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EDITORIAL

Earthquake and War.

Why should upholders of war be horrified at the work of the Italian earthquake? Nature has only wrought havoc, in a mild sort of way, of the same kind as they would rejoice to hear had been committed in war by an army of their countrymen. The universal horror at the awful calamity implies condemnation of the "patriots" spreading similar calamities elsewhere. It would be as sensible and humane for those who applaud the soldier and rejoice at his victories to be joyful at news of the earthquake. Sympathy for earthquake victims comes with ill grace from those who approve of similar destruction elsewhere. Coming from the heads of belligerent governments, it seems like hypocrisy.

S. D.



Nature as a Belligerent.

It is with mixed emotions that one reads the accounts of the earthquake in Italy. The descriptions of death and disaster are painfully familiar. Wherein, indeed, do these accounts differ from the operations in northern France or Belgium? There is the same killing of men, women and children, the same wounding and maiming, and the same destruction of property. So nearly alike are the two calamities that if the distinguishing military terms be omitted, a reader might be puzzled to know which was caused by man, and which by Nature. The motive only is lacking. In the one case the destruction is the deliberate planning of men; in the other it is the work of insensate Nature. Had the Italian towns been destroyed by the enemy's siege guns, there would have been a spontaneous uprising throughout the kingdom. A million men would have been under arms within twenty-four hours, eager to lay down their lives to avenge their stricken countrymen. Now, they can only bow their heads in sorrow at the affliction that has come upon them.

There has been noticeable for some time a growing restlessness on the part of the Italian nation to enter the war. The people have now secured some of the fruits of the war without a formal declaration of hostilities. They have their wounded, their dead, and their wasted cities. Will that not satisfy them? Suppose by some cataclysmic act of Nature the earth along the battle line in northern France and Belgium should engulf a million men. The world would stand appalled. Nations that are now gloating over their feats of arms, and bestowing praise and honors upon their generals for the injuries inflicted upon their opponents, would be bowed in humiliation in the presence of such a disaster. Yet this war means the destruction of more men than that; and accompanying it a yet greater number of wounded, together with a vast destruction of property.



Of all the disasters, from the overwhelming of Pompeii to the present day, history records nothing approaching the destructiveness of the present war. It may indeed be doubted if all the calamities put together would equal it. It is only in some widespread pestilence, like the black-death, that we can find any such destruction of human life. Even then there was lacking the wounded and the wasted property. It would seem as though the science that has done so much to prolong human life, by wiping out pestilences, and bettering social and industrial conditions, had at the same time provided a means of inflicting greater suffering than it cured. How like insensate Nature are maddened men!

s. c.



Moral Conduct and War.

In a public appeal in behalf of an embargo act Mr. Horace L. Brand of the Illinois Staats Zeitung says:

Is it right, is it morally right, is it Christianlike to export arms and ammunition? What are those arms and that ammunition now exported to be used for? Surely only to kill human beings.

To answer these questions as Mr. Brand evidently thinks they should be answered would be to state but a half truth. To unconditionally stop exportation would not prevent killing of human beings but would make it easier for one side to kill men on the other side. To change the war into a one-sided affair can not be considered in the interest of peace, unless the side favored agrees to take no advantage of resulting weakening of its opponents. Since the killing of human

beings is clearly so objectionable to Mr. Brand, why not make sure that the embargo, if laid, will stop it? Why not make it conditional on prompt acceptance of mediation by the belligerent having his sympathy? It will not then be a help to either side but will be a help toward prevention of slaughter of human beings—not on one side but on both sides. Is it right, is it morally right, is it Christianlike to do any less than this? What better way is there for either side to prove its faith in the righteousness of its cause than by submitting its quarrel to an international tribunal? A victory won by brute force proves nothing. Justice is far more likely to prevail after a hearing before a court whose decision will not depend on the physical strength of any combatant. To be consistent Mr. Brand should insist on consent to so submit its case by the belligerent helped by the embargo as a condition to its being laid. s. d.



Military Preparedness.

It will be noticed that those who are protesting loudest against the alleged unpreparedness of this country to repel invasion are the ones who cling hardest to the Philippines. We must hold the Philippines, they say, because their people are unfit for self-government; and we can give them advantages of civilization that would otherwise be denied them. But behold their dilemma. The United States in recent years has stood fourth in the amount of military expenditures; yet the militarist declares that we are shamefully, criminally, unprepared to defend ourselves. One of two things must be true: Either we are prepared, and have something to show for the vast sums spent upon the army and navy; or we are incapable of looking after our own affairs, and should welcome a foreign domination that would teach us the art of efficient government. If we have had our money's worth, and now have the material means of defense that we have paid for, there is no occasion for the present hysteria. If we are not prepared, if we have not had our money's worth, if there has been the gross malfeasance in office that such a condition would indicate, then what shall be said of the government we give the Filipinos in their far distant islands? If we cannot watch and control our own government, if we cannot secure honest and intelligent action from our statesmen while we are looking at them, and while political opponents and the Argus-eyed press are scrutinizing the minutest word and act, what shall we expect from the political appointees that we send to the Filipinos, who are far re-

moved from our observation, and are subject only to the criticism of a people whom we declare to be unfit for self-government, and therefore are incapable of criticising their superiors?



There is in this militarist campaign a perceptible odor of a highly colored smoked fish that has been dragged across the path of progress. It has ever been the custom of those who rule to divert the people's attention from grievances due to misgovernment, whenever their correction is likely to interfere with the privileges of the governing class. And nothing has been found to serve their purpose so well, and to be always so ready to hand, as a foreign war. It should not be forgotten that the present war was preceded by an alarming—to the ruling class—manifestation of Socialist strength in Germany, and an ugly strike in Moscow and Petrograd, both of which subsided at once when the declaration of war came. And it is a patent fact that the reform forces in this country were never saner, or in a better position to accomplish tangible results than at this moment. Privilege has been driven into a corner, and is fighting for its life. Argument it lacks; defense it has none. Its only hope lies in befogging the issue and diverting public attention. No effort was spared to embroil this country with Mexico; and since that has failed the same forces are trying to capture public attention on the issue of an "adequate armament." It is the duty of every man and woman, whether pacifist or militarist, who is looking to better social conditions, to do all that is possible to keep public attention upon the main thought. s. c.



Ever the Japanese.

If something is not done to remedy conditions our militarists are likely to become cross-eyed. One moment they are watching for the fleet from some European country that is to subjugate us, and the next they are straining to catch sight of a fleet from Japan. The invasion from Europe may come from any country, or from all together; but the enemy in the West is always the Japanese; for it is a fact, well known to every American militarist, that the sole ambition of Japan is to rule all the countries in or bordering the Pacific and Indian oceans. To prevent this consummation has required the utmost vigilance and heroic self-sacrifice on the part of the aforesaid American militarists. For no sooner are the Japanese driven out of the Philippines than they establish them-

selves in Mexico; and scarcely have they been expelled from Mexico before they have taken California; and no sooner are they ousted from the Golden State than they capture Alaska. Ambitious military despots from Europe may or may not capture the United States; Japan surely will.



One of the latest scares by means of which the militarists make the shivers run up and down each other's backbones is that Japan will take Alaska, unless we make adequate provision to prevent it. Alaska, we are told, is worth at least ten billion dollars. Her coal fields alone are worth billions, to say nothing of other mineral resources, and agriculture, forestry, and fisheries. Japan needs coal, and she needs room. She is doubling her population in a generation. In twenty years she will have one hundred million people. This means that in 1960 she will have two hundred million; in 1990, four hundred million. Hence, the warning to Uncle Sam: "The Japanese 'll get ye if ye don't watch out." How Americans shall be able to meet these hundreds of millions of Japanese is a matter for future generations to decide; but Alaska must be saved now. It is proposed that if we are to keep the Japanese from getting that coal we colonize at once 300,000 fighting men in Alaska.



This Alaska danger is undoubtedly more serious than some have been inclined to admit. Consider for a moment what it would mean if the coal fields in that frigid land fell into the hands of the Japanese. Immediately they would begin "dumping" coal on our Pacific coast at such "pauper labor" prices that, unless the tariff duty on coal were doubled or trebled, would close half the mines in the United States. Clearly, if we are to guard the rights of the stewards who at such stupendous sacrifices to themselves hold the coal lands in the United States for the benefit of our people, we must keep the Japanese from getting hold of any coal lands in Alaska, or elsewhere. But there is a possibility that some of these dire events may not come to pass. America once doubled her population in twenty-five years; she does not do it now. If foreign immigration be omitted, and the children of foreign-born families, the increase of population is slow, and getting slower. As Japan rises in the scale of material comforts her rate of increase may fall off. And if the next fifty years does not bring a better understanding of natural law, and a more harmonious adjust-

ment of man to his environment our nation will deserve subjugation.

s. c.



One Evil Abolished by the Clayton Law.

The wisdom of the labor exemption provision of the Clayton law is seen in the Supreme Court decision in the case of the Danbury hatters. That men should be robbed of their homes and savings, for trying to dispose of their labor as they see fit, is a monstrous proposition. Yet the Supreme Court decided that the Sherman act made this monstrous proposition law. The Clayton law comes too late to save the victims, but it will prevent at least future outrages of that kind. Of course the claim is true that the law which forbids voluntary combinations of unprivileged business interests is also unjust. Such prohibition contributes in no way to a solution of the trust problem, but on the contrary diverts attention from the true remedy. This too is a matter which Congress should consider in dealing with the trust question.

s. d.



