The Public

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

Vol. XVIII. CHICAGO, FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1915. No. 893.

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

Single Copy, Five Cents **Yearly Subscription, One Dollar**
Canadian and Foreign, $1.50
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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EDITORIAL

Some Good Fortune Remains.

The prevailing excitement over the Lusitania makes conspicuous two fortunate circumstances. One is that we are not prepared for war. The other is an administration at Washington pledged to peace. That combination will enable the country to safely stand the strain. With a big army and navy, and a Roosevelt as President, it is hard to see how the danger would have been avoided of letting the Lusitania crime drive this country into the even greater crime of going to war.

S. D.

Let There Be No Hiding.

The universal horror over the attack on the Lusitania should not be allowed to offer concealment to other wrongs. Stories of survivors indicate that something was inexcusably wrong with the life boats and other life saving appliances. There also seems ground for complaint in that there were no precautions taken against the danger. The fact that murderous deliberation was the primary cause of the tragedy should not prevent investigation as to whether criminal carelessness may not have had something to do with making matters worse. This should be done, not to inflict useless punishment on anyone, but to save lives at some future time.

S. D.

When Humanity Needs a Friend.

This is a time when every man and woman whose reason has not been dethroned by the prevailing homicidal distemper should seize upon every opportunity to bring the world back to sanity. A large portion of mankind has been teaching that right is impotent, unless backed by might; and that it is the duty of nations to put themselves in a position to meet any physical force that may be brought against them. This has reached such a degree of absurdity that men have

come at last to advocate war for its own sake. They hold that it is ennobling to human character, sifting the dross from the fine metal, and putting all to the test. They have taught that not only may men use all conceivable means to destroy their opponents, but they may also apply these means to the destruction of non-combatants, and to women and children of the enemy.

The teaching of this philosophy has brought upon the world the inevitable consequence. Nations that have attained the very pinnacle of human progress, and are enjoying the same civilization and religion, and are bound by every tie that lifts humanity above the brute, are now clawing at each other's throats in a life and death grapple that knows no reason, pity or compassion. But this madness will pass. Humanity cannot long sustain such a drain upon its vital powers. Reason will again prevail, and mankind, clothed in its right mind, will begin anew the journey toward the land of universal brotherhood. When men pass the border line of reason there are no further degrees of comparison. A madman who should blow up ten thousand people in a cathedral bears no more guilt than as though he had destroyed a single human life. It is not the number of human beings destroyed that is to be deprecated, but the state of mind that prompts the destruction.

The sense of horror that has come over the world from the sinking of the Lusitania marks the first sign of humanity's awakening from this mad orgy. This act, which is the natural result of a whole generation's planning, has shaken civilization to its foundation; and everyone asks his fellow what is to be done about it. The first thought is to strike back, for violence is brute nature's answer to violence. But reflection may open to us better ways, and in a case of such magnitude we should adopt nothing less than the best. As to the specific act of the sinking of this ship, with its precious cargo of men and women, the world will raise no question. Specious reasoning may be enlisted for and against the act, but mankind made up its mind the instant the news was received. There is no call for Americans to fly to arms to avenge the death of their countrymen. The opinion of the world has already passed upon the perpetrators of this deed a more terrible sentence than ever followed an act of war.

This is a civilized nation. It pretends to be a Christian nation. The dominant thought that directs its actions is Christian. And in this moment of sore trial the nation can do no better than to draw its inspiration from the great teacher of peace nineteen hundred years ago and ask, What would he do today? Would he say, "A life for a life"? or "Forgive them, for they know not what they do"? And lest some should feel discouraged that the sinking of the Lusitania should have followed so closely the Women's Peace Conference at The Hague, let it be remembered that the crucifixion followed closely the Sermon on the Mount. But the Sermon on the Mount still lives; and people draw inspiration from it in spite of all appeals to arms. And President Wilson, who has already demonstrated his sanity, will gather inspiration to carry us through the present crisis, not from the spirit of revenge that seeks to strike a balance of a life for a life, but from the spirit of brotherhood that prevailed at the conference at The Hague. S. C.

Humanity's Loss.

Humanity could better spare the services of all military and naval strategists than lose the service of Charles Klein, the playwright, who was but one of the many Lusitania victims. S. D.

A Fruit of War.

The doctrine of Militarism, the doctrine of the advocates of big armies and navies, has been carried to its logical result in the Lusitania affair. As an act of war 1,200 innocent noncombatants, including many women and children, have been slaughtered in cold blood. Granting that the exigencies of war required the deed, the fact becomes plainer than ever that war of any kind is inexcusable. It may now be more clearly seen how barbarous is the position of those who advocate war, knowing full well what kind of acts it may necessitate. Whatever atrocity war may lead one belligerent to commit it may possibly lead another to commit also. Indignation against the immediate perpetrators is natural and just. Their guilt is clear to all not blinded by partisanship. But let the fact not be lost sight of that all who had any part in inciting any belligerent to war, when peace on some terms was possible, have some of the responsibility. "You cannot refine war," said General Sherman upon giving his celebrated definition of the term. Every declaration of war implies readiness to commit the most fiendish of

acts. None of the belligerents could have had anything at stake worth saving at the price of what has taken place. Would any of the evils alleged to be worse than war have worse results than such a slaughter of innocents as has taken place?

The fact that warning was given the victims cannot be seriously regarded as excusing the act. It may not be good law, but it is sound ethics, to hold that the right of the victims to be on the vessel and sailing where they were, was superior to the right of any nation to wage war. Warning a person against doing what he has a right to do does not justify killing him should he disregard the warning. Even to grant that the warning should have been heeded would not palliate the crime. An automobilist on a very important errand might sound his horn to warn pedestrians, and traffic regulations might give him the right of way. Yet if he sees that a pedestrian deliberately disregards his horn and walks in the path of his machine he cannot justly escape condemnation in spite of all legal rights and in spite of serious results from delay, if he refuses to halt and avoid running down the criminally careless pedestrian. Even in a country barbarous enough to send men to war such an automobilist would be condemned. Neither the importance of his errand nor the undeniable partial responsibility of the pedestrian would exonerate him. The same applies to a much greater degree to the plea that Lusitania victims were warned.

Denunciation of the slaughter is inconsistent, even though natural, by those who justify war, and shout for big apropriations for the army and navy. In denouncing this happening they denounce their own teaching. The philosophy of war makes humane conduct a crime when it may interfere with or prevent victory. From the consistent soldier's point of view, the sinking of the Lusitania was a glorious achievement. None but the pacifist can consistently condemn it. And in vigorously condemning it the pacifist as consistently and as vigorously opposes the demand that more blood be shed to avenge the massacre.

S. D.

Entitled to Obscurity.

The names of the "heroes" who sunk the Lusitania have not yet been made public. A service which their government can do them would be to keep their names secret. Though what they did was done from the same motive and in the same spirit as the acts of the soldiers in the trenches, an inconsistent world will nevertheless discriminate against them. When civilization will have advanced far enough to cause universal realization of the fact that all methods of warfare are equally criminal, then there will be no unfairness in making known the names of the commander and crew of the submarine. In the meantime, Charity—in the best sense of that much-abused word—requires that their identity be kept secret. S. D.

Storks, Take Notice.

No more mollycoddles wanted. Girl babies not received until further notice, and only such males as can stand the demands of modern war. All new arrivals must be able to face cannon, guns, and bayonets, and endure hunger, cold, and privation, as practiced in past ages; but they must in addition be able to withstand mines, face machine guns, and breathe deadly gases; and as a last and indispensable requisite of virile manhood they must be ready and willing at the command of their superiors to destroy non-combatants as eagerly as they kill combatants. All babies not warranted to meet these requirements of civilized warfare will be returned at the expense of the stork. S. C.

A Factor That Makes for Peace.

Not the least of the services rendered by the Woman's Peace Congress at The Hague was the demonstration that there is a tie that binds all nations, a human medium through which matters of common interest can find expression. It was thought by some at the beginning of the war that the internationalism of the Socialists would cause a speedy breakdown of militarism; for if the vast numbers of Socialists in European countries should refuse to bear arms against their brethren their defection would soon compel peace. But instinct proved to be stronger than philosophy, and the men who had for years preached international brotherhood shouldered their guns along with the rest to protect their country. There were other peace agents. There were men in all the belligerent countries so broad and tolerant that they would long ago have ended the war; but the very fact that they were men discounted their influence, and it was worse than useless for them to speak. But the women could and did speak. The women even of the belligerent countries raised their voices in behalf of human lives.

And though the men who are doing the fighting feel that they have got too much involved now to back out, yet they will see the folly of it all, and once they are freed from their present dilemma they will be more willing to listen to policies that will prevent its repetition. As the war has been fought without great national heroes, so peace is likely to come without a great national victory. This is woman's opportunity. She is confronted with no opposition such as has met her demand for the suffrage; and the cordiality that greets her efforts to establish peace will go far toward according her a place in the councils of men in avoiding future wars. S. C.

Militarist Logic.

