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EDITORIAL

Armed Peace.

Was it for this that the nations of Europe have groaned beneath the burdens of militarism all these years? Will human folly repeat it? s. c.



A Tree Known By Its Fruit.

In Europe we now see the fruit of that pernicious doctrine "My country right or wrong." Austrian citizens are marching forth to kill Servians, with whom they have no personal quarrel, and who have never done them wrong. Germans, Russians and French are going out to do the same. "Our country calls us," they say or think, and at the same time they imagine that that relieves them of moral responsibility. The fallacies falsely labeled "patriotism," which have been impressed upon them since childhood, are now leading them out to kill and be killed, to inflict misery on others, and to suffer it themselves. May this be the last time such sacrifices will be made to the fetish of counterfeit patriotism. s. D.



In Time of War Prepare for Peace.

Let not those who have thought to see men beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks feel that they have indulged a vain hope. It is not for us to gauge the task nor to fix its ending, but to keep everlastingly at it. And if there be faint hearts that would give up because they see not the end, let them take comfort in the reflection that all the great accomplishments of history looked just as impossible immediately before the page was turned. The war spirit may be likened to a carbuncle on the body. The poison flowing through the blood localizes itself, and a painful lump forms in the flesh. Relief is sought in salves, ointments, and poultices. But the lump continues to swell, and the pain to increase, until at the very time when the soul is in mortal agony the carbuncle bursts and spews out the poison. The

pain ceases, the swelling subsides, and the flesh regains its normal color.



Such has been the history of the world. The poison of injustice flows through the veins of society. Men are denied their natural rights; and when the oppression becomes unendurable, their oppressors make all manner of excuses. The affliction is due, they say, to the wrath of God, to the niggardliness of nature, or to the encroachments of foreign nations. Ah, the encroachments of foreign nations! When all other excuses fail, there is this to fall back upon; and each ruling class of oppressors holds its victims in subjection by charging the trouble to the others.



War is not due to the will of monarchs, generals, and parliaments, but to the oppression of the people, and their belief that the oppression comes from abroad. And foreign wars will continue as long as the poison of injustice flows through the body politic. When citizens have been freed from oppression at home—and know why and how they are free—they will have no desire to oppress others abroad. But so long as men are the victims of injustice, and have no part in the advantages of science and learning—remaining as it were in the station of their ancestors from time immemorial, at the point of bare subsistence—they will be the playthings of fortune. Having little to lose by war, and their despoilers little to gain by peace, wars will be inevitable.



But the people are awakening. A few already see their real oppressors. It is for each who sees the truth to tell his fellow, and that fellow his fellow, until presently all will know the truth, and the truth shall make them free; free from industrial tyranny at home, and free from military tyranny from abroad. The work of the peace advocate is not negative. It is not enough for him to cry peace, peace! He must first lay the foundation for peace. To cry peace while the people writhe under injustice is like trying to heal the carbuncle without cleansing the blood. All things have their natural order, and there will be war among them so long as they are not in that order. Man's sympathies grow broader, his understanding deeper, and he is close upon the discovery of that magic talisman that will bring peace, Justice. s. c.



Economic Aspects of War.

The first thought of those who are seeking to

bring about a more equable distribution of wealth is that war will entail a serious loss through the distraction of the minds of those who are now considering fundamental principles. This, doubtless, is true in the main, but there is another phase. Were the plans confined to mere palliatives, as they have hitherto been, any proposition that was growing in popular favor would stand to lose from a military outbreak; but with the question of scientific taxation under consideration the result is likely to be different. Modern war must, from its very nature, be short and expensive. The briefer hostilities tend to distract the people's minds from their habitual thoughts; but the necessity of making good the losses of the war compels the consideration of questions of taxation. It is doubtful if the British Parliament would have accepted Lloyd George's Budget, with its tax upon ground rent, but for the extremity into which British finances had been thrown by the Boer War. More revenue was necessary, and ground rent was the only thing adequate remaining untaxed. This is not to condone the loss of life, the maiming of men, and all the horrors that accompany collective murder, but to help men to stand firm in the faith, and to press unceasingly toward the goal. The world at large, like England in 1909, has all but reached the limit of taxes on industry. The next step must be a tax on privilege, and no other economic privilege is equal to that of landlordism. To pile up more war debts seems madness. Yet war debts are better than landlords, economically considered, for war debts can be paid off, but landlords exact toll forever.

s. c.



No Need To Go.

"His Majesty the German Emperor has ordered mobilization of the German army and navy. All persons abroad belonging to the army and naval reserves must return to Germany without delay and without further notice." So says a proclamation issued by the administrator of the German consulate in Chicago. Probably other representatives of warring European nations in the United States have issued similar notices. Since many immigrants, especially unnaturalized ones, are under the erroneous impression that they are not safe from conscription while in this country, proclamations so worded may tend, in many cases, to confirm that impression. Thus many Austrians, Germans, Servians and Russians may go back unwillingly to fight, ignorantly believing that they have no choice. To combat such a false impression is one service in behalf of humanity possible to the

press, to peace societies and the churches. Every means of publicity should be used, not only to reassure these immigrants that they need not return, but to urge against doing so those who may feel inclined to go.

S. D.

Blasphemy!

Millions of Christian brethren, setting out to kill each other, pray for success to the All-Father, in the name of the Prince of Peace! Do they think there is no sense of humor in Heaven? Or have they simply gone mad?

S. C.

Prayers for Peace.

It is very well to pray for peace, but it is very important to strike at the cause of war. Prayers for peace will bring a favorable response if those who do the praying will do their duty as citizens. To pray for peace shows little respect for God when the one who prays is still willing to uphold a standing army and navy, is in favor of a tariff wall, and supports predatory interests in other ways, in whose behalf all wars are waged. Faith without works is dead.

S. D.

Europe's Apostles of Peace.

All honor to the Socialists of Europe! They constitute the one group urging the workers to refrain from killing each other. "Murder is murder", say they. Commands of superior officers and approval of the government do not make the shooting of a man—even though he be a foreigner—any less a violation of moral law than an illegal murder committed in time of peace. They are preaching obedience to the commandment "Thou shalt not kill", and are insisting that this commandment deserves obedience before the orders of emperors, kings or czars. What a pity that in this grand humane and religious work these Socialists have not the co-operation of the churches! What a pity that, instead of praying for victory and blessing the prospective murderers, the clergy do not see how their duty requires them to urge instead adherence to the Golden Rule! How sad it is that men should march forth to kill without so much as a reproof from those who should be the first to see wherein their conduct transgresses all principles of religion and morality. The war might have been prevented had there been from the churches of all the nations engaged as strong and emphatic a protest as is now being made by the Socialists, the only group in Europe, of considerable size, to preach, when most needed, the Gospel of Peace.