A Badly Needed Veto.

A splendid addition to the good record of President Wilson will be a veto of the iniquitous immigration bill now before him. The veto will not bring popularity. Short-sighted labor leaders advocate the act, and thereby concede the false claim of Labor's enemies that poverty and distress are due to pressure of population. What is even worse, they place themselves in the position of demanding that injustice be done others in the hope—sure to prove delusive—that American laborers will profit. So though a veto is the act which the true interests of Labor requires, it will bring upon the President unjust, but none the less severe, criticism of some labor leaders. But it is the right course to take in spite of opposition. That a veto may have the approval of short-sighted reactionaries, is probably more disagreeable than the criticism of mistaken progressives. If these reactionaries were wise they would join with the labor leaders. A veto must surely direct more attention to the fact that it is monopoly of natural resources which makes appear overcrowded a country big enough and rich enough to easily support the population of the world. Even if the hope of laborers were not delusive, that a literacy test for immigrants will materially benefit them, it would be a very poor exchange for the benefits sure to come from destruction of land monopoly. The same effort put forth by labor organizations to

inflict a monstrous injustice upon foreign laborers would, if properly directed, put an end to monopoly and open the numberless opportunities now withheld from use. A veto will prevent a wrong move to secure a right object. It will moreover hasten a correct move. An injury to Humanity is necessarily an injury to Labor. The interests of Humanity call for disapproval of the immigration bill.

s. d.



Head and Heart.

Judge Elbridge Gary is a striking illustration of that large class of men and women in America who have the kindest intentions toward their fellows, but lack the understanding that must be the foundation of any real and permanent service. Judge Gary combines, in addition, superlative executive powers. He is one of the rare men who can do big things that he understands well. But in essaying a solution of the labor problem he gets no farther than the usual temporizing. He offers good advice in that, for he is a man of great executive ability; but he misses the real point. When he speaks of the necessity of greater intelligence on the part of those who employ labor, and closer harmony in their relations, he is on safe ground; but when he declares that "by diligence and economy, assisted by a general impulse upon the part of those who have work to be done to give it out intelligently, every man whose health is good may become independent," he makes the world-old mistake of ignoring man's environment. Mr. Gary, had he been on board of the "Titanic," could truthfully have said: "There is no cause for alarm. There is absolutely no reason why anybody on this ship cannot be saved." To have been intelligently truthful, however, he would have had to add: "But not everybody can be saved." It is this failure to distinguish between a part and the whole that sets awry good judgment, and turns aside noble endeavor. There is all the difference between an economic condition in which any one can succeed, and a society in which all can succeed, as there is between a horse chestnut and a chestnut horse. It is not that there are too few lifeboats, but that too many are locked to the davits, or reserved for the exclusive use of privileged persons.

s. c.



Old Foggy's Last Stand.

The vote in the House of Representatives on the submission of a constitutional amendment conferring full citizenship upon the mothers of our citizens is one of the last acts that mark the

transition from the old to the new. After making due allowance for those members who believe with the President that the suffrage is a State matter, it is interesting to note the action of the various men. It has long been said that woman does not need the vote because man votes for her, and she is better represented through him than she would be from direct participation in politics. But that man votes as woman would vote may be seriously doubted. In Louisiana and Mississippi, for instance, where women do not vote, no member of their Congressional delegations voted for the amendment. In California, where women have the franchise, the whole delegation was for the amendment. In Illinois, where women have the franchise for all but a few offices, not including Congressmen, only two out of its large representation voted against the amendment. Does anybody suppose that the vote of the Illinois delegation would have been so nearly unanimous if the women in this state had lacked their political power; or that the vote of Pennsylvania or New York would have been so much opposed to the amendment if the women of those States had had the franchise? The suffrage amendment has been voted down, it is true, but by that very act Congress has demonstrated irrefutably that the universal ballot must come. The anti-suffrage states will hold out a little longer. Congressmen may for a little while bask in masculine security; but soon they will have to bow to the inevitable.

S. C.



Democratic Congressmen and Equal Suffrage.

Democratic Congressmen, who opposed the suffrage resolution, have made a record to be apologized for in the not very distant future, if not now. Some of them were influenced probably by the President's unfortunate position. Others, honestly failed to understand that this is a matter to which the question of State's rights does not properly apply. But most of them undoubtedly voted as they did because they are not democrats. These latter include all of those who endorse the views of Floor Leader Oscar Underwood that suffrage is not a right but a privilege. Just who may bestow this privilege and how the right is obtained to bestow it none of these have explained. There is in fact but one school of suffrage opponents which is consistent in its opposition. That school consists of the advocates of the divine right of kings. To this doctrine logically leads the contention that suffrage is not a right but a privilege. If it is a privilege it may only be

rightfully conferred by some higher than human authority. It would be interesting to see the evidence of such a grant to those who claim the right to vote for themselves but deny it to others. Can not Congressional anti-suffragists be induced to present the evidence in their own cases? S. D.



Bourbonism in Illinois.

Bourbon Democrats are more plentiful than they ought to be in the Illinois Legislature. In the House they are supporting for Speaker Lee O'Neill Browne of Lorimer fame. In the Senate with the assistance of Lieutenant Governor O'Hara they are keeping out two members who were elected in order to seat their defeated opponents. If they were not Bourbons they would long ago have learned that such disgraceful tactics only injure the party. But experience is wasted on Bourbons.



The fact is furthermore to be noted that this wretched struggle for control of a few offices is blocking important business, and seriously impairs the usefulness of the Legislature—if there can be any usefulness in a body capable of such conduct. The people of the State are thus given an opportunity once more to realize how badly they need the Initiative and Referendum. It would not be necessary then to depend wholly for needed reforms on the aggregation at Springfield. But the Bourbons in both parties, not content with blocking business in the Legislature, may be depended upon to oppose the Initiative and Referendum also, probably because they consider the people unfit to legislate. S. D.



Still Room for Reform.

One of the benefits to be derived from the direct election of United States Senators was the divorcing of State and National interests in State elections. Political machines were too apt to be run with an eye to securing a Senatorial toga for some favorite son, and thereby subordinate State interests. Because of this it not infrequently happened that a State legislature was tied up for months, in a vain effort to organize. But the deadlock in the Illinois legislature between the "Wet" and "Dry" interests shows that where there is a will there is a way. And where a constitution is as antiquated as the Illinois Constitution, interested politicians will find plenty of opportunities for deadlocks. This much improvement, however,

is apparent. Whereas, former deadlocks were generally due to the interjection of National politics into State campaigns, the present trouble is due entirely to local issues; and the evil does not extend outside of the State.

s. c.



A Dangerous Delay for Reactionaries.

Some timid reactionaries of Illinois are objecting to a constitutional convention "at this time," on account of "the prevalence of radical sentiment." A few years hence they hope that this sentiment will have died. It may seem a pity to disturb a dream so pleasant to the dreamers, but experience shows that the longer a new constitution is delayed the more radical it is likely to be. When in the year 1891 the question of calling a constitutional convention was to be voted on in Ohio there was opposition from the conservative element of that day. All recognized the need of a change, but, as one Cincinnati paper put it: "There are too many Georgites and Bellamyites about now to make a convention safe. We had better postpone a change for twenty years, by which time advocacy of such strange ideas will have ceased." So they waited twenty years, and got a convention containing many more radicals that could possibly have been elected before, which was presided over by Herbert S. Bigelow, a very conspicuous "Georgite." The constitution was changed in a way that radicals of twenty years before would have considered it hopeless to attempt. If Illinois reactionaries care to profit by the experience of their Ohio brethren they will not try to delay matters.

s. D.



A Problem for University Economists.

A problem in political economy has been presented to the University of Wisconsin by Governor Emanuel L. Philipp. In his message to the Legislature the Governor objects to the low tuition fee charged non-resident students, saying in addition to other things:

The presence of so many non-resident students in the capital city has created a competition for living accommodations and as a result the expenses which resident students have to meet have been materially advanced.

So according to the Governor the university attracts population to Madison and rents are increased in consequence. Some persons in Madison are getting bigger incomes on account of advantages offered by the university. The Governor makes furthermore evident that accommodations in the city are not being increased in proportion

to the increase in demand. The university maintains a department of political economy. Can not that department enlighten the Governor so that he will see that increased land values caused by the university's presence may properly be taken for its support? That would destroy the force of the Governor's argument that the institution is too heavy a burden on the taxpayers of the State. Would it not be well also for the university's trained economists to show the Governor that should this method of providing revenue be adopted it will encourage and stimulate production of additional accommodations for non-resident students? And can they not show that this will keep down to a reasonable basis the expenses of all students, besides increasing the prosperity of the city? Surely the economic department of so well managed an institution as the University of Wisconsin has the ability to properly solve the very simple problem that seems to have stumped the Governor.

s. D.



South Dakota's Able Governor.

South Dakota is exceptionally fortunate in that it has in Governor Frank M. Byrne a chief executive who knows its needs and does not mince words in pointing them out. His message to the Legislature on January 5 presents matters of vital importance in a dignified and statesmanlike way. His suggestions are worthy of adoption not only by South Dakota but by every other State. This is particularly true of his recommendations regarding dealing with criminals and his position on taxation. He advocates abolition of the prison rules that only cause suffering to inmates without any benefit to society. He takes a stand against capital punishment, showing the fallacy of the claims made in its favor and presents powerful arguments for its abolition.