Poor Mr. Roosevelt! Since he has constituted himself chief spokesman for the Militarists of this country he is obliged to shoulder all their absurdities, to become an exaggerated mirror of their lack of logic. For there is nothing that so completely expresses this quality on their part as the phrase, which they and the Colonel are so fond of using, "civilized warfare." The term is so beautifully contradictory in itself. Warfare is the antithesis of civilization and can never become civilized. The attempt to make it so has merely resulted in equipping it with all the ingenuity of modern mechanical invention and therefore making it more devilishly brutal, more hideously uncivilized. We do not civilize a savage merely by substituting a machine gun for his own primitive weapon. Civilization is not mechanical invention, it is a state of mind—and a state of mind in which warfare has no justification.

But the antics of the Militarists may at least furnish the thinking portion of the community with a cause for smiles in the midst of all the grim, sad business. Their fine frenzy of wrath over Belgium, their moral indignation over the cathedrals and works of art, destroyed by bombardment, come under this head. You give a boy a gun, teach him how to use it, and preach to him furthermore continually that it is "fine, manly, noble" to use it—and it is only natural that he *will* use it even if he has to make an excuse to do so. And when he does use it, something is bound to get hit. The bigger the gun and the better he has learned its power, the more things are likely to get hit—including innocent bystanders and conspicuous buildings. This is perfectly natural and logical. But the Militarists, who have been doing the teaching and the preaching, hold up their hands in horror and wail aloud at the results. With gleaming eyes and glinting teeth they turn to the rest of us and thunder out their reproaches that we are "supine and cowardly" because we do not arise and protest—against the natural and inevitable result of their own teaching and preaching.

It reminds one of nothing so much as the old nursery rhyme:

> Mother, may I go out to swim?
> Yes, my darling daughter;
> Hang your clothes on a hickory limb,
> But don't go near the water.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

Mexican Prospects.

The great war in Europe, with its wanton destruction of life and property, with its shameful disregard for the rights of neutrals and non-combatants, so far overshadows the strife in Mexico that Americans are giving small attention to their southern neighbor. It is apparent, however, from the meager reports received from time to time, that there is a gradual settling down, a weeding out, a skimming off, or whatever may be the proper figure to express the process of elimination that has been under way for several years; and there are indications that Mexico ere long may return to a peace basis. There is still fighting, it is true, and there are contentious forces in the field; but the armies are smaller, and the fighting less aggressive, as though a feeling were coming over the people that mere fighting for the sake of fighting is a poor employment of one's time.

One thing that excites interest is the apparent change in American sentiment from the Villa to the Carranza faction. General Carranza's stubbornness, and lack of tact, in the earlier stages of the war alienated American sympathy; while General Villa's generous and open nature, and friendly advances, won friends. Each declared himself unutterably opposed to the old regime, and unqualifiedly in favor of a substantial and practical system of liberty and justice, as opposed to paper declarations. The tide of war now seems to be against Villa, and in favor of Carranza. There are those who think that designing individuals and interests have taken advantage of General Villa's generosity, and his lack of education, to lead him into supporting unjust or ill-advised policies. There are others who see in General Carranza's

present course a policy that will bring justice with peace. Men like Lincoln Steffens, who have recently talked with General Carranza, give full credence to his words, and pronounce him to be the man who will bring order out of chaos. But whether the new government is to be headed by General Carranza, or General Villa, or by some other man, there is reason to believe that civil government will not be long delayed. And it is most earnestly to be hoped that it will be a Mexican government, through and through, and amenable only to the Mexican people. Had the United States gone into Mexico in support of this or that man or party, the resulting order would have been entirely arbitrary, and might or might not have been better than the old regime. But when the revolution shall have been fought to a finish, without outside interference, there is every probability that the resulting government will be better than any government yet enjoyed by that distraught country.

S. C.

China's Danger.

There is the same lesson in the Chinese-Japanese controversy, as in the European carnival of murder. The Chinese Republic lost its opportunity when it turned from democratic Sun Yat Sen to despotic Yuan Shi Kai. Sun would have established a true republic. He would have abolished ancient evils. He would have established in China more just conditions than exist elsewhere. It was not his intention to stop with the overthrow of imperial rule. He understood that robbery and oppression of workers under a republican form of government is as bad as under a monarchial form. So he aimed to free the land of the country from control of private monopolists, to establish freedom of trade between different parts of China and with the outside world and to relieve industry of all harmful restrictions that the old regime had placed upon it. Had he been allowed to do this, the Chinese would by this time have become the most prosperous people on earth. Moreover all the opportunities that would have been open in China to its people, would have been just as free to the people of Japan and all other nations. For Japan to attack China, under such circumstances, would have been to close opportunities to the Japanese people. To conquer China could have brought no gain over pre-existing conditions but would certainly have caused great loss. The Japanese people do not lack intelligence, and would surely not have tolerated such a war, however much the Mikado and the ruling classes may have wished it.

But China did not stand by Sun Yat Sen and his radical reform program. Under Yuan Shi Kai the Chinese Republic has merely swelled the list of sham republics where "labor must stand with its hat off begging for work, where beggars throng the highways and children grow up in crowded and squalid surroundings." Governed as it is, its institutions do not offer freedom of opportunity. In a world starving for opportunities the ruling classes of China act the part of a miser against their own countrymen as well as against foreigners. Being apparently rather weak and decrepit misers, they appear an easy prey to the hungry Japanese. To be sure the Japanese ruling classes are just as miserly with the opportunities of their country, but the Japanese people have not learned that they can obtain at home as good opportunities as the conquest of China can give them. So China is threatened with a disaster as nature's penalty for refusal to establish just social conditions.

S. D.

Peaceful China and Fighting Japan.

The present relations between China and Japan, wherein the smaller armed nation is dictating to a nation six times as large, unarmed, has set militarist tongues to wagging. "That is what comes of pacifism," they jeer. "That is what will come of America's suicidal policy. Japan will serve this country as she has served China, when it is to her interest." But, is this the whole story? Is there nothing to be said in behalf of China's policy? The Japanese have shown themselves to be very clever people; and some of her men of affairs are learned in militarist philosophy; but that does not necessarily mean that Japan has adopted the best course, or that it will be ultimately successful in its avowed purpose.

History is burdened with the tragedies of fighting nations. Their rise through peace and industry, their ambition, their aggrandizement by conquest, and their inevitable decay and downfall, constitute an unbroken chain of disasters. One nation, and one only, achieved greatness through peace and industry, and continued in peace during its greatness. Its religion and its philosophy inculcate peace; and its people have practiced these precepts so long that they have forgotten how to fight, and have lost the desire to learn. Though China's population is sufficient to supply an army to overrun all Asia, yet in the simple matter of restraining the roaming Mongols from

the north it chose rather to build a wall that could be manned by border police, than to maintain a standing army, or to organize punitive expeditions against the invaders.

The Japanese are as militant as the Chinese are peaceful. Their ruling class has elected to live by the sword. To this end they have adopted the military system of the European nations, and they are now seeking to apply the foreign policy of those nations. The European nations have for years been meddling with China's internal affairs, and have established their separate spheres of influence. The Japanese are striving to emulate this policy while its rivals are otherwise engaged. And though from one point of view Japan's policy at present is brutal and unjust, from another point it will be seen to be merely the substitution of Japanese influence in China for European influence. It looks bad to Christian eyes because it is done at the expense of Christians. Had the encroachments of European nations met with the same earnest protest in the past that now greets the Japanese, the dilemma of the present champions of China would not be so dire.

When Croesus consulted the oracle as to the outcome of his war upon Cyrus he was told that he would overthrow a great kingdom. The fall of his own proved the forecast. Japan's armed invasion of China, should her mad course go to that extreme, will lead to a similar result. Economic pressure in Japan is very great. A foreign war may relieve it somewhat, but not for long. The depressed people will and must find relief. The Chinese will not fight. The Nippon soldiers may march with impunity from one end of the empire to the other; but it will be only to return to starvation in their own country. The Japanese have shown their aptness in taking in new ideas, and they, like the people of Europe who are fighting their brethren at the behest of their masters, are certain to see the folly of such a course as that of the present Japanese statesmen. Japan can easily overthrow the Chinese government; but if she would avoid taking her place in the unbroken line of the military failures of history she must adopt China's ways of peace, rather than attempt to impose her own military system.

S. C.

War's Greatest Danger.

Land Values, that splendid monthly published in London by the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, calls attention to political conditions in England that show that the worst evil of war is not the killing and maiming of men at the front, but the strangling of liberty at home. It was recognized before the breaking out of hostilities that British privilege had been pushed to its last defense; and there was every reason to believe that had the war not occurred even that defense would have been destroyed. But no sooner had the directing thought of the country been turned to the prosecution of the war than the beneficiaries of privilege began an insidious campaign to recover their lost position. The press and politicians who are devoted to the service of privileged interests are taking advantage of every opportunity to throw the burdens of war upon the producing classes. Under the guise of an investigation into the state of British trade, the Tariff Commission makes a specious plea for a protective tariff that will raise five hundred million dollars a year. And in order to make its specious reasoning the more acceptable, the act is urged as a blow against Germany. This reactionary campaign includes a proposition to apply the income tax to working men, and to increase all the taxes upon industry, which means the shifting of the burden entirely upon the producing classes.

