

The Public

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

Vol. XVIII

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, JANUARY 8, 1915.

No. 875.

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Published by STANLEY BOWMAR, Manager
Bisworth Building, 537 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

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

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

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

Personal Politics	25
The Trend of Reactionary Logic	25
The Question of Desirable Citizens	26
A Timely Word	26
Good Grounds for Suspicion	26
Capabilities for Self-Government	27
Roosevelt Recants	27
Lawyerless Justice	28
A Bad Record	29
Peabody as Trade Commissioner	29
Charity's Confession of Failure	29
A "Bright Spot" That Sheds Gloom	30
Charitable Wage Workers and Millionaires	30
The Latest Lesson in Taxation	30

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Amending the Minnesota Constitution—C. J. Buell ..	31
German Democracy—Solomon Wolff	32

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:

Making Police Respect the Law—Samuel Milliken ...	33
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NEWS NARRATIVE:

The European War	33
Mexico	34
Municipal Dealing With the Destitutes	34
Houston's Land Speculators Rebellious	35
Personal Property Tax Enforcement in Chicago	35
Anti-Capital Punishment Society	35
Congressional News	36
News Notes	36
Press Opinions	37

RELATED THINGS:

God's Flatterers—Horace B. English	37
United States of Europe—Basil Howard	37
On Guard, Uncle Sam—C. S. Adelman	42

BOOKS:

Settling a Question Right	42
In Superstitious Old England	43
Periodicals	43
Pamphlets	43

EDITORIAL

Personal Politics.

A radical exchange, seeking to fathom the motives actuating certain political interests, says: "If you want to know whose interests any political party will represent, just find out who furnishes the campaign money." This, like most such rules, requires an interpretation, with liberal provision for exceptions. It suggests the story that went the rounds of the press when Jerry Simpson was in Congress. Some enterprising reporter sent out the story from Washington that the "Sockless" statesman who had been so democratic in Kansas was hobnobbing with millionaires, and eating wine suppers in Washington. Investigation by indignant constituents disclosed the fact that the millionaire associate was Congressman Tom Johnson, one of the finest democrats that ever lived. Not all rich men who are engaged in politics make their contribution in the shape of financial investments. S. C.



The Trend of Reactionary Logic.

Said ex-President Taft at Detroit on December 19: "The initiative, referendum and recall are a complete negative of the representative system established by the Pilgrims and Puritans." If institutions of early New England are not to be improved upon then Mr. Taft's logic leads to condemnation of other "complete negatives." He might as logically have complained of abolition of the pillory, stocks and whipping post; of repeal of the most drastic of blue laws; of allowing religious freedom to Quakers, Baptists and other sects obnoxious to these same Pilgrims and Puritans; of ceasing to look upon a charge of "witchcraft" as worthy of anything else than ridicule; and of many other things which would have shocked and horrified narrow-minded bigots of three centuries ago. Mr. Taft to be consistent, should urge a return to all the laws and institutions of seventeenth century Massachusetts.

S. D.

The Question of Desirable Citizens.

Peculiar ideas of fitness for citizenship are entertained by Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi. In defending the proposed iniquitous and undemocratic literacy test for immigrants he said in the Senate on December 30 that he only considers those persons fit to enter the country "who are willing to come here and accept our American institutions for what they are, abide by them and strengthen them." Just how the literacy test will ensure such "fitness" the Senator failed to explain. If barring of illiterates will restrict immigration to persons who lack either desire or ability to use their brains, then the literacy test is a good way to get the kind of immigrants that Senator Williams seems to favor. Not all American institutions are of a kind that intelligent citizens would wish to accept and strengthen. Even Senator Williams must know that. If it is desirable to admit only immigrants who will never realize that fact then the bars had better be let down which are now up against admission of feeble-minded ones. If it is desirable to include among the select ones to be admitted those who will do nothing to correct any fault in American institutions that may be discovered, then the clause should be eliminated from the law which prohibits admission of bad characters. Unless dry rot is a benefit to a nation, then Senator Williams has furnished some very good reasons for rejection of the pending immigration bill.

While Senator Williams fears lest illiteracy work harm to American institutions, a fellow patriot, Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman, of Illinois, is concerned lest education should have a similar harmful effect. Senator Sherman, while discussing the literacy test, was reported in the Congressional Record of December 21 to have said in reference to speakers at open air meetings in Chicago:

There is not a solitary one of these men, not a lecturer on the curbstone, not a soap-box orator, not a solitary one of these essayists and political philosophers and dealers in dreams that could not stand any literacy test ever invented. Why, some of them bear degrees from ancient universities. Still I do not regard them as desirable citizens. I do not charge their perversion to their education. I only say their degrees emphasize their uselessness. . . . Whenever I find some parlor socialist, somebody who has inherited a few millions from an ancestor that amounted to something in his lifetime, who is going to overturn society and to destroy the existing order of things, three times out of four in a metropolis you will find somebody carrying the de-

grees of an ancient university, whose intellectual processes have gone wrong, taught by somebody in the privacy of a professor's cloister.

So what is there to do for a poor senatorial upholder of those American institutions which are unable to stand much criticism or discussion? Should he follow the lead of Defender Williams and limit immigration to the educated class from which develop soap box orators? Or should he take the advice of Defender Sherman and open the gates to a class declared on senatorial authority unwilling to "accept our American institutions for what they are"? Who shall decide when senatorial patriots disagree? Perhaps it would be just as well to disregard both and settle the immigration question without regard to senatorial buncombe and according to those fundamental principles which assure to every man, literate or illiterate, the right to take up his abode anywhere, so long as in so doing he does not infringe on the equal natural rights of others.

S. D.



A Timely Word.

President Edmund J. James of the University of Illinois has been criticised as lacking somewhat in the spirit of forward-looking democracy; but in announcing the engagement of the comptroller of the university to his daughter, and the resignation of his future son-in-law from his official position, he takes occasion to deliver these sorely needed words on nepotism:

It is my decided opinion, based on a long experience as high school principal, college professor, and university president, that boards of trustees and public school boards in general should be prohibited by law from appointing to positions within their gift any person connected by blood or marriage to the fourth degree with any member of the teaching or administrative staff.

In my judgment the appointment and promotion of relatives or influential persons on the staff to positions in the university is one of the serious defects of American college and university administration.

Nepotism or the favoring of one's own relatives in the appointment to or retention in or promotion to public offices at one's disposal is in its quality a more subtle and corrupting influence than either politics or religion directed to the same end—bad as these are.

No man is a fair judge of the abilities or services of his own children or other relatives.

Many a forceful man has wrecked his administration, and put his future in the hands of his enemies by appointing his relatives to office.

S. C.



Good Grounds for Suspicion.

It is by no means an unreasonable suspicion that

the alleged uprising or attempted uprising in the Philippines was instigated not by advocates of independence but by enemies. An uprising is the last thing that sincere advocates of independence would want while there is pending a measure granting a greater degree of self-government. But it is just the thing that those most interested in preventing passage of the Jones bill would like to have occur at this time. While there is no evidence that the disturbances in the Islands were of imperialist origin, no apology need be offered for so suspecting. It would be consistent with every act of the imperialists, from the original betrayal of confidence reposed in them by the Philippine Republic to the present day. If, on the other hand, there has actually been a native uprising moved by an earnest desire to forcibly secure immediate independence it will have justice on its side even though it be an unwise act. S. D.



Capabilities for Self-Government.

The closing session of the American Political Science Association gave rise to an interesting discussion on the scope of representative government. Dr. Frank G. Goodnow of Johns Hopkins, had taken the position that China and the East do not lend themselves to the adoption of representative forms of government. In the discussion that followed the reading of his paper Sudhedra Bose, of the University of Iowa, a Hindu, challenged the assumption that representative government is meant only for the West, and resented the implication that Orientals differed in any essential way from Occidentals. Dr. Charles Austin Beard, of Columbia University, brought the question to a sensational issue when he challenged Western peoples to their right to representative government. Dr. Beard said the preponderance of dissatisfaction with conditions in America today, the existence of steadily-growing radical doctrines, the great unrest itself, are evidence that our form of government has failed. And commenting upon Dr. Goodnow's statement that representative government in China would fail because of the Chinese lack of a sense of fiduciary relations, he asked if that virtue existed in America today; and brought the question to a personal issue by saying that his own patrimony was now in the pocket of a man who glories in tracing his ancestry back to the Pilgrim Fathers, which was a euphonious way of saying his savings had been invested in New Haven stock at 160.



Any man who sees the savings of a lifetime

swept away in a moment is prone to doubt the virtue of the institutions under which it occurred. The man out of a job, and the man underpaid, and the man suffering any other disability from which he has been unable to free himself, is apt to think the institutions about him have failed of their purpose. And in a way, those institutions have failed. But that is not to say they have failed to a degree that they should be discarded for others. Institutions cannot be said to have failed, or to have succeeded, from single instances. It is only by considering them in their broadest relations that their virtues can be properly estimated. Tested in this way, which of all the systems of governments subject to human experiment can be said to surpass democracy? The "steadily-growing radical doctrines," and the "great unrest" are not evidences that our form of government has failed; they are proof that it is succeeding. Democracy still is in the course of evolution. Its chief virtue today is that it gives voice to the discontent of those who are suffering wrongs, and the widest range of experiment looking to the correction of the wrongs. Dr. Beard feels keenly the sweeping away of the savings of a lifetime, and possibly this accident might have been avoided under an autocratic form of government; but there are millions of workers who have suffered greater wrongs than Dr. Beard. Because, subject to an economic system that has deprived them of their full earnings, they have lost their potential savings. Democracy is giving heed to their protest, and as soon as the wrong is understood it will be righted. Representative government may not give the orderly quiet enjoyed by the favored few under autocratic forms of government, but it does place in the hands of the mass of the people the power to redress their wrongs or wreck society; and this very power for mischief will compel the so-called better classes to lend a hand in the work, or share the common fate. The privileged class may be indifferent to the wrongs of the people under an autocracy, but not under a democracy. S. C.