S. D.

A Hero of Peace.

"A war of aggression is not a war in which it is a proud thing to die," said President Wilson, "but a war of service is one in which it is a proud thing to die." The glory of dying in such a war belongs to Jean Leon Jaures, Socialist leader of France. He fell in a war of service, a war against war. He lost his life in attempting to save from the consequences of war thousands of such deluded fanatics as the one who turned upon and slew him. It would not be right to say that Jaures was the victim of an individual. His slayer was but the instrument of a murderous superstition, sustained and fostered by selfish interests. Jaures fell because there prevails in France, as elsewhere, the notion that superstitious chauvinism is patriotism. In trying to show the folly of that superstition, in endeavoring to make clear the wickedness of such doctrines as "my country, right or wrong," in the midst of an effort to save his country he was struck down. Peace has her martyrs and heroes as well as her glorious victories. A place among these martyr heroes belongs to Jean Leon Jaures.

S. D.

Pity Poor Carson.

Let no one forget to drop a tear for the doughty Ulsterman. But yesterday a hero, the political marplot, the Tory's hope, and the Liberal's despair, the overthrower of parties, and the disrupter of an empire; today, where is he? When Czars, Kaisers, and Holy Monarchs, full armed, stalk across the stage, who has an eye for little blustering Sir Edward? And are his fighting minions, raised to thwart their country's will, destined to lay their bones on foreign fields in behalf of that self-same country? Such is the irony of fate. Lord Macaulay long ago noted the fact that England could not be menaced by a civil and a foreign war at the same time; and the united front of the British nation demonstrates the truth of his statement. At one moment the Nationalists and the Ulstermen were ready to fly at each other's throats; the next moment they were pledging themselves in defense of their common country. Living side by side in Ireland they remained strangers; fighting shoulder to shoulder on the battlefields of Europe, they will be brothers. A strange creature, indeed, is man.

S. C.

Reviving the American Merchant Marine.

For fifty years the blight of a protective tariff has rested upon American shipping; and during that half century the American flag, once the

proudest on the seas, has all but disappeared from foreign ports. Greedy American shipbuilders made common cause with grasping manufacturers to prevent American shipmasters from buying ships abroad. And when American ships took out foreign registry during our Civil War to escape capture, a complacent Congress forbade their return to American registry. Thus was one of our greatest industries deliberately legislated out of existence in the name of protection. But a new era dawns. Europe is at war, and we are at peace. Foreign ships will seek American registry, as ours sought foreign protection. Commercial bodies already are calling upon Congress to open the door and let them in. Will Congress heed this appeal? Will it have the wit to undo the blunder of the war-mad Congress that riveted the shackles on the American merchant marine in the '60's? There are already large amounts of American capital invested in foreign shipping, but our stupid navigation laws compel the use of foreign flags. The repeal of these laws will bring it under our own flag. Congress is confronted with two obvious duties: The repeal of our antiquated navigation laws, and the passage of the Seamen's bill. s. c.



Destroying American Industries.

Once more comes the hoary joke about the balance of trade and the tariff. A well known American writer makes the solemn statement that, "Every shipload of products brought into the country means one shipload less to be manufactured here. Of course that means less work for our workers; dull business and a dull labor market always accompany each other." It is unnecessary to repeat the obvious answer to such a fallacy, but it may be of interest to note some of the curious dilemmas into which the "balance of trade" economists find themselves. We are prosperous, according to these Alice-in-Wonderland economists, in proportion as we export more than we import. Reference to the Statistical Abstract of the United States discloses the fact that the exports of merchandise from the United States during the half century ending 1912, exceeded the imports of merchandise by the amount of \$8,831,000,000. This indicates prosperity; for, according to the topsyturvy economists, this immense value of goods came back to us in gold. Unfortunately for that theory, though, the same authority shows that \$419,000,000 more gold was sent out of the country than was brought in. Possibly it was paid for in silver. No, we sent away during that time \$809,000,000 more silver than we brought back.

How long must it take people to learn that all trade is conducted for profit? Every legitimate, voluntary trade involves a mutual increase in wealth. Each receives more than he gives, else he would not trade. All complete trade, too, consists of exchanging goods for goods, or service for service. Money figures only as a convenient form of bookkeeping. The enormous excess of exports over imports, so far from denoting prosperity, mark our adversity. During our early days of development large investments were made by foreigners in our lands, and in industries closely related to land, such as the franchise monopolies. Each dollar then invested has grown with the increase of population and the industry of the people to represent now many dollars. Our statistics of imports showed one dollar as coming into the country. The same statistics show that dollar multiplied many times going out of the country. The excess of exports over imports measures the tribute we are paying to foreign investors. Ireland's trade with England shows an excess of exports over imports. India's trade tells the same story. All prosperous colonies make this showing. That is what they are for. That is the condition our imperialists seek to establish between our dependencies and the United States. Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines will all export more than they import. Yet, men go on declaring the earth is flat, and the moon is made of green cheese. Is it any wonder that there are men who think the more you take from a man's back the heavier the load is? s. c.



Imprisonment for Debt.

When Chicagoans read a few mornings ago that one of their fellow citizens had been imprisoned for debt they rubbed their eyes, wondering whether they had somehow slipped back into the eighteenth century. But when they turned to the Illinois Bill of Rights, Article II, Section 12, and read: "No person shall be imprisoned for debt, unless upon refusal to deliver up his estate for the benefit of his creditors in such manner as shall be prescribed by law, or in cases where there is strong presumption of fraud," matters began to grow interesting. First, a man was charged by a grocer with owing a bill of \$57. The charge was denied, but the man was convicted and ordered by the court to pay it. The man, still declaring he did not owe it, was threatened with jail. Whereupon he vowed he would stay in prison the remainder of his life before he would pay it. And to jail he went. An attorney became interested, and sought to liberate the prisoner by habeas corpus proceed-

ings. But the judge appealed to denied the plea for lack of jurisdiction. The Appellate Court, which the judge said had jurisdiction, was on a vacation; so the prisoner remained in jail until a benevolent citizen paid the \$57, and secured his release.



Again do we see the mills of the gods groaning and creaking as they grind their miserly grist. To begin with, here was a grocer who, without consulting anybody, sold for profit some goods to a customer whom he chose. According to his story the customer refused to pay, and the grocer brought to bear the law of the State. The State put the offender in jail, but charged his board to the grocer. And had not an outsider interfered there would have been an interesting contest as to which would have surrendered first, the man who gave up his liberty or the grocer who paid three dollars a week for his board. According to the Bill of Rights, a debtor can be jailed only for fraud, that is, for dishonesty. But why should the victim of dishonesty pay the board of the man who wronged him? The victim of a porchlimber, or footpad, is not called upon by the State to pay his board while in prison. Why the distinction? It looks very much as though Illinois had retained the old English law of imprisonment for debt, but had tried to hide the cruel thing under the cloak of fraud. It is much to be regretted that this man was not allowed to lie in jail till a decent public sentiment was aroused to wipe out the barbarous relic.

