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

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EDITORIAL

Persecution of Ben Lindsey.

The proverbial inability of Bourbons to learn or forget probably explains the persistent efforts of Colorado reactionaries to get rid of Judge Ben Lindsey. Anyone but a Bourbon could see that their methods must increase Lindsey's popularity. To the Judge such persecution may be personally disagreeable or painful but it will tend to create a sentiment that must result seriously to the interests promoting it. Should Lindsey be actually removed from the bench those working for that end will surely find their victory more costly than defeat.

S. D.



For the Enemies He Is Making.

Judging from the source and temper of the criticism of the Chairman of the Commission on Industrial Relations, Frank Walsh bids fair to become a deservedly popular man with the mass of the people. It has long since been noted that when a government official having to do with conflicting claims between the House of Have and the House of Want discharges his duty in such a way as to bring upon himself the general censure of the Privileged class, he is found defending the rights of the victims.

S. C.



Back to the Land.

Those good people who have been so zealously endeavoring to get the city unemployed to go upon the land should ponder the testimony of Mrs. Steward, who testified before the Commission on Industrial Relations at Dallas, Texas. Native American, born in Arkansas, married at fifteen, ten years on Arkansas lands, then a like period in northern Texas, she has borne eleven children, eight of them living. Up at 4 a. m. to get breakfast, working in the field till noon, home to do the household work, taking a "day out to do the washing," she for several years made all her husband's clothing, her own and her children's. Since

wealth is produced by labor applied to land, this woman should be very rich. But she is not. The little property, in the shape of tools and furniture that had been accumulated during the past three years, after seventeen years of debt-fighting, has recently melted away in living expenses. Even her sewing machine had been taken for debt; and the hogs, the only remaining food supply, had gone on a foreclosure sale.



It will be said by some that these people did not know how to manage. Granted. Let it be conceded that they worked well, but not wisely; they represent a type too numerous and too widespread to be dismissed as incompetent. The Chicago man who recently received a letter from an Arkansas relative, sober and industrious, asking for a barrel of old clothing in order that his seven children might be able to go to school, is another of the many evidences that attempts to get back to the land by this road are worse than futile. Not even the endurance of the hardships of pioneer life, the isolation, the humdrum drudgery, with all the means of modern production at hand, suffices to win a decent living from the soil by any save the exceptionally gifted. Why? Why is this Texas family brought to this condition, in spite of all the power that science and invention have placed in its hands? And if those reared on the soil fail thus miserably, what hope is there, unless conditions are radically changed, in sending the city unemployed to the land? Southern planters declare cotton has for several seasons been raised at a loss. Corn and wheat can be produced at a profit on rented land only by exceptional management and industry. Farmers owning farms where land is valuable prosper as land owners, not as farmers. Farm tenants are indeed in a sad way. Back to the land should still be the cry; but back to the land in the midst of civilization, not upon the remote frontiers. The story revealed by the Commission on Industrial Relations, in its investigation into farming conditions, promises to be worth reading.

S. C.



A Significant Vote.

Texas land monopolists must be blind indeed if they do not see the writing on the wall. A proposed constitutional amendment for a graduated tax on land values received in the lower house of the Legislature, on March 16, sixty-three votes in favor and only fifty-five against. It failed of passage because a two-thirds vote was required. But the fact that it obtained an actual majority is an event of great moral significance. This is clearly

recognized by the Dallas News, which says in comment in its issue of March 18:

The narrowness of its defeat signifies unmistakably that the people of Texas are coming into a mood to grapple with the problem of land ownership in a vigorous and decisive way. This is not the last we shall hear of this proposal. There is little prophecy in saying that it will make its appearance in the next legislature, and if it is not adopted by the next legislature it is apt to be because, meantime, some better way of checking the progress of land monopolization shall be proposed.

A better way would be to abolish all taxes on Labor and its products and to raise all public revenue by taxing the value of land alone, irrespective of improvements upon it. A measure of that kind is what Texas needs.

S. D.



Missouri's Misleaders Safe.

A bill to punish publication of "untrue, deceptive or misleading" advertisements is said to be sure of passage in Missouri. It is not retroactive, however, and therefore the anti-singletax leaders of 1912 and 1914 have nothing to fear.

S. D.



A Sufficiently Long Working Day.

In an address at Worcester, Massachusetts, Mrs. Mary Fels expressed the opinion that an eight-hour working day is too long and that four hours would be ample. Commenting on this, the Worcester Gazette says, in its issue of March 11, that the vital problem to the worker is not the hours he spends at work, but "whether he gets a just share of the wealth that he produces." If the editor thought that he was expressing a sentiment from which Mrs. Fels would dissent, it must have been because he neglected to inform himself on the views held by Mrs. Fels, which are surely well enough known. To ensure the laborer his just share of what he produces is the immediate object which Mrs. Fels has in view, and it may easily be that she understands better than the Worcester Gazette that the just share due the laborer consists of all that he produces. Once assured of justice in distribution, the length of the working day may safely be left to each individual worker. Four hours a day would be ample, said Mrs. Fels, and if she erred in this at all it probably was on the side of moderation. If eight hours would have been ample in the days of long ago when the agitation began for an eight-hour day, four hours would easily be ample today. This does not mean that arbitrary regulations for a four-hour day should be established. The man who jumps to such

a conclusion would see a demand for arbitrary regulation by law in a claim that some people eat more than is needful. What it does mean is that workers ought to get what justly belongs to them, and then those who care to work no longer hours than enough to ensure them a good living will find four hours sufficient. Today an unjust economic system compels many of them to work much longer for a poor living. To point out that four hours a day would be ample is to declare that the worker is deprived of his just share. Mrs. Fels has a definite program of action which will ensure justice to the laborer and thus make it possible for those who want to work no more than four hours a day to so limit their time and still be able to live well. Has the Worcester Gazette as much?

S. D.



Repeal the Anti-Labor Laws.

The industrial depression is attributed by protected interests to legislation which curbs their unfair privileges; by railroads to legislation which interferes with their predatory practices; by telephone interests to measures taken to curb their power, and by the plunderbund generally to legislation ostensibly aimed at oppressive methods. It seems about time for Labor and unprivileged Business to see and explain that the cause is due to legislation which puts them at the mercy of Monopoly. There were panics and depressions before there was interference with protective tariff laws, or with predatory habits of railroads and trusts. But every panic or depression, of which we have any record, occurred while laws were in force interfering with useful labor. There will continue to be depressions as long as production of wealth may only take place by permission of the class that controls natural resources, and while industry and its products are subject to taxation. The laws upholding those conditions are in fact anti-Labor laws. They constitute the most inexcusable and pernicious antilegislation on the statute books. Their repeal is the step that should be urged to put an end to industrial depressions.

S. D.



Working for Each Other.

Mr. Hutchins Hapgood, the novelist, made a shrewd observation when he said, speaking of labor conditions:

The workman will never again work well until he works for himself. He used to believe that God, the king, the autocrats, legitimately commanded him to work. He believed in authority and worked well.

He no longer believes in authority; and handicrafts, trades, and mechanical arts will never again be good until the worker works for himself and can express himself in his work.

This is a feature that few of those who delve into the causes of industrial unrest appreciate. They say, speaking abstractedly, that capitalists work for labor, as much as labor works for capital. But the concrete situation gives to their words about the same meaning as attaches to the mouthings of a United States Senator, when he speaks of himself as a servant of the people.



Capital and Labor are partners. They do work for each other. Too often, however, the Capitalist has allied himself with Monopoly; and as an individual he assumes the power of Monopoly under the guise of Capital. And the Laborer, discriminating no more between the two than the Capitalist himself, bitterly resents this assumption of superiority. The direction of industry, and the management of affairs, is assumed entirely by the Capitalist; and while he realizes that he himself is helpless without the co-operation of Labor, he knows that Labor must bow to immediate necessity, and so yield to his dictation. The remedy for this state of affairs does not lie necessarily in Labor's control of industry; but it does demand that Labor be so independent that the worker can freely withhold his services from any enterprise of course that does not meet with his approval. Capital today dictates terms to Labor, not as Capital, but as Monopoly. Destroy the Monopoly, and Labor and Capital will stand upon an equal footing. For, if the natural opportunities for industry be thrown open alike to Labor and Capital, Labor will be freed from the necessity of accepting the preferred terms of Capital; and will be able to negotiate as an equal. The Capitalist being deprived of his present privilege, and compelled to deal with laborers who are not under the immediate necessity of working for him, will be obliged to share, not only the product of the joint efforts of Capital and Labor, but the honor and responsibility as well.



The essence of the working man's idea of working for himself, as set forth by Mr. Hapgood, does not lie in the elimination of the Capitalist as a manager, but as a beneficiary of special privilege. If Labor itself controlled the industry, it would have to employ a manager, and gather together tools and materials; and it may well be doubted if the wisest labor organization could do this as effi-

ciently as would result under free competition, when monopoly privileges have been withdrawn. With this fair and even relation between employer and employee—and the terms will be interchangeable, for it will be as proper to call the present employer the employee, and the employee the employer—the so-called wage earner will be working for himself. He will joy in his work, and "handicrafts, trades, and mechanical arts" will be raised to the highest degree of excellence.

S. C.



Rebates and Service.

An interesting point came to light recently when a Chicago business man related his experience with the railroads. In the good old days when the freight solicitor called, there was never any question about the rates, but much haggling over the rebate to be allowed; and the solicitor who could give the largest rebate got the freight. When rebates were prohibited by law, the roads offered other inducements to get the freight, the chief of which was better service. So long as the shipper's chief interest lay in securing the largest possible rebate he gave little attention to service; and two weeks was good time to make between New York and Chicago. But no sooner had rebates been denied him, and he found himself upon the same footing as other shippers, than he listened to the man who promised to shorten the time of freight delivery. The competition of roads that had formerly run rebates to such a high point now reduced the time of delivery to the shortest interval; and the same shipment which before had taken two weeks was now delivered in three days. No sooner had rates and fares on the roads become uniform, than there was competition as to speed in freights and safety in passengers.

S. C.



Trying the Same Game Twice.