On the taxation question Governor Byrne shows the failure of the general property tax. That is fortunately no longer a rare or unconventional position for a public official to take. What is more rare and unconventional is a Governor who in discussing the tax system is as consistent, clear and logical in the constructive work of presenting a substitute as in destructive criticism of existing methods. Governor Byrne does this rare and statesmanlike thing. He shows that "some classes of property should not be taxed on the same basis as others," and says further:

Land, which was not created by and does not exist because of the labor of any of us, and the value

of which is increased and, it may be said, largely created, by virtue of improvement resulting from the labor and enterprise of the entire community, might wisely be taxed on a different basis than some other classes of property, the creation and use of which may be a special benefit and service to the community, adding, perchance, to the value of all the property and especially to that of unused land nearby.

He then shows that taxes should not be so levied as to penalize persons who make improvements, nor so as to reward by tax immunity those who perform no service, but only hold unused land for increased value. He recommends that the Legislature submit a constitutional amendment that will open the way to changes needed. The Legislature will find Governor Byrne's advice a safe guide to follow.

S. D.



JULIA A. KELLOGG.

Once and again in a lifetime is a rare soul encountered who walks continually in the great spaces; to whom the heavens are simply the upper chambers of life, while yet all life is worth while, and even the cellars are nothing if not non-bestial and human. With such a soul ideals and service are the furniture and the tools of daily living; habit and convention and ritual are relegated to the junkshop of the ages. Through the chambers of that soul's home blow all the mighty winds, cleansing and healing, and laden with wonder and faith and peace.

A woman of this type has just passed from our midst after a life of eighty-four years' span.

Julia Antoinette Kellogg was born in Elizabeth, N. J., October 1, 1830. She died at Orange, N. J., December 21, 1914.

She was the youngest of nine children, and by her father's second marriage after her mother's death in her infancy, she had five half brothers and sisters, four of whom have survived her. Among her own brothers was one dearly beloved, Edward, who shared her earlier enthusiasms, and to some of them led the way. Edward Kellogg was especially interested in co-operative organizations, and was for a time a member of the Fourier Association at Red Bank, N. J., known as the North American Phalanx.

The family was strongly opposed to slavery, and to the late years of her life Miss Kellogg spoke on this subject with intense feeling. At the opening of the Civil War she wished very much to enlist as a nurse, but it is said that the recruiting nurse refused her as "too young and too pretty." Those who have known her only in her later years can well credit this, remembering her delicate features, her beautiful bloom of color, and her vivacity of expression. At the close of the war her sister Louise went South to teach the

"freedmen," and there lost her health, dying soon after her return to her home.

Miss Kellogg taught school in Brooklyn in her early years, and would have continued as a teacher but for a failure in eyesight to such an extent that for the rest of her life she had to use her eyes most sparingly. This limitation to reading seems to have been the most serious deprivation of her life, for she had the greatest possible avidity for the acquisition of new truth.

The family had been Presbyterian, but in the course of time Miss Kellogg followed an uncle and her beloved brother into the Unitarian group. Later she became interested in the philosophy of Emanuel Swedenborg, and while living with friends in Cambridge, Mass., became personally acquainted with Henry James, Senior, whose expositions of Swedenborg's philosophy she accepted as eminently and entirely satisfying. It is said that Mr. James regarded her as the one among his disciples who most fully grasped his views.

Miss Kellogg had an exceptionally orderly mind, and was possessed of a remarkable power of seizing upon the principles lying back in comprehensive works, perhaps partly overlaid with multifarious reasonings and illustrations. The first of her important efforts at elucidation and condensation was a small treatise entitled a "Digest of the Philosophy of Henry James," published shortly after his death. She also published a "Swedenborg Calendar" in book form about fifteen years ago.

Soon after the publication of "Progress and Poverty" Mr. Florens Schetter brought the book to Miss Kellogg's attention, and she became an ardent and earnest believer in land values taxation and for all the rest of her life an earnest propagandist for it. The land question itself was what appealed to her. Fiscal aspects, economic subtleties, while not too difficult for her comprehension, did not hold her attention. The land itself, its sufficiency for human needs under equitable tenure—this was the constant burden of her message.

At the age of eighty years Miss Kellogg put out an admirable abridgement of Patrick Edward Dove's "Theory of Human Progression" that is peculiarly valuable to Georgians.

The latter part of Miss Kellogg's life was spent in Orange, N. J., all the later years with Miss Charlotte O. Schetter, the daughter of her old and dear friends and companions in idealistic paths, Mr. and Mrs. Florens Schetter. While strength permitted, she shared in propaganda work and philosophic and economic discussions, and strength lasted even longer for her wonderfully competent labors in analysis and abridgement.

During all the years of Julia Kellogg's life she must always have been the delightful, cheerful, staunch friend that she was to those who knew

her in the later years—always unwavering and clear in faith, but full of fascinating surprises. One of her vivid sayings was: "I can do without some of the necessities of life if I can have some of the luxuries."

In a private letter Charles H. Mann has written of her: "Miss Kellogg was one of the most remarkable women I ever knew, filled as she was with a love of the great principles of democracy and of those forms of political adjustment that would realize democracy. I never knew one more free than she was from everything of a gossipy character or interest." Another friend says: "She was an ardent patriot, but better still, a lover of humanity."

ALICE THACHER POST.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN NORTH DAKOTA.

Dickinson, N. Dak., Dec. 28, 1914.

In my former letter on page 1207 of volume XVII I stated that woman suffrage in North Dakota received but 25 per cent of the vote cast.

That was the first word I had received from the election. The information was not correct. The vote on woman suffrage was 40,009 for and 49,410 against. This vote was taken on a proposed amendment to the statutes. The first step necessary to a vote on an amendment to the constitution has been taken by the legislature. If the present legislature passes the amendment it will be submitted to the people in 1916.

If it comes to the people again, the chances that it will pass are not bad, considering the vote this time.

HENRY HEATON.



PROGRESS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Cambridge, Mass., Jan. 14, 1915.

The following bit of news from the November election in Massachusetts has thus far escaped adequate notice here. On the ballot of five representative districts there appeared the following:

Shall the Representative from this district be instructed to support the Initiative and Referendum, so as to give the voters the power to accept or reject at the polls measures which have been proposed by petition?

Vote of high man among winners for representative:

No. of persons who voted.		Yes.	No.	Votes for successful candidates.
4,815	Eighth Bristol Representative District, New Bedford Wards			
	Four, Five and Six.....	2,655	1,121	2,349
2,022	First Hampden Representative District (five small towns)..	953	300	1,278
6,177	Fourth Middlesex Representative District (Newton).....	3,370	1,566	3,319
5,009	Fifth Middlesex Representative District (Waltham)	2,803	746	2,524
2,535	Seventh Norfolk Representative District (Weymouth)	1,307	274	1,132
	Total	11,088	4,007	

In each case the winning man for the Legislature was Republican; most of these men, at least until this election, were opponents of the I. and R., and some of them strenuous leaders of the opposition.

It should be observed that in four of the five districts the affirmative vote in favor of the I. and R. was more than a majority of the persons who voted in the election, as well as in excess of the total vote of the winning candidate for the Legislature. One of the districts, the Fourth Middlesex, consisting of the city of Newton, a wealthy residential suburb of Boston, and supposed to be unsurpassed in the State of Massachusetts for its general devotion to the Taft type of political philosophy. All five districts are considered districts of a distinctly stand-pat character. Moreover, so far as I am aware, no special campaign for the I. and R. was made in any of them, and the voting was in the face of a long and consistent campaign of opposition by the portion of the press supposed to be influential in such communities.

This result should give striking encouragement to those who believe that the Massachusetts voter is not so reactionary as the present-day defective means of expressing the public-will often makes him appear.

Governor Walsh in his recent inaugural made this comment on the vote in these districts:

The total vote for the Initiative and Referendum was almost three to one, 11,000 voting "yes" and only 4,000 voting "no" in the very districts represented by men who the same year had refused to vote for it. In the light of this evidence of the popular will, the very fact that there are in the Legislature so many who vote against the Initiative and Referendum is proof in itself of its necessity, for it is proof of an alleged representative government which will not represent the popular will.

It may be worth recording also, that the voters of Massachusetts, by a vote of 253,716 yes to 86,834 no, accepted an act (submitted by the Legislature) to abolish the enrollment of members of political parties as a prerequisite to participation in party primaries. Here, again, the affirmative vote was more than 50 per cent of the total vote for Governor.

LEWIS J. JOHNSON.



MANITOBA FARMERS ENDORSE LAND VALUE TAXATION.

Grain Growers' Convention at Brandon Denounces Tariff—Admits Women on Equal Terms With Men—Favors Direct Legislation and Woman Suffrage—Pledges Members to Give the Out Turn of One Acre of Wheat to Defense of Empire.

Winnipeg, Manitoba, Jan. 16.

"A new kind of farmer has appeared on the face of the earth, one who can see more than an inch beyond his nose," declared Rev. Dr. S. G. Bland at the Manitoba Grain Growers' Convention at Brandon, 13th-15th January, in the course of a very eloquent address on "Citizenship," before the 500 delegates there assembled.