But, as Land Values points out, absurd and unjust as such proposals are, they can be effectively met only by opponents well grounded in the true principles of taxation. The price of land is advancing even in the face of war, and the civil population are feeling the pinch of higher rents. In an appeal to the government by Land Values to stand by its pledges to tax land values, which placed the present government in power, the example of the British colonies is cited. Ontario has levied a war tax of one mill on the dollar on all assessable land within the province. Farmers' conventions in Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan unanimously adopted resolutions recommending the taxation of land values. The dominant part of the Transvaal provincial council stands for the taxation of land values. The Labor party in South Australia has won its election on the same issue. The federal land values tax of Australia has been increased to produce five million dollars more. The real struggle of Englishmen for liberty is not in the trenches in Belgium and northern France against the Germans, but at home against the reviving privileged interests.

S. C.

Practical Reform.

Politicians are glib enough during campaigns to promise the people relief from their burdens; were a tithe of their promises, indeed, made good we should by this time have had the millennium. Among those things that have been the subject of profuse and liberal promises has been the regulation of railroads; but it has remained for the Labor party of South Australia to make an intelligent promise. We in this country know how after years of promises of lower fares and rates, when the reduction was finally made, the roads instituted such a vigorous counter campaign that they are now securing an advance in fares and rates. This muddle has come through the ignorance of our self-styled statesmen. Lacking a real understanding of economic law, these men have endeavored to correct abuses by going contrary to nature's laws; hence their failure. The Labor party of South Australia, however, has made a declaration that shows an understanding of fundamental principles. Its plan of reducing rates and fares is as simple as are all nature's laws. It proposes to pay for the construction of the road out of the increased value of the lands benefited. The completed road, therefore, will represent no invested capital. Rates and fares will have to be high enough to pay the cost of operation only.

It is a fact so universally recognized that it is never questioned that the construction of every railroad for which there is a real demand—and no other road should be constructed—increases the value of the land adjacent to the road, and subject to its service, more than the cost of building the road. The methods hitherto practiced in this country have been for one set of financial interests to build the road, and for another set of financial interests to take the values accruing to the lands. The builders of the roads capitalize their outlay, and are given permission by our statesmen to charge such fares and rates as not only will cover the cost of operation, but provide interest on the investment. The common practice of introducing a large fictitious element in the capital investment, upon which they demand interest, magnifies the evil; but it must be recognized that even if the investment were honestly made, and no return were asked except upon the capital actually invested, it is apparent that the public is paying in interest to the roads the values that have accrued to the adjacent lands. Rates and fares cannot be reduced below the cost of operation, plus interest on the capital invested, no matter how drastic the laws. But if the cost of the construction be levied upon the lands benefited by the road, and in proportion to such benefit, there will be no capital upon which to pay interest; and rates, consequently, can be reduced to the point that will cover the cost of operation. Had our own Congress had the wit of the South Australian Labor party, and included in the law providing for the construction of the railroad in Alaska the provision that the road should be paid for out of the increased value of the lands benefited, the subsequent rates and fares could have been reduced to the extent of the interest on the capital invested. It is still possible to make this correction; and it must be made. All persons buying lands whose values are affected by the building of this Alaska road will do so with the knowledge that those values will be taxed into the public treasury as soon as Congress can be got to do its duty. S. C.

Legal Obstacles to Progress.

To guard the rights of the individual is the ideal of democracy, but this should not be used as an excuse for disregarding the rights of the mass. A plan for social betterment must run the gauntlet of public discussion until it wins the support of a majority of the voters. Having received the approval of the majority, objecting individuals have recourse to the courts, and by taking advantage of the law's delay, postpone action indefinitely. An instance in point is that of the contemplated improvement in the Chicago boulevard system, by connecting the north and south divisions by means of a boulevard through the business section. After years of discussion public sentiment crystallized in favor of the improvement. Two years ago an ordinance was passed authorizing the work. But the state supreme court declared the law void. A year later another ordinance was passed; and since it has not yet been declared unconstitutional, or otherwise technically defective, the general expectation has been that the contemplated public improvement would soon be ready. It now appears, however, that the ordinary routine involved, the condemnation of property for the widening of the street, and such incidental legal technicalities as arise in such cases, will delay the beginning of the work for three more years. Besides, there is the ever present threat of an unconstitutionality decision, that may add indefinitely to the delay.

There is one point in the contemplated improvement, however, that may be commended. Of the $8,000,000 that the improvement is supposed to cost, $3,800,000 will be raised by city bonds, which means a burden upon all taxed property; the remaining $4,200,000 is to be raised by a special assessment laid upon the lands benefited. Thus the proposition is a little more than half right; and on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread, it may be accepted with thanks. It will make a good basis for beginning the next step for getting the whole loaf. As this whole matter is in the hands of conservative people, that is to say, safe and sane people who believe in things as they are, the fact that they see the connection between land values and public improvements, even to this degree, is encouraging. They see that this eight million dollar improvement will benefit the adjacent lands forty-two hundred thousand dollars' worth, but their courage then failed them. They realize that the new boulevard will increase the value of land without increasing the value of the buildings or other labor products. But, fearful lest they push a good thing too far, they will raise the thirty eight hundred thousand dollars by means of a tax on the entire property of the city. By what course of reasoning they arrived at the conclusion that improvements and personal property of the whole city should be taxed for nearly half the expense, while the land within the prescribed territory should bear the remainder, has not been made public. Small favors, however, will be thankfully received, in the hope that the same logic that enabled the proponents of this improvement to lay more than one half its cost upon the land, regardless of improvements, may lead future boards and commissions to levy the whole cost of improvements upon the land benefited.

S. C.

Suspicious Proceedings.

There is good ground for suspicion that the rejection by the Illinois Legislature, of the amendment to the Amending clause of the Constitution, was a deliberate move in behalf of the Civic Federation's fake revenue reform amendment. To be sure the Federation has ostentatiously announced that it only wants each proposed amendment considered by the Legislature on its merits. But actions speak louder than words. There is the fact that the Federation blocked the Initiative and Referendum at the last session of the legislature. And there is the additional fact that its amendment is so drawn as to allow only as much reform as would benefit the holders of intangible personality, when it could as easily be broadened to allow as much reform as public opinion at any time might favor. The slaughter of all proposed amendments one by one until the Federation's amendment shall be the only one left, may not be a pre-arranged plan. But if a plan had been pre-arranged by shrewd schemers that is surely the one that would have been decided upon.

S. D.

Mysterious Undervaluation of Chicago School Lands.

At a time when there is a deficit in the Chicago school fund, and teachers are threatened with a cut in salaries, an undervaluation of school lands is a particularly outrageous proceeding. In view of the fact that protests were made against such undervaluations in previous years the persistency of the appraisers is unexplainable. The figures, as published, drew the attention of Mr. Walter W. Pollock of Cleveland, head of the Manufacturers' Appraisal Company, which has assessed real estate for the taxing authorities in a number of cities under the Somers system. Mr. Pollock at once called the attention of the attorney for the Board of Education, Mr. Angus Roy Shannon, to the valuation his concern had made of the same property more than a year ago. For the block bounded by Dearborn, Madison, State and Monroe Streets Mr. Pollock's valuation is as follows:

Tribune property, 100 ft. on Madison street, 144 ft. on Dearborn	$1,937,486
McVicker's Theater, 17-27 W. Madison, 192 ft. deep	1,104,061
2-4 S. State, 48x120 ft.	1,432,242
6 S. State, 24x120 ft.	564,356
10-14 S. State, 72x120 ft.	1,555,888
16-18 S. State, 24x120 ft.	529,656
20-22 S. State, 24x120 ft.	597,936
26-28 S. State, 48x120 ft.	1,127,592
32 S. State, 24x120 ft.	529,656
34 S. State, 24x120 ft.	529,656
36-44 S. State, 96x120 ft.	2,488,704
18-22 W. Monroe, 81.42x192 ft.	1,005,299
31-41 S. Dearborn, 104x120 ft.	1,455,068
29 S. Dearborn, 40x120 ft.	389,260
23-27 S. Dearborn, 48x120 ft.	539,628
17-19 S. Dearborn, 48x120 ft.	539,628

These figures Mr. Pollock declares "to be conservative and at least ten per cent below the full value," yet they are about 75 per cent above the values fixed by the official appraisers, and it is on the official appraisers' valuation that rents are to be based. On land worth nearly $2,000,000 the Chicago Tribune pays but $47,500 rent, and thus appropriates at least $30,000 a year which

properly belongs to the school fund. There surely should be a thorough investigation before the schools are deprived through lack of revenue of anything required for their efficient conduct, or before the city becomes mean enough to withhold from teachers a part of the salaries justly due them. S. D.

Walsh's Valuable Work.

In mistaken criticism of the excellent work of Frank P. Walsh the Chicago Herald says: "What the public wants is information and not inflammation." The Herald might have said with as much reason: "What the public wants is to go into the water but does not want to get wet." Mr. Walsh has given the public information which interested parties wished withheld. He is still turning light into places which the same parties prefer should be left in darkness. He is trying to give the public all the facts to which it is entitled. If his information inflames he is not to blame. It is the fault of those responsible for the conditions that cannot be made known without danger of inflaming the public. In fact, there are some things concerning which the public ought to be inflamed, and if Mr. Walsh is doing it, then the more power to him. Opposition to the work of the Commission on Industrial Relations is largely the work of those who would conceal information and want the public to believe that conditions are different from what they actually are. The denunciation heaped upon Mr. Walsh, while it may here and there deceive an honest inquirer or newspaper, is in fact evidence that he is performing a valuable service which public interest requires should not be interfered with.