That the eastern railroads practised deception when asking for permission to increase freight rates, should now be clear even to the gullible ones who believed them. They promised that the increase would be followed by general prosperity. Of course nothing of the kind has happened. Now they are trying to have repealed the full crew laws that several States have enacted. It may be that there are facts which show that these laws should be repealed. But if so there should be others than railroad representatives to vouch for them. Having made misstatements to get one concession how can anyone be sure that the same policy is not being pursued by the same interests

to get another concession? Legislators should beware. The same applies to the effort now being made by the western roads for a rate increase. The Interstate Commerce Commission has allowed itself to be deceived once within the year by the railroad corporations. Perhaps that was the railroads' fault. But it will be the Commission's fault if it lets itself be fooled twice by the same interests.

S. D.



How Some Railroad Income Is Used.

That the railroads worked against a change in railway mail pay legislation during the recent session of Congress is the charge made by Postmaster General Burleson. Mr. Burleson undoubtedly has good authority for the statement. The railroads succeeded not only in preventing any change in the present unscientific method of fixing compensation for carrying the mails, but defeated the entire post office appropriation. Work of that kind is expensive. Now the railroads are putting up a poverty plea before the Interstate Commerce Commission and some of the State public utility commissions, claiming big expenses and insufficient income, and asking power to increase rates. A sufficient answer would be that since they are using their present incomes to defeat necessary reforms and to embarrass the Government, it would be contrary to public policy to increase their income that they may have more to spend for such purposes.

S. D.



Criticizing the Press.

The flare-up of Charles R. Miller, editor of the New York Times, before the Ship Purchase Lobby Inquiry Committee, is in questionable taste, even if it does not contravene good morals. His objection that inquisitorial proceedings of that kind would have a marked tendency to reduce the press of the United States to the level of the press of some of the capitals of European countries does not seem to be well taken. It should not be within the power of the Government to suppress a newspaper, or to compel it to publish this or that piece of news or editorial opinion; but it may compel it to display its colors. A paper, for instance, that advocates sugar bounties, might be required to show whether it was financed by the Sugar Trust, or other financial beneficiary. A newspaper is not a private institution in the sense that a store or a factory is. It is in a sense a public agent, subsidized by the Government with a nominal rate of postage. It is one of those forces that grows with the growth of society, that may be restrained by

society. It would not be practical, without destroying the freedom of speech, for the Government to investigate the source of all criticisms, but it is conceivable that there might be occasions when it would be well for the public to know the financial interests behind a newspaper. It is a question of honest labels; the average reader has as little means of knowing whether or not his news is tainted as whether the milk and potted ham are what they purport to be. Mr. Miller is asked to surrender an individual right in behalf of social freedom. s. c.



Simplifying Election Machinery.

It is becoming more and more evident that representative government is still in the process of development. The principle is sound, but the earlier applications have been crude and ineffective. Irresponsible representation led to the introduction of the initiative and referendum as checks. The tyranny and corruption of political conventions have compelled a resort to primaries. But a brake on the wheel, however useful in time of emergency, may be a waste of power when set all the time. The present primary system is equivalent to an election, and double elections tend to exhaust the wholesome spirit of political campaigns.



River Forest, Illinois, one of the villages that made a contribution toward the solution of the problem of municipal government by employing a business manager to run the affairs of the village, has taken another step toward efficient government by instituting a post card primary. Stamped post cards containing the names of candidates suggested by the committee in charge, and spaces for the naming of others, are left at the house of each voter by responsible persons. This post card primary, coupled with the proposition to vote by mail, may embody the germ of our future election system. An objection to the post card system will be made by some because it either is not secret or may be open to fraud. There may be legitimate reasons why a voter does not wish his or her choice to be known publicly. This objection, however, may easily be overcome. The voter's ballot may be enclosed and sealed in a plain envelope, and that in a second envelope, which is identified by the voter's signature, and such other marks of identification as may be found necessary. When the mailed vote is received by the election officials the legality of the ballot is determined by the outer envelope; after which it is opened and the inner

envelope containing the ballot is thrown among other similarly accredited votes. Such a system might be charged with facilitating bribery, but this should not be serious in small communities. The present cost of carriages and other means of getting out the voters militates against those with little money to spend in the election. The mail ballot, with the transferable vote, would remove this difficulty, and still further simplify matters by combining primary and election in the one act.

S. C.



If Not, Why Not?

Would the Chicago clergyman, Dr. James Gray of Moody Bible Institute, who quoted the Old Testament in behalf of retaining capital punishment, be ready to urge application of the principle involved in another passage of the same book: "The land shall not be sold forever"? S. D.



Time to Abolish Capital Punishment.

In urging the Legislature of Illinois to abolish capital punishment Governor Dunne asks abandonment of a relic of barbarism. Experience has long ago refuted all the arguments advanced in behalf of legalized murder. Those who bring them up at this late date, in opposition to Governor Dunne's suggestion, only show that they have been asleep while the rest of the world was studying the question.

S. D.



Mothers' Pensions a Menace to Charity.

Four years ago a mothers' pension act was passed in Illinois. No mother deprived of her husband's support was excepted from its provisions. The State which had so legislated as to create poverty and distress recognized to that extent an obligation to care for the victims. Two years ago the Legislature saw fit to debar from the benefits of this law deserted mothers and alien mothers. It left, however, all laws intact responsible for the poverty of this class of mothers, as well as for the poverty of others. Unless the present Legislature sees its way clear to put an end to poverty-creating laws, the least it can do is to pass a pending bill which provides for the restoration to the benefits of the mothers' pension act of the classes debarred by its predecessor. An unlimited mothers' pension act has something in its favor which other superficial reforms do not have. Its defects and bad results fall most heavily on those most responsible for the conditions that

have bred distress calling for charitable relief. If all charity were dispensed by the State instead of private institutions there would be a stronger disposition to abolish the need of it. The mothers' pension act is a step in that direction. Perhaps that explains why opposition comes from sources where no objection is urged to other forms of Charity as a substitute for Justice. S. D.



Feeding Europe.

America has been succoring the people of outraged Belgium almost from the beginning of the war. Later it was called upon to supply devastated Poland and harried Servia. It is now announced that representatives of the United States will be permitted to inspect the prison camps in Great Britain, Germany and Austria, and presumably France and Russia, to learn and report the condition of the prisoners and "distribute supplies among the prisoners." Will the logic of this lead to our supporting the civil population of the belligerent countries, while the men continue the fight? S. C.



Women at The Hague.

When Victor Yarros was asked, during the darkest days of the first Duma—after it had been stripped of almost the last vestige of authority—what he thought of the prospects of representative government in Russia, he answered that it did not matter how much a tyrannical government oppressed the members, so long as the Duma itself was allowed to sit and go through the forms of legislating. "For," said he, "when the Russian people have come to think of the Duma as a part of the natural order, they will gradually obtain control of political affairs." The same thing is true of the Peace Conferences at The Hague. The announcement of the first Conference, called by the Czar of Russia, was hailed with derision by the jingoes and militarists. Its apparently meager results provoked merriment. But the first Conference led to a second Conference, to a permanent Court of Arbitration, to the settlement of international disputes, until today The Hague has fixed a new thought in the minds of men; and that thought will continue to grow until it overshadows all nations.



Nothing has happened since the breaking out of the present war that is likely to have greater influence upon the destinies of mankind than the calling by certain women of Holland of an inter-

national conference of women from neutral and belligerent countries to meet at The Hague in April. This conference will get such attention as no other has; and even though hostilities do not cease at once the world-thought will receive an indelible impress from its conclusions. The glories of war have departed, the profit of strife has proved vain; nothing is left but its sordidness, its cruelty, and its shame. Men will welcome an excuse to turn from their senseless course. That excuse will be found in its most acceptable form in the plea of the women. It needs not the gift of prophecy to see that when peace does return the Court of The Hague will be a power in the world; and among the judges who pass upon international affairs will be women.

S. C.



A Useful General.

Whether Brigadier General Hugh L. Scott, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, could with the forces at hand repel an invasion of the combined nations of Europe may never be known; but he has demonstrated his ability to do what few other generals can do: Make peace without killing his opponents. He has repeatedly pacified Indians who have taken to the warpath. Recently he settled the trouble between the Villa and Carranza forces, who had persisted in firing across the American line. And now in Utah he has succeeded in quieting the Piutes, who had taken to the warpath.



What must the European generals think of a country that sends its Chief of Staff to pacify Mexicans and Indians? What, indeed, must the militarists of our own country think of such undignified proceedings? How much better it would have been, they will think, to have sent an army of several thousand men to round up those Indians in Utah, shoot some, imprison others, and so impress upon their minds the fact that no one can tamper with the dignity of Uncle Samuel. By throwing an army into Mexico we could have taught those miserable people that shooting across the border was a serious thing.



How does our General pacify men without killing them? Why did the Mexicans stop firing across the line at the request of General Scott, when they would not in the face of the army? Why did these Indians yield themselves to the law at the request of this man whom they had never seen, and whose language they could not

speak? It was simply because they believed General Scott broad enough to get their point of view, and honest enough to do them justice. The fact that he went among them with only a single companion was evidence that he trusted them. And when he came upon the Indians who had fled from the officers of the law, he did not begin threatening them with the awful consequences of defying the United States government. It is his custom to ask for food and drink, and to smoke the peace pipe with them. He asks them for the story of their troubles; and he listens with such sympathetic attention that they feel they are talking to a friend. And they are. That, indeed, is the secret of his success. He makes them feel that he is their friend; and they follow his advice because they believe it to be the counsel of a friend. Ah, if only there were some means to get civilized people to adopt the Scott method!

S. C.



Edward Twitchell.

To the Singletaxers of Massachusetts particularly, the passing of Mr. Edward Twitchell removes a familiar and long honored name. Three years of attendance at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., completed his school outfit, but among his native endowments were included two priceless gifts not always acquired at school, viz: a retentive memory and a natural love for accuracy. These to an unusual degree characterized his long life. What he once learned was not only ever ready for use, but his statements of facts and dates were almost sure to be correct. His mind was well stored with gems from the best authors, as well as many eloquent passages from the world's greatest orators, and he was always prepared to give a talking movie of anti-slavery days, on a stage thronged by a stately procession of men and women, many of whom he had known personally, from Garrison to Phillips and Sumner. Cradled in the Abolition movement, he early imbibed the enthusiasm and inspiration of that cause and four years of the storm and stress of Civil War was an education that more than anything else helped to fashion and confirm the courage and sterling integrity of his character. This experience taught him to stand firm against institutional wrongs. Mr. Twitchell was an original member of the Massachusetts Singletax League, serving continually on its Executive Committee and many years as its Treasurer, so long as health permitted. He and his wife, Eliza Stowe Twitchell, in their devotion to principle, were as the twin lights of the Isle of Shoals, trusty guides to many

a mariner, and to an old sailor, like the writer, his passing is, veritably, like the "dousing of another glim."