The occasion of this remark was the passage of the following resolution with only one dissenting voice:

"Whereas, there is an enormous reduction in the importation of dutiable goods entered for consump-

tion in Canada causing an alarming shrinkage in the revenue heretofore derived from such importations, and

"Whereas, it is intimated in the public press that the government proposes to raise the customs duties in order to try and increase the revenue, and

"Whereas, it is obvious that an increase in the present customs duties can only result in a further reduction of importations and therefore defeat the purpose for which the duty was raised, besides greatly increasing the burden of tariff taxation on the people by compelling them to pay higher prices for similar goods of home manufacture. (The campaign for 'Buy made in Canada goods' if successful would only accentuate this result.) And

"Whereas, owing to the evident failure of the present fiscal system to meet the requirements of present national conditions and recognizing that the enormous expenditure caused by the present war must be provided for by some system of taxation adequate to meet that expenditure and also provide for the necessary public improvements of the country;

"Be it resolved, that this convention of Manitoba Grain Growers strongly urge the Dominion Government to frame a fiscal system of national taxation that will bear justly on all classes affording special privileges to none. That is, by a direct taxation of all land values both rural and urban, including all the natural resources of this nation, forest, mineral, water power and fisheries, so far as these resources are owned or operated by private or corporate interests, with a surtax on that part or all of such resources as are held out of use by private interests for speculative purposes:

"And further, that this convention strongly recommend the Dominion Government at the coming session to enact such legislation as will bring about at once entire Free Trade with Great Britain, such a measure would show true patriotism on the part of Canada and would greatly assist Great Britain in this day of trial.

"This convention hopes that no selfish interests will try to prevent such a patriotic measure."

This resolution was moved by J. W. Scallion, the father of the Grain Growers' organization, and seconded by E. McKenzie the secretary organizer.

Mr. Scallion said that this was not a party question because no party in Canada had made land value taxation a plank in its platform. Under the proposed system every dollar raised by taxation would go into the treasury, whereas at the present time only \$1.00 out of every \$4.00 collected from the people found its way into the treasury.

Some delegates suggested that an income tax should be included in the recommendation. F. J. Dixon, M. P. P. for Centre Winnipeg, explained briefly why land value taxation was preferable to an income tax. He pointed out that the government of Australia had recently increased the federal tax on land values fifty per cent to make up the deficit from tariff duties. The farmers of Alberta and Saskatchewan had, he said, at previous conventions declared for land value taxation and a united message from the farmers was desirable.

On a standing vote the resolution carried by 499 to 1.

Other features of the convention were the reaffir-

mation of belief in Direct Legislation and Woman Suffrage.

A resolution was proposed to admit women to full membership at half the price paid by male members. There was a tense moment when a letter was read from the women present refusing admittance on such terms but expressing their anxiety to join the organization providing they were given equal rights and allowed to assume equal financial responsibilities. After the reading of the letter there was a hearty round of applause and the women were admitted on their own terms.

The war was the subject of much serious conversation and the recommendation of the executive that the proceeds of one acre of land be given by each member of the association was unanimously endorsed and a committee was appointed to arrange the practical details of the scheme.

It was a great convention both in size and in spirit. The resolution in favor of land value taxation was considered by the majority to be one of the most important ever passed by the Grain Growers.

F. J. DIXON.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

GERMAN AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY COMPARED.

Chestnut Hill, Mass., Jan. 12.

Municipal home rule in Germany, however developed, does not approach in essential democracy the town government as it exists in New England and elsewhere in the United States. The mere extension of local control and administration in the matter of public utilities is not necessarily democratic, for that form of municipal socialism may be a concomitant of oligarchical local government, and as a matter of fact, the suffrage system of Prussian and some other German municipalities secures absolute control of local government to a small minority, the larger taxpayers. In so far as such municipalities have taken the unearned increment of land values for public purposes, they have been forced to do this and other such things in order to keep the unconsulted majority content in their practical exclusion from a share in government. State insurance of workmen and the like have their origin in the same policy. These things are not democratically asserted rights, but privileges handed down by the upper classes. Along with such favors go an intolerable meddling with the private citizen, and a denial of rights that every self-respecting man in America demands.

As to the Imperial German Government, although the Reichstag is in theory elected by universal suffrage, the election districts are so contrived that the house is very far from representing the true political convictions of the German people; while the Bundesrath, in effect a house of ambassadors, mostly chosen by ruling princes, has far more power than the so-called popular house. Finally, whenever the Reichstag is determinedly opposed to the will of the Emperor, he finds means by repeated dissolutions, and strongly influenced elections, to have his way, and there appear at times in the Emperor's

dealings with the Reichstag the airs of a military despot. The chancellor has repeatedly and defiantly declared himself independent of the legislative power.

As to social democracy, Germany does not know what the phrase means. Far as we in America are from ideal democracy, political or social, we are infinitely beyond Germany or any other European country in the matter of social democracy. We have no aristocracy in this country, for it takes two things to make an aristocracy, a group of those who habitually look down, and a larger group who cheerfully look up. We have some of the down-lookers, but happily few of the cheerful up-lookers. Any American who has been abroad returns with a sickening recollection of the fashion in which the Europeans kowtow to the man with a good coat on his back. If we continue to leave natural opportunities in the hands of the few we, too, shall develop an aristocracy, but as yet the social condition of this country is something that the European dreams of, indeed, perhaps, but can not live a reality. Let us hasten the day of a fuller democracy, social and political.

E. N. VALLANDIGHAM.

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 19, 1915.

The Earthquake in Italy.

An earthquake of great severity occurred in Italy at 7:55 on the morning of the 13th. The main shock, which was felt over the greater part of the country, lasted from 22 to 30 seconds, and resulted in the loss of 25,000 killed, and 40,000 to 50,000 injured. Property losses estimated at \$60,000,000 are reported by the Government. The scene of greatest destruction covered a radius of 100 miles, with its center a little east of Rome. Within this territory nearly all towns and villages were damaged, and some were entirely destroyed. Avezzano, 63 miles east of Rome, suffered most. Of its 12,000 inhabitants, 11,000 are reported dead, and most of the remainder injured. Paterno reports 200 saved out of 2,000. Pescina reports 4,000 buried; San Benedetto, 4,000 out of 4,500; and so on of many towns and villages. In some not a house is standing. Sora suffered much damage, but owing to the presence of the soldiers at that point, many deaths were prevented by their prompt succor. At other points the delay in reaching victims buried in the ruins added to the death toll. Interrupted rail communication has added to the difficulty of reaching the afflicted towns and villages, while severe cold weather increased the suffering of those exposed. The fact that a large part of Italy's army had been mobilized, and preparations for military operations made, has

resulted in prompt and efficient aid to the victims. Great numbers of troops are exploring the ruins, removing the dead and caring for the injured. Military tents have been supplied to the living. Aid has been offered by America and other countries, but owing to the war the Italian Government has declined all outside assistance. Many slight shocks have been recorded by the seismograph, but have not done any harm, aside from adding to the terror of the stricken populace. A large part of the total of dead and injured is said to be due to a custom of building the smaller houses of loose stone without mortar. Buildings of this nature collapsed where better built houses would have survived. [See vol. xvi, p. 1116; vol. xvii, p. 468.]



The European War.

No decisive results have taken place. The deadlock before Warsaw continues in the East, while in the West the Germans have resumed the offensive. Roumania still maintains her neutrality, and Italy is occupied in repairing the damage of the earthquake. Nothing of moment is reported from activities on the sea or in the air. [See current volume, page 61.]



Judging from the weight of the dispatches the tide in Poland is again turning in favor of Russia. General Von Hindenburg's campaign against Warsaw has given little outward evidence of progress. The Russians, on the contrary, are reported to be advancing in the Mława district in East Poland, north of the Vistula River. The battle line, which stood for days almost north and south from Mława to Kielce, and just west of Bzura River before Warsaw, is now reported to be bent westward, to Plock, north of the Vistula. Small advances are reported also in East Prussia. In Galicia the Russians maintain an aggressive campaign. They are reported to have taken Kiribaba Pass, which leads from the Province of Bukowina into Transylvania. Large forces of Russians are said to be ready to descend into the southern province; and as Transylvania is largely populated by Roumanians, it is predicted that this will be the signal for Roumania to enter the war. The Turks, having been worsted in the Trans-Caucasian region, have invaded Persia, for the purpose of reaching the Russian flank from the East. They are reported to have taken the Persian city of Tabriz, and to be marching northward. As a result of the battle of Kara-Urgan, in which the Turks were overwhelmed by the Russians, their supplies were cut off, and many were compelled by starvation to surrender. The threatened invasion of Egypt has not taken form.



The chief interest of the week, however, again

centers in the campaign of the West, where the Germans have resumed the offensive. Up to the 13th the Allies were claiming small gains at various points. Heavy snows interrupted operations in the Vosges, with the French within eight miles of Muelhausen. On the 14th the Germans attacked the Allies in force at Soissons, and in the desperate fighting that followed the French were driven back three miles to the south bank of the River Aisne, which they have been able to hold. This is the greatest single gain by either side for a long time. Desperate fighting has occurred also in Belgium, but the Germans have made little, if any, headway. It is persistently rumored that the Germans are about to make another drive on Paris or Calais. At Soissons they are only 55 miles from the French capital. The German war loan of \$1,125,000,000, which was issued at 97½, is now at par, and in some instances quoted above 100.



Trouble in Haiti.