S. C.



Injustice and the Courts.

Increasing instead of diminishing seems the number of cases casting doubt on the fairness of courts and other branches of government. In California, Richard Ford and Herman Suhr are serving life sentences for a crime which no evidence shows that they committed. It was only through a ruling similar to the one, which in 1887 sent four innocent men to the gallows in Chicago, that they have been found guilty. In New Jersey, Fred S. Boyd and Patrick Quinlan are under sentence to the penitentiary, nominally for "incitement to riot," but in fact for exercising their constitutional right of free speech to express sentiments disagreeable to powerful interests. In New York, Bouck White is serving a sentence inflicted by a prejudiced magistrate, nominally for an unintentional violation of law which harmed no one. In Texas a strenuous effort to raise a sufficient defense fund seems all that can save from the gallows Rangel and Cline, who, in resisting an illegal

and murderous attack, killed a sheriff. These are not all of the recent cases of the same kind. The victims, in every case, are advocates of unpopular ideas. Sometimes their actions have been such as to deserve censure or condemnation. But that does not justify judges or prosecuting attorneys in distorting into violation of law what was nothing of the kind. It certainly does not justify the rail-roading of men to prison or the gallows. When persons charged with crime can only hope to be saved from unjust punishment, through raising of defense funds, and strenuous public protests, then it is clear that many courts are not being conducted as they should.

S. D.



A Double Action Amendment.

In initiating a constitutional amendment to limit local tax rates to one per cent, the Ohio State Board of Commerce proclaimed through its secretary, O. K. Shimansky, that it would make the single tax impossible since "with a one per cent tax limit a single tax will not produce revenue enough to support the government." Later, in answer to a statement by Daniel Kiefer that it would also prevent municipal ownership, Mr. Shimansky contradicted himself, declaring, "The people by vote can increase the tax levy or the indebtedness without limit." So according to Mr. Shimansky the proposed amendment limits the tax rate to one per cent, and at the same time allows it to be raised without limit. Believing single tax to be unpopular, Mr. Shimansky appeals to ignorant prejudice against it in behalf of an amendment designed to block municipal ownership. But knowing municipal ownership to be popular he tries to reassure the friends of that measure with a very different statement. Ohio voters had better beware of a measure alleged to be capable of accomplishing two such contradictory results.

S. D.



When Is It to Be.

Government ownership was predicted by the railroad corporations in case of refusal of their request for a general five per cent increase in freight rates. The Interstate Commerce Commission has only granted about one-third of what was asked. Now won't the roads denied an increase kindly set the date for institution of government ownership?

S. D.



The Land Question an Issue in Texas.

Eloquent testimony to the almost revolutionary significance of the result of the Texas primary has

been offered by Ex-Senator Joseph W. Bailey. Long before the date of the election, as far back as May 26, he wrote a letter to a citizen of San Antonio, J. F. Onion, in which he made his position clear. This letter was published in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram of June 8. Of course Bailey was bitterly opposed to the gubernatorial candidacy of James E. Ferguson. That is where most of the agents of the Texas plunderbund stood. In this letter Mr. Bailey said:-

The proposal to regulate, by law, the amount which one man may charge another for the use of his land, is so directly at war with our theory of government that, other things being equal, I would feel compelled to oppose my best friend, if a candidate on that platform.

Probably Bailey realized that an objection so vague would have little weight so further on he added:

But there are other consequences, more serious if possible than those I have just indicated, involved in Mr. Ferguson's program. In order to sustain the validity of such a law as he urges, our courts must decide that land is not the subject of absolute private ownership and control. Will they do that? I think not; but if they do the inexorable logic of their decision will be that the right of the user is superior to the right of the owner, and land must henceforth be classified by us with those things which their owners have devoted to a public use. With that step once taken, we shall soon proceed to the point at which the "progressive" statesmen of Great Britain have already arrived, and it will soon be proposed in this country, as it is now proposed in that country, that landlords shall be denied the right to select or reject tenants according to their own judgment.

Thus Mr. Bailey did Mr. Ferguson the honor of classifying him with Lloyd George, and put himself in the position of a Tory opponent. Still further on he said:

In some states this attack assumes the form of a single tax on land values, which can easily be made a means of confiscation, and in other states, like ours, the attack assumes the form of regulating rents. So far as the amount of rent is concerned, the law would not make the slightest difference in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred, but many advocate such a policy because they know it will divest land of its character as purely private property, and make the way easy for a still bolder challenge of its ownership.

In spite of the unscientific and certainly ineffective nature of the measure advocated by Ferguson, Mr. Bailey has made clear its essential significance. Texas has expressed her determination that the right to use of the land of the state shall be assured to its people. To that extent Bailey is right. There will be blundering at

first, in devising means to apply the principle. But Texas will learn. There is in fact, already a strong organization of tenant farmers in the State, far enough advanced to advocate taxation of land values as the proper remedy. Texas may yet lead in the work of industrial emancipation.

S. D.



THOUGHTS ON THE WAR.

One good thing has come of this "war scare," a lesson which should be heeded by the labor unions and the friends of labor legislation. The big coal operators are already worrying about what will happen if the thousands of Austro-Hungarians and South-the-Danube peoples generally, forming the great mass of cheap labor in the coal regions, should be called home to serve under their respective flags. These coal operators know perfectly well what will happen. They will have to pay higher wages to American citizens and they don't see any possibility, at the present moment, of taking it out of the ultimate consumer. Now, if the many serious, earnest people, in unions and otherwise, who are fighting for minimum wage and other labor legislation, would pause a moment and read this perfectly obvious lesson, they might see a light. There would be no need of a minimum wage in the coal region after an exodus for Europe of the men of fighting age of the nations involved. The job would seek the man, not the man the job, as now, and the miner could ask what he wanted without discussion or bloodshed. Suppose now, some rearrangement of the economic basis of society could be made by which true freedom of natural resources, instead of war, should suddenly (or gradually—either way would do) remove thousands of men from mine, mill, and workshop? Those who remain could ask their own price for their labor, could they not? And they would get it without strikes or cumbersome legislation. This thing is within the power of the voters of this country to accomplish. And the immense labor vote, once it saw the light, could bring it about easily. Learn the lesson, comrades of the pick and shovel, slaves of the machine—learn the one good lesson of the present crisis, and work towards a permanent bettering of the conditions under which you work and live.



