamed one night a cinematograph
Threw on the screen a culture large of germs—
The title to be last in Latin terms—
And how their simple actions drew the laugh!
Their world was all controlled, not even by half,
But by a thousandth part of the blind worms,
While the remainder sweats and suffers, squirms
To fill the beakers which they may not quaff.
And here on one side was a whole vast pile
Of food, controlled by one—I had to smile—
A puny, bloated wretch who held the power
To nourish half a million. “Seize the hour—”
I 'gan to cry. Too late! For the reel broke!
The title—“GENUS HOMO”—I awoke.

VANE MAC NAIR.



FOUNDATION OF A JUST STATE.

Part of a Letter from Mrs. Joseph Fels to a Leader in the Zionist Movement. Published by Permission.

The founding of a Jewish State may or may not be an undertaking worth while. If the new State merely follows conventional lines, not differing essentially from the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland, or any other of the more advanced nations, it will scarcely be worth the effort required for its establishment—even from a strictly Jewish standpoint. If it will depart from conventional lines, boldly rejecting all the long established iniquities, to which even the best of existing governments still tenaciously cling, then its establishment will be a priceless boon, not only to the Jews but to the world.

A Jewish State will not be impressive which contains within it conditions prevailing elsewhere creating involuntary unemployment, underpayment for labor, and a small rich class able to live in luxurious idleness while the masses, in spite of industry, sobriety and economy, can get but a bare living. Unless the new State will at the very beginning erect safeguards against such conditions the effort required for its establishment had better be expended in securing economic reform in existing States which already give to Jews all

the rights they would have in a conventionally modeled Jewish Commonwealth.

But a Jewish State will be worth while and impressive which will assure to all inhabitants within its jurisdiction social and economic justice, as well as religious and political freedom. Within its boundaries there must be recognition of the right of every individual to the use of the land. There must be no withholding of land from use, while willing workers are seeking employment. The rent of land must not be appropriated by individuals but must be paid into the public treasury to be used for public purposes only. This will provide ample revenue for the State. There must be no penalizing of useful industry or enterprise through any kind of taxation of labor or its products. There must be no grant of special privileges in any form. Public highways and other public utilities must not be turned over to private corporations. There must be no interference with the right of wealth producers to freely exchange their products with others, whether these others be foreigners or their own countrymen. So there must be absolute free trade with all the world. To put this into effect it is but necessary that the State refuse to alienate the title to any land which, upon its establishment, it may hold. Such land should be leased only on terms practically ensuring the entire rental value to the Commonwealth and freeing the lessee from taxation on the product of his industry. Where the title to land is held by private individuals a tax should be levied equal to the annual rental value of the land irrespective of what improvements may be upon it. There should be no other taxes.

The new State should, of course, be a democracy. Suffrage should be universal. No restriction should be tolerated on account of race, sex, opinion on religious, political, economic, social or other question; or on any of the pretexts usually urged by bigoted and narrow minds. All citizens of mature age should be legal voters. Provision should be made for such democratic measures as the Initiative, Referendum, Recall, Proportional Representation, Preferential Vote and Home Rule for cities and local districts on local measures.

Thus will be founded a State in which want will be destroyed, greed changed to noble passions, the fraternity born of equality taking the place of jealousy and fear that now array men against each other, and mental power loosed by conditions that give to the humblest comfort and leisure.

Such a State will offer advantages so superior to any offered by existing ones that no doubt will remain in the outside world of its great worth. It will be a benefit to Jews and non-Jews alike. Offering not only an example of what conditions should be everywhere but a refuge to all denied in their own countries an opportunity to earn a living, it will be the most strongly defended of nations, even though it have no military establish-

ment. Whatever designs may be harbored against it by the rulers or ruling classes of other nations, these would receive no support from their own people should they seek to incite hostilities. Such hostilities would be a movement to injure or destroy a hope and refuge to the people of the whole world. The ruler who would incite them would soon learn of the disapproval of his own people as well as the disapproval of other nations.

To the Jews of the world such a State would be a source of justifiable pride. And what is of more importance, it would bring to them, as nothing else could, the respect and admiration of the non-Jewish world. Not only on grounds of justice and expediency should Zionists insist on inclusion of these fundamental principles in the Zionist program, but on grounds of fidelity to Judaism as well. To establish a government that would neglect, as do all existing governments, recognition of the inalienable right of all the people to the land of the country, would only be to establish conditions in violation of the Mosaic law, "The land shall not be sold forever." It would render the nation again justly subject to such denunciation as was pronounced by Isaiah, "Woe unto them that join house to house and lay field to field."