Roosevelt Recants.

Theodore Roosevelt in the January issue of Everybody's magazine recedes from his former position of holding military preparedness as essential to peace. He now says it is only a "partial guarantee." In the light of current events in Europe, he could not well reiterate his sweeping assertions of the past. He now compares military preparations to a fire department which does not prevent occasional fires, but does "minimize the

chances for wholesale destruction by fire." Well, if a fire department depended upon a policy of terrorism as the means of preventing wholesale destruction by fire, Mr. Roosevelt's illustration would present a parallel case. But that is not the way a fire department works, and if it did, it would probably be as great a failure in preventing fires as military preparedness has proven to be in preventing war.

To further establish his point Mr. Roosevelt brings up the case of nations with greater or less military establishments which were overwhelmed in war by other nations with still greater establishments. Their "unpreparedness," he says did not prevent war. It certainly did not, nor did the preparedness of the victorious nation. Aside from underlying causes, such as protective tariffs, these wars were due to the fact that both sides were imbued with Rooseveltian doctrines concerning military preparedness, which logically leads to forcing war by the prepared nation upon the unprepared one, when there is ground to suspect that the latter is but awaiting a similar opportunity to attack its opponent.

But Roosevelt has made real progress in one respect. He favors Philippine independence, not in the far future, but "at an early moment." To be sure he does not advocate it, because it is the right thing to do, be the consequences what they may. He only favors it because he sees that "the Philippines from a military standpoint are a source of weakness." He is still an imperialist in theory, but has become an anti-imperialist in practice. However his progress has been in the right direction. Who knows but that he may yet see practical reasons for favoring an anti-militarist policy while still swearing fealty to militarist views, or he may even at some future time advise institution of absolute free trade as the best means of putting into effect his ideas of a "scientific protective tariff."

S. D.

Lawyerless Justice.

Our hodge-podge system of rules and precedents, bristling at every point with convenient technicalities, that masquerades as law, is finally yielding to the spirit of the age; and there is promise that it will be reduced at a not distant day to some semblance of order and justice. Chicago, which has already replaced the old system of petty justices with municipal judges, a juvenile court, a court of domestic relations, and an all-night court,

is now planning to set up a lawyerless court. Whatever may be said regarding the toll of the middleman in trade, the criticism falls with peculiar force upon the middleman in law. As religion becomes ecclesiasticised through the natural selfishness of churchmen who try to make a living out of the church, so the courts have become formalized through the personal interests of the lawyers, and principles laid down for the guidance of human conduct are lost in a labyrinth of rules and forms.

Justice is not such a difficult thing to determine when acts between man and man are considered; but when attempts are made to harmonize every separate and distinct individual act with every separate and distinct individual act of an ever-changing train of human events man aspires to an impossible achievement, and attempts to attain a useless ideal. In nothing has democracy shown greater limitations than in popular adjudications. Every established evil is the perquisite of some hanger-on of the court, and any attempt to remove it is fought with all the tenacity of the beneficiary of privilege. The introduction of the Torrens system of land title registry was not looked upon with friendly eyes by attorneys because its use would deprive them of a considerable revenue for examining abstracts of title. The same is true of the workingmen's compensation act, and of similar measures that simplify the adjustment of claims. And it will be true of the new court to be set up in Chicago, in which cases involving less than fifty dollars will be disposed of without the meddling of attorneys. Cases are limited to fifty dollars in the beginning in order that the new venture may be set on its feet with the least possible opposition; but it is hoped that it will work so well that the limit may be raised to five hundred dollars.

This is but another step in the work that is going on throughout the country. It found expression in Los Angeles, where a man charged with crime is not only prosecuted by a state's attorney, but is protected from injustice by a public defender. There is no reason why this work should not go on until the courts in practice secure what the law professes in theory. The people of the country, given a system of law divested of useless formalities, irrelevant precedents, and maddening delays, a system of law in which justice shall be so speedy and so clear as to appeal to the human conscience as well as the understanding,

will be saved nine-tenths of the present litigation, and they will have a respect for the law that is now entirely wanting.

S. C.



A Bad Record.

Lest we forget, in gloating over our achievements as a nation for the past year, it will be well to think occasionally of the things we should like to forget. One of the things that reminds us that we still have a long way to go on the upward road is our record of personal violence. We are a passionate, impatient people, disposed to tolerate evils while in good humor, but swift to wreak vengeance when aroused to anger. Individuality, the most precious of our traits of character, has not yet been bounded within recognized limits; and each man is too prone to be his own judge. When in good humor he is too tolerant through generosity; when in anger he strikes without due reflection.



The Chicago Tribune, which makes a practice of publishing in its annual issue at the end of the year the record of life tragedies throughout the United States, gives the number of homicides for 1914 as 8,251. That means that 8,251 human beings in this country met their death at the hands of other human beings. Nor was that exceptional. The year before the number was 8,902, and for 1912 it was 9,152. The number of suicides, or persons who died by their own hand, was 13,965. In 1913 the number was 13,103, in 1912, 12,981, and in 1911 the number was 12,242. But even more regrettable than these monstrous totals is the record of lynchings. Last year 54 persons were killed by mobs. Earlier years show such large totals—in 1892 it was 205—that the slowly dwindling tale of shame may offer a little encouragement. The number of persons executed according to law in 1914 was 74—only twenty more than were executed in defiance of law.



Claiming to stand at the head of civilized nations our record of personal violence exceeds that of any other race or nation. A little reflection upon this fact may be conducive to a contriteness of heart more in keeping with our professions.

S. C.



Peabody as Trade Commissioner.

Gratifying, if true, is the report that President Wilson will appoint as one of the new Interstate Trade Commission George Foster Peabody. That

will ensure at least one member of the commission possessed of the economic knowledge needed to deal efficiently with the problem of trusts and commercial combinations. Such an appointment is absolutely necessary to make the work of the commission of any practical use. If made, it will be an important addition to the list of President Wilson's good selections.

S. D.



Charity's Confession of Failure.

Confidence in charity and in charitable organizations as the best instruments to deal with poverty, has long impeded progress toward economic justice. Conditions existing at present ought to give such confidence a severe jolt. Charity representatives are confessing failure of their "scientific" charitable measures to provide properly for even the "worthy" poor. So conservative a paper as the New York Evening Post published on December 29, in a prominent place, some admissions of charity representatives. These admissions show the impossibility of providing jobs for all applicants. There are at least 150,000 unemployed in New York City, of whom at least 56 per cent are employable. One representative goes so far as to say: "I think that every man or organization who can invent a job should do so." This charitable man must be the same who thought his view of a forest was blocked by the trees. He sees all about him men in want of nearly everything that human labor can produce. He knows that these men are able and willing to produce these things. He knows, or can easily learn by investigating, that there are on hand natural resources from which all the material they need can be produced. And yet he helplessly pleads that some one should "invent a job." Jobs are not to be invented, at least not useful jobs. The needs of mankind and the resources of nature provide all the jobs that there are. Until every human want is satisfied there remains a job unfilled. The difficulty is that monopoly of natural resources blocks the way to most of these jobs. This obstacle cannot be removed by charity or "scientific" methods of charitable organizations.



Has it ever occurred to the charitable organizations of New York City and of other cities to take a census of the unused or partially used lands within or near the city and to figure how many unemployed could get jobs were these lands put to the use to which their value shows they should be put? Perhaps if they do so they will see where there are potential jobs for all of the unemployed.

And perhaps they will wonder at their own failure to long ago take note of such obvious facts.

S. D.

A "Bright Spot" That Sheds Gloom.

According to the Chicago Tribune of December 31, the "one bright spot" amidst the adverse business conditions of 1914 was the realty market. "Not only were values well maintained," it says, "but actually advanced in many parts of the city." Is it any wonder, then, that depression in all other lines persists? How can adverse business conditions be overcome when the prices that business men must pay for sites to carry on business are not only "well maintained, but actually advanced"? So far from being a "bright spot," the conditions noted of the realty market must be largely responsible for prevailing gloom in industrial circles.

S. D.

Charitable Wage Workers and Millionaires.

Chicago papers reported as a good news story an account of two local millionaires who are said to donate to charity their entire incomes above family expenses. One need not be a millionaire to do that. Few indeed are the wage workers who do not contribute every cent of their earnings in excess of a bare living to charity, and the proceeding is looked upon as a matter of course. The wage workers' contributions are in the tribute which they pay in the form of ground rent and monopoly prices. The recipients of this tribute use part of it to support charitable organizations, but the real contributors are of course those who were legally deprived of their earnings. This does not mean that credit for good intentions should be withheld from the millionaires exploited by the papers, but one can not help but feel that a much better use of the money could be made in working for removal of the conditions that make charity necessary.

S. D.

The Latest Lesson in Taxation.

Had the last Legislature of Illinois submitted, as was its duty, a workable Initiative and Referendum amendment which could have been adopted at the recent election much-needed reforms would now be possible, which the present cast iron Constitution forbids. A change in the tax system is one of these needed reforms. But the Legislature controlled, by special interests, failed to do its duty. In the meantime a demagogic attempt to enforce unjust tax laws has resulted in subjecting some wealthy Chicagoans to the trouble and

humiliation of a criminal indictment. So if any of these men took active part in preventing submission of the Initiative and Referendum, their present trouble is largely of their own making. Such are those who helped on encouraged the obstructive efforts of the Civic Federation, which opposed all reforms except what would benefit its own members. If these now realize their error then they are entitled to sympathy in their present trouble, as also are those who have no responsibility for the Legislature's failure in its plain duty.