C. B. FILLEBROWN.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

CHAOS IN MEXICO.

Mexico, March 9, 1915.

I.

Since the exit of Huerta last July, political events in Mexico have been so kaleidoscopic as to bewilder the onlooker; both as to their inward significance and ultimate outcome. A rapid review of what has occurred will first be in order.

The triumphal entry of the Constitutional army into Mexico City last August was cheered to the echo by the thronging populace, and even those who remembered that the thousands of horses of the long lines of irregular cavalry had practically all been "commandeered" from their original owners, without giving even an I.O.U. in exchange, had few forebodings amid the general rejoicing that peace and liberalism were again supreme in the nation's capital. The next few days only heightened the first good impressions. A number of pick-pockets, caught red-handed, were summarily executed as a warning to evildoers; and the wholesale mustering out of the captured Federal army, which soon began in Pueblo and other cities, was conducted in a humane and generous manner.

The first shock to the public confidence came with the application of what was euphoniously called "intervention"; and which consisted in the military occupation of the property of the rich, on the plea that the latter had been Huertistas. The intervened were given no chance to defend their rights; and in many cases their only crime was the possession of country estates, abounding in horses and cattle needed by the army, and of luxurious city homes, coveted by the Carranza officers as residences for themselves and their numerous male and female satellites. The ruin of valuable libraries and artistic furnishings by the occupation of these boorish and dishonest officers, was not justifiable on any ground of military necessity, for the public buildings and hotels offered ample accommodation for everyone; but it was merely the first symptom of the lawless license which soon was seen to prevail throughout the Carranza forces.

As the mania for speeding along the asphalted streets of the capital could be satisfied in only a few cases by the automobiles and turnouts of the intervened rich, the unprovided Carranza officers soon began to seize any car or horse that struck their fancy, and finally got so bold as to steal the equipages of several foreign legations. When Gov. Dominguez of the Federal District issued a decree against this growing scandal it was negatived next day with Carranza's sanction, and, after the governor resigned in consequence, the true state of affairs began to be perceived. Carranza was only nominally the "First Chief"; the real power lay with Generals Alvaro Obregon and Pablo Gonzalez, and a small clique of affiliated generals, any one

of whom dared to call Carranza an "old fool" to his face, and to defy his orders.

At the convention of military chiefs, which met the first week in October, 1914, in Mexico City, to determine the future procedure of the Revolution, according to the "Plan of Guadalupe" of 1913, a vote of confidence was given to Carranza's leadership. But as neither General Villa's "Division of the North," or General Zapata's "Army of the South" was represented, it was decided to adjourn the convention to the more neutral locality of Aguascalientes, whence both Villa and Zapata had promised to send delegates.

The fully-representative military convention which finally met in Aguascalientes, contained one delegate for each 1,000 men under arms; and, as a prelude to its formal sessions, each one of the hundred odd members signed his name on a large Mexican flag and swore to abide by the decisions of the majority of the convention. Half of the delegates repudiated their most solemn oath and fell to fighting the other half within six weeks of their signing of the flag.

The frequent secret sessions prevented the press from publishing a full account of the convention's proceedings, but its first important act was to declare itself the sovereign legislative power of Mexico. It then announced that Carranza had forfeited his high office by incompetence, and proceeded to elect his successor, as First Chief, or Provisional President, in the person of Eulalio Gutierrez. At first Carranza refused to either give up his job or to recognize the sovereignty of the convention, but he finally offered to resign and retire to Havana, provided that Villa and Zapata would do likewise. As the convention distrusted the sincerity of this offer, they ended by declaring Carranza a rebel, appointed Villa the commander of the convention army, and adjourned about November 15, to meet again in Mexico City in January.

Meanwhile, Carranza had been working mischief in the capital with the Mexican Light & Power Co., which owned the lighting and tramway systems and the great electro-hydraulic plant at Necaxa Falls, 100 miles to the east. That revolutionary anarchism which masquerades in France as "Syndicalism," and in the United States as the "I. W. W.", had already partly organized the artisans of Mexico City as the "Casa Mundial de Obreros," and Carranza soon discovered the usefulness of the Casa for his fell purposes. First, he gained favor by granting the Casa, rent free, a valuable and centrally located public building for its meetings, and soon his agents had succeeded in inciting the tramway branch of the Casa to call a strike. On the company's refusal to grant the absurd demands of the strikers, Carranza "intervened," ousted the company's officials and refused even to account for the cash he found in the safe. The strikers kept on working on the old basis, and the only visible change was the diversion of the large daily receipts to Carranza, instead of to the Canadian investors, who have a score of millions invested in the enterprise.

On receiving the convention's commission to oust Carranza, Villa started his army from Zacatecas, southward, and soon had routed Gen. P. Gonzalez, who tried to stop him at San Juan del Rio. After this defeat the way was open to the unfortified cap-

ital, and soon General Obregon, and later Gen. Lucio Blanco withdrew their troops and permitted the entrance of the Zapata army, which had been in the vicinity for months.

As the Zapatistas had had no opportunity to garner the uniforms of the ex-Federals or the horses of the northern ranches, like the Carranzistas, they presented on their entry a sorry appearance, wearing little beyond a suit of cotton underwear, a big straw hat, a rifle and a cartridge belt. Though even more irregular, from a military standpoint, than the Carranzistas, the Zapatistas behaved much better during their fortnight's control of the capital than their predecessors, and thus belied their dreadful reputation as bandits, so assiduously created for them by the reactionary press of the Madero and Huerta regimes.

The first Sunday in December Villa and Zapata made a formal entry into Mexico City at the head of their united armies. The Villa veterans, 30,000 strong, showed the best discipline of any Mexican army yet seen and compared favorably with Yankee militiamen. The field artillery of 150 guns was led by General Angeles, a sincere Liberal, and the best educated military man in Mexico.

The following week the Federal departments, which had been closed since the flight of the Carranzistas, were re-opened by President Gutierrez, and most of his appointees to high office were of such a character as to inspire general confidence. The new regime was at first much embarrassed by the fact that Carranza had emptied the treasury of all its cash and had looted many offices of such essentials as typewriters and telephones.

During December, Pachuca, Puebla and Guadalajara were captured by the convention, and the new year opened with the convention in possession of the Northwest, West and Center, while Carranza had the Northeast, the East and the South. Though the convention armies appeared irresistible, Carranza was stronger economically, for the evacuation of Vera Cruz by the Yankees in November had given him the chief seaport and the important Mexican railway; while he also controlled the source of railroad power, the Tampico oil field.

There were three causes for the setback which now began for the convention. The first was the lack of fuel for the military trains, and of rifle ammunition, and this compelled the evacuation of Pueblo by the Zapatistas on January 3. The second was the meeting of the Herrera brothers, generals of Villa garrisons in Chihuahua, and this required the departure of Villa for the North with nearly his whole army. And the third was the defection of President Gutierrez who, accompanied by three of his ministers and several thousand convention soldiers, fled to San Luis Potosi soon after Villa's departure.

Gutierrez was originally an uneducated miner of Coahuila, and his military exploits had evidently taught him little, for his elevation to the presidency merely gave him a bad case of swelled head. After his flight Gutierrez made overtures to join Carranza, but as his messengers were jailed, he concluded to organize his own satrapy, with his capital at San Luis.

Thus, before January closed, there were five

armed national factions in Mexico. Villa and Zapata, who were temporarily united to support the convention; Carranza, who proclaimed himself the only simon-pure liberal, and dubbed all his enemies "reactionaries"; Gutierrez, the solitary, and finally General Salazar, who had just entered Coahuila from Texas, at the head of 1,800 filibusters, in the interests of Felix Diaz. Meanwhile the southernmost State of Oaxaca had declared itself independent and erected defenses against the entrance of Carranza's soldiers; while the easternmost State of Yucatan soon followed suit, and later blew up, by a strategem, one of the Carranza gunboats, which was sent to Progreso to coerce it.

On January 28, Obregon entered Mexico City at the head of his army, Gonsalez Garza, who had taken charge in Gutierrez's place, having fled to the Zapatista capital of Cuernavaca. The residents of Mexico City will, in future, have as good cause to remember the February of 1915, with its Obregon famine, as the February of 1913, with its Felix Diaz mutiny. The trouble began with the rioting caused by Obregon's decree invalidating the Villa currency; When that had been quieted by offering to exchange all the Villa currency in the possession of the masses, the real dearth of provisions first became manifest. The diversion of so many peasants to the army caused a scanty crop last summer, and the impeding of railroad traffic, by the movement of troops, prevented the proper distribution of what food was available. Wheat flour in the capital was now exhausted and bread sold at fabulous prices; cornmeal, the staff of the masses, and other necessities, were hardly obtainable, even at double prices, and the poor and feeble began to perish from starvation. To complete the calamity the Zapatistas had succeeded in cutting off the city's main water supply, and the consequent inability to flush the sewers began to breed typhoid and typhus fever, and other filth diseases. Obregon then began to exhibit some of his native cunning. His first move was to levy a tax of \$500,000 on the local Catholic clergy, "for the benefit of the poor." As the clergy could not, or would not produce this huge sum, the Spanish priests were expelled from the country and the balance were put in jail. Obregon thus curried favor with the anti-Catholics, and also had a good excuse for confining the clerical friends of Zapata where they had no opportunity to work against Carranza.