A free press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty. Yet there *are* times when even the most convinced radical feels tempted to approve of a measure to muzzle the press. The case has just occurred. The French Government will prose-

cute the editor of the Paris Midi for printing alarmist war news. The technical count is that the article is a false report of a meeting of the Cabinet Council. The French Government is doing everything in its power to keep people cool at such a troublous time and there is no doubt that "scare heads" of war news which have no foundation in fact—and usually few have—are as dangerous as a lighted match in a powder barrel. This is not freedom of the press, but using the press deliberately to incite the people to bloodshed. We're putting men and women in jail for that sort of thing here just now, at least what we call "inciting to bloodshed." Why isn't it the same thing when a big newspaper does it? Such a paper appeals to thousands of readers, where the speaker of a street-corner gathering appeals to tens only. And the street-corner speaker is usually actuated by ideals that are high, however wrong the expression of them may be. But the "scare heads" in the papers have motives that are not high in any way. The cheapest and lowest motive is to sell as many sheets as possible, pandering to the vulgar taste for horrors and to the jingo spirit, the worst form of mob excitement. This must be kept alive because it is good in many ways—for the few, not the many. Hurrah-shouting and lust of gore obscure economic issues which are inconvenient—also makers of arms and armaments need the war spirit in their business. But the influence of these scare heads on the surging crowds in the street is bad in the extreme. Few read the account below, which in some of our dailies, were calmer and more hopeful. The great majority absorb the glaring head lines and go about reveling in the thought of a general massacre, or shaking their heads sadly over a "horrible inevitable," like a great many kind-hearted people who love to pore over the misfortunes of others. Thus, at such crises, does the one moment arise when a sincere lover of freedom would like to muzzle a portion of the press at least.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE PASSING REGIME IN MEXICO.

Los Angeles, Calif., July 15.

A friend of mine since my boyhood, Manuel Bonilla, who was Minister of Fomento in Madero's cabinet (this ministry has to do with mine patents, public lands, and other concessions except railroad concessions), is a Singletaxer, and the late Mr. Madero was one also, which is the real reason the landowners overthrew him. However, a couple of months ago, when Bonilla came here on business, he told me that the singletax was well enough to

keep the land in the hands of the peasants, after they once get it, but that no effort would be made to follow Madero's plan of using a land value tax to get the lands out of monopolistic control. Outright confiscation, I think he meant to convey, would be used to get the first possession of the lands.

There are many things not well understood in this Mexican revolution. First of all, our people do not understand the Mexican people. To begin with, there is no Mexican people. The Indians and mixed people form one people, and the people of Spanish descent form another people, exactly like our South, before the war. But these Indians are not, and never were anything like our Indians—they are brown people, but live in houses, and none of them pass below a certain degree of civilization. Cruelty is abhorrent to them. The Aztecs were never the real Mexicans; they were a small band of invaders from the Indians in this country, just as foreign in the beginning as the Spaniards were. Then there are the Spanish people, who own the land. They have been born in Mexico, have lived 400 years there and know no other country. They live and dress in European style. They can no more go to Spain than we can go back to England, or our Negroes go back to Africa. Thousands of these hacendados are good people, like our own Southern people. The system is feudal. The masters are good when they choose to be, and bad when they prefer to be. I lived for years on a hacienda of 65,000 acres, where the master family, when they wanted to pay an afternoon call, had to have the carriage hitched, and drive fifteen miles to the big house of the next hacienda. Yet so primitive was the life, for all their acres, that when the young ladies wanted a bath, a peon was ordered to the roof, with a barrel of water, which he emptied in the form of a shower into the bathroom, which was roofed with sacks, to keep out the view, but not the water. This family had an old peon foreman, who had become superannuated. "Felipe used to be a very good foreman," the master told me, "but now he is too old. But I can't bear to retire him, even on full pay, because it would hurt his feelings so. I have to let him be the ostensible foreman, but the peons have all been told to really obey Juan, while pretending to obey Felipe. He never notices; he's so old; and of course they wouldn't any of them hurt his feelings by letting him know. It only costs me two foremen's wages, and I'd have to keep him alive anyway, even if he did not work." All this, I found, was strictly true. Twice when the rurales came and tried to kidnap the peons to take to Yucatan on behalf of a powerful Cientifico, we had to stand them off with guns, the master arming the peons for the purpose. The first time, the soldiers came by surprise in the night and took away all the men they could catch. That time, the master paid the soldiers a bribe and got his hands back, and I remember yet how the wailing of the women was changed to rejoicing when he brought them. There arises a close personal relation between master and man. For all its good points, the system is evil.

They have in that country two kinds of railway and street cars, and in everything imaginable there is a jim-crow line. Even in the public parks in

cities, where the Indians are wage-slaves, not peons, there are some walks set aside for the whites (Spanish and Americans) and the other walks for the Indians. The Indians get the best of it, but feel just as resentful as if the whites took the best of it. The Indians are given the cool, shady inside walks, and the whites get only a glaring cement walk around the edge; but because it is a privilege, every one who treads the cement feels proud.

There are even two distinct codes of morals—one for the Indians and one for the whites.

The Americans in Mexico form a large class. The monopolists who own so much there do not live there; but in this country. However, there are thousands on thousands of Americans living in Mexico. Certain trades are tacitly given over to them. For instance, it is quietly understood that they are to be used as railway trainmen, mine drillers, etc. They have lived there for generations, some of them. There are their homes and places, and they cannot go away. Their children are born there. Many intermarry with the Spanish. But whether they do or do not intermarry with the Spanish, they become that peculiar product, the "Mexican American." They speak English among themselves, but intersperse the Spanish words they all know, and they have many ways peculiar to them all, yet not shared by other residents of Mexico. Their strangest trait is the maintenance of the fiction that they are Americans, fully entitled to protection. Even in the act of taking part in the politics of the country where they have spent their lives, they hypnotize themselves into the belief that they are patriotic only toward the United States. Individually, the Americans are popular in Mexico. As the losers, the Mexicans do not readily forget the war of 1846. But each American is generally liked, because he is not stingy. He is vastly more popular with the Indians than with the Spanish.

Contrary to belief, my impression is that Mexicans—and especially the Indians—are not treacherous, not cruel, not murderous, and not lazy. To get away from the landlords these Indians will go into places where the winter frost only ends about June 30 and begins again by September 30, with only short tropical days in the meantime, where, owing to the elevation, the summer temperature never rises above 60 degrees in the sunshine—in other words, plateaus where it is terrific work to bring a crop to maturity. In Sinaloa, where the native Indians own most of the land (which is held in common) you will always find them hard at work. I have lived with them as well as the hacendados, and they are the most peaceful people imaginable. But the half-breed Spaniard is very apt to be a bad character. He takes to all kinds of work requiring horsemanship, makes a good foreman, is a born leader of Indians, is generally not scrupulous, and, in fact, Villa, Huerta, and Orozco are of this class, and I presume Zapata is also. Carranza and the Maderos are Spanish. The Rurales are always half-breeds. Most of the people are, for that matter, but in most of them the Indian predominates.