The wealthiest of the indicted men is accused of failing to fill out a schedule which would have required a return for taxation of stocks in a corporation already taxed on the property represented by the stocks. Undoubtedly he sees the injustice of that much of the law and realizes further the sophistry—in this case at least—of the saying that enforcement of a bad law is the best way to remedy the evil. Since the Constitution empowers a minority of the people to prevent any change in the tax system, the individual citizen must resort to violation of the law to escape unjust taxation. Probably few, if any, of those now criticizing the indicted one would have done differently in his place. Even some members of the Grand Jury which indicted him seem to have been just as negligent in obeying this outrageous law. The case can not be fairly compared with that of John D. Rockefeller, since the accused has a record of voluntarily making tax returns more in accordance with existing law than seems to be the case with most supporters of established conditions. If he were a better student of taxation he might have called public attention to the fact which Tax Commissioner William Agnew, of Cleveland, cited in Rockefeller's case as follows:

It is a good lesson in the virtue of not taxing anything that can be moved from place to place or can be made and unmade. Rockefeller's thousands of acres of valuable vacant land are still in East Cleveland. If the public would forget about such mutable things as stocks and made up the difference by a doubling of the rate on land, East Cleveland would have plenty of money today. If Rockefeller did not choose to pay the added tax on this land someone else would. Would this method give an unfair advantage to stock and bond holders? No. If Rockefeller had, from his earliest days, paid a just tax on the natural resources which he monopolized, he would not have so many stocks and bonds. Others would have had a fairer chance to share in the bounties of nature.

This is as good a lesson for Illinois as for Ohio to consider. And it is a good lesson for the indicted ones, as well as their critics.

S. D.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

AMENDING THE MINNESOTA CONSTITUTION.

St. Paul, Minnesota, Dec. 28.

Should the fundamental law of the state put a premium on ignorance and carelessness? Is it fair that men who are too ignorant of the merits of a question to vote on it at all should have their votes counted either way? Is it right that the voter who is so careless or indifferent that he neglects his opportunity to vote should be counted as voting no?

There would seem to be but one answer to these questions. It would seem that constitutions should be made and amended by the votes of those who have enough interest in such matters to cast a ballot, and not by those who fail to do so. By what process of logic do we persist in counting the votes of those who voluntarily disfranchise themselves? Why should we presume that everyone who does not vote at all intends to vote "no"?

All this seems very stupid and ridiculous, and yet it is a fact that we have just those conditions in Minnesota. Our constitution cannot be amended in the slightest detail unless more than half of all those who go to the polls and vote at all shall cast a vote in favor of the amendment proposed.

Every voter who is so ignorant of the proposed amendment that he does not vote—every one who is so careless that he neglects to vote—every one who is so stupid that he knows nothing about the proposed amendments—all these are carefully counted as voting "no." The result is that it is almost impossible to amend our constitution, and so we must submit to be governed by the dead hand of the past.

How It Works in Practice.

At the election of 1914 eleven amendments were proposed—some of them, at least, of most vital importance to the people. The first amendment, and perhaps the most vital of all, was the one establishing the initiative and referendum. By the initiative the people themselves may enact statutes or amend the constitution, when the legislature fails to act. By the referendum they can veto bad laws which the legislature may enact.

This system has been in successful operation for many years in Switzerland. Recently it has been adopted in about one-third of the states in the union. All Minnesota cities may have it for local purposes by adopting a home rule charter.

The initiative and referendum amendment received 168,004 votes, and only 41,577 votes against it. Yet the people are denied this change in their constitution, because of a stupid, vicious and unjust provision that counts every ignorant and careless voter who failed to vote at all, as if he had intelligently voted against it.

Amendment No. 3.

This amendment was intended to enable the state to construct roads, ditches and firebreaks in, through and around unsold school and swamp lands. Under the present constitution this cannot be done.

The framers of the constitution could not foresee

the needs of coming generations, and so we are now helpless even to adopt so sensible a provision as this to enable us to conserve our public lands and protect our standing timber and the neighboring settlers from the ravages of fire.

This amendment received 162,951 votes. The opposing vote was 47,906. Nearly 4 to 1 favored it, yet we can't have it.

The Recall.

The recall amendment enabling the people to recall objectionable public servants received 139,801 votes; 44,961 voted "no."

Of the eleven amendments, ten of them received overwhelming majorities, some not quite two to one and some more than four to one. Yet only one of the eleven got votes enough to carry. And all this because our constitution contains such a stupid and unjust provision as to require a majority of all those present and voting at the election to vote "yes" in order that we may change our fundamental law.

Why?

It has not always been so. As originally adopted our constitution could be changed by a majority of those voting on the proposed amendment. From the time Minnesota was organized as a state until 1898 this system prevailed. Many needed changes were made to our constitution, always by a majority of those who were intelligent enough to vote on the questions at issue.

How the Change Was Made.

It was during the legislative session of 1897 that the change was made. W. W. Dunn was at that time attorney for the Hamm Brewing Company of St. Paul, and was their representative in the legislature, having been elected on the Republican ticket by the voters of that part of the city near the plant of the brewing company.

Mr. Dunn brought in a bill proposing to so amend the constitution that thereafter it should require a majority of all those present and voting at the election to favor an amendment before it could become a part of the fundamental law.

On the floor of the House, S. A. Stockwell, a member from Minneapolis, put the question squarely up to Mr. Dunn, as follows:

"Do the forces that are behind this amendment intend to put up the bars so high that no further amendment of the constitution will be possible on any subject, in order to head off the possibility of the passage of a prohibition amendment at some time in the distant future?"

Mr. Dunn answered: "The gentleman from Hennipin is correctly informed."

The proposed amendment passed both House and Senate, and was submitted to the people at the election of 1898. The brewery interests were united and alert. The word was sent out to every saloon in the State to get all the votes possible, in a quiet way, in favor of the brewer's amendment.

The decent people of the State were caught napping, and the amendment was carried. If the people could have been informed they would probably have voted it down.

The following facts seem to warrant this conclusion:

In 1898 S. A. Stockwell ran for the Senate in the

Eleventh and Twelfth wards of Minneapolis. The district was strongly Republican and Stockwell was a Democrat. In every speech he made he called attention to this amendment and urged its defeat. The Eleventh and Twelfth wards had many saloons, the Seventh none. In all three wards most of the voters were working men.

Stockwell was not only elected, but his district cast a good majority against the brewer's amendment. The people can be trusted to vote right if they understand.

It seems to me that it would be entirely proper to require a certain per cent of the voters, say one-half, to vote on a question for or against—and then let a majority of such voters determine. But to require a majority of all who go to the polls on election day to vote yes in order to carry an amendment, no matter if not a single vote is cast against it, is plainly absurd and benefits no one but those who entrench themselves behind the constitution, as made by the brewers and saloons to perpetuate injustice.

C. J. BUELL.



GERMAN DEMOCRACY.

New Orleans, Dec. 23, 1914.

Strange as it may appear to the superficial observer, there is not in Germany any more autocracy than there is in the United States. I will not deal with words—let us deal with things, with facts.

We stand for the greatest possible amount of Home Rule for municipalities. We believe that to be the expression of true democracy. Let us compare the municipality in Germany with that in England or the United States, and I will let a good American testify:

William Harbutt Dawson has recently written on the subject and he declares the marked difference between municipal government in Germany and in England and the United States is that in Germany the state leaves communal affairs to the municipality. The legislature does not tell it what to do, nor does it limit its powers—quite the reverse, the city is encouraged to assume powers. Is that not true democracy?

Very largely, they control even their system of taxation, so far so these many years, cities in a limited way taxed the increase in the value of real estate, because the increase was due to social effort. Was that not true democracy? Many municipalities own large bodies of land, which of course increase in value with the social activities of the people. Is that not true democracy, to a much greater extent than the democracy which consists of the right to vote for one of two or three candidates, all named by political cabals?

Govern your towns well. How you do it is your own concern. Divest measures and exercise the powers that seem necessary and if new powers not contemplated by existing law and custom are needed, take and use them.—(Dawson).

Is not that democracy? And the municipalities make use of the powers. They have municipal street cars, lighting systems and what not. Places of amusement are provided and in a thousand and one ways the municipality provides for the welfare of the inhabitants.

So with the State. Pensions for the sick, for the aged, etc., are provided. Unmarried mothers are cared for, the child is protected and the father compelled to care for it. Hospitals for the isolation and treatment of all contagious diseases are provided by the State. Municipal and State employment agencies have reduced the percentage of unemployed to less than two, while in England and the United States it is over ten; and in a great number of ways the State and municipality enter into a thousand and one social activities which in England and the United States are left to private initiative.

And all these things are well done. Ask any social worker whether they are as well done in these United States, whether it is possible to do them so well without government aid.

We want all these things, but if we are to have them, and have them attended to by the municipalities and State, don't we know that we must have officers to administer them? Right here is the crux of the situation. The American believes his government is very democratic, because the State, the municipality do not interfere with him as is done in Germany; but he should reflect that to the governmental activities here he must add the vexatious interference of public service corporations, and when he does that he will find he is interfered with quite as much, and probably more than the Germans.

Street transportation, electric light and power, gas—in some places water and sewerage—are all supplied by public service corporations. Do not their rules vex us sometimes?

There, then, is the great difference. The German State and municipality do a number of things that State and municipalities in the United States do not do, and of course the State and municipality is more in evidence.

Besides all that, laws and ordinances in Germany are enforced. Are they so with us?