Rumors of revolt against the Government, that have been current for several days, have culminated in incipient civil war of the regulation Haitian type. President Theodore caused some trouble in his capital, Port au Prince, by attempting to draft citizens for his army, but resistance ceased when the draft was abandoned. General Vilbrun Guillaume, one of the candidates for the presidency, has secured possession of Cape Haitien. The United States gunboat Wheeler is at Port au Prince; and the armored cruiser Washington, which is now on its way to Cuba, will be ordered to proceed to Haiti. [See Vol. xvii, p. 1118.]



Mexico.

Affairs in Mexico took an unexpected turn on the 16th, when Provisional President Eulalio Gutierrez, who had just been re-elected by the Convention to fill out the term of Porferio Diaz, fled from Mexico City in company with Generals Blanco, Robles, and Jose Vascencelos. The Convention selected General Roque Gonzales Garza to the Provisional Presidency. It is reported that the discovery of General Gutierrez's participation in a plot to eliminate General Villa is the cause of the Convention's action in substituting its presiding officer, General Garza, for its former choice. The new Provisional President is a partisan of the Villa faction. [See current volume, page 61.]



General Carranza, whose forces control Tampico, has provoked protests from the United States Government by his action in interfering with the operation of the oil wells in that district. Some of the companies have refused to pay the assessment levied upon them by the Carranza govern-

ment, and as they represent foreign capital, they have appealed to this country. A large part of the oil for the British navy comes from Tampico, and the closing of the wells would provoke action by that country.



Police Attack On Orderly Parade.

An unprovoked attack was made by Chicago police on January 17 on a parade of unemployed which followed an orderly meeting at Hull House. The excuse offered for the assault was that the paraders had no permit. About twenty-two arrests were made. Mrs. Lucy Parsons was one of those arrested. Her alleged offense was carrying a banner on which the word "Hunger" was inscribed. She is the widow of Albert Parsons, who was hanged in 1887 and afterward shown to have been convicted without evidence of guilt. Reverend Irwin St. John Tucker, an Episcopal clergyman and editor of The Christian Socialist, was also among the arrested. He was not in the parade but had offended by protesting against unnecessary beating by a policeman of a parader. Bail for the arrested ones was secured by Mrs. H. M. Wilmarth and Miss Jane Addams of Hull House. All demanded a jury trial, which was set before Judge Gemmill of the Municipal Court on January 28. The affair was reported by the press as a suppression of an anarchist or I. W. W. riot.



Investigation of Cannon's Election.

District Attorney Karch of Danville, Ill., was ordered on January 13 by Attorney General Gregory to investigate charges of fraud at the recent election which resulted in re-election of ex-Speaker Cannon. On January 18 Mr. Karch notified the Attorney-General that the investigation had proceeded far enough to require the presence of investigators from the Department of Justice. [See vol. xvii, pp. 967, 1091.]



Congressional News.

The House on January 16 concurred in the Senate amendments to the Burnett immigration bill and the bill has gone to the President for approval or veto. A bill passed the House on January 13 to establish a standard barrel for fruits, vegetables and dry commodities. It provides for a barrel with 28½ inch staves, 17⅛ inch heads made of material no thicker than 4/10 of an inch. The capacity of the barrel is to be 7,056 cubic inches. The House passed on January 18 the Senate bill to establish the Rocky Mountain National Park, comprising 231,000 acres in Colorado, mostly forest reserves. It goes back to the Senate for concurrence on a few minor amendments. [See current volume, page 57.]

Gifford Pinchot Warns Against the Shields Bill.

Gifford Pinchot, as president of the National Conservation Association, has issued the following statement on the Shields waterpower bill, recently reported to the Senate:

The Shields Bill for the granting of water-powers on navigable streams is the bill of the water-power monopolists. There has been no clearer attempt to defeat the conservation policy since water-power first became a great national problem. It is a direct reversal of the wise and fair conservation provisions contained in the Adamson Bill as it passed the House, for which the Shields Bill was substituted in the Senate Committee.

President Wilson endorsed the final Adamson Bill. The Shields Bill is directly opposed to the water-power policy which President Wilson thus endorsed. But the Shields Bill has been approved by Secretary Garrison. This is not the first, but the second time, the National Conservation Association has been forced to call public attention to a reprehensible neglect of the public interests in water-power by Secretary Garrison.

The Shields Bill does not require the water-power interests to pay for the enormously valuable privileges which it proposes to give them, although the Adamson Bill for which it is substituted does protect the public interest in precisely this way. The Shields Bill fails to provide for the necessary publicity and uniformity of accounts, so as to make possible the proper supervision of the affairs of the company, as the Adamson Bill did.

The Shields Bill ostensibly provides for a method of terminating the water-power grant at the end of fifty years. As a matter of fact, it appears to have been carefully drawn so as to make it practically impossible for the United States to resume its rights. This it does by opening the way for indefinite litigation over the fair value of the property to be taken back, and by the use of language under which the United States might be required to take over the whole electric lighting plant of a city to get possession again of a water-power owned by the people.

The Shields Bill gives to the water-power interests the right to condemn any land, public or private, a right which they should never have, but which should be exercised when required for water-power development either by the States or the national government; and it requires the people, on taking back again the property whose use they have granted, to pay the unearned increment on land condemned or otherwise acquired by the company.

These are by no means all the defects, but they will suffice to make it plain that the duty to defeat the Shields Bill lies clearly upon every representative of the people. In not a few of its provisions the actual form of words prepared by representatives of the water-power interests have been incorporated.

President Roosevelt vetoed the James River Dam Bill in 1909; President Taft vetoed the Coosa River Dam Bill in 1911, because they did not provide for proper payment to the public for value received by the power companies. The House of Representatives adopted by an overwhelming vote the Sherley amendment providing for such payment. The Shields Bill proposes to give these rights away. It is a

surrender to the special interests, and its passage would be a public calamity.

[See vol. xvii, p. 1208.]

**Commission on Industrial Relations.**

Investigation in New York by the Commission on Industrial Relations of the Rockefeller Foundation began on January 18. The first witness was Samuel Untermyer, the attorney who conducted the money trust investigation in 1911 for the Pujo Congressional Committee. Mr. Untermyer held that philanthropic foundations should be regulated by law. He advocated a Federal charter limited as to time and with provisions for Federal representation on the board of trustees. He furthermore held that there should be limitation of size and prohibition of accumulation of incomes. He proposed establishment of Federal labor exchanges, compulsory health, accident and unemployment insurance and abolition of proxy voting in corporations. The next witness was Roger Babson of Wellesly Hills, Massachusetts, an expert on corporation affairs. He said that labor is a commodity, is subject to the law of supply and demand and that social workers make a mistake in assuming otherwise. He held most labor trouble and unrest to be due to absentee ownership of industrial plants. He declared preposterous Rockefeller's disclaimer of responsibility as to management of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. The fact that he owns but 40 per cent of the stock, he held, does not uphold the claim. A big financial interest owning but ten per cent, he said, has but to send around to brokers and get enough proxies to control. He favored government regulation. [See vol. xvii, p. 1230.]

**Governor Hatfield Becoming Progressive.**

In his message to the West Virginia Legislature on January 13, Governor Henry R. Hatfield recommended submission of amendments to the state constitution providing for Initiative, Referendum and Recall, Woman Suffrage, classification of property for taxation, Short Ballot, and state ownership of forfeited lands. Among other new legislation he recommended a primary election law, corrupt practices act, an act to conserve natural resources, a law providing mediation in labor troubles, a child labor law and laws providing pensions for teachers and mothers. He called the attention of Republican members, who compose the majority, to the fact that their platform pledges call for this legislation and said further, "He who fails to recognize the progressive spirit of our party and takes the recent victory as an indorsement of reactionary policies, has failed to appreciate the trend and spirit of our loyal constituency. [See vol. xvii, p. 348.]

Progressive Recommendations of South Dakota's Governor.

Governor Byrne of South Dakota in his message to the Legislature on January 6 recommended abolition of capital punishment, saying:

No good can possibly come from killing human beings deliberately and in cold blood under circumstances that make every citizen a party to the deliberate act. There is no vestige of evidence to support the claim that it tends to discourage or prevent crime. On the contrary, there are some indications that a wave or impulse of crime sentiment may, and sometimes does, sweep over a community as the result of a legal execution. No one will maintain that states or countries where human life is taken under legal provisions are freer from crime than are those where it is not. It is a relic of barbarous times, carried over into our modern life largely because of the inertia of society, which tolerates but does not consciously approve it, and as a rule does not take the initiative to shake it off. In the very nature of the circumstances surrounding an execution it has a demoralizing and depressing, if not a degrading, effect upon the officers of the law whose unfortunate duty it is to participate in it, and indirectly upon society. In the interest not so much of the unfortunate victims of legal executions as of our own moral welfare and the development of our higher ideals, in the interest of aspiring Christian civilization, let us put this practice behind us.