B. F. BUTTERFIELD.



"You can arrest me but you can't arrest my contempt."—The Masses.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

London, July 17.

We had a considerable victory on Monday last as the House of Lords by a unanimous vote inserted a clause in a Bill promoted by the Government for amending the Home Rule Bill, the effect of which is to apply proportional representation to the whole of the Irish House of Commons instead of as at present to 31 out of 164 seats. It is not certain, however, that this will pass as the Amending Bill—its proper title is the Government of Ireland (Amendment) Bill—contains other measures on which the Conservative majority in the Lords and the Ministerial majority in the Commons are in conflict, and the whole Bill may be sacrificed. The debate in the Lords, however, showed the movement of opinion in favor of proportional representation, and the amendment received the support of some very distinguished peers, including the ex-Lord Chancellor, Earl Loreburn, an ex-chancellor of the Exchequer, Viscount St. Aldwyn, and an ex-Ambassador, Viscount Bryce, in addition to Lord Courtney and a number of peers representing the Irish interests which the amendment was designed to safeguard.

JOHN H. HUMPHREYS,

Secretary, Proportional Representation Society (England).

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

ANOTHER ARGUMENT FOR JUDICIAL RECALL.

Boston, Mass., July 20.

A recent decision made by Judge Crain of the New York Court of General Sessions convicting Upton Sinclair for his vagaries before No. 26 Broadway, because "no citizen may rebuke another citizen by subjecting him to ridicule or insult," seems to invite wider comment than its subject is enabled to make in the organ of his party. Mr. Sinclair seems to be justified in saying: "This decision is inconceivable. If it were upheld, it would mean the end of free speech, and, indeed, of public life. . . . Take public parades and mass meetings, called to protest against the conduct of any citizen, for instance, against the conduct of Murphy, an entirely unofficial person—in deposing the governor of the State. To do any public thing to 'rebuke' Mr. Murphy 'by subjecting him to ridicule or insult' would be disorderly conduct; and it would not be necessary that Mr. Murphy should be there, or should make a complaint; the police would at once arrest anyone who uttered a word—since uttering a word is 'doing'—and take him to the nearest police station.

"Or, take cartooning: obviously, after that decision, no newspaper dare publish a cartoon tomorrow morning. If any of them do, I shall at once call the attention of the nearest police captain to the offense, and the editors and publishers will at once be taken to jail. Drawing, printing and selling a cartoon are a form of 'doing'; and they are necessarily public; and their main purpose is generally to 'rebuke a citizen by subjecting him to ridicule

or insult.' In Harper's Weekly of four or five weeks ago, appears a terrific cartoon, representing John D. Rockefeller as a hideous old creature, crouching and watching through a spy-glass the smoking ruins of Colorado; and there is the caption: 'Hell from beneath is moved to meet thee at thy coming.' Now, can any sane man hold that this cartoon does not publicly rebuke a citizen by holding him up to ridicule or insult? And note that it makes not the least difference whether what the cartoon alleges be true; it makes no difference that Rockefeller has admitted under oath his full responsibility for an approval of the hideous crimes in Colorado. 'It is likewise beside the point whether the thing he saw to reprobate was or was not reprehensible!' Nor will the outraged law wait till Mr. Rockefeller makes complaint; it will not leave him to sue for libel, but will send at once to the offices of Harper's Weekly—now that the law has been made clear—and arrest Mr. Hapgood for 'using threatening, abusive and insulting behavior.'

A warning against the danger suggested by Mr. Sinclair's criticism of such judicial restrictions of freedom has recently been given by an author who must demand a respectful hearing. In a philosophic discussion of "The Theory of Social Evolution" that learned and clear sighted publicist Brooks Adams, recalls the fact that social convulsions seem to have been inevitable in the English-speaking race, when "the envelope grew too tight for the growing organism." Mr. Adams, in this connection, asserts that in the United States: "The Bench has always had an avowed partisan bias," and that though the capitalistic class, always "very weak in those generalizing powers which are necessary for its safety," thinks itself secure as it "leans on the Courts" while favorably inclined, there is great danger of a cataclysmic disaster when the social equilibrium shifts and the political court becomes "the most formidable of all engines for the destruction of its creators."

ERVING WINSLOW.



DEBT AS SECURITY FOR LOANS.

Pittsburgh, Pa., July 19.

I want the government to find out how much I owe, what my debts are: and then I want the government to help me get a long time loan of about sixty per cent of my total indebtedness, at a low rate of interest and take by debts as security. That's the substance of nearly all proposed rural credit schemes and if the government can do it for the farmer it can do it for me. I am as good as a farmer any day.

Land may be a social asset, but to the individual holder of title it is a liability for annual dues to the full value of the privilege of exclusive possession.

It is true we have permitted the possession to become an individual asset, but that is the very cause of our social ailment, and, to make land loans easier through proposed rural credit schemes is to aggravate the disease, not to effect a cure.

Houses, cattle and other labor products are proper security for loans, for these things are assets,

but land is not a proper security for loans; in fact, it is no security at all, for it is a liability. We have seen the bad effect of basing a national currency, even nominally, on a public debt, but this scheme of facilitating borrowing on land at low interest beats the currency scheme, for it proposes blandly to help the farmer to borrow money on his debts. And that's what I want, too. I have lots of debts and nothing else to borrow on. Anyhow, I am as good as the farmer.

H. W. NOREN.



LAND VALUE TAX IN NEW ZEALAND.

San Francisco, July 29.

In New Zealand the tax on unimproved land values has been in operation for more than thirty years. For a large share of this time a law has been in force under which it is provided that any city or county may hold an election and on a majority vote may place the local rates on the unimproved land values only.

This tax has grown so popular that in the last year, out of twenty-four such local elections held, twenty-two of them voted, by very large majorities, for the adoption of the tax.

The dozen largest cities in the Dominion, including the capital city of the nation, have adopted the local tax, or rating, as it is called. In no case has it been repealed after it has once been adopted.

WALTER THOMAS MILLS.



SOCIAL INJUSTICE INJURIOUS TO THE RICH.

Charlottesville, Va., June 29.