S. D.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

VINING'S INCORRECT ANSWER.

Vineland, N. J., May 5.

I think for once The Public has made a mistake. On page 423 of the issue of April 30, you criticise the Cleveland Civil Service Commission for giving J. B. Vining a low mark on his answer to their question as to the best method of relieving poverty.

Mr. Vining's answer was unscientific and economically unsound. The Singletax is not the way to relieve poverty, it is the way to prevent or eliminate it. The business of the Commissioner of Charities is to relieve. How could you relieve something which does not exist?

Between Prevention and Relief there is a gulf as wide as the Atlantic. They are such contraries that one destroys the other. The kind hearted, well-to-do people who rule us (through our Bosses) understand this, when, or if they think about it. To prevent or eliminate poverty would seriously interfere with the organization of society.

Now our rulers are really benevolent and love (in moderation) to have poverty relieved. They are willing to pay reasonable taxes themselves (and to tax the middle and labor class burden-bearers heavily) for the purpose. Many of them cheerfully surtax themselves in voluntary contributions, when normal (wholesome) poverty happens temporarily to become excessive. They cannot afford to let the poor die of hunger, nor even to become dangerous because maddened by hopeless famine.

The most thoughtful and cultured people really deplore human suffering as much as they do that of the lower animals and sympathize sincerely with the afflicted. Many, if not most of the benefactions of charity are prompted primarily by a desire, sometimes almost a passion, to relieve distress, and only secondarily by the recognized need of what Warner, in "American Charities," calls "Cyclone insurance".

But the existence of an army of workers on or near the poverty line, is essential to our modern plutocratic form of government and therefore relief of poverty, not carried to foolish extremes, is one of its important functions. The Commissioner of Charities of a great and wealthy city ought to understand these things. It is none of his business to eliminate poverty; he has to relieve it in the most effective and economical manner. When he makes so gross an error as to confound relief, which is proper, with prevention which would militate against that order of creation, which, however it may cause individual suffering, yet, on the whole, conduces to the best interests of mankind (as proved by the ever increasing wealth of those on top), then the Civil Service Commission, very propertly tries to secure in his place a man who better understands the foundations of orderly society.

A GOATHERD.

A JUDICIAL PHANTOM.

Midland, Pa., May 1.

The courts guard sacredly and with almost religious zeal and fervor what they are pleased to term "Freedom of Contract."

Wonder if it ever occurred to them that they are talking about something that does not exist; that they are attempting to give body and substance to something that has no being?

Freedom of contract is possible only where all are in enjoyment of equal rights, industrial and political. All must enjoy equal rights in and to the opportunities and means of securing and enforcing them.

Did it ever occur to these judges that, while any one is in the enjoyment of a special privilege "freedom of contract" cannot exist? How can one man enjoy rights not possessed by all, and yet leave to all others their full rights? That is to say, how can the whole be greater than its parts? How can "freedom of contract" and monopoly exist side by side?

Does it ever occur to these judges, who so sanctimoniously decide for "freedom of contract," that they are deciding that no special privilege or monopoly exists, or else they are deciding against reason, justice and fact?

The great subject matter of contracts is property or wealth in its various forms, processes and relations.

The fundamental factors in the production of wealth are land and labor; the human forces and the resources of nature.

To state the case generally, labor is everywhere free; there is free trade in labor here and the world over.

Land is everywhere monopolized. The resources of nature, from which all wealth is derived, and upon which, directly and indirectly, all labor is expended or employed, is in the hands of favored classes. Has been monopolized by the shrewd and powerful.

How can there be "freedom of contract" in the mining of coal if a few—a class—own or control the coal deposits?

How can there be "freedom of contract," for labor, in the manufacture of iron and steel, if the ore from which it must be manufactured is monopolized?

How can there be "freedom of contract" for workers, in the manufacture of lumber, if the workers have no rights in the timber, from which it must be made?

How can there be "freedom of contract" in the making of coke if labor has no rights in coking coal?

If I own the copper deposits, what "freedom of contract" have the miners who must work these deposits? Freedom to work upon the terms I impose, or to not work at all. That is all.

Ah, they can work for other owners of copper mines. So they can, but just as they would work for me, upon the terms those others saw fit to impose. But they could work at other business. Yes, but always, everywhere, under subjection to the demands of land monopolists.

As labor is everywhere, at all times employed upon materials drawn, directly or indirectly, from the land, it is evident that it is employed, only, and at all, by the grace and permission of those who own the earth.

Labor unions, to a small degree, have restricted competition in the sale of labor. To the courts this is a wicked and monstrous monopoly. It interferes with "freedom of contract."

Does not monopoly in land, from which all labor derives its employment, interfere with "freedom of contract"?

Does it never occur to these judges that monopoly in land is worse, more relentless and cruel, more inexorable and powerful, than any attempted monopoly of labor ever could be?

Land does not hunger and thirst or shiver with cold. It does not waste away with age or perish in the elements. As human wants increase it grows in value. It can go through strikes, lockouts and famine and come out richer and stronger.

In a battle with this monopoly—the monopoly of land, of coal, of iron, of timber, of fields and factory sites, and homes; of the means of life, of the materials which labor must have to be employed at all; this monopoly of God's bounty to all His children, the source of all wealth, the fountain of all human power; this monopoly which withholds from the workers all right to the resources of nature, God's glorious gift to labor; the great subject matter of all contracts; the little labor monopolies, attempted by labor unions, are weak and insignificant, are helpless and futile, are whipped and starved and frozen into submission and servitude, and ever will be.

Why hurl the anathemas of the court at this weak, foolish, helpless monopoly? Why not take note of the great, overshadowing, all powerful monopoly? Why strain at a gnat and swallow a camel? Such a performance is beneath the dignity of a court.

Until special privilege of every kind is destroyed; until monopoly of all kinds is abolished, there can be no "freedom of contract." Men cannot contract with each other on equal terms until they stand on equal ground—until they have equal rights.

As conditions now are "freedom of contract" is a chimera, a dream, a creature of the mind. If it ever existed it is now, and long has been, dead. Everybody seems to know this but the judges.

RICHARD W. STIFFEY.

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, May 11, 1915.

Commission on Industrial Relations.

Robert T. Lincoln appeared before the Commission on Industrial Relations at Washington on May 4 to testify concerning labor conditions under the Pullman Palace Car Company. In answer to questions he said that the company declares a regular dividend of 8 per cent. It is capitalized at $120,000,000 and has no bonded indebtedness. Since incorporation in 1867, it has paid to stockholders $159,116,775.82, of which $64,000,000 was in additional stock. When questioned about tipping of porters he admitted that if tips were abolished the company would be compelled to raise wages, which would increase its expenses more than $1,000,000 a year. He also admitted that the Pullman company is the real tip receiver, which caused Commissioner Weinstock to remark: "Then you believe in the corporation getting the tips instead of the coon?" Asked what he knew about industrial unrest, Mr. Lincoln said that he supposed there was such a thing, but that it was principally due to the men wanting more money, but he had not studied the question and did not know whether a low wage scale and submerged individuality was a good cause for unrest. [See current volume, page 426.]

B. H. Perham of St. Louis, president of the Order of Railway Telegraphers, told the commission that the Pennsylvania railroad forbade its men joining the order and refused to discuss conditions with representatives of the union. He presented evidence to show that the road employed armed men to overcome employes whenever any

indications of labor trouble appeared. On May 5, W. W. Atterbury, vice-president of the company, admitted that the company employed confidential investigators or spies, who are placed as regular employes in various departments to secure information about efforts of labor organizers. He denied that the company uses its police force to intimidate employes. Mr. Perham was then recalled to the stand and cross-examined by R. H. Aishton, vice-president of the Chicago & Northwestern. This brought out the statement that telegraphers on the Pennsylvania work eight hours a day. James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, charged on May 6 that the State Constabulary had been used to break strikes and create reigns of terror in times of industrial disputes. He told of a number of cases where the State police had deliberately started trouble between pickets and strike breakers and then arrested strikers but not strike breakers. "The State police protect the employer but never the striker," he said. J. C. Harper, superintendent of the Pennsylvania road's police force, said the company has 395 men on its police force besides the regular watchmen who do police duty when required.

On May 10, witnesses regarding court procedure appeared before the commission. Chief Justice Walter M. Clark of North Carolina criticized the practice of the courts in basing decisions on the common law of centuries ago. Economic conditions and common sense, he said, should govern cases where there is no clearly defined statute law. Similar opinions were expressed by Gilbert E. Roe of New York and former Chief Justice of New York, Edgar M. Cullen.

Mothers' Pension Legislation.