A clear and emphatic declaration of intention to put into effect the principle of the land for the people should be made by Zionist organizations at once. And all who give the movement aid should be left no excuse for ignorance regarding this intention. The matter is too important to be left for decision until the land shall be acquired and the way opened to establishment of a government. The liberty and happiness of a nation is involved. No chances must be taken on such a matter.

Details may be properly left at present with trustees who need not necessarily be all Jews, but who must all be unqualifiedly in favor of the proposed system. In no other way can the Zionist movement be made to offer to oppressed Jews anything of value that they may not obtain now in non-Jewish States.



THE FABLE OF THE SICK MAN AND THE LEARNED PHYSICIANS.

For The Public.

This is the fable of the University Economist who, as we all know, is ready with everything but a remedy.

A man was sick—yea, sick unto death. His tongue was coated until it looked as if it had been pebble-dashed for artistic effect, while the scent of his breath made you suspect that the plumbing of the house was defective. His spine was limp, his liver was torpid, his eyes were glassy. His pulse did strange and unusual things, and his respiration was uncertain, erratic and labored. He was in sad case, to use the old phrase. And,

strange to relate, he was confined in a very close room—the air of which was stifling.

A physician was summoned, a man of much learning, great reputation. He examined the sick man minutely. He made copious notes. He left word that he would return on the third day. With him on the third day came another of his kind, wearing large whiskers and very grave looks. They both examined the patient again. They discussed his condition with great concern and very large words. They departed, saying they would return again on the morrow. With them on the morrow came other physicians, for the fame of the strange case had spread, and the profession of medicine was on its mettle, so to speak, to discover the cause of the malady and a remedy, that the poor man might be returned to health. They crowded into the sick room, making the air still fouler. They "surveyed" the patient with extreme care; they plotted curves of his condition and made tables of statistics of his blood-pressure and heart-beats. They numbered everything, except the hairs on his head, and this they refrained from doing only because they had read in the great, good Book that God had already done that, and they were apparently willing to take His figures. They repaired to a nice, cool portico to consider the man's case, because the air in the sick-room was so foul that they were all dizzy from lack of oxygen. Many were the theories advanced. Long and learned were the words and arguments. Finally one physician, a young man who had not heretofore said anything, suddenly precipitated himself into the pow-wow:

"Gentlemen, you can say what you jolly well please, but I believe that the sick man needs some fresh air."

He created quite a stir. One referred to his sphygmomanometer readings, another to pulse-statistics, another to respiratory data, another consulted authority—all shook their heads gravely. Then everything grew frigid. The young man was given to understand that such unscientific, not to say, revolutionary opinions, blurted out without a complete survey of the case, were calculated to discredit the profession of which he was a member. In short, he was squelched. But, foolishly, he persisted:

"You can discuss all the fool theories you want to, and keep on collecting absurd information after we get that patient into the fresh air—it may be that fresh air is not *all* he needs, but it is the first thing he needs."

The company was outraged. They threatened to present their bills immediately and retire from the case unless this therapeutic anarchist were dismissed at once.

And he was dismissed and the "surveying" was continued.



And, instead of a "moral," I shall subjoin an

"explanation." Civilization stands in the fable for the sick man, fresh air equals land, the physicians are equivalents to university economists, the state stands for the employing agency, i. e., it is the agency that pays the university economists, and the young physician who was kicked out for being unscientific stands for that very occasional thing, a university economist who sees the cat, and is willing to point the animal out to someone else.

Now is that perfectly clear?

R. BEDICHEK.

BOOKS

THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT UP TO DATE.

The New American Government and Its Work. By James T. Young. Published by the MacMillan Company, New York. Price, \$2.25 net.

Books multiply enormously, but one corner of the library remains uncrowded, and over this section the discriminating man exercises continual vigilance. For therein stand the books of reference that are everlasting—the Dictionary, Hadyn's Book of Dates, Freud's Lexicon, an Atlas and some good general Encyclopedia. And Professor Young's book can be added with advantage.