There is a corollary to the fact that low wages for women is the cause of prostitution, and that poverty is a cause of racial degeneration. Too much money (privilege) in one class is fully as baneful as too little in the other. This point has not been brought out in any of the numerous papers I have seen on the subject of the minimum wage. The corollary helps to prove the theorem. J. W. Bengough's epigram fits in here: "Land monopoly is the concealed armor of privilege that gives wealth to idleness, poverty to the worker, and spiritual death to both."

EDMOND FONTAINE.

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, August 4, 1914.

War in Europe.

Diplomatic action among the nations of Europe followed swiftly the Austrian declaration of war with Servia on the 28th. While the armies of

Austria and Servia were moving toward each other, Germany, Russia, France and England were thrown into a high state of apprehension. It was soon evident that Russia was eager to aid Servia. But this meant that Germany would aid Austria; which would bring Italy to help Austria and Germany, and France and England to the assistance of Russia. Russia began mobilizing on the 29th. Germany protested, but was not given a satisfactory answer. The Kaiser declared war on Russia on the 1st, and ordered the mobilizing of the German army. France began mobilizing on the 2d. Italy notified Germany on the first that the Triple Alliance was defensive and not offensive, and that she would therefore remain neutral. The English cabinet was divided on the war issue, with a strong disposition to aid France if attacked by Germany. Before France and Germany formally declared war, their armies were advancing into each other's territory. Germany invaded the neutral territory of the Duchy of Luxemburg on the 2d, which places them at one of the gateways of France; and her troops entered Belgium on the 3d. As Belgium's neutrality is recognized by England, the British war faction is urging this as an excuse for a hostile demonstration. [See current volume, page 730.]

The governments of Europe have seized the means of communication, and are exercising the strictest censorship over all information that is sent out. For this reason very little is known as yet of the movements of the armies and navies. Germany's navy is at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven. England has a large fleet somewhere in the North Sea. France is concentrating her navy in the Mediterranean; while Russia's fleet is in the Baltic. Austria's attacks on Servia are reported as producing slight effect; and now that the Russian armies are approaching her borders she is withdrawing her main forces from the Servian campaign.

Immediately on the declaration of war between Russia and Germany the large steamships in the trans-Atlantic trade were withdrawn, which has left a very large number of American tourists marooned in Europe. Congress has voted \$250,000 to relieve them, and the State Department is doing all it can to aid their return home. By so amending the American navigation laws as to admit foreign ships to American registry Congress has opened the way to restore to the carrying trade much of the shipping that has been withdrawn on account of war.

Russia, Austria, Germany, Servia and France are under martial law, with troops mobilized. England as yet maintains an armed neutrality, with troops mobilizing. In all the countries except France action has been taken on the initiative of the Emperor, King, Kaiser or Czar, without any regard to the will of the people. The British Parliament is in session and the cabinet is in daily consultation with it. The war spirit completely dominates everything throughout Europe. The Russian strike, which had reached serious proportions, has been dropped; and the warring factions in Ireland have forgotten their quarrel for the time being.

Germany on August 3 notified neutral nations that a state of war with France exists. On August 4 the British Foreign Office announced: "Owing to the summary rejection by the German Government of the request made by His Majesty's Government that the neutrality of Belgium be respected, His Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin has received his passports, and His Majesty's Government has declared that a state of war exists between Great Britain and Germany from 11 P. M. August 4." President Wilson on August 4 issued for the United States a proclamation of neutrality.

Mexico and the United States.

Mexican affairs are moving so smoothly that President Wilson expresses his confidence in an early settlement between the Federals and the Constitutionals. General Carranza insists upon his original terms of unconditional surrender. This demand is made in order to avoid the recognition of Huerta or Carbajal authority as a legal government, and to have a free hand in resuming the reins laid down by President Madero. [See current volume, page 733.]

Some fighting at distant points has taken place in spite of the reported armistice. Mazatlan, one of the last cities on the Pacific Coast to surrender, was evacuated by the Federal authorities on the 1st. General Tellez, who was in command, has been ordered to take his troops to Salina Cruz, the southern terminus of the Tehuantepec railway. General Carranza is reported to have ordered an advance of the Constitutionalist soldiers on Mexico City. Generals Obregon and Gonzales effected a junction of their forces, numbering 60,000 men, at Irapuato, 180 miles from the Capital. They are moving toward Pachuca, where they will join the

forces of General Flores. The Carbajal delegates are reported at General Carranza's headquarters.



Changes in Geo. A. Fowlds' Route.

Some changes have been made in the itinerary of Honorable George A. Fowlds of New Zealand, who is visiting this country and will address a number of meetings. He will be in Montreal on August 10; Quebec, August 11; Ottawa, August 12 and 13; Toronto, August 14; Niagara Falls, Rochester and Wyoming, N. Y., on August 15 and 16; Chicago, August 17 and 18; Milwaukee, August 19 and 20; Arco, Minnesota, August 21, 22 and 23; Minneapolis, August 24; Winnipeg, August 25; Shellmouth, August 26; Calgary, August 27; Edmonton, August 28 and 29; Vancouver, August 31, September 1 and 2. Thence to New Zealand. [See current volume, page 709.]



Governor Sulzer for Home Rule.

Former Governor of New York William Sulzer, now a candidate for re-election, gave assurances on July 28 to a committee of Singletaxers and to the Lower Rent Society that he is heartily in favor of Home Rule in Taxation and of the untaxing of industry. He gave this committee a signed statement to the effect and urged that other gubernatorial candidates be challenged to debate with him. [See current volume, page 709.]



Protest Against Pending Water Power Bill.

The National Conservation Association on July 26 through its president, Gifford Pinchot, issued a public statement concerning the Adamson water power bill now pending in Congress. Mr. Pinchot said in part:

Every friend of Conservation will receive with keen disappointment the recent announcements from the White House that the Administration endorses the Adamson Dam Bill in its amended form. This is an unfortunate and needless surrender to the power interests on the threshold of victory for the people. . . . In a statement on June 1 I called attention to the fact that the Adamson bill was much more favorable to the water power interests than to the public interest. It was precisely the kind of bill the power people wanted. It did not protect the public, and therefore was indefensible. This was fully proved when the bill came before the House for consideration during the first week in July. Its most important provisions are in conflict with the present Dam Act and the policies now in force in the Departments of Agriculture and of the Interior. The recent amendments to the bill, approved at the White House conferences, unbelievable as it may seem, fail to bring the bill into line with these policies. The bill as it stands is a thoroughly bad bill.

It does not require the power companies to pay to the public for the valuable privileges they receive.

After the seven years' fight to make the power

interests adequately compensate the Government for special privileges, they are now invited to help themselves to what they may choose on our navigable streams. . . . It does not protect consumers within the States from extortion in case the State Governments fail to act.

It makes substantially impossible the taking back of the public rights granted even when the ostensible fifty-year period of the grant has expired.