In this connection I wish to criticize the speech about Mexico made by Roosevelt in Seattle last December, with the evident object of inciting the Democratic Catholic vote against President Wilson's policy of non-intervention. His two chief accusations against the revolution: that the priesthood was prevented from wearing a clerical street costume, and that the monastic orders had been exiled, betray a complete ignorance of Mexican law, for both acts are authorized by the Reform code of President Juarez, issued a half century ago. Even his citation of the personal outrages against the clergy committed by revolutionists, lose most of their political significance when it is remembered that many of the injured clergy had taken the risk of reprisals when they publicly aided the reactionary and sanguinary Huerta.

Obregon's next move was to levy a poor tax of

one-half per cent on the total capital of all business houses and real estate owners in the capital. As payments came in slowly, Obregon called a general meeting of the delinquent and, after these had passed resolutions condemning the poor tax as unnecessary and immoral, he surrounded the hall with soldiers and marched some 400 of the merchants off to jail to serve time for "political conspiracy." By thus abusing the "bourgeois," he gained the support of the syndicalist "Casa," and his ready exemption of all foreigners from the poor tax, at the request of their legations, he expected would later prove useful as a weapon of the anti-foreign faction.

Obregon's final coup in Mexico City has its comical, as well as diabolical features. During February the Casa Mundial de Obreros has been immensely enlivened by the meetings of an engaging orator, a certain Dr. Atl, of unknown antecedents, but evidently a true Mexican patriot and hater of all bourgeois. Dr. Atl was so charming and convincing that the Casa, after a four-hour debate, voted to set aside its syndicalist principles of anti-militarism and to give its unqualified armed support to the Carranza cause. The Casa leaders had hardly irrevocably cast their lot with the Carranzistas when Obregon announced his intention to immediately evacuate the capital. Consternation reigned! What could the Casa do? If they stayed in the city they were liable to punishment, and perhaps execution by the coming Zapatistas, whom they had defiled. If they fled, where were they to earn a living to support their needy families in these hard times?

They saw, finally, no alternative but to accept the generous offer of General Obregon to enlist them all in the Carranza army; thus they might escape the Zapatistas and still feed their families. A thousand recruits left for Vera Cruz on the next train, and 3,000 or 4,000 more ex-syndicalists were booked to soon follow. As the new contingent included the whole operating force of the tramways there resulted a complete cessation of street car service, and the shut down is liable to be memorable in its length, as the duped recruits carried off with them, probably as souvenirs of their syndicalist methods, all the motor handles and other portable attachments that control electric traction. The winning Dr. Atl has since proved to be a French adventurer, who was hired to utilize his knowledge of syndicalism and of the Spanish language for the benefit of the Carranza recruiting office.

RESIDENT OBSERVER.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

FORCE SETTLES NOTHING

Oberlin, Ohio, March 16, 1915.

The protagonist for greater armament for the United States should be able to prove by now the logicalness of his contention, by means of the object lesson furnished from day to day by the "Christian nations" of Europe.

Which one of the warring nations furnishes to date the most convincing proof of the wisdom of Preparedness?

When we consider that all were prepared, and that it is certain that in the end all will not be able

to prove the wisdom of great armaments, how can it be logically held that preparedness has been justified by the fact that the victors were possessed of great armaments? Can the means to a certain end be justified by both success and failure?

Is Force in the field of morals a corrective principle? If so, then whatever the outcome of the war shall be, it must be admitted that the victors were justified in their ante-bellum contentions. When we consider that before the breaking out of hostilities the differences between the nations were, in actuality, conflicting mental attitudes toward certain questions; and when we stop to realize that mental and physical attitudes are wholly unrelated to each other—the maximum of might being possible where there exists a minimum of mentality, how can it be held that might can be a just solution of a principle which involves mentality alone? In the event that war could have been averted by "reasoning together," and that war followed BECAUSE certain nations were unwilling to accept the reasoning of others, how can beings of intelligence consent to dispense with reason, and invoke might instead, when it needs no argument to prove that might, as an arbiter, is wholly unrelated to mind? What position will a citizen of culture and mental equipment take in respect to an infringement of his rights by an opponent? Will he consent to submit his contention to the arbitrament of brawn as exhibited by his neighbor? No, indeed. But because he is a man of culture and mental equipment he will willingly submit his case to disinterested arbiters, of culture and mental equipment, and abide by the result. A nation that will not do likewise stands for those of its components who are equipped with a maximum of brawn and a minimum of mentality.

J. A. DEMUTH.



NATURAL LAW.

Fairhope, Ala., Jan. 20, 1915.

I believe that too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the importance of making all public functions and policies conform to the natural order inherent in the laws of the universe and that those laws permeate all creation, not only in the physical world, but the mental and moral as well, because while it is in a general way admitted, by all, it is in our practical considerations of public questions almost entirely ignored, and such questions are quite commonly considered in the light of expediency and selfish interests. Or else, as in politics, they are discussed from a partisan standpoint or class hatred. Thus we follow by-paths that lead into the wilderness of uncertainty and bitter contention.

There is no more wisdom or safety in considering public questions from any but the scientific standpoint than there is in our investigating questions of electrical problems, and the records of governments and political parties are full of the evidences of unwitting contact with live wires of revolutions and carnage as the result. Success full and satisfactory is never achieved in any line of human effort except that effort is put forth along the scientific lines of natural law. The more we emphasize that idea the sooner we will acquire the habit of right living for life is little more than habit anyway.

It has long seemed to me that an aid to the development of the proper discrimination and the scientific spirit in public affairs would be established if our editors and lexicographers and especially our newspapers, would discard the use of the term law, except when applied to the natural order. The indiscriminate use of the term law, for human enactments and the divine order, has unduly magnified the sanctity of the former, and degraded the importance of the latter. Let us recognize no law but the natural order and consider all human enactments as simply statutes temporarily employed as experimental human interpretations of the natural order, to be revised or repealed as soon as it becomes evident that they do not fully reflect that law.

J. BELLANGEE.

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, March 23, 1915.

Commission on Industrial Relations.

Investigation of the rural land problem was begun at Dallas, Texas, on March 16 by the Commission on Industrial Relations. Governor James E. Ferguson was the first witness. He told about hardships and privations suffered by tenants which had come under his own personal observations. Asked by Chairman Walsh what chance a tenant in his own home county had to become a home owner the Governor answered: "Not one in fifty." He had no other suggestion to offer than that some way be devised of securing the aid of capital to improve uncultivated land. Arthur Leseur, a banker of Minot, North Dakota, declared the sources of the farmers' troubles to be an unjust credit system and laws which prevent co-operation among farmers to raise money on their business. On March 17 W. S. Noble of Rockdale, Secretary of the Land League of Texas, a tenant farmers' organization, testified that two-thirds of the tenant farmers are economically submerged. That very week he had found two tenants in such distress that they were offering to give their children away. The next witness was L. T. Stewart of Savoy, a tenant farmer, who told the story of his struggles. He had come to Texas in 1903. Before that he had lived in Arkansas where he said he had raised from four to eight bales of cotton a year on thirty acres of rented land and ended the season with nothing. Since that time he has lived in many places, has produced at least 450 bales of cotton, several thousand bushels of corn, tried twice to buy a home and is now \$700 in debt and without means of making a living. His personal property had all been seized under foreclosure. His wife and six of his eight children

were on the stand with him. His observation had been that if the tenant farmer got to making money he would be forced to move for "if the landlord don't get all the money, he wants the tenant to go farther." Mrs. Stewart told of her share in the work, which consisted of daily drudgery beginning at 4 a. m. She took "one day off in the week" to do washing. R. W. Getzendorfer of Waxahachie, banker and landowner, testified that on a valuation of \$150 an acre the landlord's return was about 5.2 per cent. He had a tenant on shares in Ellis county who planted 100 acres in cotton and 20 acres in corn. In money this tenant received in 1913 about \$1,200 out of a \$2,000 crop and he, the landlord, \$800. In 1914, out of a \$1,600 crop, the tenant's share was \$922 and the landlord's \$678. Professor W. E. Leonard of the department of economics in the University of Texas, testified next. He had investigated tenantry in Ellis county. He said the older tenant farmers had given up hope of becoming owners. The landlord and tenant contracts were such that tenants were practically inhibited from raising orchards or vegetables. Later he attributed the troubles of tenants to the fact that they bought their meat and vegetables from dealers. Chairman Walsh then reminded him of his previous testimony about contracts. The professor did not explain the discrepancy.



Patrick Nagle of Kingfisher, Oklahoma, editor of the Tenant Farmer, said that in his State there are 104,000 tenant farmers and that of 95,000 owning farmers, 80 per cent are mortgaged. He said that landlords demanded that tenants have plenty of children and told of one case where an old tenant had been put off of his farm because he had no children. He was replaced by a young farmer with a family. He said further that tenants are excluded from jury service. In one county there is an interlocking interest of banks, grain men and other businesses, all of whom helped more or less to exploit the farmers. These control the press and the churches. Should the minister denounce their methods they would withhold support and he would soon be dismissed. J. T. Pagitt, owner of 12,000 acres of Texas land in Coleman county, said that tenants with large families were preferred because the women and children form the labor supply during cotton picking season. E. J. Giddings, the next witness, said that Oklahoma farmers are indebted to banks to the extent of \$60,000,000 and about two-thirds of this bears interest at rates that range from 20 to 200 per cent.



On March 19, George W. Simon of Chicago, agent of the Jewish Agricultural Society, told of unsuccessful attempts to plant colonies of Jewish farmers in Texas. He charged promoters,

real estate dealers and absentee land owners with responsibility for much of the tenant problem. Exorbitant land values prevent many from acquiring and developing land. W. S. Noble, recalled to the stand, filed a bundle of letters written by tenant farmers which he said typified conditions. E. O. Meitzen of Hallettsville, editor of The Rebel, confirmed the statements of previous witnesses as to the troubles of tenants and suggested by way of remedy a heavy tax on lands held for speculative purposes, and government loans at 3 per cent interest.



On March 20 testimony was heard concerning the ranch owned by a corporation headed by Charles P. Taft, of Cincinnati, brother of the former President. It contains 80,000 acres near Corpus Christi. Mrs. Taft also owns 224,000 acres in another county. The manager, Joseph F. Green, declared that the tenants on this tract were contented and prosperous. Testimony developed that employes, being paid but once a month, are able to deal only at the company stores and are thus kept in debt. There are 150 laborers employed receiving 80 cents a day. Judge M. M. Brooks of Dallas, denied that there is a tenant problem. He owns 5,000 acres of land rented to 75 tenants. What is needed, he said, is restoration of respect for property rights and stopping of the agitators who are to blame for all discontent. W. D. Lewis, president of the Texas Farmers' Union, declared that the renters are not to blame for bad conditions. This ended the Commission's meeting in Dallas. [See current volume, page 263.]