On the question of taxation the Governor refers to the failure of the general property tax and declares that it "stands in the way of a uniformly equitable distribution of the burdens of taxation." He finds that "its requirements are inherently unequitable on the one hand and impossible of enforcement on the other." He further says:

In the first place, some classes of property should not be taxed on the same basis as others, depending on the character and use of the particular class. Land, which was not created by and does not exist because of the labor of any of us, and the value of which is increased and, it may be said, largely created, by virtue of improvement resulting from the labor and enterprise of the entire community, might wisely be taxed on a different basis than some other classes of property, the creation and use of which may be a special benefit and service to the community, adding, perchance, to the value of all the property and especially to that of unused land nearby. The right to use and enjoy the benefits of some classes of property is a special privilege received from the community. The creation and use of other classes of property is a special service rendered to the community. Why, then, should each necessarily be required to contribute in exactly the same ratio to the support of the community? A person should not be penalized by extreme tax exactions for improving his town or neighborhood, adding by his thrift and industry to the value of all surrounding property and especially increasing the value of unsightly, unoccupied ground in the vicinity. The farmer should not be penalized because by intelligent industry and thrift he improves, beautifies and

makes habitable and attractive the acres he holds thereby rendering a real service to the community and adding directly and definitely to the value of all surrounding property, and especially the nearby acres of the absentee owner, as well as to his own. Per contra, we should not offer reward in the way of tax immunity to him who gives nothing of value or advantage to the community, contributes no new wealth by labor or service, but only holds unused land for the increased value which the thrift and industry of the community will surely add to it as time goes on. To pursue such a policy is to punish the thrifty, the useful and the serviceable, and to reward the useless, the unprofitable and the unserviceable.

As the first step toward a remedy the Governor recommends submission of a constitutional amendment that will "permit the people through their Legislature or on their own initiative, to adopt an equitable and a fair and serviceable system of taxation, an amendment that will leave the people free to adopt such intelligent system of taxation as they may see fit."



Tax Reform News.

A conference on taxation is to be held at Columbus, Ohio, on February 2, to which commercial, labor, farmers and civic organizations are invited to send representatives. The call for this conference originated with the Ohio Municipal League. A call to singletaxers is made in the following, signed by E. W. Doty of Cleveland, chairman of the committee on arrangements:

It has been determined to hold a conference to which shall be invited, not only those who view the problems of taxation from the land value tax theory, but others who are at least open-minded as to the proper remedy. You are invited to be present and are asked to invite others who may desire to participate in such conference. There are two objects in view: First—Determination of the best procedure under the initiative provisions of the Ohio Constitution, to make possible the enactment of tax laws that will be just. Second—The formation of a state organization of those who believe in the taxation, exclusively, of land values. This conference is planned to be a free and open discussion, not only of the topics indicated in this call, but of any others touching the great question of Ohio's tax methods and proposed changes therein. The date set is Ground Hog Day, Tuesday, February 2, 1915. The place is the Hartman Hotel, Columbus, Ohio. Three sessions will be held: one at 10 o'clock in the morning, the second at 2 o'clock in the afternoon and the third in the evening. As Exhibit "A" of this conference, Mr. David Gibson, editor of *The Ground Hog*, will parade at noon on High street, with a banner setting forth some facts concerning one economic monstrosity. Several able speakers will be placed upon the program, but only enough to start things; ample provision for discussion by the folks who come will be made.



The Central Labor Union of New Bedford,

Mass., urged on January 8 in behalf of the unemployed, among other proposed legislation, the following:

The appropriation by the state of the unearned increment in land by the taxation of land values to the end that vacant land may be brought into use and land in use contribute its share to the public funds.



The Houston, Texas, City Council refused on January 11 to consider any change in the Houston system of taxation as was urged upon it by the Harris County Taxpayers' Association, which demands assessment of improvements at the same rate as land values. It refused at the same time to consider the intervening petition of H. F. Ring, which demanded that should improvements be taxed, the council must order thorough enforcement of all tax laws, including taxation at full value of all tangible and intangible personal property. [See current volume, page 59.]



State Senator Laurie J. Quinby of Nebraska has introduced a measure to secure classification of property for taxation and also other bills for reforms in assessment and taxation. [See vol. xvii, pp. 877-1091.]

NEWS NOTES

—A bill for abolition of capital punishment in Nebraska was introduced in the State Senate on January 13 by Senator Laurie J. Quinby.

—Mr. and Mrs. Louis Wallis are campaigning the principal towns of Henderson County, Illinois, this week in the interest of the Singletax movement. [See current volume, page 55.]

—The recall of judges will be debated at Oak Theater, Oak Park Illinois, on Sunday, January 24, at 11 a. m., by Otto Christensen in the affirmative and Assistant State's Attorney Robert E. Hogan in the negative.

—Federal District Judge Smith McPherson of Iowa died at Red Oak, Iowa, on January 17. He was best known for his interference in 1909 and again in 1914 with the efforts of the attorney general of Missouri to enforce against the railroads the two-cent passenger and maximum freight laws. [See vol. xvii, pp. 62, 129, 154.]

—On charges preferred by Walter W. Vick, former receiver general of Dominion customs, an investigation begun on January 12 by a senatorial committee at New York of United States Minister James M. Sullivan. Mr. Sullivan is charged with being associated with interests seeking contracts in Santo Domingo and with favoring the Banco Nacional as depository for funds collected under the receiver-ship. This bank was said to be without funds. [See vol. xvii, pp. 831, 855.]

—The coroner's jury in New York held on January 12 as guilty of culpable negligence the president and

directors of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. The verdict results from an accident in the subway on January 11 resulting in killing of two persons and injury of others. The president is Theodore P. Shonts. Among the directors charged with negligence are August Belmont, Frank Hedley and Daniel G. Reid. All were held on the following day under bail of \$1,000 each, which was furnished.

—The sum of \$3,000,000 to establish a municipal motor bus line was appropriated on January 19 by the Chicago City Council. The money is to be taken from the traction fund which the city has been accumulating to purchase the traction lines in the year 1927, when present franchises expire. The charge is made by opponents that this motor bus appropriation is but part of a plan to deplete the traction fund and thus compel grant of a new franchise in 1927 instead of establishment of municipal ownership.

—A lecture tour is being arranged for F. J. Dixon of Winnipeg. His lectures are to be on "Direct Legislation," "The Singletax," "The Tariff," "Woman Suffrage," "Henry George and His Philosophy," "A Night with Shakespeare," "The Rights of Man," "Commission Government," and "Things Worth While, a lay sermon." The terms will be just enough to cover expenses. Information will be furnished by Mrs. Winona Flett Dixon, 22 Tremont Block, 694 Sherbrooke street, Winnipeg, Manitoba. [See vol. xvii, p. 699.]

—New Zealand papers giving details of the election of members of Parliament in December, in which the Government secured 41 and the opposition 39, give the vote of the constituency of Grey Lynn: J. Payne, Labor, 2,900; Hon. G. Fowlds, Liberal, 2,788; M. McLean, Government, 2,714. Commenting editorially on the result, the Auckland Star expresses "regret that the people of New Zealand have not seen fit to secure for themselves the services of the Hon. R. McNab and the Hon. G. Fowlds, two Liberals who in character, ability and political experience are so admirably qualified for parliamentary and ministerial duties." [See vol. xvii, p. 1215.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Why Waste More?

The Nebraska Farmer (Lincoln), December 9.—Trying to maintain what the war alarmists would call an adequate fighting equipment is like trying to fill a rat hole with water. The more we spend on the army and navy the louder becomes the cry that the country is wholly unprepared to fight. Surely we must by this time have a tolerably good fighting machine, as fighting machines go, else somebody has squandered a lot of money trying to build one. In 1900 our war department spent \$134,744,768; in 1913, it spent \$160,387,453. It is interesting to note that the sum spent on our army in 1913 was only about 15 per cent less than militarist Germany has been spending on its army, exclusive of its colonial forces. Our navy department spent \$55,953,078 in 1900; in 1913 it spent \$133,262,862, nearly two and one-half times as much. We are spending about two-thirds as much on our navy as does Great

Britain when on a peace footing. And yet after all the money we have spent, after the heavy increases in army and navy appropriations, and after bringing our army and navy expenditures well up to those of the greatest military and naval powers in the world, the jingoes tell us that we have nothing but a lot of junk and are horribly unprepared for war. What's the use?



The Credit Question.

Farm Stock and Home (Minneapolis), Jan. 15.—Interest rates either on secured or unsecured loans depend primarily upon the question of the kind and quality of business done and upon the personal character of the applicant for the loan. Unprofitable kinds of farming, speculation in lands rather than tillage of soil, moving about from place to place—all these things make for high interest rates. On the other hand, where the farming is on a safe basis of live stock and dairying, the neighborhood settled and speculation at a minimum, the interest rates are down practically to the level of commercial loans throughout the business world. In either locality the farmer and the business man share about equally in the advantages and drawbacks of the system. There is no "rural credit problem" as such, any more than there is a "storekeepers' credit problem" as such. Both are in need of better banking facilities, a more flexible system of credit, and all the advantages our best judgment can devise for the obtaining of money for productive purposes. The rural credit propaganda is nine-tenths politics and the balance largely imagination. . . . Until we make our lands produce a good rate of interest upon the value we place upon them, until we make our live stock pay out well, until we buy machinery and take care of it in the proper shape, until we learn that the tin can garden and the season's store bill are bad business, we must naturally expect interest rates both on real estate and chattels and unsecured loans to be somewhat high, and the conditions under which the loans are offered us will necessarily be hard. The matter is for the most part in our own hands.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE DIFFERENCE.

For The Public.

He won some twenty medals—he
Had killed some twenty score,
And just for this they knighted him,
And honored him some more.

And this man killed but one (a flash
Of anger o'er a card),
And so at-sunrise he was hanged
High in the prison yard.

And thus the wonder grows—why one
Should die at rise of sun,
And why such difference should be
Twixt many killed, and one!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

AMERICAN MILITARISM.

Amos Pinchot in *The Masses*.