We have so accustomed ourselves to speak of autocracy in Germany that in fact we fail to see the real democracy. Of course they still have an aristocracy, and they still have an emperor; but have we no plutocracy, no political bosses? I know there is a difference, but bear in mind that kings and emperors and nobility are products of the centuries during which governments in Europe have developed from barbarism. Institutions of that kind can not be destroyed in a day; perhaps it is not even advisable.

So also in Prussia and one or two other states of Germany the franchise is not as liberal as it is in the United States; but do not forget that in the empire, and I believe in municipal affairs, every citizen has a vote in the same way as with us.

Outside of aristocracy and other—so to say—detritus of the ages—there is more true democracy in Germany than in the United States as regards municipal government, and as much so in many other ways.

SOLOMON WOLFF.



Be not uneasy, discouraged, or out of humor because practice falls short of precept in some particulars. If you happen to be beaten, return to the charge.—Marcus Aurelius.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

MAKING POLICE RESPECT THE LAW

Philadelphia, Dec. 31, 1914.

For the encouragement of readers of *The Public* who may be disposed to "go and do likewise," please give me space for a little history. The policemen of Philadelphia have been annoyed lately by their inability to arrest safe-breakers. On the night of Dec. 8th, a Lieutenant and a squad descended on the tenderloin, raided three restaurants, told the occupants that they were "wanted," took 29 victims to a station house, and in the morning carted them to City Hall, photographed them, took a full description and impressions of their finger tips, back to the station house for a hearing on the charge of "suspicious characters," an offense unknown to the law, and then turned them loose, there being no evidence to warrant detention. I wrote a letter to the "Philadelphia Record," denouncing the lawlessness of the guardians of the law, and offering to pay the expenses of any of the victims who would sue the Lieutenant for false arrest; one of them applied to me, and although he was too timid to fight the police, having his humble living to make in a restaurant, I accompanied him to City Hall where we demanded the destruction of the records, the negative, and an assurance from the solicitor of the department that no duplicates would be kept. After two weeks' delay and three visits, the offensive material was destroyed in our presence. I have served notice on the Director of Public Safety and on the Lieutenant that a repetition of the offense would be brought to the attention of Councils, the General Assembly and the Governor. I am inclined to think that the department will "go slow" hereafter.

SAMUEL MILLIKEN.

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, January 5, 1915.

The European War.

The close of the fifth month of the war in Europe has brought no decisive action, and no talk of peace. The endurance struggle continues, with fortune apparently favoring the Allies. Germany has been unable to take Warsaw, or advance against the Allies in France and Belgium, her commerce and shipping have been driven from the seas, and her fleets cling to their harbors. Austria has been driven from Serbia, and is slowly yielding to the Russian forces in Galicia. Turkey has made no effective campaign, but still holds the Dardanelles. And Egypt apparently is quiet. Germany, however, though herself unable to advance, holds

her opponents in check. [See current volume, page 14.]



The Campaign in the East.

The Germans still cling to their plan to take Warsaw, but have been unable, notwithstanding heroic sacrifices, to cross the Bzura River, behind which the Russians occupy entrenched positions. Little changes have occurred in East Prussia, where the Russians maintain their hold. But in the south they are pushing their way into Hungary through the Carpathians, and are again advancing upon Cracow. No Austrian activities against Serbia are mentioned. Rumors of riots and panic come from Hungary, but nothing definite is known outside the country. It is reported that the Germans are sending re-enforcements into Austria. The Germans maintain their aggressive campaign in central Poland with their faces toward Warsaw. Operations over much of this territory are assuming the conditions of the campaign in the West, where it has taken on the nature of a siege. It is reported that colder weather will aid the Germans by enabling them to move over the rivers and the swampy ground.



The Campaign in the West.

Taking advantage of the supposed depletion of the German forces in the West in order to cope with the Russians in the East, the Allies have continued an aggressive campaign at several points. Little change has occurred along the Oise and Meuse Rivers, where the activities have been mainly confined to artillery duels, but in Belgium the Allies have advanced to St. Georges, a few miles northeast of Nieupoort. In upper Alsace the French have taken Steinbach and the heights west of Sennheim, where desperate fighting between the French and Germans has occurred. Elsewhere along the extended line few changes have occurred. Considerable attention has been given to undermining and blowing up trenches, but with small results.



On the Sea and in the Air.

The chief event on the sea was the loss of the battleship *Formidable* in the English Channel, off Portsmouth, on the 1st, either from mine or torpedo. Of the crew of 750 all but 201 were lost, including the captain and thirty-four other officers. The German auxiliary cruiser *Kronprinz Wilhelm* landed at Las Palmas, Canary Islands, on the 5th a hundred sailors from four French and English ships that she had sunk since September 17th. Aeroplane operations are assuming greater importance, and bid fair to become one of the chief factors of the war. Four German aeroplanes flew over Dunkirk on the 30th, dropping bombs that killed fifteen and wounded thirty-four. French airmen dropped bombs upon Metz, but

with unknown result. At Brussels they wrecked a Zeppelin hangar.

Other Countries.

Both the Russians and the Turks claim advantages and victories in Armenia and the Trans-Caucasia, but apparently no decisive action has taken place. The severe cold of the high altitude makes operations difficult. Elsewhere the Turks have shown very little activity. The Holy War has failed to materialize, and Egypt remains quiet. In South Africa the British have retaken Walfish Bay in German Southwest Africa. It is announced from Pretoria that men will be commandeered for service against the German colony. British warships have captured Dar-Es-Salaam, the capital of German East Africa, and destroyed the shipping in the harbor. The population is given as 24,000, of whom 1,000 are white. It is said to be the best built city on the coast, and to have a splendid harbor. An Italian battleship has shelled Durazzo, the capital of Albania to check the activities of the revolutionists. The Balkan countries still hold aloof from the war.

Neutral Commerce.

The Washington Administration issued a protest on the 26th against certain acts of the British government in its German blockade. The note was handed to the British cabinet by the American Ambassador on the 29th. The American government admits the right of search on the high seas, but contends that to divert ships to English ports for such purpose is a needless hardship, and should be resorted to only when there is full proof of hostile destination. Complaint is also made that the British government does not distinguish between absolute and conditional contraband, and appeal is made to former British interpretation during the Boer War, when Lord Salisbury declared that foodstuffs must be shown to be intended for the enemy's forces to become contraband. Objection is made also to the uncertainty of the rulings of the admiralty board. Copper had been prevented from going to Sweden because no provision had been made by that country to prevent its reshipment to Germany. But copper was stopped from going to Italy, although that country had a strict embargo upon its export. The American government upholds the "continuous voyage" construction, which permits seizure of goods destined to the enemy, even while passing through neutral ports, but contends that proof of such destination must be shown at the time of the seizure. Payment for the goods, the Administration claims, is not sufficient, as it disarranges trade by the uncertainty of delivery. The tone of the note is friendly but firm.

The protest has been received in a friendly

spirit by the British. The press discusses the question frankly, recognizing the hardship suffered by the United States and other neutral nations, and expresses confidence that the Government will find an amicable settlement of the question. Earl Grey, Secretary for War, speaking for the Cabinet, expresses confidence in finding an understanding between Great Britain and the neutral countries. It is feared, however, that negotiations may occupy a considerable time. Meantime American, and other neutral traders, are clamoring for relief.

Mexico.

Confusing and uncertain reports come from all parts of Mexico. It is reported that General Villa, as commander-in-chief of the forces of the Gutierrez government, has appointed General Cabral to supersede General Maytorena in Sonora, as the most effective way of stopping the trouble at Naco. General Villa is on his way from Mexico City to El Paso to confer with Brigadier General Scott, chief of staff of the United States Army, regarding the border troubles. General Jesus Carranza, brother of the Constitutionalist head, is held a prisoner by the Convention forces in Tehuantepec. His staff is reported shot, and he is threatened with death unless his brother makes certain concessions. General Venustiano Carranza refuses, and says he will offer his brother's life, if it be necessary, to save Mexico. During hostilities in Tehuantepec the tunnel used by the railroad crossing the Isthmus was blown up, and conditions became so chaotic that many foreigners have fled into Guatemala. [See current volume, page 15.]

Municipal Dealings with the Destitutes.

New York police on January 1 broke up an orderly parade of the unemployed because one of the marchers, George Druer, carried a banner on which was inscribed: "To H—— with charity." Druer was assaulted by the police and then arrested on showing reluctance to obey an order to take down the banner. This incident was reported by the Associated Press as an attack on the police by anarchists.

Director of Public Safety Porter of Philadelphia and R. M. Little of the Society for Organizing Charity, went on record on January 2 as opposed to the bread line maintained by the Inasmuch Mission, where every applicant is served with all the bread and coffee he may want and no questions are asked. The directors of the mission declined to discontinue the practice, informing Director Porter that if the men were not fed they would become desperate and commit crime.

Judge Henry Neill, father of the Mothers' pension movement, called attention in a public statement on December 31 to the harm done by the last legislature of Illinois in weakening the law at the request of charity organizations. As a result of these amendments many mothers whom the original act made independent of private charity have been forced to give up custody of their children and to become dependents of organized charity.



Houston's Land Speculators Rebellious.

Threats to bring the Houston system of taxation into court are again being made by the Harris County Taxpayers' Association, the same organization which a year ago made a similar threat but failed to carry it out. Under the Houston plan land is assessed at 75 per cent of its value and improvements at 25 per cent. Personal property is not assessed at all. An account of Tax Commissioner J. J. Pastoriza's position in the matter was given as follows in the Houston Telegram of December 20:

Tax Commissioner Pastoriza is not going to be bluffed by the talk the tax kickers are spreading of a fight in the courts.