Railroad and the Post Office.

Before the Senate Committee investigating the ship lobby Senator Walsh of Montana on March 15 produced figures in answer to the claim that railroads are underpaid for carrying the parcel post. His figures showed that had the roads been paid in 1913 on the same basis as they are paid for carrying first class express they would have received \$10,000,000 less from the government. The first class express rate between Chicago and Boston is \$2.50 on 100 pounds of which the railroads receive \$1.25. The mail rate between the same points is \$2.81 or \$1.56 more than what the roads get from the express companies. The roads will be paid during 1915 23.03 cents per car mile for carrying the mails. This is only 1.89 cents less than what the roads claim it costs them to transport passengers. [See vol. xvii, p. 1208.]



In a statement on March 21, Postmaster General Burleson declared that the railroads engineered the fight in Congress against reform of antiquated and inequitable mail laws, and

thus caused defeat of the annual post office appropriation and has embarrassed the administration and interfered with the entire postal service. He declared it untrue that railroads are underpaid for carrying the parcel post and said further:

In some quarters it is publicly charged that the postal deficit, which the current fiscal year is practically certain to record, is attributable to the parcel post. No more absurd falsehood has had respectful consideration in responsible publications within my recollection; clearly it was fabricated with the foolish purpose of arousing a public sentiment in favor of restricting or withdrawing the parcel facilities now provided by the postal service. Were it not for the parcel post the coming postal deficit would be much larger than it will be. The depletion of postal revenues results from the falling off of first-class mail and is wholly due to the abnormal conditions caused by the war in Europe. However, if the demands of the railroads are granted a return to annual postal deficits would almost surely follow, whether parcel post facilities are withdrawn or not."



Tax Reform News.

Following the recommendation of Governor Frank M. Byrne the South Dakota Legislature on March 5 voted to submit a constitutional amendment allowing classification of property for purposes of taxation. It also allows the Legislature to levy an income tax. [See current volume, page 85.]



The Committee on Taxation of the Massachusetts Legislature recommended for adoption on March 15 the constitutional amendment proposed by the Massachusetts Singletax League which strikes out the requirement that all taxes shall be "proportional." If adopted, classification of property will be possible. [See current volume, page 181.]



The lower house of the Texas Legislature voted on March 16 on a proposed constitutional amendment to levy a graduated tax on land values. It received 63 favorable votes as against 55 opposed. It needed a two-thirds vote to pass and thus failed of adoption. [See current volume, pages 107, 158.]



State Senator William J. Heffernan of New York has introduced the bill advocated by the Lower Rents Society for a referendum on reducing the tax rate on buildings in New York City to one per cent of that on land by nine annual consecutive reductions of ten per cent. [See vol. xvii, p. 1092.]



Assessor Lee of Klamath County, Oregon, announced on March 10 that he will not assess notes and mortgages, and will make no effort to learn

the amount of money held by residents. This action is endorsed by the Klamath Falls Northwestern in the issue of March 12. The action is admittedly contrary to the present law. [See vol. xvii, pp. 1092, 1158.]



A proposed constitutional amendment permitting the Singletax or some step in that direction came to a vote in the lower house of the Delaware Legislature on March 9. It received 17 favorable votes and 8 opposition. It required 24 votes to pass and thus failed of passage. Ten members were absent. [See vol. xvii, p. 948.]



Victory for the Jitney.

An attempt of John D. Spreckels, owner of San Diego's street railway system to suppress jitney bus competition, failed on March 16. He had applied for an injunction to prevent operation of the buses claiming them to be common carriers and to need a franchise before operating. There are 150 of these buses operating in San Diego and Spreckels claims that they are reducing the street railway income by about \$125,000 a year. Superior Judge Sloane denied the injunction, declaring that the buses are not subject to restraint in that way.



Franchise Grab Planned in Minneapolis.

The Public Franchise League of Minneapolis is opposing an act before the Minnesota legislature empowering the Minneapolis City Council to extend the franchise of the Minneapolis Street Railway Company, although this franchise has still eight years to run. The League declares that the question of a new franchise should be discussed in a municipal campaign before being considered by the council, that a more equitable contract can be secured by waiting, and that the city would be placed at a serious disadvantage if forced to enter into negotiations before it has obtained legislative authority to acquire the property of the company and to finance the purchase. The city is unprepared. The company knows this and wishes to hasten matters so that it may have the upper hand. The League asks the co-operation of citizens. Its headquarters are at 903 New York Life Building. Its secretary is Stiles P. Jones.



Dying Men Protest Against Capital Punishment.

At a legislative hearing on March 6 by the New York legislature, on the bill to abolish capital punishment, Warden Thomas Mott Osborne, of Sing Sing, read the following address issued by three men on February 26 before going to the electric chair:

Are you as members of this commonwealth justi-

fied in taking human life because we did? Did two wrongs ever make a right?

We make this appeal to you not so much to save our lives, but because our ignominious death strikes beyond the grave and will bring sorrow, woe and care to those near and dear to us and who will suffer most by our untimely end.

Picture this! Think of this!

Then, if you can, by word and pen demand from your representatives at Albany that capital punishment, this relic of ancient times, this stain on humanity, be wiped from the statute books.

If we believed that our slaughter would act as a deterrent to future murders we would willingly render up our lives to society, if it would erase from human nature the causes which tend to our crime.

Can you recall a single instance in all your life where the horror of the death penalty stayed the hand of a murderer? We know we never gave it a thought.

Murder is mostly the result of two great human passions, that of uncontrollable and insane jealousy or a devouring anger roused by the demon drink, both of which so blur the human mind for the instant as to make the person temporarily insane. Jealousy and anger roused by drink were the cause of the tragedies in which we three men were involved.

In conclusion, we offer up our prayers that you will not cast us aside into utter darkness by disregarding our plea from the shadows of the grave.

We admit our sins to God and pray for forgiveness at the hands of our brothers and the Almighty.

Robert Kane,
Oscar Vogt,
Vincenzo Campanelli.



Reactionary Legislation in Colorado.

The Colorado House of Representatives passed on March 14 three bills which make it treason to resist the militia, even in defense of one's rights, to incite any gathering to violence or injury to property, to make or distribute an article "tending to incite riot." The penalty for violation is death or life imprisonment. Another bill makes it a misdemeanor to disobey an order issued by a militia officer. [See vol. xvii, p. 1211; current volume, pages 234, 260.]



Mis-government in Porto Rico.

A statement issued on March 10 by the Central Labor Union of San Juan, Porto Rico, is as follows:

We do emphatically declare that under the administration of Governor Yager there prevails the most odious anti-American reaction instilled and pushed on by certain combined rich Spanish, American and Porto Rican privileged classes which are being supported by their own mercenary monarchical press and hypocritically fed by the most reactionary officials of the Government who are leading the most iniquitous tyranny and oppression against the poor laboring peasants all over the Island to please the

big corporations. The American Federation of Labor and its representatives on the Island are just now the objects of persecutions and are ordered to get down from speakers' stands while meetings are being held. All these outrages and repugnant violations of free speech and meeting are done with the purpose of intimidating the poorer agricultural workers and compel them to go back to their work with the impression that the right to strike is a crime.

A Labor Congress of the Island, called to meet at Cayey on March 18, has been asked to take action on calling a general strike. [See current volume, page 261.]



Mexico.

General Villa's levy of a special tax of 1,000,000 pesos on the City of Monterey brought a protest from this country as to foreigners. Villa, or Convention troops, defeated the Carranza forces in a battle southwest of Piedras Negras on the 19th. Other Villa successes in the northeast are said to have destroyed the Carranza authority in that region. [See current volume, page 281.]



The victory of the Carranza forces in Yucatan has been followed by excesses of the troops, who are reported to be burning sisal fields and burning towns. A committee of hemp growers from Yucatan and American importers have appealed to the United States to restore order in Yucatan.



Mexico City is reported to be quiet and conditions to be improving. The general condition throughout the country shows little material change.



China and Japan.

Nothing definite has been given out regarding the negotiations at Pekin. The latest rumor is that they have been suspended. The Japanese elections occur on the 25th, which may have some effect upon the dispute between the two countries. Japan continues to assure the United States that she stands for the open door policy, and the territorial integrity of China. [See current volume, page 282.]



The European War.

The most important event on the eastern front is the fall of Przemysl on the 22d. This strong Austrian fortress in Galicia had been besieged by the Russians, with one slight interruption, since September 16. The garrison was reported at the beginning of the siege to number 80,000; the number surrendering is given as 50,000. The army of investment numbered from 120,000 to 160,000 men, who will now be free to take part

in the advance on Cracow, and the struggle in Bukowina and in the Carpathians. In the extreme north it is reported that the Russians captured the small fortified seaport of Memel in East Prussia but were compelled later to evacuate. No material change is to be noted in the western fortified line, although there is a general expectation of decisive movements at an early date. Both sides are reported to be gathering large re-enforcements. [See current volume, page 282.]



Activities in the Dardanelles have slowed down. The spirited attack on the forts by the Allied fleet on the 18th resulted in the sinking by floating mines of three battleships, two British and one French. Little loss of life occurred on the British ships, as there was time to remove the crews; but the French ship sank so quickly that a large part of the crew perished. It is reported that a land attack on the forts will be made in conjunction with the fleet. The bombardment of Smyrna has ceased on account of the threat of the Turkish commander to massacre 2,000 Europeans in the city.



Little change is to be noted in the blockade. The English have stopped some neutral ships in the North Sea, and taken them into British ports for disposal by prize courts. The German submarines have torpedoed a number of vessels in British waters. Dutch and Danish ships have been taken into German ports by German submarines. The Netherlands government has protested to both Germany and the Allies against interference with the movement of non-contraband goods. A fleet of four Zeppelins attempted a raid on Paris the night of the 21st. Two failed to reach the city, and the other two did no material damage from a military point of view. Eight civilians were wounded, and a few houses were damaged.