Judge Henry Neill of Oak Park, Ill., originator of Mothers' Pension Legislation, is about to make a lecture trip taking in the States where such legislation is not yet in force or where additional laws are needed. Persons desirous of arranging for lectures should address Otto McFeely, Oak Park, Ill. Judge Neill will make no charge whatever for lectures. The States now having mothers' pension laws are: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Nebraska, South Dakota, Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, California, Oregon and Washington. In Michigan, since the year 1913, unmarried mothers also receive pensions. [See current volume, page 383.]

Vining Resigns.

J. B. Vining, Cleveland's Commissioner of Charities and Correction, resigned his position on May 9. He had held the position many years, but was recently required to undergo a civil service examination for reappointment. He was given a low mark because he had said that the Singletax is the cure for poverty. In his letter of resignation to Director of Welfare Harris R. Cooley, he said:

I have lived in Cleveland over thirty years, during which time I have never denied my political affiliations nor sought to hide my views on public questions. That now, after ten years of faithful service in the division of charities and corrections and two years as the first probation officer in the police court of Cleveland, I have been obliged to appear before a civil service commission that is so anxious to act impartially that it selects a conservative committee to pass upon my radical political views and to have this committee and its friends all holding views diametrically opposed to everything I hold to be true, is an injustice that would hardly be expected from an administration that poses as the direct heir to Tom L. Johnson.

It is a sorry time when a man in my position is obliged, in order to gain recognition, to deny the faith and the political principles that were taught him by Tom Johnson.

When I say that I have been crucified for my political opinions I do not make this statement without sufficient evidence. The truths that I hold are too dear to me and of too much importance to the disinherited who are the victims of an unjust social condition to permit me to waver.

When the mass of my fellow citizens come to learn that the palliatives for social injustice offered by the recognized organizations of charity and philanthropy will be of no avail and that at best they are mere sops to the conscience of those who despoiled them, then will be my hour of triumph.

[See current volume, page 423.]

Chicago School Board May Fight Unfair Appraisal.

The Finance Committee of the Chicago Board of Education decided on May 10 to recommend a fight in court against the appraisal of school property just made. A recent revaluation of privately owned property at State and Van Buren is considered convincing evidence of the unfairness of the appraisal of the School Board's property. The privately owned property is in a poorer location than the school property, yet it was appraised at $151.26 a square foot as against a valuation of $112 a square foot for the same size lot owned by the Board of Education, five squares nearer the business center. Should the Finance Committee's recommendation be carried out, the Board must refuse to accept rent tendered from the property in dispute until settlement of the suit. This will tie up about $300,000 a year of its income. [See current volume, page 451.]

"How to Destroy the Rum Power."

Fifty thousand copies have been ordered printed by former Congressman Henry George, Jr., of his speech in the House on December 29, wherein he reproduced his father's "How to Destroy the Rum Power." As soon as ready they will be sent in any quantity to any one interested, and may be obtained in franked envelopes by addressing either the congressman representing the district of the applicant, or Congressman Warren Worth Bailey of Pennsylvania.

Barnes versus Roosevelt.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, testified in the Barnes-Roosevelt trial on May 4 concerning the refusal of Barnes to allow an alliance of Republicans with independent Democrats in 1911 in the New York legislature to elect him United States senator. Theodore Roosevelt was recalled to the stand on May 5, and told of conversations with Barnes held at various times. He reported Barnes as having said that the head of the organization must have complete control, that legislators and public officials must do the will of the machine or be forced out of public life and that the riff-raff could not be trusted to handle political affairs. More testimony regarding favoritism to Barnes' printing concerns was introduced on the following day. Barnes' counsel, William M. Ivins, refused to question Colonel Roosevelt. On May 10 counsel for the defense declared that they rested their case. [See current volume, page 450.]

Mexico.

General Carranza, in an authorized interview, said he was desirous of removing the impression that prevailed in some quarters that the Constitutionalists are antagonistic toward foreigners and foreign capital. On the contrary, he says, they purpose to throw Mexico open to all honest foreign capital as generously, but more judiciously, than was done under President Diaz. General Carranza has issued, under the form of an executive order, a decree making all works and constructions erected on territories of federal jurisdiction without due and legitimate authorization, national property. The Carranza Government has dispatched General Pesquira, Secretary of War and Navy, to the United States to purchase four vessels to serve as transports and for defense purposes. [See current volume, page 453.]

A quarrel between Zapata Generals in Mexico City led to street fighting in which 50 persons were reported killed on the 9th. It was announced as an attempt to assassinate the Provisional President, Roque Gonzales Garza. No military operations of consequence have been reported.

China and Japan.

The suspension of negotiations between China and Japan was followed by active military preparations on the part of both countries until the 7th, when Japan issued an ultimatum demanding that China accept her demands, except group 5, without qualifications. China's appeal to the European powers and to the United States brought no definite aid, but the moral effect seems to have been such as to cause a modification of Japan's demands in certain particulars. This demand involved the return of Kiao-chau to China. China finally yielded to all Japan's demands. [See current volume, page 453.]

Plenipotentiaries of China and Japan are now engaged upon a treaty that is to cover the agreement between the two countries. The points of agreement, according to press dispatches, are that China gives full assent to the transference to the Japanese by the German government of all rights and privileges enjoyed by Germany in Shantung. China is to build a railroad to connect with Kiao-chau road. She will also open treaty ports in Shantung. Japan will be permitted to lease land in South Manchuria for trading, industrial and agricultural purposes. Japanese will be permitted to reside, travel, trade and engage in industrial pursuits in Manchuria, and will submit only to police and taxation regulations approved by Japan. Civil and criminal cases will be tried by the authorities representing the same nationality as the defendant. Land disputes will be tried by joint Chinese and Japanese authorities, according to Chinese law and custom. Japanese subjects have the right to work in nine mining areas, construct Manchurian railroads, and will have an option on Chinese loans. Japan must be consulted before any foreign loan can be secured by Mongolian taxes. One of the articles in group 5 provides that China shall undertake no military or naval preparations, nor authorize foreigners' to undertake such preparations on the Fukien coast; that is, the Chinese coast in the vicinity of the Japanese island of Formosa.

The Chinese revolutionists declare that China's agreement with Japan will not affect their purpose. They charge President Yuan Shi-Kai with seeking to become emperor, and with effecting this agreement for the purpose of obtaining Japan's support in his ambitious design. The revolutionary movement is still in the conspiracy stage.

Japanese authorities declare their intentions to

be solely for the protection of China, to secure her territorial integrity and to maintain the open-door policy previously agreed upon with the United States and European nations.

European War.

Heavy fighting has been the order of the week, both in the East and in the West. The Germans advanced to Libau in the Baltic provinces of Russia, but Petrograd reports their check, and retreat. In Galicia the tide against the Russians continues. Berlin and Vienna claim 80,000 to 100,000 prisoners. Petrograd says the claims are gross exaggerations, but admits retreat. Germany renewed her attack in the vicinity of Ypres, but after the severest fighting and some gains was compelled to fall back to the position gained on the 3d and 4th. Heavy casualties marked these activities. Actions have taken place also near Nieuport and between Armentieres and LaBassee, where the French claim gains. The week's gains in territory are insignificant, but the losses of men on both sides have been very great. Operations in the Dardanelles are said to favor the Allies, but few details are given. The troops are making their way slowly up the Gallipoli peninsula, while the fleet continues to bombard the forts.

The chief interest for the moment is in the sea activities, because of the sinking of the Lusitania. German submarines had been particularly active during May, and had to their credit 28 vessels—16 of them being trawlers, or fishing boats—before the sinking of the Cunarder. The Lusitania, having on board 2,067 persons, 1,251 of whom were passengers, while passing Fastnet Rock lighthouse on the south coast of Ireland the afternoon of the 7th, was torpedoed by a German submarine and sank within a few minutes. Various reports give the time as eight to twenty minutes. The loss of life so far reported is 1,149. There were 188 Americans on board, of whom 115 are reported lost. Great indignation is felt in the United States and among other neutral nations at what is termed wanton destruction of non-combatants. Americans are looking to President Wilson to speak for them. The President is awaiting official reports from the American Ambassadors at London and Berlin.

The President's state of mind is indicated by the tenor of his speech to a gathering of 4,000 naturalized citizens at Philadelphia on the 10th. Humanity first, was the keynote. Speaking to those who had taken an oath of allegiance to a country, and not to a person, the President said:

You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race. You have said, "We are going to America not only to earn a living, not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where we were born, but to help forward the great enterprises of the human spirit"—to let men know that everywhere in the world there are men who will cross strange oceans and go where a speech is spoken which is alien to them, knowing that whatever the speech, there is but one longing and utterance of the human heart, and that is for liberty and justice.

And while you bring all countries with you, you come with a purpose of leaving all other countries behind you—bringing what is best of their spirit, but not looking over your shoulder and seeking to perpetuate what you intended to leave in them.

I certainly would not be one even to suggest that a man cease to love the home of his birth and the nation of his origin—these things are sacred and ought not to be put out of our hearts—but it is one thing to love the place where you were born and it is another thing to dedicate yourself to the place to which you go.

You cannot dedicate yourself to America unless you become in every respect and with every purpose of your will thorough Americans. You cannot become thorough Americans if you think of yourselves in groups. America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American; and the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is no worthy son to live under the Stars and Stripes.