While we have under consideration the question of armament and particularly the recommendations which American militarists are now making, let us trace the psychological source of the militarist's desire to make the United States a first-class war power. We have recently seen in Germany both the expression of this desire and its results. General Frederick von Bernhardi in his book, "Germany and the Next War," says:

We can, fortunately, assert the impossibility of these efforts after peace ever attaining their ultimate object in a world bristling with arms, where a healthy egotism still directs the policy of most countries. "God will see to it," says Treitschke, "that war always recurs as a drastic medicine for the human race." . . .

Every means must . . . be employed to oppose these visionary schemes. They must be publicly denounced as what they really are—as an unhealthy and feeble Utopia, or a cloak for political machinations. Our people must learn to see that the maintenance of peace never can or may be the goal of a policy. . . . The appeal to arms is a sacred right of the state, but it must keep this conviction fresh in the national consciousness. The inevitableness, the idealism, and the blessing of war, as an indispensable and stimulating law of development, must be repeatedly emphasized.

Here is an eloquent appeal for war on the ground that war is a national necessity—a kind of medicine to quicken and stimulate a nation's development. But Bernhardi's appeal for war is not only based on its alleged necessity to national development, but on a narrow and twisted idea of patriotism, which convinces him that a nation must consider its own good only, and be utterly oblivious of all obligations to people of other races. He says:

Christian morality is based, indeed, on the law of love. "Love God above all things, and thy neighbor as thyself." This law can claim no significance for the relations of one country to another, since its application to politics would lead to a conflict of duties. . . . Christian morality is personal and social, and in its nature cannot be political. . . . Christ Himself said: "I am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword." His teaching can never be adduced as an argument against the universal law of struggle.

Mr. Roosevelt, in writing of the Monroe Doctrine (the abolition of which, by the way, would do more to guarantee peace than all the battleships we can build) expresses, to a certain degree, Bernhardi's belief in the necessity of war. His philosophy is also that of a sincere and intense, but narrow, patriotism. To him, as to Bernhardi, the so-called fighting virtues are the cardinal virtues upon which all sound nationalism is built; and these virtues are not to be employed with any large regard for the rights of other countries. After discussing the

necessity of "the cultivation of fighting virtues" in America, Colonel Roosevelt says:

Every decent Englishman is devoted to his country, first, last and all the time. An Englishman may or may not dislike America, but he is invariably for England and against America when any question arises between them; and I heartily respect him for so being.

In other words, Mr. Roosevelt is inclined to take the internationally perilous position that we must be for America, right or wrong, and not as Carl Schurz is quoted as saying: "For America, right or wrong, to keep her right when she is right, and make her right when she is wrong."

Of course, the moment any many says that he is invariably for his country and against any other nation in any question which may arise, this man logically becomes a militarist. He has no choice. For, having taken the position that he will make his stand on what he calls patriotism rather than on the right or wrong of things, there is nothing but militarism left. For only superior force can protect a man with such views from other men, whose rights he insists on subordinating to his own.

The militarist is not primarily a militarist because he wants armies and navies, but because he wants his country to have things which the claims of justice do not uphold, and which can only be gained by force of arms.

Force—superior force—the ability to meet and master any opponent to whom we are unwilling to accord full justice, is the only logical refuge when we once adopt a patriotism that asks for something better than a square deal.

In this same article about the Monroe Doctrine, Mr. Roosevelt says:

In this country there is not the slightest danger of an over-development of warlike spirit, and there never has been such a danger. . . . Preparation for war is the surest guarantee of peace. . . .

Popular sentiment is just when it selects as popular heroes the men who have led in the struggle against malice domestic or foreign levy. No triumph of peace is quite so great as the supreme triumphs of war. . . .

There are higher things in this life than the soft and easy enjoyment of material comfort. It is through strife, or the readiness for strife, that a nation must win greatness.

We have here, as in the writings of Bernhardt, a strong tendency to believe that war is not a necessary evil so much as a desirable course of national training, which counterbalances the soft and easy enjoyment of material comfort and results in honor and recognition. Colonel Roosevelt and General von Bernhardt are both victims of a common error. To the mind of each of them there are apparently presented two alternatives: On the one hand, a nation without war, sunk in materialism, and, on the other hand, a nation trained, hardened and ennobled by war. "There are higher things," says Mr. Roosevelt, "than the soft and easy enjoyment

of material comfort. It is through strife, or the readiness for strife, that a nation must win greatness." "God will see to it," quotes Bernhardt, "that war always recurs as a drastic medicine for the human race."

The falseness of such a position is evident. Neither in this or any other country are the majority of the people sunk in the "soft and easy enjoyment of material comfort." The so-called ruling class and the bourgeoisie are perhaps to some extent softened by conditions of luxury and the lack of keen struggle; but the great mass of the citizens of all countries do not lack struggle in their lives. And it is because Mr. Roosevelt and General von Bernhardt see life in terms of the ruling class or of the bourgeoisie, rather than in terms of the majority of the people, that they believe the war element is a necessary and potent alternative, which civilization can ill afford to dispense with. As a matter of actual fact, there is no example, either in present or ancient history, of the thing which the militarists fear—the sapping of the strength of the people themselves through luxury. What country can be mentioned where the average man exists in such luxury and with such a lack of struggle as to make him soft and helpless? Does Mr. Roosevelt believe that this is the case in the United States today?

As a matter of fact, the proof that modern life is not lacking in struggle sufficient to develop fighting qualities is so abundant and obvious that it hardly needs comment. It is only necessary to cite the case of the people of Belgium in order to set at rest the theory that unwarlikeness degenerates a nation's morale. Neither military life, nor the maintenance of that war spirit which the militarists value so much, makes modern soldiers efficient. It is rather the steadfast courage and endurance which the average man has gained in the competitive struggle of existence which gives modern nations their wonderful fighting power. The assertion that through lack of war or war spirit this element of struggle will disappear in the United States or Germany, or any other country, and that races of mollycoddles will be the result, is so thoroughly controverted by facts as to be almost unworthy of consideration. What is necessary for the human race is peace, not war. And peace cannot be assured by strife or the psychic states of strife. Peace will only exist when the cause of war is gone; and that cause, as we know, is almost always the race for industrial supremacy.

When a century and a half ago we went to war With England it was because England's desire for industrial supremacy made her close American commerce to all nations but herself; we could only sell to England and buy from England. We could not sell to or buy from Holland, France or Spain, nor could those nations deal with us under conditions which made commerce possible. Such was the arrangement of import and export duties which

England saddled upon America. The writings of James Otis, the records of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence and the speeches of Burke, Camden and Chatham prove beyond question that the underlying cause of the Revolutionary war was the desire of the colonies to cast off England's commercial monopoly.

On the 19th of April, 1774, Burke, in summing up America's case, addressed the Speaker of the House of Commons, as follows:

Permit me, sir, to lead your attention very far back; back to the act of Navigation; the cornerstone of the policy of this country with regard to her colonies. Sir, that policy was, from the beginning, purely commercial, and the commercial system was wholly restrictive. It was the system of a monopoly. No trade was let loose from that restraint, but merely to enable the colonists to dispose of what, in the course of your trade, you could not take; or to enable them to dispose of such articles as we forced upon them, and for which, without some degree of liberty, they could not pay. Hence, all your specific and detailed enumerations; hence the innumerable checks and counter-checks; hence that infinite variety of paper claims by which you bind together this complicated system of the colonies. This principle of commercial monopoly runs through no less than twenty-nine Acts of Parliament, from the year 1660 to the unfortunate period of 1764.

Exactly the same principle is the keynote to the situation in Europe today. Just as England tried to establish a trade monopoly for herself in the American colonies a hundred and forty years ago, every nation is today trying to gain for itself special opportunities of commerce, and to close these opportunities to other nations. It is this practice of establishing trade monopolies, in which other powers will be, to a greater or less extent, frozen out, that has always threatened the peace of the world, and will continue to do so until it is abandoned.

Some years ago Loria, the Italian historian and economist, made a study of the causes of two hundred and eighty-six wars. He found that two hundred and fifty-eight were due to economic causes, principally trade monopolies; and that the remaining twenty-eight, though apparently religious, also had economic influences behind them.

If each nation could sell to the best market and buy from the cheapest market on fairly equal terms with every other nation, not only war, but the cause of war would disappear. The monopoly system in international commerce must be attacked before armament or disarmament can offer any real hope of security.

If American and European leaders of thought, instead of concentrating their minds upon the necessity of armaments, would buckle down to the long task of securing more equality of opportunity in commerce, as between the nations, the armament question would solve itself. If this task is Utopian, then peace is Utopian, and the more armed men

there are in the world, the more Utopian it will be. Countries which demand special advantages in commerce by tariff or otherwise, at the expense of other countries, are simply keeping alive the inevitability of war. If the European war fails to make this lesson clear as sunlight, the whole list of its terrible disasters can be chalked up to the debit side of humanity's account. The world must study the war question and solve it as a fundamental economic problem—not as a race question—or make up its mind to more war as soon as humanity has recuperated—and to some extent forgotten.

In the meantime, let us beware of militarism, and especially of the dangerous variety of patriotism which lies back of it.



HAVE YOU BEEN THERE?

Henry M. Tichenor in Up the Divide.