It is reported that the negotiations between Austria and Italy for the cession of the so-called Italian provinces to Italy have been broken off. Italy claimed not only Trentino, but a strip of Austrian coast on the Adriatic, including the naval base of Pola and adjacent islands, the whole amounting to 20,000 square miles. Austria has called out her reserves to the age of 52, and is fortifying her Italian boundary. Italy also has called more reserves to the colors. An outbreak is looked for within a short time. The Balkan states grow more restless, but seem to be awaiting the result of the Dardanelles attack.



Negotiations continue between the United States and the belligerent nations as to the extent

and interpretation of the war zone and blockade orders, but as yet no formal protest has been made by the American government. Colonel E. M. House, of Houston, Texas, an intimate personal friend of President Wilson, is interviewing in an unofficial capacity the foreign ministers with a view to getting their ideas of a peace basis. Colonel House has been in England and in France, and he is now in Germany. His reports to the President have not been made public. So far as known he has been well received by the ministry of each country visited. A hint as to the British idea of peace terms is given in the address of Sir Edward Grey, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, at a public meeting on the 22nd, when he said:

In due time terms of peace will be put forward by the allies. One essential condition must be the restoration to Belgium of her independent national life and free possession of her territory.

The great issue is this: We wish the nations of Europe to be free to live their independent lives, working out their own form of government and their own form of national development in full liberty, whether they be great states or small states. That is our ideal.

The German ideal is that the Germans are a superior people to whom all things are lawful and against whom resistance is unlawful and must be put down; that they must establish dominion over the nations of the continent and that all must be subservient to Germany.

I would rather perish or leave the continent altogether than live in it under such conditions.

After this war we and the other nations of Europe must be free to live without the interference of the superior war lord; without the clang of armor and the sword continually invoked, and without our policy being dictated by the military domination of Prussia.

We claim for ourselves and with our allies we will secure that right to live and pursue our national existence, not in the shadow of Prussian supremacy but in the light of equal liberty.

This is the fourth time within living memory that Prussia has made war on Europe, and we are determined it shall be the last.



Women's Peace Congress at The Hague.

An International Congress of Women, which originated in a call to the women of the whole world, signed by eight women of Holland and followed on February 12 by a meeting in Amsterdam of women from Belgium, Germany and Great Britain, will convene April 28 at The Hague. "Your presence will testify that you, too, wish to record your protest against this horrible war, and that you desire to assist in preventing a recurrence of it in the future," said the first manifesto of the Dutch women.

The Congress is not held under the auspices of any previously existing women's association; but has been arranged by a new organization

formed for the purpose, its secretary being Miss Rosa Manus, with headquarters at Damrak 28-30, Amsterdam, Holland. The preliminary program as published in *Jus Suffragii* of March includes the discussion of five stated "Principles of a Peace Settlement," of five resolutions on "War in its Relation to Women," and of ways of promoting international good feeling and the education of children toward the maintenance of peace. "Discussions on the relative national responsibility for or conduct of the present war shall be outside the scope of the Congress." [See current volume, page 236.]

British women, at a large public meeting in London on February 26 under the chairmanship of Miss Chrystal Macmillan, enthusiastically resolved to support the Hague Congress and appointed an executive committee to take charge of arrangements.

In the United States the recently formed Woman's Peace Party immediately responded to the call by arranging for the attendance of its President, Miss Jane Addams, with several of her fellow officers. Its delegation, with a number of others, will sail from Hoboken on the Dutch steamer, Ryndam, April 15. The honor of presiding at the Congress has been offered to an American, Jane Addams. [See current volume, page 110.]

NEWS NOTES

The British Columbia parliament, composed of 40 Conservatives and 2 Labor men, was dissolved on the 8th.

The New Hampshire House defeated a suffrage bill on March 18. The vote was 230 to 121. [See current volume, page 235.]

Although alien immigration to the United States in 1914 amounted to 1,218,480 only 220,365 came in during the second half of the year. During January, 1915, only 15,481 alien immigrants entered.

April 12 is the date set for the trial of William Sanger, accused by Anthony Comstock of yielding to an urgent request of an agent sent by him to obtain a prohibited pamphlet. [See current volume, page 284.]

Governor Spry of Utah signed on March 16 the "dry territory" bill forbidding liquor shipments from wet counties into dry. He vetoed on March 18 a state-wide prohibition bill. [See current volume, page 238.]

The Tennessee Senate passed on March 17, with amendments concurred in by the House on the following day, a mothers' pension bill. It allows pensions of \$10 a month to widows, or wives of disabled husbands, with one child, and \$5 for each additional child. The New York State Senate passed a mothers'

pension bill on March 18. [See current volume, page 284.]

Fourteen professors of the State university of Utah resigned on March 18 as a result of the action of the regents in dismissing five non-Mormon professors without any other apparent cause than religious bias.

An initiative petition for an eight-hour day for all city work was presented to the city council of Detroit on March 17 with several thousand signatures above the minimum requirement. The proposition must now be placed on the ballot in April to be voted on.

A call has been issued for an Illinois state conference of Singletaxers to meet in Chicago, April 17th and 18th, under the auspices of the Singletax Club. Visitors from other states will be welcome. Information can be had from the club at its headquarters, 508 Schiller Bldg., Chicago.

The dual system of vocational education proposed in a bill before the Illinois legislature was denounced by the Chicago Federation of Labor on March 21. Resolutions were adopted favoring vocational education under the regular school management. [See current volume, page 157.]

The Government's suit against the United Shoe Machinery Co. for violation of the Anti-Trust law was dismissed on March 18 by the Federal District Court at Boston. The court said it found no proof of oppression or that the company enforced its leases in an arbitrary or unreasonable manner.

The Adams, American, Wells-Fargo and Southern Express Companies asked on March 16 for a rehearing by the Interstate Commerce Commission and for a modification of the order which went into effect on February 1, 1914, fixing their rates, rules and practices. [See vol. xvi, p. 1093, vol. xvii, p. 610, current volume, page 259.]

The police court of New Haven, Connecticut, on March 17 imposed a fine on Frederick C. Blake for refusal to have his children vaccinated. He refused to pay and was sent to jail. Blake told the court that he was afraid of vaccination since his brother had died of tetanus resulting therefrom. His children were not permitted to attend school because of not being vaccinated and this caused his arrest.

In comparison with Germany and Great Britain, the storage battery industry in this country makes a bad showing in protecting employees from lead poisoning. In the largest German factory, according to a report of the United States Department of Labor, the rate of lead poisoning is less than 1 per 100 employes, and in Great Britain it is about 3 per 100. In the five largest factories in this country it is almost 18 per 100. The difference is due to the neglect in the United States of factory sanitation and of personal care of the men employed.

Kiowa Grange No. 206, Patrons of Husbandry, Eads, Colo., is offering six prizes to the schoolboys and girls for the best essays on "Birds of Kiowa County and Colorado." The contestants must be pupils of Kiowa County public schools and members of the Liberty Bell Bird Club, with headquarters in Philadelphia. The contest will close in March, and the awards to be made as soon as the essays can be graded will create an unusual interest in Bird and

Arbor Day, which is appropriately observed in the schools of Colorado in April. The Woman's Club of Arnott, Wis., Mrs. E. J. Carley, President, is offering a prize in three county schools of the Badger State to the child who is first to find and identify the largest number of birds in a given time. Prof. Elmer Van Arsdall, County Superintendent of Richland County, Illinois, announces that an interesting feature of their Liberty Bell Bird Club Day program, for April 9th, will be the bringing of home-made bird-houses to school, where a prize will be given for the best and nicest-looking bird-house made by a pupil. Membership without cost in the Liberty Bell Bird Club can be secured by addressing the club of The Farm Journal, Philadelphia.

PRESS OPINIONS

Now Is the Time to Stop.

Dundee (Scotland) Free Religious Movement.—Shall we fight it out? Why should we? Shall we say enough? Why not? War is mutual destruction for the peoples. It increases the power of the feudalist and financier. It adds heavier burdens to the people. It is folly! folly! folly! But it is not an accident; it is the bursting of a tumor, a social disease. It can only be cured by truth and justice and good will and friendship. The Eternal Truth that shone out in ancient Palestine is shining today for all who look. But those who look for it among Kaisers, Czars, Kings, Presidents and other eminent persons will look in vain. As of yore, it will be seen by the people when the glamor of worldly glory pales before the light of a newborn humanity, and the peoples will work together with zest and freedom for the establishment of the rule of truth and love. But the artificial barriers must go—the opposing and jealous governments, the customs houses, the frontier guards, the social castes, the idle rich, the idle poor, the feudal lord, the money lord—there is no place for them in the redeemed Earth that is to be; for it will be inhabited by those who serve each other in love and good will—they will not be British, nor German, nor French, nor Belgian, nor Russian, nor Turk, nor Austrian, nor Servian; not Jew, nor Christian, nor Moslem, nor Hindoo; not theist nor atheist, but truth-loving, just living men and women of every race and of every religion.



Drawing Herrings Across the Trail.

The Ground Hog (Cleveland), March 6.—Every little while we hear from another of those . . . commissions for the investigation of the social evil. Invariably they report that prostitution and poverty have no relation, which is equal to saying a hungry man couldn't be tempted to steal. . . . Of course . . . it would be disagreeable to charge that women prostitute themselves because they can't get enough money legitimately. So, notwithstanding that well advised men and women everywhere know that these vice commission reports are a fabric of silly lies, the commissions continue to be organized, to draw their pay, directly or indirectly, from the people's purse, to make their farcical inquiries and

gravely to submit their criminally stupid reports. The American people have a greater reverence for tradition, for nickel-plated authority, and for the sociological fakes than any other nation. Always remember that America is the home of the green goods, the gold brick and the wire-tapping games, and it is also the kale-garden of the land-value grafter. Distract the typical American's attention with a "vice" or "white slavery" investigation and gyp him for his bankroll. It's so easy it's pathetic. It's like taking candy from the baby. There's nothing to it.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

MEN ON THE BATTLEFIELD.