One is glad to welcome the work for its completeness and utility to both student and general reader. So rapidly have political changes, both national and state, been wrought in the past few years that the time was ripe for just such a work as this, that the average man may get his bearings and chart his political way. Through twenty-nine chapters the author traces the Executive, in both State and nation, as a factor in carrying out the popular will. After chapters on the President, the House of Representatives and the Senate, nine chapters are devoted to the powers of Congress, and seven to the work of the State. In this latter group, such matters as business regulation, workmen's compensation acts, labor, education and taxation projects as already enacted are dealt with. Chapter XXIX devoted to direct legislation would make an excellent pamphlet if reprinted for general distribution among voters. It gives prominence especially to the Referendum, with a list of objections thereto, followed with answers to the objections, and the spirit of the Wharton bequest (current volume, p. 1153) seems to have been followed by the author, or perhaps it would be more correct to say the author is in sympathy with the Wharton idea.

Each chapter is followed with a set of questions on the text, and a complete set of cross references. Although the matter dealt with would appear to be complex, Prof. Young's attractive style of writing makes it far from confusing or tedious to the

general reader, although the book is primarily intended for students.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

DESCRIPTION OF A SIEGE.

The Fall of Tsingtau. By Jefferson Jones. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston and New York. Price, \$1.75 net.

The average war correspondent's account of a siege or battle is that of a man who reports little that he has seen and much that he has heard or imagined. But Jefferson Jones' account of the fall of Tsingtau is different. Most of what he reports he has himself seen. The circumstances of the siege made it possible for a non-combatant eye witness to observe much of it from a place of safety, provided he could get permission from the proper authorities. And Mr. Jones was the only American civilian to get this permission.

His account shows that the German garrison, cut off from all chance of outside aid, waged a fight that was hopeless from the beginning. Since this was the case, the non-military reader cannot but feel that the German commander did not do a very commendable thing in resisting to the last. He only sacrificed a number of lives, for no other reason than that a barbarous military tradition so required. His country has gained nothing through his resistance, but has lost a number of citizens.

That Japanese military efficiency has been largely overrated, at least as far as sanitation is concerned, would appear from Mr. Jones' description. Both during the siege and after the surrender he reports conditions that would indicate management of the same kind as prevailed during the Spanish war in the American camp at Chickamauga. He shows, moreover, that discipline was not all that it should have been, and there was much needless loss attributable to these faults.

A part of the book is devoted to discussion of American relations with Japan. He makes clear that about the only danger of war between the two countries is in the possibility of American intervention in behalf of China. That would seem to be practically nothing. Not even Roosevelt has, so far, advocated such action.

A chapter devoted to what Germany has done in Kiaochow tells everything except the most important achievement of all. Mr. Jones tells how under German rule Tsingtau grew from a little fishing village to a city of more than 60,000. He tells of magnificent harbor improvements, of enormous growth in trade and industry, of well kept streets and houses, of sanitation almost unknown in the Far East, and of success in establishing civilization to an extent that other Powers have tried and failed. But he neglects to tell of the progressive fiscal system which made these unique achievements possible. He mentions the fact that a free port was established, but he overlooked the

even more important fact that on taking possession of Kiaochow German freed industry and trade from burdensome taxes and checked land monopoly through a heavy land value tax.

Having overlooked this most important fact, there is necessarily lacking information in which discerning readers would be most interested. Whether Japan will or will not continue the economic system that made Kiaochow prosperous is a question that is not even mentioned. In his chapter on "Germany in Kiaochow," Mr. Jones has written about the play of Hamlet, as though there were no such character as Hamlet in it.

S. D.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Your Baby. By Edith B. Lowry. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago. 1915. Price \$1.00 net.

—Cost of Living. By Fabian Franklin. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

—America at Work. By Joseph Husband. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

—The Trade Union Woman. By Alice Henry. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Christianity and Politics. By William Cunningham. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Belgium, Neutral and Loyal. By Emile Waxweiler. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1915. Price, \$1.25 net.

—Towards International Government. By J. A. Hobson. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

—The Inequality of Human Races. By Arthur de Gobineau. Translated by Adrian Collins. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1915. Price, \$2.00 net.

—Is War Diminishing? A Study of the Prevalence of War in Europe from 1450 to the Present Day. By Frederick Adams Woods and Alexander Baltzly. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

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