Have you ever been to Crazy Land,
Down on Looney Pike?
There are the queerest people there—
You never saw the like!
The ones that do the useful work,
Are poor as poor can be;
And those who do no useful work,
All live in luxury.
They raise so much in Crazy Land,
Of food and clothes and such,
That those who work don't have enough,
Because they raise too much.
The children slave in Crazy Land,
To satisfy the greed
Of plunder sharks who only live,
To loaf around and feed.
They work young girls in Crazy Land,
Upon starvation pay;
And they brand them when, through want,
The victims go astray.
They outrage working women;
They starve the working men,
And if they steal a loaf of bread,
They land them in the pen.
They breed disease in Crazy Land—
There's microbes everywhere;
In poison food, polluted earth,
And foul and fetid air.
Half of the babies die there,
Filled with germs from filth and swill;
And some preachers down in Crazy Land,
Proclaim it is "God's will."
For everything in Crazy Land,
That ought to be abhorred—
The crimes that men commit themselves—
Are laid upon the "Lord";
And the only "God" in Crazy Land,
Is the crazy "God" of gold—
The crazy way they worship this
Is crazy to behold!
They have big wars in Crazy Land,
Make every crazy law,
And run the crazy circumstance,
With club and fang and claw.
And if a sane man cries against

Their crazy ways and deeds;
 The crazy priests and preachers yell,
 "He's busting up our creeds!"
 Just take a trip to Crazy Land,
 Down on the Looney Pike—
 They are the queerest people there—
 You never saw the like;
 They're wrong-side-to in Crazy Land,
 They're upside down with care—
 They walk around upon their heads
 And feet up in the air!

BOOKS

ON AMERICAN POLITICS.

Progressive Democracy. By Herbert Croly. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$2.00 net.

Readers of *The New Republic* who are familiar with Mr. Croly's name at the top of its distinguished list of editors and who know him, too, as Marcus A. Hanna's biographer will many of them look for a nearer acquaintanceship through his latest published volume. To discover what sort of man is behind the book is, however, not so easy as to descry some sorts of man he is not. His party affiliations, if he has any, are not so strong—or so uncontrolled—as to force him to disclose them to the naked eye, even in a treatise on present-day American political tendencies. But one somehow guesses that he is not a Democrat, and gradually comes to wonder whether his democracy is either progressive or democratic. He boldly attacks the slogan, "equal rights for all and special privilege to none" as at present wholly impracticable, and substitutes as a workable plan "special privilege to all." What "special privilege to all" can mean, is hidden from at least one eager reader. It sounds like exactly what one's unrighteous selfish self yearns for, and yet it would be a tremendous disappointment to that same self if every other person got it too.

The author's economics is an uncertain affair. He talks of industrial democracy, and this for him consists largely in the wage-earner—whom he frankly announces as a class come to stay in America—gaining a little Perkinsque democracy in the running of the business of which he is a part. He views trades unions merely as an educative and necessary way for the wage-earner to attain this modicum of independence, and he almost sympathizes with syndicalism in its object—the class control of industry—although deprecating with horror its revolutionary method. "Private property" is apparently all one to him: land, instruments of production, and product—the same hopper holds them and the same wall surrounds for a long, weary, paternalistic time ahead.

Mr. Croly's political science, however, is several generations ahead of his economics. He stands

emphatically for the "Gateway Amendment" to the Federal Constitution, unequivocally for the Recall and for "direct popular control of the machinery of government." But the Initiative, he thinks; "should be granted only at the bidding of a carefully validated petition signed by a comparatively large number of voters," since, as used now, it "places an enormous power in the hands of a skilful and persistent minority." One chapter, a very interesting one, is devoted to W. S. U'Ren's People's Power plan of State governments, the principle of which is heartily approved.

The whole book is difficult reading, repetitious and lacking in emphasis; its opinions—many of them worth attention—are too painstakingly weighed to be brilliantly expressed, and so elaborately elucidated as to produce slightly the effect, upon the irreverent reader, of a good magician's patter.

A. L. G.



TRUTH ENTERS A UNIVERSITY.

The Abolition of Poverty. By Jacob H. Hollander. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston. 1914. Price, 75 cents net.

To those who follow reason regardless of authority, the needlessness of poverty is neither a new nor startling fact. But few of these have learned their political economy at the great universities. In such institutions the possibility of abolishing poverty and the means whereby this can be accomplished have not been welcome objects of discussion. As a result, it is not in the universities, but in the open forums of radical organizations, that best opportunities exist for discussion and study of principles of the science of political economy. It is significant, therefore, to note that in the department of political economy of a leading university the fact is now conceded that poverty can be abolished. It indicates that the influence of despised radical clubs and humble curbstone orators is making itself felt even in strongholds of orthodox political economy. To be sure, Professor Hollander's treatment of the subject, radical as it may seem to the old school economists, must appear timid and unsatisfactory to the veterans in the fight for economic justice. But when old fallacies are first questioned in places where they have long been treated with awesome respect, it is both natural and wise to make inquiries in a timid and reverential manner.

Professor Hollander presents facts so familiar to attendants at radical club meetings and readers of radical literature, as for instance, that workers are receiving insufficient wages, that the Malthusian doctrine is not borne out by facts and that the problem is not one of production but of distribution—all a very old story to the confirmed radical, but apparently more new than it ought to be in many college class rooms.

In presenting his remedy, Professor Hollander

is pitiably weak. He would abolish poverty through "efficiently organized and intelligently directed trade-unionism," minimum wage legislation and "a comprehensive system of social insurance." He must learn better than that before he may reasonably hope to bring the quality of economic teaching at Johns Hopkins up to the standard of the average soapbox orator. But even many well posted soapbox orators had to pass through the stage at which Professor Hollander has arrived. So it is not unreasonable to look for further progress by him. s. d.

THE SAVING QUALITY OF LIBERTY.

War's Aftermath. By David Starr Jordan and Harvey Ernest Jordan. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston. 1914. Price, 75 cents net.

In this little volume of 103 pages an attempt is made to prove from actual conditions in our Southern States Professor Jordan's contention that war takes the best, and leaves the inferior to breed the next generation. The gathering of data has been done with every evidence of fairness, and the deductions seem to be free from specious reasoning; yet the thought occurs to one familiar with conditions in the South that the authors have chosen an unfortunate example, in that Civil War conditions were not typical.

To sustain his contention—and there is no intention here of questioning it in the slightest degree—Professor Jordan should have gathered his data from fields that remained after the war substantially the same as they were before the war. That is to say, countries should have been selected where other influences as great or greater than the war were not at work. The Civil War was to the South all that it has been pictured; but the social and economic upheaval that followed was greater and more far-reaching in its effects than the war itself.

The war did take the best, just as Professor Jordan says, but it was the best of a class; and while robbing this class of its best it liberated another class, the "poor whites." Prior to the war the "poor white" class had no opportunity. It was not wanted for labor, because of slavery; it was not wanted in the professions, for the slave-owners monopolized them; and it was not wanted socially. Hence, it existed, a sturdy but undeveloped stock, on the outskirts of civilization. The same war that freed the black people freed these poor whites. They pressed forward into the places made vacant by the upper class, entering the professions, taking charge of the business, and even marrying into the old families. All this had its effect upon the present generation. The children undoubtedly are different, but it would be a bold man who should conclude that because of that

difference the young men and the young women of the South today are one whit inferior to those of sixty years ago. There may be a little less reverence for old family names, a little less superficial polish, and a little less of the grandiloquence of ante-bellum days; but for downright worth of manhood and womanhood they surpass the preceding generation.

If Professor Jordan has been unfortunate in selecting an example to prove that war works to the detriment of the race, he has unwittingly demonstrated the importance of liberty and opportunity. If the stimulus incident to a partial restoration of normal social and industrial conditions is sufficient to overcome the blighting effects of war, what will not full liberty and full opportunity do for all society? s. c.

POLITICAL NURSERY RHYMES.

Swollen-Headed William. Painful Stories and Funny Pictures After the German. Text Adopted by E. V. Lucas. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. Price, 50 cents net.

One familiar with the German nursery rhymes of which the first is Shock-Headed Peter (Struvel Peter) may enjoy adaptations of them as satires on the Kaiser in English verse—provided his pro-German sympathies do not make him sensitive. The quaint drawings of the original are made over into cartoons in which the Kaiser appears as Swollen-Headed William in place of Shock-Headed Peter, Cruel Frederick, Pauline who played with matches, the Inky Boys, the Wild Huntsman, Conrad Suck-His-Thumb, Augustus who would not eat soup, Fidgety Philip and Johnny Head in Air. But it does not seem probable that the look can be fully appreciated, even by those not favorably inclined toward the Kaiser's cause, unless they are acquainted with the original. s. d.

"Why is he so bitter at the girl he was only recently engaged to?"

"Because when she sent the ring back she labeled the box, 'Glass—with care!'"—Lippincott's Magazine.

First he bought a bale of cotton, to help out the starving farmers of the South.

Then he bought a bale of poetry, to help out the starving poets.

Finally he bought a bale of securities, to help out the starving brokers of Wall street.

That ended it, however.

"I know when I've got enough!" he exclaimed, with a baleful look.—Life.

When Professor Wendell of Harvard entered upon his sabbatical year he remained in Cambridge some weeks after his leave of absence began and persisted

in taking part in the department meeting. The head of the department protested.

"Sir," he said, "you are officially absent. You are non est."

"Oh, very well," replied Professor Wendell, "a non est man is the noblest work of God."—Sacred Heart Review.

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