H. J. Dawtrey.

In Dundee (Scotland) Free Religious Movement. Men on the battlefield, burying the slain, What do you think of it, you, working men? Called from your homes to commit deeds of shame, Deeds that a decent man shudders to name. Democrats! say, shall your labors be vain? Pass the word round, men: "Never again!"

Caught in the toils of a system insane: What are you fighting for, you, working men? Pawns in a game for kings: ruthlessly driven To butcher your fellows, and no reason given: This, that a handful of monarchs may reign; Pass the word round, men: "Never again!"

Down with all monarchs! the peoples must reign, Democrats! say, shall your labors be' vain? Over the graves of the slain pledge your vow: Now is the time to strike, aye, even now: Make the word ring o'er the broad battle-plain, "Never again, men, never again!"



EUROPE'S ONLY SALVATION.

The following letter was sent from Paris to the "Philadelphia Evening Telegraph" by its Staff Correspondent in Europe, Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, under date of March 3, 1915:

Notwithstanding the fact that every man in these days of passion, who tries to use his sober judgment and to speak of realities rather than chimeras, is looked upon as a poor patriot, I see growing in Great Britain and France a group of thinkers, who are honest and sincere and who really want the war to bring about the results which Asquith and Lloyd George and Viviani and Deschanel are proclaiming from the housetops.

These men say that if this is a war for humanity, for civilization, for getting rid of militarism, for establishing a durable peace in Europe, and for freeing the lesser nationalities from the oppression of larger racial groups, we must begin now to

discuss and to lay down the principles upon which the peace is to be made.

The prophet of the twentieth century, as events have proved, is Norman Angell, who wrote that wonderful book, "The Great Illusion." If his sound logic had been followed, there would be no war now. It was by ignoring the principles laid down by Mr. Angell that Europe was brought into this conflagration. Mr. Angell has recently written a pamphlet, "Will the European War Destroy German Militarism?" in which he lays down with a force and logic that cannot be gainsaid a series of conclusions. These conclusions must appeal to the common sense of all his readers. If they do not, it is indicative of the hopeless prejudice and lack of balance in the reader.

Mr. Angell reminds his readers that the Allies have gone into this war for the purpose of destroying Prussian militarism, and freeing the world from the menace of German world domination. He shows the folly of believing that bad faith, cruelty in war, greed for world markets, aspiration for world domination and all the various things of which Germany has been accused, are the peculiar product of German civilization, and have never made their appearance in any other nation in the world. He considers it folly for any man in his sober sense to think that the breaking up of the German empire is going to free the world from all these things, which are supposed to be exclusively German in practice and usage. He declares that it is impossible to suppress German nationalism; that Germany, even crushed temporarily, will quickly rise again; that past history has shown only too strikingly how unstable are alliances and how they change with changing necessities, and that the annihilation of Germany by the Allies is a phrase absolutely void of sense. Any such idea is only going to result in the increase of militarism in Europe. Mr. Angell ends his pamphlet, which is being widely circulated in the French translation, by the statement: "The Allies must show after this war that they do not desire to be the masters of the German people or of the German States, but that they are collaborators and associates in a Europe, in which none will dominate, but in which all will share."

For the purpose of furthering the cause of the world's peace and of obtaining the results for which the statesmen of France and Great Britain declare their respective nations are fighting, an organization has been formed in London called "The Union of Democratic Control." Its aim is to influence public opinion to follow a new and bold policy, once victory is obtained over Germany. This Union has a branch in France, and it is to be hoped that the propaganda will be rapid among the intelligent people of both nations.

For, only by the adoption of the principles of

the Union of Democratic Control—principles which all wise men must realize, even if they do not admit them—will the world receive any benefit from this war.

Here are the principles:

1. No province shall be transferred from one government to another, without the consent, by plebiscite, of the population of the interested province.

2. No treaty, arrangement or undertaking shall be concluded in the name of Great Britain, without the sanction of Parliament. Adequate means shall be created in view of assuring the democratic control of foreign policy.

3. The foreign policy of Great Britain shall not tend to create alliances with the end of maintaining "The European Equilibrium"; it shall have for end the establishment of a League of Powers and the creation of an International Council, whose deliberations and decisions will be public. A part of the work of this Council shall consist in creating definite arbitration treaties, and in establishing an Arbitration Court for their interpretation and their application.

4. Great Britain shall propose, as an essential part of the treaty of peace, a plan for the rigorous reduction of the armaments of all the belligerent powers, by agreement of each one of them. In the end of facilitating this policy, Great Britain will endeavor to accomplish the general nationalization of the manufacture of armaments and to prevent the exportation of arms from one country to another.

To the thoughtful reader, the importance of these principles is patent. I believe none will deny or be able to controvert the statement that the adoption of these principles is the only chance of securing peace and harmony in Europe after the present war. Every thinking man, no matter how strong may be his passions and prejudices, should join this Union of Democratic Control, and give it his wholehearted support. He should preach its doctrines in whatever circle he finds himself, no matter how misjudged he may be by shallow people.

After a long and intimate experience with contemporary European wars and with the working out of the policies that made the struggles inevitable in the Balkans and that made the present war inevitable, I have come to the conclusion that the political leaders of France and Great Britain, who are preaching today the war for freedom and civilization and are, at the same time, closely allied with Russia and with Serbia, are hypocrites—unconscious hypocrites, but hypocrites all the same. Unless they are one or all ousted from power by some popular movement of the people, the sum total of all efforts will be to exchange the militarism and the tyranny they claim to be fighting against for another militar-

ism and tyranny, not a whit better, and in the east certainly worse.

Here are some sober statements of fact.

The French are afraid to advocate the policy of plebiscite because they know that Alsace and Lorraine would vote to remain with Germany.

The British are afraid to advocate the policy of plebiscite, because it would make untenable their position in Egypt and would result in the Poles deciding for either Austria or Germany instead of for Russia.

The Russians are already intimating to France and Great Britain that there must be no interference with Russian internal policies after the war. If France and Great Britain agree to this, it means that they are putting upon the Poles, the Finns, the Jews, the Armenians, the Turks and other unhappy races of the Balkan States a slavery far worse than that which they would have under German rule.

The Poles prefer the Germans and Austrians to the Russians, and the Christians of Turkey prefer the Turks to the Russians.

The support, then, of the principles of the Union of Democratic control is the only salvation of Europe. There is no other.



THE SECRET OF PROPHECY.

For The Public.

Some 2,500 years ago our old and esteemed friend Isaiah described "a new heaven and a new earth," but he wisely refrained from naming any specific date for the advent of the new dispensation. The same identical phrase is repeated in "Revelation." Some centuries after Isaiah came Jesus, the carpenter's son, and declared: "The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand," and so it was, for him, since the "kingdom of heaven (or harmony is) within you." Isaiah uttered a prophecy; something to be experienced in future. Jesus stated two facts based on his own personal experiences. For present purposes I propose to classify the former as a divine lawyer and the latter as a psychologist.

When the ancient Greeks of Lacedaemonia discovered the law of balance in its relation to psycho-physics (the master-science) and expressed that law in three words: "Nothing Too Much;" they endeavored to monopolize their secret, as they found it a source of unlimited wealth and the power that goes with it. Isaiah followed the same source of secrecy, for he does not reveal the real source of his "gift of prophecy." Here it is: He who is familiar with the law of balance, in its relation to human affairs, sees clearly that just so long as the law is not obeyed, human affairs will be out of balance, or upside down, as it were, and knowing that sooner or later a certain spiritual force will conquer, or balance the

physical forces, he is absolutely safe in predicting that things will be right side up. When they are right side up we will have "a new heaven and a new earth," and the signs of the times indicate that the kingdom of heaven is at last at hand. We are rapidly approaching the turning point in the history of the race, and the darker things become the more certain it is that this prophecy will be fulfilled. Thought governs the world, and we are thinking as we have never thought before. Those who lose the most will think the most, and thus we see the law of compensation, which is one aspect of the law of balance. In fact, those who survive the present Armageddon will in many cases understand for the first time the meaning of the words, "Ye must be born again," and these in turn may become the little leaven that will leaven the whole lump. I foresee the greatest spiritual awakening that the world has ever seen, and for reasons flowing from the science of psychology its effect on the church, as an institution or system, promises to be disastrous. The blind have been leading the blind and they are both falling into the ditch of ignorance of law.

I have referred to "a certain spiritual force," and it is high time that we became familiar with its operations on the human spirit. The career of Mohammed will serve to illuminate the question before us. We have known for a long time, in a general way, that ideas rule the world, so the following queries are pertinent at this time:

What idea enabled Mahomed to fuse together in irresistible solidarity and unity the "barbarous" tribes of Arabia, who had been waging relentless war on each other for a thousand years?

What idea enabled these Saracens to conquer half of so-called Christian Europe, during the "Dark Ages," that enabled these inspired men to conquer more territory in eighty years than the Romans conquered in eight hundred years?

"What gave power to the sword of Mohammed?" asks Carlyle.

The answer is amazingly simple, but you will seek in vain for that answer in any of the "seats of learning" throughout Christiandom, and here it is:

It was the idea of justice and that idea is destined to sweep the world.

Mohammed was the first Protestant, not Luther. Mohammed said: "God is just and merciful," and on that eternal foundation his mighty work was builded. Just as Jesus was love incarnate, so was Mohammed justice incarnate, and the history of events during the past two thousand years proves that Mohammed had the most practical idea of the two, and the reason is this:

Justice is the soil from which love must spring. We will never understand a god of love until we first understand a god of justice. Justice, conceived by the early Greeks as a goddess, is the mother of all the virtues. Justice, when applied

to daily life, is the golden rule, and it will surprise some folks to learn that Confucius formulated that rule nearly six hundred years before the advent of Jesus.

Where, then, did such leaders of men obtain their ideas of justice and love? Obviously within their own consciousness. And what does this fact prove? That there is a living god of justice, dwelling within man and working through man, for man is not self-created except to the extent that he cultivates the spiritual forces that he finds within himself as instincts. The habit of self-culture must begin in the nursery, during the period of helpless childhood, and thus "the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." When that hand is paralyzed by ignorance—the mother of all our woes—we reap the fruit of ignorance, and the result may be seen in Europe today. Civilization has been throttled in the nursery because the mothers of the race have never yet been permitted to understand the deep significance of the fact that education, religion and life are one and indivisible.