"I will defend the Houston plan in the courts or anywhere else." Pastoriza said today: "The people put me here with the understanding we are to have the Houston plan of taxation. I have studied it and I know it to be to the best interests of 14,000 Houston home owners."

The tax kickers apparently are going to try to force the "equalization" of assessments on land and improvements. Houston now assesses land at 75 per cent and improvements at 25 per cent. Exactly what legal plans the Harris County Taxpayers' Association is making is not known. But the time limit on tax payments is drawing near, and there is bound to be some kind of action.

"If the courts pass upon the Houston plan, I am sure it will be declared constitutional," says Pastoriza.

"The Houston plan suits the vast majority of the people. It doesn't suit a few land speculators. I could save \$200 a year in taxes myself by adopting the former unjust system. But the Houston plan was not made for land speculators, but for the whole people."

Pastoriza gave out the following signed statement regarding comments on a recent realty deal:

It has been stated that the old Perry home, located at 512 Fannin street, was assessed at \$60,500, while it was sold for \$50,000.

They say the lot alone is assessed at \$57,000.

I wish to correct these misstatements.

The land was assessed for 1914 at \$48,860. The building is an old building and not suitable for the location, and in purchasing the property the purchasers certainly did not consider the building of any value whatever, because in order that the land be made profitable, it will be necessary to construct a business house instead of the residence which

now stands upon it. The house was assessed, however, for \$3,500.

If any taxpayer expects to have a tax commissioner who is infallible, they will make a great mistake, because such a man has not been born yet.

This sale was an unusual one. There were three owners and each one of them wanted to get his money out of it. They found a cash purchaser, another unusual thing in these times, and the property was really sold below the average price for property in that neighborhood. As an evidence of the truthfulness of this statement, I call the reader's attention to the sale of the following pieces of property in the immediate neighborhood, together with their assessed value, which goes to show that the judgment of this office as to the values is, on an average, too low instead of too high:

The Paul building sold this month to Sweeney & Cochran for \$200,000. The property is assessed for \$97,100.

The old telephone building was sold in 1913 for \$130,000. It was assessed that year for \$78,140.

Tract 16, block 56, was purchased by Mrs. Pauline Wolf in 1912 for \$114,000. It was assessed at that time for \$54,200.

[See Vol. xvii., pp. 563, 589.]



Personal Property Tax Enforcement in Chicago.

The Grand Jury of Cook County, Illinois, has returned indictments against a number of prominent Chicagoans for violation of the tax laws of the State. On December 31 Julius Rosenwald, head of Sears, Roebuck & Co., was indicted for neglect to file a schedule of his personal property. Similar indictments were returned on January 4 against F. A. Delano, a member of the Federal Reserve Board; James H. Douglas, president of the Quaker Oats Company; R. T. Crane, of the Crane Company, and others. A sensational disclosure in regard to these indictments was made by the Chicago Herald on January 5. Of the 23 members of the grand jury which returned these indictments five had themselves failed to schedule, and arbitrary assessments had been made for them by the Assessors. Twelve others do not appear as assessed for personal property taxes at the addresses where they are supposed to live.



Anti-Capital Punishment Society.

A movement for organization of a national anti-capital punishment society, with headquarters in Chicago, which has for some time been under way, has progressed sufficiently to form a permanent organization. The original call was signed by Julius Rosenwald, T. Howard Moore, Jane Addams, Louis F. Post, Graham Taylor, Jenkin Lloyd Jones and Emil G. Hirsch. Governor George W. P. Hunt of Arizona has accepted the national presidency. Maurice B. Kovnat, 624 South Michigan avenue, Chicago, is secretary and is in charge of the headquarters at that address.

Vice Presidents are Judge Cleland, Louis K. Phillips and Dr. M. Catharine Lyons. Honorary vice presidents are Governors McGovern of Wisconsin, Ferris of Michigan, Capper of Kansas, and Lister of Washington, and Senator Clapp of Minnesota. In its first public statement the society says:

The Anti-Capital Punishment Society of America appeals to you in the name of humanity and justice, to aid it in abolishing legalized murder—capital punishment.

The monstrosity and inhumaneness of capital punishment is self-evident, since it fails to stop murder. Murders increase day by day in spite of the fact that capital punishment is practiced. Capital punishment does nothing but set a horrible example to the public.

Although capital punishment has been and is practiced in most of our states, it has failed in its purpose. Crime has not ceased, therefore capital punishment owing to its failure to curb it, must be done away with for something more human and practical—life imprisonment.

Many a life has been taken by the state after a trial and conviction based on circumstantial evidence or technicality alone. It has been proven time and again by criminologists that capital punishment has not or never can serve the purpose for which it has been designed. Therefore, it is time that we, in the twentieth century, do away with such a barbarous and ineffectual method.

The experience of centuries has fully demonstrated the impracticability and ineffectiveness of capital punishment which has ceased to, if it ever did, prevent crime or the development of criminals.

Human life is sacred, and since we do not give it, we have no right to take.

We ask your pledge to join us in a serious campaign for the abolishment of capital punishment.

Our purpose is not merely to do away with it but to institute educational and remedial agents as well as encourage intelligent legislative activity—a national society has been formed for this purpose.



Congressional News.

The Immigration bill, with the restrictive literacy test for admission of aliens, passed the Senate on January 2 by a vote of 50 to 7. It had passed the House at the previous session. The Senate amended the bill by exempting Belgian farmers from its provisions, and by including in the exclusion paragraph all aliens of African race or of Negro blood. For the bill voted 28 Democrats, 21 Republicans and one Progressive. Against voted five Democrats and two Republicans, as follows: Martine, O'Gorman, Ransdell, Reed, Walsh, Brandegee and McCumber. The bill was sent to conference committee by the House on January 4. [See vol. xvll., pp. 169, 893.]



Confirmation of Henry C. Hall as Interstate Commerce Commissioner was delayed in the Senate on January 2. Mr. Hall had filled the unexpired term of Commissioner Prouty and was re-

appointed on expiration of the term in December by President Wilson. He opposed the grant of five per cent increase in freight rates to the railroads in July, but changed his vote in their favor when the proposition came up again in December. Senators La Follette, Clapp and Cummins joined in demanding delay of confirmation. Until confirmed, or another appointment has been made, the delay causes a vacancy in the Commission. [See vol. xvii., pp. 1226, 1229.]



The House passed, on January 4, the bill of Representative Moss providing for federal grading of grain offered for sale in interstate commerce.

NEWS NOTES

—The first recall election in New England was held at Salem, Massachusetts, on December 29. Mayor John F. Hurley was recalled and Mathias J. O'Keefe, candidate of the Better Government League, elected. The vote was 3465 to 2629. [See vol. xvii., p. 1092.]

—The Panama-California exposition at San Diego was formally opened on January 1. The signal was sent from Washington. The exposition will be open for one year and will be a sort of minor attraction to the greater Panama-Pacific exposition at San Francisco, to be opened in May.

—Richard H. Aishton, vice president of the Chicago and North Western Railroad, was appointed by President Wilson on December 29 a member of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations to succeed Frederic A. Delano, appointed member of the Federal Reserve Board. [See vol. xvii., p. 1230.]

—The Keystone Watch Case Company was acquitted on January 2 by the United States District Court of Philadelphia of the charge of being a trust. It was enjoined, however, from engaging in a boycott to fix prices, the court having found that it refused to sell goods to jobbers who violated its rules regarding prices.

—Governor McGovern of Wisconsin, on December 30 commuted to 20 years' imprisonment the sentence of John Dietz, the defender of Cameron dam, undergoing a life sentence. This makes him eligible to parole in three years. Dietz had fought against the appropriation of a dam on his farm by the Lumber Trust.

—Illinois workmen's compensation act was held unconstitutional on December 30 by Judge Crow of the State Circuit Court at Belleville. Legislative records fail to show that the bill was printed in the Journal before final passage. This was the ground on which the decision was based. Through this decision the family of a killed workman, in whose behalf a suit was brought, have been denied redress. [See vol. xvi., p. 1213.]

—Judge Samuel Seabury took his seat in the New York Court of Appeals, the highest court of the State, on January 1. Judge Seabury enjoys the dis-

tion of being the only Democrat elected on the State ticket in New York at the election of last November. He had the endorsement of the Progressives and of the Sulzer adherents. The campaign against him was made principally on his record as a Single Taxer. His majority was over 60,000. [See vol. xvii., pp. 1091, 1092.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Soft Voice Impossible With Big Stick.

Charles Edward Jefferson, D.D., in *Woman's Home Companion*, January: A few things we are now certain: Engines of war are not guarantees of peace. Military experts are not safe counsellors of parliaments and kings. The policy of the big stick has been hopelessly discredited. Men who still advocate it belong to a bygone age. They can learn nothing, and we must leave them behind. The counsel to speak softly and carry a big stick is not wise. It is impossible to carry out the advice. The coarseness of the stick inevitably gets into the voice. Men who carry big sticks inevitably speak loud, and so also do nations. Low standards of conduct report themselves in the voice. If a nation wishes to cultivate the disposition of a gentleman, it must not dress like a brigand. To carry a big stick is the act of a rowdy, and we want to get rid of rowdiness in our international world. We cannot build an enduring civilization on suspicion and fear. We must build it on faith and hope and love. We now see what mischief-makers can accomplish if they are given ample time in which to work. The men who talk about "irrepressible conflicts" are blind guides. There are no irrepressible conflicts in this world except those which we make such by our wickedness and folly. The talk about the "inevitable conflict" between the Slav and the Teuton, and between the white race and the yellow race is silly. Men who say that commerce leads inevitably to war, and men who invariably impugn the motives of foreign nations in their every action belong to our dangerous classes, and should be feared by all right-minded citizens.