My urgent advice to you would be not only always to think first of America, but always also to think first of humanity. You do not love humanity if you seek to divide humanity into jealous camps. Humanity can be welded together only by love, by sympathy, by justice, not by jealousy and hatred.

I am sorry for the man who seeks to make personal capital out of the passions of his fellow men. He has lost the touch and ideal of America, for America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift and not by the passions which separate and debase. . . .

It is an interesting circumstance to me in thinking of those of you who have just sworn allegiance to this great government that you were drawn across the ocean by some beckoning finger of hope, by some belief, by some vision of a new kind of justice, by some expectation of a better kind of life.

No doubt you have been disappointed in some of us. Some of us are disappointing. No doubt you have found that justice in the United States goes only with a pure heart and a right purpose as it does everywhere else in the world. No doubt what you found here did not seem touched for you, after all, with the complete beauty of the ideal which you had conceived beforehand.

But remember this, if you had grown at all poor in the ideal, you brought some of it with you. A man does not go out to seek the thing that is not in him. A man does not hope for the thing that he does not believe in, and if some of us have forgotten what America believed in, you, at any rate, imported in your own hearts a renewal of the belief.

I was born in America. You dreamed dreams of what America was to be, and I hope you brought the dreams with you. No man that does not see visions will ever realize any high hope or undertake any high enterprise. Just because you brought dreams with you, America is more likely to realize the dreams such as you brought. You are enriching us if you came expecting us to be better than we are.

See, my friends, what that means; it means that Americans must have a consciousness different from the consciousness of every other nation in the world. I am not saying this with even the slightest thought of criticism of other nations.

You know how it is with a family. A family gets centered on itself if it is not careful and is less interested in the neighbors than it is in its own members. So a nation that is not constantly renewed out of new sources is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family, whereas America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all the nations of mankind.

The example of America must be a special example. The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right.

So if you come into this great nation as you have come, voluntarily seeking something that we have to give, all that we have to give is this: We cannot exempt you from work. No man is exempt from work anywhere in the world. I sometimes think he is fortunate if he has to work only with his hands and not with his head.

It is easy to do what other people give you to do, but it is difficult to give other people things to do. We cannot exempt you from work; we cannot exempt you from the strife and the heartbreaking burden of the struggle of the day—that is common to mankind everywhere. We cannot exempt you from the loads that you must carry—we can only make them light by the spirit in which they are carried.

That is the spirit of hope, it is the spirit of liberty, it is the spirit of justice.

When I was asked, therefore, by the mayor and the committee that accompanied him to come up from Washington to meet this great company of newly admitted citizens I could not decline the invitation.

I ought not to be away from Washington, and yet I feel that it has renewed my spirit as an American. In Washington men tell you so many things every day that are not so, and I like to come and stand in the presence of a great body of my fellow citizens, whether they have been my fellow citizens a long time or a short time, and drink, as it were, out of the common fountain with them and go back feeling that you have so generously given me the sense of your support and of the living vitality in your hearts, of its great ideals which made America the hope of the world.

Women Peace Delegates.

The permanent peace delegation appointed at The Hague Conference to intercede with the rulers of European countries in an effort to restore peace is still at The Hague. Miss Jane Addams is at the head of the delegation. Signora Genoni of Italy and Dr. Aletta Jacobs of Holland are the other two members. Miss Julia Grace Wales of Wisconsin is the secretary. It is expected that the delegation will go first to the Scandinavian countries and then to Russia. Mrs. Louis F. Post expected to sail for America from Rotterdam on the Holland-American line S. S. Ryndam on the 8th. [See current volume, page 453.]

NEWS NOTES

—Nome, Alaska, voted on May 6, by 551 to 431, in favor of licensing saloons.

—The California legislature passed on May 1 a bill allowing any county to employ a public defender.

—Mayor James H. Preston of Baltimore was re-elected on May 4 by 15,000 majority over his Republican opponent.

—Charles W. Bryan, brother of the Secretary of State, was elected city commissioner of Lincoln, Nebraska, by 700 majority on May 4. It is understood that Mr. Bryan will be the mayor.

—In a speech on May 6, ex-President Taft commended President Wilson's policy of neutrality, and opposed placing of an embargo on shipments to belligerents of either foodstuffs or war material.

—The first election in Nevada in which women participated took place at Reno on May 4, on a question of reducing the number of saloons and imposing of more stringent regulations on cafes and cabarets. The proposition was defeated.

—The New York State Senate defeated on April 26 the bill to compel Bible reading in the public schools. A similar measure passed the New Jersey House of Representatives on the same day, but has not yet passed the Senate. [See current volume, page 429.]

—Because John B. McGuaran, surveyor general for Colorado, is supporting the pending singletax amendment to the city charter of Denver, where he has long resided, the Anti-Singletax League sent a protest on May 2 to Clay Tallman, Commissioner of the Land Office at Washington.

—Charles E. Sebastian, suspended chief of police of Los Angeles, got first place on the mayoralty ticket at the primary on May 4. He received about twice the number of votes of the next highest candidate, Frederick J. Whiffen, president of the city council, who will be his opponent at the general election in June. Sebastian had been suspended as chief of police on account of an indictment, which he declared to be a political plot.

To let others think for you is a sign of vacancy.—The Mediator.

PRESS OPINIONS

The True Community of Interests.

The Star (San Francisco), May 1.—Speaking to the Southern Commercial Congress at Muskogee, Oklahoma, last Wednesday night, Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of the Department of Labor, said that wage earners and employers of America should not look upon one another as masters and servants, but as fellow workingmen. "You must see to it," he said, "that wage earners are recognized as human partners in production. That is the attitude of the Department of Labor under the present Secretary." That is the correct attitude. But it will not be generally accepted for some years to come. It will not be accepted as long as business men imagine that private monopoly is legitimate business. Business men of today have the class idea. They fondly imagine that their "class" includes real estate speculators and other private monopolists. It will take some hard knocks and bitter experiences to get that nonsense out of their heads. But Assistant Secretary Post has the right idea.

Are You Ready for Peace?

The Conservator (Philadelphia), April.—Are you ready for the war to stop? If you're ready for some other things to stop first then you're ready for the war to stop. If you're ready for the masters to stop. The master kings. The master money makers. The masters of privilege and fame. . . . For until they stop wars won't stop. You can have settlements, treaties, truces, scraps of paper, but the war'll go on. Are you ready to accept the alternative? No. I see you way back there playing with the old toys. You believe in charity. You believe in profit. You believe in the tooth and claw of the jungle. Property is still holier to you than the man who does or don't own it. . . . You think one nation can be prosperous at the expense of another. You give one day of the week to heaven and the rest to hell. You refuse to acknowledge that you are your brother's brother. Life is not fraternity but fratricide. You're a disciple of get there. Getting there is the whole story. Not how you get there. Just getting there. It don't matter who loses so you gain. That's as far as you've got. And as long as that's so you're not ready for the war to stop. . . . You are patriots. You are nationalists. You say good's on this side the border and bad's on the other side of the border. You hate Germans. Or you hate Englishmen. You can be satisfied with plenty while some one else is in want. You're willing to get money no matter how. You're willing to see others without money no matter why. Are you ready for this to stop? No? Then you're not ready for the war to stop.

What Ails Walsh?

Labor Advocate (Providence, R. I.), May 8.—Who would have thought that Chairman Walsh would have proved such a disagreeable fellow? He came from Missouri with the best of recommendations and he was accepted as a well-meaning, but perfectly harmless, individual. Now just see what he's doing! Instead of spending his time in the laudable pursuit of doling out soothing syrup to the working class, he's digging up documentary evidence to prove that young Rockefeller was hand in glove with the Colorado authorities in their oppression of the miners; that gunmen were hired with his consent, and that the Ludlow massacre would not have taken place had not the Rockefeller money been so available and convenient. He's certainly an energetic individual, this man Walsh. No sooner does John D., Jr., indignantly deny one charge than Walsh is out with another. This is all wrong. How can young John D. be expected to give proper attention to his Bible class when he's kept so busy defending himself from these charges of aiding and abetting in the committing of murder and various other crimes? The whole trouble with this Industrial Relations Commission is that the plunderers didn't know it was loaded.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

OUT OF A JOB.

By Sam Walter Foss.

"All nature is sick from her heels to her hair
W'en a feller is out of a job!
She is all out of kilter and out of repair
W'en a feller is out of a job,
Ain't no juice in the earth, an' no salt in the sea,
Ain't no ginger in life in this land of the free,
An' the universe ain't what it's cracked up to be,
W'en a feller is out of a job.

"W'ats the good of blue skies an' of blossomin' trees
W'en a feller is out of a job?
W'en your boy has large patches on both of his knees,
An' a feller is out of a job?
Them patches, I say, look so big to your eye
That they shut out the lan'scape an' cover the sky,
An' the sun can't shine through 'em, the best it can try
W'en a feller is out of a job.

"W'en a man has no part in the work of the earth,
W'en a feller is out of a job!
He feels the whole blund'rin' mistake of his birth,
W'en a feller is out of a job;
He feels he's no share in the whole of the plan,
That he's got the mitten from nature's own han',
That he's a rejected an' left over man,
W'en a feller is out of a job.