Now for an interesting fact in psychology, the most neglected of all the sciences: Every great leader of men whose thought was constructive and not the opposite was set on fire by the idea of justice, and for this reason I say that Henry George was the greatest thinker that this country has ever produced. It was his natural sense of justice that impelled him to search for a cause of injustice, and his wonderful discoveries in the realm of economics were the logical fruit of research undertaken in the spirit of justice, but to my mind those discoveries, great and true as they are, are overshadowed by his vision of the monumental fact that justice is the supreme law. This idea must sweep the world before any real enduring progress is possible. The mind soil of the entire race is now being harrowed and ploughed as a necessary preliminary to the sowing of the seeds of justice, and men are thinking as they have never thought before.

Finally, the universal religion—the only path to peace on earth—will be the religion of justice, and as an essential, logical corollary of such religion we will see the rise in this country of a new political party—the Party of Justice. This will be a progressive party, founded on a progressive religion, and this party will endure forever, because it will conform with the law of balance, which is the law of justice.

There is but one nation in sight that is likely to lead us in the spiritual race, and that nation is Japan, the land of the rising sun—but that is another story.

(Note—It is a curious fact that we take a census of physical bodies, but not of spiritual bodies. A wise ruler ought to know what the people are thinking about; what their ideas and what their goal. It might save trouble, for ideas rule the world, and unfortunately our alleged free press confines its "news" to effects and ignores

causes. There is some food for thought in the fact that 60,000,000's of our people do not go to church. Does any one know what they are thinking about? I think not.)

CHARLES LUMUS ROBINSON.

BOOKS

PRISONER PRO TEM.

Within Prison Walls. By Thomas Mott Osborne. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.

"Gee! You're a dead game sport!" The prison gallery boy said this as he looked admiringly through the bars of Thomas M. Osborne's 4 by 7½ by 7½ cell on the second day of his self-imposed week of incarceration in the Auburn, New York, State Penitentiary. And Mr. Osborne wrote down in his diary later: "On the whole, I think that's by far the finest compliment I ever had in my life."

Ex-Mayor Osborne's prison experiment in September, 1913, was heralded by the Press from one end of the country to the other as a sort of good-natured fool's errand. But the Press was mistaken. Mr. Osborne's narrative proves that it was a big, human, brotherly thing that he did.

He was not disguised—except from his friends after he donned prison garb. He addressed the assembled prisoners before he put on the penitentiary gray, explaining what he was trying to do and why, and requesting them and their officers to try to forget that he was anybody but the Thomas Brown, Auburn No. 33333X that he became that same afternoon. On the next Sunday he spoke again to thank them for so whole-heartedly and carefully granting his request.

His story of that week is not one of horrors. Very hard and dreadful things happened to his fellow-prisoners and even to himself; but miraculously—no, not miraculously, naturally—even in a prison true story the spiritual dominates. The men that he knew were the world's outcasts, but they scorned hypocrisy and hated injustice, admired what was good in one another and responded touchingly and mightily to the sincerity and persistence and friendliness of Mr. Osborne's week of life with them. "All about me while I was in prison—that hard and brutal place of revenge—I felt the quiet strivings of mighty, purifying forces, the divine in man struggling for expression and development." One of the convicts whom he did not know in prison, wrote him afterward: "I wish to thank you for the interest you have taken in the men here. I know there are hundreds of people who have our interests at heart, but they imagine we are a sort of strange animal, and treat us as such. You know if you put a dog in a cage for five or ten years he will become unfit as a pet. Just so with us, we enter here intending to become bet-

ter men, but the treatment we receive from some of those who are in immediate charge of us, causes us to become embittered at the world in general."

Suppose prisons were little, set-apart communities where justice really ruled, where fair play was universal and tyranny never lifted its head. Suppose from out the great world full of the myriad injustices and social wrongs that meet all men and overwhelm many, the so-called "fallen" member, the "criminal," should be quickly and gently carried off into this littler, simpler community, there to meet only with perfect social justice. Suppose that he never for six months or a year or five years knew an unfair decision or a tyrannous act by those in authority; and that all possible responsibility for his own daily actions as related to his fellows were put upon him. Suppose, in short, that this outlaw had really lived "in retreat" in a thoroughly democratic—which is to say just—community. What manner of man would he be when he returned as a full citizen into the big, chaotic, tragically unjust world from which he had been protected until he could grow strong enough to face it and try again? What kind of citizen would this man be then? That is the question Thomas Mott Osborne wishes to see answered by society from experience; and he believes he can foresee the reply. For from his week of comradeship with "criminals" his faith has grown more profound that all men, in and out of prison, whether life-termers, time-servers, or trusties, are brothers.

Mr. Osborne's appointment last November as warden of Sing Sing penitentiary must have been doubly good news to those who had read his book or met him in prison.

A. L. G.



OUT-OF-DOORS.

The Back Yard Farmer. By J. Willard Bolte. **Success With Hens.** By Robert Joos. **Wealth From the Soil.** By C. C. Bowsfield. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago. 1914. Price, each, \$1.00 net.

The earliest and surest crop every year is the book about farming. Front lawn, back fence and chicken yard, empty window-box and vacant lot, worn-out, well-watered acres of our New England ancestors or unplowed desert lands of their western descendants—every rood of mother earth is attractive in the Spring and the publishers know this in January. There is in the reading of these out-door books each March a pleasure for the benumbed city-dweller as magic as adventure itself, and there is, too, the same potential profit that we all derive from reading the back of the old cook-book or the front of the ladies' magazine.

But everyone does not live in the city; moreover, many a cliff-dweller will soon be a suburbanite, and successfully to use nature for one's own crea-

tive ends is to experience one of the great common joys of mankind. That is why "The Back-Yard Farmer" and "Success with Hens" are really inspiring volumes. They wake the dormant imagination and stir to energetic accomplishment this lazy longing to furnish fresh eggs and vegetables and flowers for the family table and to show the children how. The books are full of common-sense, homely advice. They are not, like some of the popular country magazines for city people, written for millionaires and their landscape gardeners, nor like Maeterlinck and Walton, for philosophers who will have animate texts. Neither are they at all the sort of books to satisfy a thorough workman and true investigator; for they contain no indexes, no bibliographies and not one single reference to the literature of their subjects.

"Wealth from the Soil" is written "as an aid to the many town people who wish to become farmers and land owners." Every topic, from choice of land, bookkeeping, and soil improvement to sheep, bees, and garden pests, is taken up and gilded with the alchemy of a wonderful optimism. It is all very interesting and alluring to read, but so utterly innocent is the author, at least so silent, about the greedy giants in the road to actual money-making, that one finds it difficult to accept his very practical agricultural precepts.

To write door-yard romances may be a praiseworthy pastime and a useful bit of work. But to persuade the pennies from the city worker's stocking and bury them quickly "in the little farm," whence only by genius and grand good fortune can they be disinterred—to write such books is, under present industrial conditions, to assume a promoter's responsibility indefinitely extended.

A. L. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**Regulation.** By W. G. Barnard. Published by Regulation Publishing Co., Seattle, Ore. 1913. Price, \$1.00.

—**Are We Ready?** By Howard D. Wheeler. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—**These Shifting Scenes.** By Charles Edward Russell. Published by George H. Doran Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.

—**Socialism as the Sociological Ideal.** By Floyd J. Melvin. Published by Sturgis & Walton Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.25 net.

—**Proportional Representation and British Politics.** By J. Fischer Williams. Published by Duffield & Co., New York. 1914. Price, paper, 50 cents, net.

—**Commercial Work and Training for Girls.** By Jeanette Eaton and Bertha M. Stevens. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

Doctor Barton, warden of Merton College, Oxford, was the oddity of his time. As he was a man of remarkable sympathy, people told him everything that happened. A gentleman, coming one day into his room, told him that Doctor Vowel was dead.

"What!" said he. "Vowel dead? Thank heaven, it is 'e, and neither 'u' nor 'l'."—Tit Bits.



Tom Ochiltree, having been hurt in a railway accident, brought suit for damages. Walking with the

aid of crutches some months afterward he met a friend, who inquired:

"Can't you get along without crutches, Tom?"

"The doctor says I can," said Ochiltree, "but my lawyer says I can't"—Pittsburgh Chronicle-Telegraph.



In a certain town the local forecaster of the weather was so often wrong that his predictions became a standing joke to his no small annoyance, for

The Cost of Renewal Notices

I have just written a check for \$15 to cover the printing of 10,000 *second* renewal notices. They will all be used in a few months.

Fifteen dollars is mere bagatelle. Add to that, however, the postage on these notices, \$100, the work of addressing envelopes, the cost of the envelopes, of folding and inserting the notices, and you get some idea of the cost of neglect to renew promptly.

And that's not half the story. The same applies to the first notice and to each unit of a persistent followup. To some real but thoughtless friends, who "couldn't exist at all without The Public," we have to send five or six notices, letters or bills, before der Tag—when the dollar comes.

Last week we mailed some thirteen hundred letters to readers whose subscriptions end with this issue. If those kind friends who desire to preserve The Public's bank account and the energy of its staff will please let us know on a postcard just how many formal notices, personal letters and bills they would like to receive before remitting, we will send them all at one time in a large, strong manila envelope.

Stanley Bowmar, Manager.

P. S. One extra \$1 sent with your renewal will pay for two new subscriptions.

BOOKS

—AGAINST WAR

Arms and Industry

By NORMAN ANGELL

Notes on the place of economics, morals and force in modern society. Cloth, \$1.00 postpaid

The Great Illusion

By NORMAN ANGELL

A study of the relation of military power in nations to their economic and social advantages. Cloth, \$1.25 postpaid

Lay Down Your Arms

By BARONESS VON SUTTNER

Fiction. The Uncle Tom's Cabin of the Peace Movement. Won for its author the Nobel Prize. Cloth, 75c postpaid

In the Vanguard

By KATRINA TRASK

A powerful dramatic work of which international arbitration is the motive. Cloth, Library Edition, 50c postpaid

—FOR PEACE

Progress and Poverty

By HENRY GEORGE

An inquiry into the causes of industrial depressions, international unrest. Paper, 30c; Cloth, \$1.00

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