It gives the water power people the right to saddle the Government with the unearned increment in land values if it ever should succeed in resuming its rights.

It would apparently require the Government to take over the whole electric lighting plant of a city in order to get possession again of the water power owned by the people, if that power were the source from which the lighting plant was supplied.

This bill prevents the amendment or repeal of a grant or franchise except when Congress "determines that the conditions of consent have been violated." The Conservationists have always insisted that the grant should be made for a definite period, and that fifty years was a reasonable period. The Adamson bill provides that the grant shall be for "fifty years from and after the date of the completion of the dam described in the original approval, and after the expiration of said fifty years such rights shall continue until compensation has been made to said grantee for the fair value of its property." This is substantially an indeterminate grant, and clearly not a grant for a fifty year period, for the grantee, at the end of the grant, can by litigation of the question of "fair value" not only extend the grant to an indefinite period but also tie the hands of Congress.

The Adamson bill in its present form is full of jokers, and is lacking in important safeguards to protect the public interest. . . . Its passage would be a sweeping victory for the water power monopolists. [See current volume, page 9.]



Nebraska Politics.

State conventions of the Democratic, Progressive and Republican parties were held in Nebraska on July 28. The Democratic convention endorsed the record of Senator Hitchcock and of the Democratic congressmen. On state matters the platform endorses the pending constitutional amendments giving the legislature greater latitude in selecting subjects for taxation, and allowing five-sixths of a jury to render a verdict in civil cases and in criminal cases involving less than felonies. The Progressive convention declared for home rule in taxation for cities and public ownership of public utilities. It also endorses the pending constitutional amendments. It further declared for presidential primaries, majority votes on all measures submitted under the Initiative and Referendum, Equal Suffrage, the short ballot, the recall of all elective officers and of judicial decisions, preferential voting, simplification of the direct primary, a progressive inheritance tax and a graduated state income tax "discriminating sharply

in favor of earned, as compared with unearned incomes." Other planks demand minimum wage, a national child labor law, prohibition of the liquor traffic and similar measures. The Republican convention declared that present state revenue laws work inequitably and demanded revision "that all property shall bear its just burden of taxation."



The Labor War.

The threatened strike of enginemen on railroads entering Chicago, was averted by direct action of President Wilson. The federal Board of Mediation and Conciliation had vainly endeavored to bring about arbitration. The men had agreed to this but the corporations refused. Accordingly August 7 was set as the date for a general strike. President Wilson on August 1 had a conference with the managers of the railroads urging them to consent to arbitration, calling their attention to the calamity their refusal would be at the present time and intimating that persistence in refusal would result in putting forth of governmental power to avert the calamity. On August 3 the Managers' Committee agreed to President Wilson's request. Chairman W. L. Chambers of the Board of Mediation and Conciliation, at once notified the enginemen. The Board will arrange the details of arbitration. [See current volume, page 708.]



Indictments were returned in Chicago on July 30 against two union business agents charging them with conspiracy to blackmail. This is the first result of a crusade against alleged blackmailing of contractors by business agents instituted by the Chicago Herald.



Commission on Industrial Relations.

The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations met at Lead, S. D., on August 3. The city is said to be principally owned by the Homestake Mining Company of which Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, mother of William Randolph Hearst, is the principal stockholder. The Catholic bishop, Reverend Joseph F. Busch, was the first witness. He said that free speech and a free press do not exist in the community. He had found it impossible to enforce church regulations regarding church attendance on Sunday, because the men were afraid to lay off. The mines operate seven days a week. His statements were denied by Thomas J. Grier, superintendent of the company. Mr. Grier admitted that his company had suppressed the miners' union in Lead, that the company maintains a system of espionage and that all employes buy at the company store. Every employe must sign an agreement never to join a labor organization and must state his political affiliations in

applying for work. Noting that no Socialists nor Progressives were listed among the applicants, Commissioner John R. Commons asked the witness if he discriminated against these. Mr. Grier admitted discriminating against Socialists but not against Progressives. The pay roll is \$225,000 a month. The minimum for underground work is \$3 a day. The union scale is \$3.50. The Commission has found it difficult to get witnesses to tell of conditions which the company does not wish disclosed. [See current volume, page 732.]



Financial Safeguards Adopted.

The European war situation demoralized the American stock and grain market so that on July 31 the New York stock exchange decided to close. Stock exchanges in other cities at once took similar action. A conference of bankers of leading cities was held in Washington on August 1. It was decided that beginning with August 3, clearing house certificates be issued for dealings between banks and that the thirty or sixty day notice be required for withdrawal of savings deposits. The Senate passed on July 31, at the request of Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, an amendment to the Aldrich-Vreeland emergency currency act. The amendment allows banks to avail themselves of the benefits of the act even though they do not have outstanding circulating notes based on government bonds to the amount of forty per cent of their capital. The House passed the amendment on August 3, with some changes. The Senate concurred on August 4. The President immediately signed, rendering \$1,000,000,000 emergency currency available.



Decision in Railroad Rate Case.

The Interstate Commerce Commission on August 1 finally rendered its decision regarding the railroads' request for a five per cent freight rate increase. The increase was allowed in Central Freight Association territory. This is the territory north of the Ohio River, between the Mississippi and Buffalo and Pittsburgh. East of Buffalo the increase was not allowed. No increase was allowed on lake and rail rates. Exceptions to the increase allowed in Central Freight Association territory were made in shipments of coal, coke, brick, tile, clay, starch, cement, iron ore and plaster. The increase allowed, it is estimated, will yield an additional income of from \$10,000,000 to \$15,000,000. The Commission severely condemned the campaign of publicity carried on by the roads, holding that it aggravated the business depression. Many of the contentions of Louis D. Brandeis were upheld in regard to mismanagement and inefficiency on the part of the roads. The Commission recommended that unremunerative charges, burdensome regulations and

free service to shippers be abolished. Economies in fuel costs and in operation were suggested and a revision of contracts with the Pullman Company was recommended in order to reduce expenses. The Commission recommends stoppage of the practice of buying supplies and ordering work done by concerns in which railroad officers are interested, intimating that the practice leads to graft. It further recommends that all property not used in transportation be sold. [See current volume, page 707.]



Two minority reports were filed. One by Commissioner Winthrop M. Daniels, recently appointed by President Wilson, held that the request of the railroads should have been granted in its entirety, and that the Commission should not have made the extensive investigation it did. He held as irrelevant the inquiry into methods by which the railroads might conserve their revenues without advancing rates. Commissioner McChord also filed a dissenting opinion in which he held that the increase granted in Central Freight Association territory should have been extended to Trunk Line territory. [See current volume, page 344.]