"For you've jest lost your holt with the rest of the crowd,
W'en a feller is out of a job;
An' you feel like a dead man with nary a shroud,
W'en a feller is out of a job.
You are crawlin' aroun', but yer out of the game;
You may bustle about, but yer dead just the same—
Yer dead with no tombstone to puff up yer name,
W'en a feller is out of a job."

TAD'S PROGRESS.

For The Public.

Tad Norman was born in a mud hut on the banks of the Illinois River. At a youthful age, the support of a family devolved itself upon him. He had no money, no education, nor any tools to work with. He had learned to wade out into "fish-holes" of the river, and with his bare hands catch fish—the main article of diet at Tad's house.

He soon learned that it required only a few hours of the day to acquire all the fish needed for food, that by expending a little more time in the labor of fishing he could catch more fish than was needed for his usage, that these extra fish could easily be converted into money and a variety of articles could be obtained.

These fish that Tad caught represented *wages* for his *labor,* and for convenience in exchange his *wages jingled in coin in his pocket.* ("Wages drawn from Labor.")

Tad made another great discovery. He found that by exchanging a part of his *wages* for hooks and lines and nets he could multiply his "catches"; in other words, he could increase the productivity of his labor many fold thereby and, therefore, also his wages. So he bought a boat, nets, lines and hooks, and all the *tools* of a fisherman. That part of his *wages* spent for tools became an investment or his capital. Lo! in a twinkling, Tad, the laborer, had become also Tad, a capitalist. The tools of a fisherman, his capital, were of great assistance to him. His *wages* (which are always and ever drawn from *labor*) not only supplied his wants and furnished him tools, but also provided a surplus. Nature furnished abundant opportunity for him to apply his labor in the production of *wealth.* This surplus began to grow into proportions. Norman had native cleverness; the frills of life did not attract him; his delight was in work and wealth. He was not content with the narrow boundaries of his situation so he used his wealth as capital to establish fisheries at many suitable places and employed *laborers* to work for him. He did not now do the actual *labor* of fishing, but he did the labor of *managing,* developing an industry. He was still both a *laborer* and a *capitalist.*

When he had not a possession to his name, the State gave no heed to him, but now that he had created an industry, had put dozens of men to work and made business active in many lines, the State came regularly to fine (tax) him. This tax he was shrewd enough to add to the price of his fish, so the *consumer* paid it, or, if competition demanded, he deducted that tax from the wages of the laborers. Thus, we detect this tendency: Men will demand the highest price for produce that trade will stand and pay the lowest wages possible for labor.

There were thousands of people who ate fish and there were thousands of fish in the stream, so Norman built up a great business. His taste for more luxurious quarters and style of living grew with his wealth (or rather the requirements of the lady members of his family increased. "Wealth is both the cause and effect of higher civilization and intelligence"), but, after all these requirements were satisfied, he had plenty of money left, so the natural next step in his economical development was to invest the surplus, and the one preferred investment in Illinois is in land. Tad Norman bought land—section after section—and he found that lack of improvements on the land meant less taxes to pay to the State. Tad Norman was simply a human man; like all human beings he would be influenced by a system which cost him the least, so he improved his land not at all and rented it for all it would possibly bring. He still managed his fish business. He was now a laborer, a capitalist and a monopolist in one.

Mr. Norman never lost his sympathy with labor—he loved the men who worked. He delighted to pay wages, to see business active in all lines. He paid his taxes and accepted things as they are; he had begun at nothing and worked to affluency—every man could do the same if he would; that is as far as his flights of thought ever took him.

Although he paid all the wages he could he was determined always to make a profit on his sales and always got all the price the market would allow. He favored a *high tariff* on fish so no one outside his country could compete with him; this, he argued, assisted him in paying his men higher wages. One of his men thought that the tariff charge was immediately discernible in the cost of the fish to the consumer, and that if the fishing industry must be protected a thousand other industries would also demand protection and that all these multiplied tariff charges were paid in cash, not by some one across the sea, but by every one who bought things, that no citizen escaped, and that any increase in his laborers' wages over those of his foreign brother (and why not "brother"?) were easily eaten up by increased costs because of tariff schedules. This worker also observed that in their natural relation wages *fell* as land values *increased,* and therefore labor unions had to be formed to apply an artificial and sometimes violent means to maintain a living wage, the result of which injured or destroyed the tools of labor (capital) and reacted in ill results on labor itself, leaving Monopoly snug and sound and unmolested. Norman could see none of this.

The mellow and autumnal years descended upon him and he decided to transfer his fisheries to younger hands. He thus retired and through the assistance of secretaries and agents collected his income in rentals from land and royalties in mines.

Occasionally, he would re-lease a city block at an enormous advance. He was now purely and precisely a Monopolist.

Never at any time did his income cease to be drawn from *labor*. At first his wages were drawn from his own labor and they were small. Then they were drawn from labor and capital invested. Now his income was larger than ever and it was drawn from thousands of laborers who knew him not nor did he know them.

Certainly Capital, the "tools of labor," assisted from the moment he bought a fishing outfit. Capital multiplied the results of labor's efforts many times, and Capital should always have its interest for its service, but wages, income, *wealth,* proceed directly, no matter by what complex route, from Labor.

Tad Norman now devoted his time to charities. He was sincere in wanting to help the needy, to relieve distress, and to lighten the poor man's burden. He did not know he himself was the biggest load the poor laborer carried. One day a neighbor undertook to demonstrate to him how taxation of land values only, untaxing all industry, and doing away with taxing a man for making improvements on property, would give industry, labor and capital the full reward of service and *hurt no one,* requiring community made values to pay the revenue for Government, making the protective tariff system unnecessary, giving trade its natural course, making two jobs grow where none could be found before, thus freeing the law of supply and demand to regulate the wages of labor, the interest on money and the cost of living.

But the neighbor could not make stick the remark that such a single tax system would "hurt no one." Norman was keen enough to see that it would make telling inroads on the incomes of those 1,694 timber land owners who own one-twentieth of America—105,000,000 acres. And in some inconceivable manner a system, which made these darlings of privilege pay their share of Government from which they received more benefit than any other members of Society, would destroy "Business."

Norman was willing to sit supinely by, either ignorantly or wilfully, and see a few men live like Feudal Lords in licentious and idle affluence, while just around the corner miserable, horrible and unspeakable involuntary Poverty, want and woe, stalked openly, leaving slime and crime, darkness and death in their wake.

Rather than strike at the root of this hideous growth, he would ease his conscience by assuming partnership with God and dole out pauperizing, criminalizing charities.

The neighbor tried again this one: "We do and shall respect our forefathers—let us give them all the credit possible for all the good they did, but shall we permit their mistakes to be visited upon us and upon our posterity, mistakes that sum up yearly in increased suffering and distress? Stir yourself from lethargy; arouse your intellect from its snug complacency; think through these economic problems to their very sources; the time needs men and millions; America can be made what it was intended to be—the land of the free and the home of the happy. We need not be too proud of our flag while poverty grimaces, the bread lines form, the army of the unemployed (this "shifting sand beneath the walls of the state") marches through the streets, and while our prisons are full. Free land spells *free men,* and there is no other way to spell it."

GEO. D. CARRINGTON.

THREE SOLDIERS.

For The Public.

Three soldiers, when their march was done
Crouched by a fire at set of sun,
And, bantered by a comrade's boast,
Discussed what had impressed them most.

"Among the refugees abroad,
Blood trickling from her feet ill-shod,
A little maid of winsome charms,
Her doll clutched tightly in her arms.

"Almost thought I my eldest born
Marched with that rain-soaked mob forlorn,
Stumbling among the ruts half-spent,
Whimp'ring in pained bewilderment."

"And I," another one spoke low,
"Saw in wrecked hut by feeble glow,
An old dame, weak, afraid to call,
Behind her roofless, shell-torn wall."

Said third, "A grandsire peasant wight,
His lifelong labors ruined one night;
Found fields he sowed for winter's bread
Heaped with the harvest of the dead."

GEORGE W. PRIEST.

The Mexican Revolution is one of the keenest manifestations of the world's conflict. It portrays the character of the conflagration that is so violently shaking the world. The telluric, racial, economic and political conditions of Mexico, put us in a position to solve, in a satisfactory manner and for the benefit of the whole continent, the great social problems which confront us. The reforms affected in Mexico by this revolutionary movement, may serve the world as an example of a true social renovation and true justice, and our action may attain universal importance, if we make it thorough and unprejudiced.—Doctor Atl.

If any one opposes very evident truths it is not easy to find arguments which may induce him to alter his opinion.—Epictetus.

BOOKS

THE SPIRIT OF THE HARBOR.

The Harbor. By Ernest Poole. Published by the MacMillan Company, New York. 1915. Price, $1.40 net.

Read it. Under the guise of fiction this book gives us the most startling array of facts in a series of vivid pictures which from first to last reveal conditions that the ordinary familiar observer rarely considers. The writer himself, tracing his impressions from childhood, does not come into full understanding of the problem of "The Harbor" until many and varied life experiences have brought him different and wider viewpoints. In the beginning he had worshipped the god of efficiency and had devoted his literary talent to the profitable employment of extolling the pursuits and successes of the great masters of Business. It was not so satisfying as his dream of books, but his father, ruined by these same masters, had need of his financial help. And then there was—love—which does not thrive quite happily without dollars. The love story of the writer of *The Harbor* is very beautiful. How could it fail to be with Eleanore as one of its factors? You will not care to miss her influence.