Playing Providence.

The *Indian Social Reformer* (Bombay), October 4.—There is a sentence in the second of a series of articles on the "Education of Bengali girls," appearing in the *Indian Witness* from the pen of Miss B. K. Hogg, which is a striking illustration of the self-complacency with which some of the best and most devout men and women imagine themselves to be excellent substitutes for Providence in relation to the people of India. "One of our best gifts to India," she writes, "is surely that great, good gift of God to us expressed in our untranslatable word Home." As if God is precluded from having any dealings with India except through the medium of estimable ladies like Miss Hogg! We do not question in the least that the best type of the English home is an admirable embodiment of domestic life, but we can only regard Miss Hogg's assumption that there were no "Homes" in India before she and her coadjutors

presented us with them, as an instance of that subtle self-conceit which sometimes masquerades in the guise of a religious frame of mind.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

GOD'S FLATTERERS.

For The Public.

"Not mine, O Lord, but Thine the victory!"
How easy from the lips of those in need
And sore beset, fall humble words like these.
"Not mine, O Lord, but Thine the victory!"
How oft we hear them on the lips of those
Who crave for naught but vict'ry's baser spoils.
HORACE B. ENGLISH.

UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.*

For The Public.

III.

Russia, Germany and England Hurried on the War Into Which the United States Will Be Drawn to Defend the Monroe Doctrine—The Clamor for a Mighty Navy and Wilson's Opportunity.

It was election day, beautiful and bracing, and Wurtzel telephoned his friend to know if he would take an auto trip, and spend the day in the country, but Ballard said:

"You are lazy. This is a day for walking. We'll walk to Yonkers."

Wurtzel was much the more portly of the two, but still athletic, and in a few minutes was at Ballard's door. A girl companion had already asked that his daughter, Cecil, might attend the English opera that evening, and telling her he would not return till late, they were off. Out Broadway they walked, Wurtzel an enthusiastic partizan of New York waxing eloquent on this being the first city of the world.

"Why, I doubt," said he, "if all the capitals of Europe combined could equal the number of magnificent hotels of this city!" And other points in which New York was easily pre-eminent were commented upon with equal ardor.

It was still early, and but few people were met in the street—some, like themselves, voting early and off for a holiday. Soon they were on Riverside Drive and presently had paused for a moment before Grant's Tomb to drink in the beautiful view along the river. Wurtzel, turning to his companion and repeating aloud the inscription, "Let Us Have Peace," then said:

"A very appropriate plea for to-day, when governments representing one-half the people of the world are at war."

*Note: The two preceding articles of this series are to be found in vol. xvii, pp. 899, 1166.

"Yes, since the beginning of time never was there anything like this. It is impossible to think of anything else!"

They had started on.

"I left you very abruptly the other night, but I—"

"No apologies, please—it is your way! Ordinarily, too, you would have walked, but a rain was blowing up—I was compelled to seek shelter, and so I rejoined the Greek gentleman at the table."

"And you learned—"

"That 'Louis,' the Albanian Slav, and the head waiter, who is a Jew, are Russian spies—for that nation has long maintained an immense secret service in this country to keep track of revolutionary propaganda here directed against their government."

"And the Greek—his name was—"

"Agapoulos. I have not made him out yet. But there can be no doubt they are all enthusiastic admirers of yours. Still, you may be assured they will not fail to report—"

"Did M. Agapoulos understand the Near Eastern question—the English, Russian rivalries—into which Germany has entered in these later years?"

"Had a very clear idea, indeed, and some of his remarks suggested he had conceptions so profound they startled me: that after the Sarajevo murder, Russia, Germany, and England all deliberately hurried on the war—while their efforts to maintain peace were no less earnest—all determined by shrewd diplomacy to obtain the profit and advantage of a long and successful war without its cost! There appeared so many contradictions, and yet a certain kind of unity and coherence—"

Ballard stopped still in the road—they were now far out on what was once Boulevard Lafayette, the broad expanse of the Hudson stretching away for miles in both directions. Touching his friend upon the shoulder, he said:

"They all deliberately hurried on the war while earnestly seeking peace, each determined to reap the advantage of a successful war—Did he say that to you?" asked Ballard, with wide open eyes.

"It sounded almost insane—and yet there was something that appealed to me."

"This man has penetrated the most profound secret of world diplomacy!"

"A secret so profound it may not have been clearly understood by the great diplomats themselves!" said Wurtzel, lightly, almost breaking into laughter, but the serious look on Ballard's face as he gave a start, checked him.

"My God! man, what wisdom you have uttered if you but understood it yourself!" He paused a moment. "Russia was determined to back up Serbia, but certainly desired peace, for if Austria had been compelled to back down on her demands, the existence of Austria as a world power would have ended, and her oldest Emperor would have

been her last, with Russian influence supreme in the Near East, the Romanoffs one step nearer Constantinople—and war in any event, no matter how Great Britain aligned herself, would in the end be to Russian advantage. And so Russia ardently desired—either war or peace."

"Ardently desired—either war or peace," repeated Wurtzel with a puzzled look. "Yes, that holds! A crisis was approaching that could but result to Russian advantage! But how?"

"German trade and interest had so grown to the East and through Mesopotamia that she had in these later years supplanted Britain as the protector of the Turk—even the Turkish army and navy commanded by German officers. British interest, now as jealous of German influence as of Russian design, would remain neutral or at least not rush to the support of Austria and Germany, as she had done in the annexation of Bosnia ten years before. Russia welcomed war—or peace, with the spoils of war!"

"And Germany?" asked Wurtzel.

"German diplomacy, taking advantage of British extremity in being placed between the devil and the deep sea, thought Germany could rely upon British neutrality and Italian support, and trusting to British influence to hold France from the possible conflict, eagerly welcome war—or peace, with the spoils of war!—that Britain in greater fear of Russia than of Germany would allow Germany to entirely supplant her in the Near East while professing friendship!"

"And England?" asked Wurtzel.

"Britain, seeing her great territorial and commercial rivals about to come to a clash at arms over the richest spoil in all the world (Constantinople, the key city to the commerce of three continents, the protection of which had been the chief end of British diplomacy for over a century) while striving for peace, foreseeing a certain advantage that might come to her from a war in which her rivals might exhaust themselves, eagerly welcomed war—a war in which she would be free to pick the side on which her interests lay. The British Ambassador at Paris diplomatically refused to commit England to the support of France, a declaration earnestly solicited by President Poincaré as the surest means of averting war; while the German Ambassador at London, on Grey's own statement, in the event France were drawn into the war, *even suggested that the integrity of France and her colonies might be guaranteed,* and *'pressed me as to whether I could not formulate conditions on which we would remain neutral.'*"

"England could have averted the war—both sides appealed to her!" interjected Wurtzel.

"But of course Grey could not formulate such conditions," said Ballard, refusing to be interrupted; "that would be letting the cat out of the bag—for Constantinople was the prize, and nothing but the destruction of German interest and

influence in Turkey would satisfy; and now that Germany and Russia were about to rush at each other's throats, England *'should have to consider, what British interests required us to do'* in the words of Grey," said Ballard.

"And English interests required that she allow her rivals to destroy each other!" said Wurtzel, with brows knit, his hand upon his forehead.

"And when the cards should have all been played, were upon the board and the war begun, *'England's decision would be very rapid,'* to use the words of Grey to the German Ambassador.

"Then England was to blame for the great—" said Wurtzel, startled.

"No more than was Germany and Russia. Each was but playing according to the rules of the game—trying to dupe all the other nations and achieve the advantages to be gained by a great war if possible by a diplomatic peace of neither risk nor cost. But England—" He paused a long time. Then breaking off on the old tack, he said: "Our Greek friend, M. Agapoulos I believe you called him, when he said that Russia, Germany and England all deliberately hurried on the war—while their efforts to maintain peace were less earnest—and each determined by shrewd diplomacy to obtain the profit and advantage of a long and successful war without its cost, at least apprehended the truth if he did not *com-*prehend it! But let us drop this phase of the war for something of more immediate interest to ourselves."

"The election?" asked Wurtzel.

"And the grave danger lest we shall be drawn into the great world commercial war—I mean drawn in with shot and shell."

"Are you fearful the President's policy of neutrality will not be sustained?"

"You are aware of the fact that a very large element of our population believe that our neutrality has a decided pro-British leaning, but it is not along that line that trouble is to be anticipated. According to accepted tenets his attitude in the European war has been measurably correct," said Ballard.

"And in the event he is not sustained by the elections?" asked Wurtzel.

"Self-seeking and time-serving men, backed by special interests, will raise the cry the people have repudiated even Wilson's mild approach to free trade—and make it impossible that from this country could come the proffer of friendly intervention by offering world free trade as the only possible solution of the European war!"

"Yours is a long look ahead," said Wurtzel. "And if the administration should be repudiated?"

"The opposition, inside and outside of Wilson's party, thoroughly understanding that 'hard times' is always laid by the public at the door of the national administration, and uncertain how the people stand on the railroad regulation, Panama Canal, Mexican, and trust questions, will for their

own ends declare the vote shows popular demand for the old or a more exaggerated tariff—as I said making impossible our offering to Europe the only solution of the war, the total destruction of her tariff walls. And we should be drawn in—"

"But surely no nation would be so mad as to attack the United States?" and Wurtzel's alarm was not feigned.

"That is not the view of the tariff advocates, and the loud cry they are sending over the world to disarm and to dismantle their navies is surpassed only by the even louder cry of the same people for the creation of a standing army and a greater navy—for all consciously or unconsciously understand that the victors in Europe will immediately attempt to violate and trample under foot the Monroe Doctrine—that is, to tear down the national tariff walls of South America or rather to convert them into 'colonial' tariff walls through which they may enter free at the gate! An American navy equaling that of the whole of Europe, and costing countless millions will be required to maintain—"

"The tariff walls of South America! You see that I have thoroughly learned your political economy—and applied it to international politics!" said Wurtzel.

"Oh, the future, the very life of this country depends upon our solution of the European war," said Ballard, ignoring the compliment; "or we shall be dragged in to defend the Monroe Doctrine—a doctrine that under absolute free trade would become useless to ourselves or to South America, and to nobody's interest to violate! Our public men seem to have gone mad not to have seen the solution, and propose only to exaggerate the evils and the CAUSE of war while clamoring for disarmament and peace—a cry that comes in exceedingly bad taste from the wealthiest nation in the world when the leading men of all parties are in the very act of demanding a large increase in both army and navy! Why, the mere proposition of proportionate disarmament, seriously advanced by leading statesmen, besides being an absurdity on its face, is tantamount to confession that the cause of the war is not understood or being understood is wilfully ignored."

"I am content to listen," said Wurtzel, as Ballard paused.

"And not only the leading men of the world, but of our own country seriously propose this silly expedient," he continued. "It was not ten days ago the American Bar Association met in Washington, where President Wilson delivered an address of welcome, the entire supreme court of the United States were guests of honor, and ex-president Taft, the chairman, in his speech, said to the assembled brainy men of the nation: *'It is not too early to hope that the exhaustion which it (the war) is certain to bring to both sides may sink deep into the minds of their respective peoples the*

absurdity of maintaining hereafter the policy of immense and bankrupting armaments and the wisdom of a reduction of these by agreement. What an astonishing thing," he went on, "that notwithstanding the fact that millions of men representing one-half the people of the world are now engaged in war, not one of these public men has ever offered the simple and only solution of the war, but have proposed only *repressive* measures—war to become a contest in ingenuity after proportionate disarmament—and this same logic would demand we put to death the most ingenious, or having entirely disarmed, we fight with feather pillows, or revert to the frightening masks of the old Japanese, throw dice or have trial by ordeal. They have not searched for the *cause* of the war and reduction of armaments would be about as effective as our prayers—you will remember that on the day before the nation prayed for peace, one vessel sailed from New York with 16,000,000 cartridges, enough to kill every soldier in Europe."

"It is so absurd," said Wurtzel, "and though there is profit in it for certain interests, in this blindness the greater part of the world is really blind. I know, for I have but recently seen the light. Why, even if we abandoned the Monroe Doctrine, the South American nations to become but colonial possessions of European nations, so inseparably linked are these ideas, we would require strong forts along our Chinese wall, the total destruction of all vessels of commerce, and an immense army and navy that we might become a hermit nation like Japan until some more powerful Perry should appear to teach us intelligence at the cannon's mouth. To be serious, the English are telling us the Germans in victory would menace the Monroe Doctrine, while the Germans tell us the Allies menace the Monroe Doctrine."

"They are all agreed, and they are all correct—all the world menaces the Monroe Doctrine!"

"You overwhelm me with your astonishing logic—in repartee," said Wurtzel.

"The nations of Europe do not care to *govern* South America, but seek only free trade privilege—pushed on by ceaseless law that acts like gravity that never rests, and the nations of the world will be at war until they have leveled every tariff wall! In the language of Lincoln, when the wars are over the questions that caused them have still to be solved. While every nation in Europe is fighting for the preservation of its national life, secretly, consciously and unconsciously each in a trade sense is determined to conquer all the rest. In other words every one of them is bent upon having the world as a market, the Federation of the World, and the result would be the same no matter which won! Until this is understood, and we have universal free trade the war will rage."

Wurtzel did not care to again interrupt him, and after a pause he continued:

"And you will notice that their blindness to this

great fact frightens them all—and they look into the future with fear and trembling. Why, H. G. Wells, in terse sentences summing up the British view, declares that in the event of German victory, the Monroe Doctrine would go down, Germany being supported by Russia and Japan, and the London Times joins in the alarm at the prospect of Teutonic sway; for had not Baron von Edelsheim already disclosed the German purpose *'to put a stop to the overreachings on the part of the United States and eventually to make our will prevail by resort to force,'* and the Baron continued: *'Successful enterprise on the Atlantic seaboard would create throughout the United States such a depressed situation that the government would be willing to accept fair conditions in order to preserve peace.'* Our *'overreachings'* are the Monroe Doctrine, and *'fair conditions'* simply its abandonment—that Germany should seize South American tariff walls! Yes, I know that Count von Dernburg and Ambassador Bernstorff recently voluntarily disclaimed such designs, but it is the law of trade, and Germany like England and every other country—"

"But you will recall that England herself had to be choked off in Venezuela!" said Wurtzel.

"Why, of course, all Europe has for a century had its eyes upon our southern neighbors, and since our statesmen do not understand the natural law we shall be compelled to defend ourselves by force—with a mighty navy! Side by side with his protective tariff in Hearst's editorials we read the demand for the mighty navy—often in the same paragraph."

"Exactly where it belongs," said Wurtzel, quietly, while Ballard, smiling at the interruption, went on:

"And his papers make great display of such news as that Roosevelt, speaking at Princeton University, October 30, declared that he had seen the plans of two of the Empires now at war for the capture of New York and San Francisco, and Roosevelt is again championing a greater navy. The *'wake up America'* speech of Gardner, supported by Senators Poindexter and Smith, and people all over the country, is but spreading the alarm of naval expert Maclay; and so competent a body as the Navy League, of which General Horace Porter is President, issues an address in reply to peace advocates, in which it is declared our weakness invites attack. And the worst of it is that the alarm is justified—that we shall need a navy not merely as great as that of England, but equaling that of the whole world—demanding the immediate expenditure of one billion dollars. These are the forebodings of the leading men of all parties—given voice as early as October 2, by Republican leader Mann, in a keynote speech, in which the truth—the solution—does not dawn, though he absolutely stumbles over the great truth and sprawls upon it."

"Well—" said Wurtzel.

"I have his speech in my pocket—the very words: *'A fight for commercial supremacy leads in the end to a fight with arms.'*"

"Well, for the love of heaven!" said Wurtzel, "and he did not see that to break down restrictions of trade would end the commercial war! And I spent a lifetime in the ignorant belief that if the people of some foreign country sold us \$2.00 worth of goods for 50 cents it would ruin us! And even now I am wondering where the government will collect its revenues when the tariff taxes shall have been destroyed."

"But if you will but read the book that I will give you," said Ballard, "some day you will discover that the source of taxation is inexhaustible if you know how to tap it; indeed, that the application of the tax is but the widening of the breach through which wealth may flow, or to use another illustration, that taxes is a thing not to be extorted, but, rightly understood, is a force like steam in a boiler, striving to escape, whence, reversing the principle of the safety valve, the more you let out the greater the supply."

"Some dry political economy that couldn't interest me now, in the midst of the world's greatest war—and on election day."

Almost leisurely they had strolled all day, with no other repast than a little fruit, and now at dusk, with ferocious appetites they dined a la carte in Yonkers, not sparing of time and awaiting a suitable hour to return by rail to the city after sufficient election returns would be in to indicate how the President's party had fared.

"I am more at home in practical politics," said Wurtzel, "than in international intrigue and political economy—they are *your* forte. And I will tell you now the President will fare far better than he would have in July, because of this European war—notwithstanding a large defection in the German and Irish vote because of this same war."

They had both voted in such a way as to sustain the President for several reasons.

It was a beautiful night, and the crowds in front of the bulletin boards, while large, showed no enthusiasm, reading war bulletins—three months not having made them callous—with as much interest as election returns.

Ballard, no longer communicative, was very thoughtful. They were walking toward Ballard's home.

"The returns are satisfactory—if the President knows how to snatch victory from defeat!" and his manner was unusually serious, and Wurtzel, interpreting as he believed the thoughts of his friend, said:

"It is not a defeat—though Hearst and the Republicans will turn heaven and earth to make it appear so. The Progressive vote has simply returned to the Republican party. Roosevelt for a

time will appear in eclipse, but as an actual fact I shall not be surprised to see him the Republican nominee for President. The crowds that greeted Roosevelt in the campaign show his popularity undimmed, and going back to the Republican fold they will take him with them. People have little difficulty in persuading themselves to a point of view that to them will prove an advantage, and Roosevelt will find no difficulty in lining up with the bosses he has denounced if necessary to achieve the Republican nomination. The questions upon which he pretended to have broken with the Republicans when he set out to prevent LaFollette from defeating Taft will be forgotten, and upon the great big issues of the Panama Canal, the tariff and the navy—one question—they will be in perfect accord. Besides, the Republicans will see the advantage of nominating a man Hearst would support—"

"But if Champ Clark—" said Ballard, looking through the side of his eyes.

"He never seriously supported Champ Clark, the free trader!" said Wurtzel.

"I only wondered if you shared my opinion," said Ballard, satisfied.

"And Roosevelt would be Hearst's candidate. Of course I cannot foresee the end of the war, but—" and Wurtzel stopped short as if overcome by a tremendous idea. "I have heard that Wilson was at heart like Champ Clark, an absolute free trader! Political necessity might give him courage!"

"Well?" And then you see that—"

"All the nations of the world are looking to the United States for a solution of the war! The Democrats can claim the administration has been sustained, Wilson can convene the Hague Congress and propose universal free trade—the war ends, and disarmament follows!"

Ballard grasped his friend by the hands to steady him—he almost reeled like a drunken man.