This is not a muckraker's book, but certain facts of *The Harbor* come in its way and they are shown up with the personal touch that leads us on as the writer himself was led by his old college chum, Joe Kramer, who is the real hero of the story. Joe does not merely observe things, he lives them. And having tested the lot of the stokers by working for two years in their quarters he invites his friend, who has been writing up the successes of The Harbor, to go down into the hells of the ships with the poor devils that feed all the fires of the sea—"A million lousy brothers of Christ"—Joe calls them. If you never happened to read in the papers a description of the stoker's life you might turn to Chapter V, in Book III, of *The Harbor* and study the moving pictures presented there. And you will find it extremely interesting—as a student of human nature and human conditions—to follow the progress and the ultimate failure of the dockers' strike in which Joe Kramer takes an active brother's part. You may not believe in strikes, but you can try to listen dispassionately to the strikers' argument.

In the end you may not know exactly where to place the writer of *The Harbor*—so broad and tolerant and just is he in dealing with his problem. That startling phrase that he heard fall from the lips of Henry Ward Beecher, when he sat wriggling, a restless, unhappy child in his mother's church pew, seems still haunting him—"the Harbor of Life"—its inner story is not told.

A. L. M.

"GOOD GOVERNMENT."

Unpopular Government in the United States. By Albert M. Kales. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1914. Price, $1.50 net.

The sort of government that actually holds the reins of power in the United States is defined by Professor Kales as "of the few, by the few and for the few at the expense and against the wish of the many." It is an extra-legal government, to be sure, but none the less potent for that. The voters of today "are disfranchised by being required to vote too much." The long ballot is the real source of the rise of the political boss, whose advice to the necessarily ignorant voters is his means of entrance and his basis of organization behind the legal scenes. "Those who direct the politically ignorant majority how to vote have filled the State and municipal offices with those who are loyal to them first and to the governed afterward." No American is unacquainted with the situation. Certainly no Chicagoan will need even to be reminded of it for many weeks to come.

Professor Kales, whose position in Northwestern University proves him no unthinking amateur in political science, pronounces unavailing against this boss-power most of the electoral reforms now under headway. The elimination of the party circle and column, the Australian ballot, civil service, people's primaries, direct legislation—none of these will restore the government to the electorate. But the Commission Plan is more effective if its fundamental principles are observed and applied—a small number of elective officials held strictly accountable for results, and voted into or out of office simultaneously.

Commission government may be adapted to the State as well as the city, according to the writer, who offers a scheme therefor that involves the union of executive and legislative powers—a plan that does not, like certain ones recently proposed in Illinois, Wisconsin and Kansas, "increase the power of the executive elected at large and diminish the importance and power of the representatives of the electorate." Even the People's Power League plan of Oregon tends, he thinks, in the same direction. Professor Kales would have a governor "elected at large at considerable intervals," whose most important duty it shall be to choose from among the leaders of the majority in the single-chamber legislature a council of seven which shall be the real and ultimate executive power of the State.

So far Mr. Kales may be right, although his prompt dismissal of the Hare system as unworkable for large constituencies and his utter silence

on the relation between economic and electoral reform do not inspire full confidence in his democratic wisdom. But his next proposition is certainly wholly reactionary, absolutely unacceptable to any true democrat. As a method "of meeting the demand of property for protection from the single popular legislative chamber," Mr. Kales actually speaks in this day in the United States of America for "the establishment of a second legislative chamber in which the representatives of property interests shall sit"—these "representatives" to be elected by the vote of taxpayers only and in proportion to the amount each pays in taxes! Could anything be more startling than this calm proposal to introduce plural voting and a property qualification at one fell blow? They are really twin villainies, though, and we should be thankful for the announcement of their close relationship.

After this amazing disclosure, any plans of the author's for keeping this miniature house of lords in "strict subordination to the chamber which represents the electorate at large" are mere dry details—and the succeeding chapter about judges, along with the book itself, loses significance for any believer in human equality. A. L. G.

PAMPHLETS

Internationalism in China.

The International Institute of China is "a practical organization for advancing universal peace, founded on mutually respectful and just relations" by "bringing together persons of different religions, different races and nationalities." Its founder and long time director, the Reverend Gilbert Reid, who has served many years as missionary in China, opens his thirty-fourth report (Methodist Publishing House, Shanghai) dated October 15, 1914, with this reference to the war: "This report deals with incidents of favor and encouragement, and then with a complete reversal through the appalling war which, beginning in Europe, is extended to China. To use a common expression of the Chinese, 'This is a world with a bitter sea.' May the sufferings, the hatreds, the calamities of to-day be speedily brought to an end." But Dr. Reid's is the international spirit that can see all Europe and Asia go to war and his own long life-work fall in ruins, and still see the world-triumph of peace near at hand: "Personally we have no doubt as to the triumph of the peace idea as opposed to the war idea, and this with far more of the fundamental principles of fairness and righteousness than may have hitherto characterized peace movements."

A. L. G.

Friendships Among Young Nations.

The New World need not wait for the Old World to reform. The Americas can begin to federate now, in truth have already begun. The World Peace Foundation (40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston) reprints an appreciation by James L. Slayden from the American Journal of International Law, January, 1915, of the work done at Niagara by Argentina, Brazil and Chile. "Enough is known of that work," he says, "to suggest that the precedent is likely to become of transcendent importance in the political future of the American continent. The "A. B. C." mediation has taken its place in history, and the more it is studied the stronger becomes the impression that it begins a diplomatic epoch in the history of the Americas. . . . It points the way to the settlement of similar troubles in the future. It may, I think, be regarded as the beginning of a Pan-American policy for the quieting of internal troubles and international disputes between the republics on this continent. . . . A Pan-American policy of mediation and arbitration when ever disturbances shall unfortunately occur ought to convert what has been until recently one of the most turbulent sections of the earth into a region of peace and prosperity."

A. L. G.

Pamphlets Received.

Report of the Efficiency and Economy Committee, State of Illinois, 1914. Printed at the Windermere Press, Chicago.

Coal-Tar Products and the Possibility of Increasing Their Manufacture in the United States. By Horace C. Porter; with a chapter on Coal-Tar Products Used in Explosives, by C. G. Storm. Technical Paper 89, Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

A Short Form of State Constitution Submitted to the New York State Constitutional Convention and the People of the State, by the Referendum League of Erie County. By Albert H. Jackson. Published by the Referendum League of Erie County, 68 Erie County Bank Building, Buffalo, N. Y.

How the War Came, With a Chronicle of Events Compiled from All the Official Papers Published by the European Governments. Labor and War Pamphlets, No. One, published by the Independent Labour Party, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, London, E. C. 1915. Price, one penny.

Separate Reports Prepared for the Efficiency and Economy Committee of the State of Illinois: On Accounting Administration for Correctional Institutions, by Spurgeon Bell; On Supervision of Corporations and Related Business, by Maurice H. Robinson; On Public Administration of Public Works, Parks and Buildings, by C. O. Gardner.

"How do you know that Chaucer dictated to a stenographer?"

"Just look at the spelling."—Columbia Jester.

Miss Smith, the teacher, was hearing the history class. The pupils seemed unusually dull.

"'Now," she said, "Mary followed Edward VI., didn't she?"

"Yes, ma'am," replied a little girl.

"And now, who followed Mary?" asked the teacher, hopefully. All was silent for a moment, then Elsie raised her hand.

"Yes, Elsie?" queried the teacher. "Who followed Mary?"

"Her little lamb, teacher," said Elsie, triumphantly.—Harper's Monthly.

What the Postman Brings

. . . Allow me to congratulate The Public on the maintenance of the high standard set by Mr. Post.

A. W. PLUMMER,
Augusta, Maine.

. . . The only reason you haven't a million subscribers is because so few people know what a good paper The Public is. Keep up the good work.

J. T. TAYLOR,
Bangor, Maine.

. . . I am also sending twenty-five cents for which please send me some copies of the April 2 issue of The Public. I find it a very convincing document.

E. T. HARTMAN,
Allston, Mass.

. . . If I could afford it I would buy one hundred yearly subscriptions to The Public and place them with the men who would be in strategic positions once they could be forced to consider sound principles.

R. F. BEASLEY,
Monroe, No. Carolina.

. . . Very sorry I have not been able to get more subs. I always send all I collect from new subscribers. Twelve hundred pages of the best reading in the country is about all one could expect for one dollar in this cold world.

WM. H. PORTERFIELD,
Hubbard, Ohio.

. . . I think the edition of Public of April 23rd was about the punkest I ever knew it to put out. Nothing but a little sentimental dishwater. I think some one must have been gone away, or sick. But he must have got a shock when he saw that sloppy edition, for he certainly got busy in edition of April 30. Please send 50 sample copies of April 30 issue soon as possible.

CHAS. S. BINGHAM,
Salem, Mass.