"Wilson has had every chance—you know there is a movement in New York—"

"Political necessity will give him the courage! Clamor for an army and navy will drive him—this clamor will grow with redoubled vigor in his own party—and to this neither he nor Bryan will ever consent! Wilson will be compelled—to become one of the greatest men of history whether he will or no! It is his destiny!"

They had arrived at Wurtzel's Hotel.

"The salvation of our own country depends upon our solution of this war, and if Wilson should fail us—" But Ballard did not finish his sentence. Rubbing his hand on his forehead as if he had forgotten something. "You say—Agapoulos expressed a desire to meet me again?"

"He was to sail for Europe in a few days."

And Ballard walked on home alone.

BASIL HOWARD.

ON GUARD, UNCLE SAM!

C. S. Adelman.

There is dreadful cause for worry! Let's buy cannon in a hurry to make good our woeful weakness which in Congress now is aired. We must raise an army mighty, pass up talk of peace as flighty, for it's terribly apparent that we're wholly unprepared. We should dig into our jeans for a hundred submarines which in stopping foreign dreadnaughts are more useful than you'd think; and we ought to rob our grips for a score more battleships (to parade our helpless coast) for foreign submarines to sink! Uncle Sam is but a "bluff"—he's not spending half enough—just a quarter billion dollars every year's expense is his, on our army and our fleet which is still so incomplete that our patriotic statesmen ask in wrath just where it is? Let us hasten to prepare on the land and sea and air for our next great dreadful conflict which some day may be declared and expend with royal cheer half a billion more each year, so that if it comes (or don't) we will not have been unprepared. Don't the mental picture charm ye, of a mighty standing army, say a quarter million soldiers? What a "patriotic" thrill! Men from all our lesser stations taken from their occupations and made expert in the noble art of how to maim and kill. Don't the thrilling picture move you and our present state reprove you when you start to figure how much such an army would be worth? Why, with dough enough to feed 'em and with Teddy R. to lead 'em we could take a weaker nation and just wipe 'em off the earth! So then let's prepare for trouble. What if our expenses double? Though our billions are invested it's a thing that must be done, for should Villa's head expand and he cross the Rio Grande, he might keep right on agoing till he captured Washington! Then suppose some foreign state, say in 1998, took a notion to come over here and put us on the blink, just imagine the dismay from New York to Frisco bay—it's enough to drive our children's children's children all to drink! Also don't forget those Japs—they are enterprising chaps—and we'll surely have to bring them to their Japan knees some day—for you see there is no land which may suit them close to hand, so they'll plant their flag in Frisco and annex the U. S. A. Other problems of the State which are equally as great drive the agents of the powder and the steel trust to despair, so I add in strident tones let us spend a billion bones every year (if we can raise it)—just so long as we prepare!

BOOKS

SETTLING A QUESTION RIGHT

The Tariff: What it is. How it works. Whom it benefits, Protection, Revenue, Free Trade. By Lee Francis Lybarger, Member of the Philadelphia Bar, Lyceum and Chataqua Lecturer. Published by The Platform, The Lyceum and Chataqua Magazine, 601 Steinway Hall, Chicago. Price, \$1.50 net.

The need of a new book on the tariff may on

first thought appear doubtful. The subject has been discussed so long and argued again and again at every election within memory of the present generation—to say nothing of arguments between elections and at elections not remembered by living men—that one may be pardoned for believing that the last word on the subject has somewhere been spoken. But "no question is ever settled until it is settled right" and Mr. Lybarger makes clear that the question is still far from being settled that way. He has given us a work which aside from its convincing abstract arguments presents facts, and figures from official sources that are alone sufficient to show the fallacy of pro-tariff arguments.

Like Henry George, he shows protective tariffs and revenue tariffs to be equally wrong. In regard to protection he shows that it represents special privilege and class legislation, builds up trusts and monopolies, which are enabled to sell cheaper abroad than at home; robs people without their knowledge; employs public taxation for private gain; obtains the vote of labor by falsehood and fraud, while diminishing the purchasing power of wages as well as the protection of wealth, and enriches some by impoverishing others. The unscientific nature is also shown of the absurd cry for a "scientific" tariff.

In regard to a tariff for revenue he shows it to be contrary to all sound principles of taxation and quotes the argument of Henry George.

The space devoted to the "favorable balance of trade" idea contains all the facts needed to show the absurdity of the claim that we can grow rich by reducing our wealth. The Treasury figures of exports and imports are presented from 1885 to 1913, during which time the total excess of exports has aggregated \$9,178,090,147, and it would seem as though it were high time that we were getting some of that "shining gold," which President McKinley declared would come to us in return. But those who still cling to such expectations will find their rosy dreams shattered on noting what McKinley failed to realize, that so far from creating an obligation on the part of foreigners to send us gold, this "favorable" balance is for the most part tribute to foreign owners of American lands.

After showing these facts it is not surprising to note that Mr. Lybarger finds the solution of the tariff question in absolute free trade and direct taxation and that he finds a land value tax as the direct tax which should be adopted.

Among the valuable reference material is a history of tariff legislation which gives the schedules of every tariff law, beginning with the first one adopted during Washington's administration. In parallel columns are given tariff rates of every tariff law from that of 1883 to the Underwood act. The rates proposed in the Mills bill of 1888 are included in this comparison.

The relation of free trade to the cause of peace was shown by Henry George in the last chapter of *Protection or Free Trade*. The present war in Europe is an object lesson of the correctness of Mr. George's views. Mr. Lybarger devotes the concluding part of his book to making this plain.

The work is dedicated to Woodrow Wilson, William J. Bryan and Oscar W. Underwood. It is not claimed that any of these are in sympathy with the author's tariff views other than his opposition to protectionism. But if the dedication induces them to carefully read the book, it is hard to see how they can avoid coming to Mr. Lybarger's conclusion.

S. D.



IN SUPERSTITIOUS OLD ENGLAND

The Witch. By Mary Johnston. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1914. Price, \$1.40 net.

In her latest book the author of "To Have and to Hold" goes back once more to early colonial times, setting her story, however, not in the new world, but in the old England of King James and superstition and priestcraft. Mary Johnston is unchanged. Here is her same melodramatic romance, the same utterly impossible, thoroughly unbelievable twists and turns of entanglement and escape, the old fascination of highly colored historical pictures—one is tempted to say chromoes—and on this painted stage, the men and women of the story who in the same familiar fashion manage somehow to live and move us to read them till they die or run away.

Joan Heron and Gilbert Aderhold, innocent victims of their neighbors' belief in witchcraft, love and suffer and triumph and at last die—unless their author rescues them in an unannounced sequel. For that deliverance the gasping reader breathes to hope.

The proofreading on the book is poorer than even the author's careless writing deserves; certainly its oversights are unworthy the publishers' good name.

A. L. G.

PERIODICALS

Drama, the Democratic Art.

Among a dozen brilliant essays in the *Yale Review* for January (209 Elm St., New Haven, Conn.), there is one on Our "Commercial" Drama, by William C. de Mille, the New York playwright, whose success in his art gives prestige to his opinion. Neither literary merit nor moral purpose, Mr. de Mille asserts, is the first requisite of good drama. Its fundamental purpose is entertainment. "Bad" drama is, primarily, drama which fails of its elemental purpose by not reaching the public for which it was intended. Drama is for the many. . . . It is

the only art which the people themselves control, and, through that control, direct." And their chief means of expression is their ticket-buying—a fact which makes observation of the box-office receipts a legitimate factor in the playwright's self-criticism. Drama leagues are both a menace and an aid to the progress of dramatic art—an aid to the extent that "they strive to encourage a popular demand for artistic beauty and moral purpose in the theater. . . . But to the extent that they permit themselves to place popular decision in the hands of a few leaders, they are dangerous even if they are not actually immoral. . . . Liberty is the right to be wrong. It is the right of a nation to make its own mistakes and profit by them; and because the American people have had the right, and used it extensively, to commit every economic blunder under the sun, they are today leading a world-revolution in economic thought and ideals. The whole mass of the public mind is active; it is progressing and improving as a direct result of the fact that the people's mistakes have worked injury to the people, and the people themselves are forced to remedy conditions brought about by their own acts. And if this principle of democracy is ethical, if it is based on social justice and makes for the betterment of the race in politico-economics, let us support democracy in the only art the people own in common, the only democrat of all the arts—the Drama."

A. L. G.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Bank Deposit Guaranty in Nebraska. By Z. Clark Dickinson. Published by the Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, November 1, 1914.

The John F. Slater Fund. Proceedings and Reports for year ending June 30, 1914. James H. Dillard, Director, Box 418, Charlottesville, Va.

The Recent Trend of Real Wages. By I. M. Rubinow. Reprint from the *American Economic Review*. Published by the American Economic Association.

Second Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. Printed at the Government Printing Office.

Negro Year Book, 1914-15. Edited by Monroe N. Work. Published by the Negro Year Book Publishing Co., Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Price 25 cents, postage 10 cents.

Wages and Regularity of Employment and Standardization of Piece Rates in the Dress and Waist Industry, New York City. Bulletin 146, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Special Examination of the Accounts and Methods of the Office of Coroner in the city of New York, ordered by John Purroy Mitchel, Mayor, and conducted by Leonard M. Wallstein, Commissioner of Accounts.



At one time when Mr. Lloyd George was speaking in public, a heckler called out: "Do you remember when your grandfather drove a donkey and cart?"

"You will have to forgive me, ladies and gentlemen," replied Mr. Lloyd George; "the cart had

quite escaped my memory, but I see that the donkey is living yet."—Sacred Heart Review.



"Yes," said the world traveler, "the Chinese make it an invariable rule to settle all their debts on New year's day."

"So I understand," said the American host, "but, then, the Chinese don't have a Christmas the week before."—Ladies' Home Journal.

Louis F. Post's Books

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