NEWS NOTES

—Carl S. Vrooman of Bloomington, Ill., was nominated by the President on August 1 for Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

—The Cape Cod Canal connecting Buzzards Bay with Cape Cod Bay was opened for traffic on July 30. It is eight miles long, twenty-five feet deep and from 100 to 250 feet wide. It cost \$12,000,000 to build, and shortens by 70 miles the ocean route from Boston to New York.

—In order to prevent unfit marriages and to discourage race suicide, the practical-minded Dutch, through their committee of study of public hygiene, have opened an office at The Hague, at which a medical man attends daily to examine and give suitable advice to persons of both sexes intending to marry.

—Mme. Henriette Caillaux, wife of Joseph Caillaux, the noted French politician, who shot and killed Gaston Calmette, editor of Figaro, on March 16th, was acquitted on the 28th by a jury in the Assize, of the charge of wilful murder. The prominence of the persons interested, and the manner of conducting the trial aroused much bitter feeling and severe criticism. [See current volume, page 327.]

—Ex-Governor J. C. W. Beckham, Democrat, was nominated for United States Senator from Kentucky for the long term at the direct primary on August 2. Ex-Governor A. E. Wilson received the Republican nomination, and Burton Vance of Louisville the Progressive nomination. To fill the unexpired term of the late Senator Bradley, Johnson W. Camden was nominated by the Democrats, William Marshall Bul-

lit by the Republicans and George C. Nicholas by the Progressives.

—Jean Leon Jaures, the noted Socialist leader of France, was assassinated in Paris on the 31st. He had been a member of the Chamber of Deputies since 1885, and both as a Deputy and as editor of *La Petite Republique* he had stood for constructive policies, and for peace. It was his uncompromising opposition to the present war that provoked the assassin's attack. Born at Castres, September 3, 1859, he became Professor of Philosophy at Albi and Toulouse, and was author of a number of works. To his efforts more than to any other leader, perhaps, was due the effective organization of the French Socialists.

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States [see current volume, page 713] for the twelve months ending June, 1914, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce for June, 1914, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.	
Merchandise	\$2,364,626,555	\$1,894,169,180	\$470,457,375	Exp.
Gold	112,038,529	66,538,659	45,499,870	Exp.
Silver	54,965,023	30,326,604	24,638,419	Exp.

Total \$2,531,630,107 \$1,991,034,448 \$540,595,664 Exp.

The imports of merchandise for June, 1914, were \$157,772,973, of which 59.42 per cent were entered free of duty; for June, 1913, the imports were \$131,245,877, of which 50.89 per cent were entered free of duty.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Debacle.

Chicago Herald, Aug. 1.—The man sat at the end of the telegraph line while cables from London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, from all parts of the world, poured in. The burden of each was war, wreck and slaughter. Scarcely a glimmer of hope anywhere. Europe, the world, seemed rushing headlong to the gulf. . . . He saw that the world stood today facing a calamity greater than it ever faced; greater than any he could conceive of, short of the complete destruction of the human race. Compared with it all the ruin wrought by nature in its utmost violence was nothing. . . . And the crime, the horrible folly of it all, was that this disaster toward which the world was rushing could be averted. Men were doing it, and men could stop it, but apparently would not. It was not a case of earthquake or some vast agency beyond the reach of man. It was a human institution that was running away with humanity, that was bearing it to a deep gulf where arts, culture, reverence, progress might lie sunken for a hundred years. And it could not be decisive—this world-catastrophe that people euphemistically called "war." Three nations could not hope to crush three equally great nations utterly. One might crush one on the land and the other be victorious on the sea, but in a conflict with half the European world on each side the nations would simply burn, fire and slay each other until all alike were weak. The thing would have to end in a conference some time—another sort of Berlin conference to settle the bal-

ance of power. If it must so end, great God! why not begin with the conference and have no war at all? He saw that people did not realize the staggering, the unspeakable catastrophe that the world and humanity confronted—a catastrophe that would draw blood-red scars across the future to remotest time. He saw that here in America we were lapped in a sense of false security. All this he saw, saw plainly, as the cables poured in from London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, from all the world, each with its message of impending ruin and death.



The End of Monarchy and War.

Chicago Tribune, August 2.—Before establishing hell on earth the pietistic kings commend their subjects to God. Seek the Lord's sanction for the devil's work. "And now I commend you to God," said the kaiser from his balcony to the people in the street. "Go to church and kneel before God and pray for His help for our gallant army." Pray that a farmer dragged from a Saxon field shall be speedier with a bayonet thrust than a winemaker taken from his vines in the Aube; that a Berlin lawyer shall be steadier with the rifle than a Moscow merchant; that a machine gun manned by Heidelberg students shall not jam and that one worked by Paris carpenters shall. Pray that a Bavarian hop grower, armed in a quarrel in which he has no heat, shall outmarch a wheat grower from Poltava; that Cossacks from the Don shall be lured into barbed wire entanglements and caught by masked guns; that an innkeeper of Salzburg shall blow the head off a baker from the Loire. "Go to church and pray for help"—that the hell shall be hotter in innocent Ardennes than it is in equally innocent Hessen; that it shall be hotter in innocent Kovno than in equally innocent Posen. And the pietistic czar commends his subjects to God that they may have strength of arm in a quarrel they do not understand. . . . The kings worship Baal and call it God, but out of the sacrifice will come, we think, a resolution firmly taken to have no more wheat growers and growers of corn, makers of wine, miners and fishers, artisans and traders, sailors and storekeepers offered up with prayer to the Almighty in a feudal slaughter, armed against each other without hate and without cause they know, or, if they knew, would give a penny which way it was determined. . . . It is the twilight of the kings. The republic marches east in Europe.



The Balance of Power.

The (London) Nation, July 18.—The hatred of war and the despair at the growth of armaments is the current mood of educated men. Europe has survived acute risks of war, and realized in the act of survival the deeper unity, the latent good sense, which does and will avail to keep the peace. And yet it seems as though the less there is left to quarrel about, the more were nations bent on having something to quarrel with. . . . We are accustomed now to the spectacle of a conflict which threatens for a moment to engulf all Europe, but presently vanishes through the beneficent pressure of the allies of the Powers directly concerned. That has twice happened over Eastern affairs. A superficial

observer is content to say that alliances help to keep the general peace. So they do, but they first make the general danger. Moreover, even if it were true that the system of alliances averts some possible wars (while rendering Armageddon conceivable), its effect on armaments is wholly and demonstrably mischievous. The influence of an ally is always used . . . to stimulate the arming of her partner. . . . This triple system means for every Power that it bears the weight of the ambitions, the enmities, and the dangers, not of one nation, but of three. Every crisis in Europe today affects every Power, and the consequence is that the stimulus to arm is forever repeated and forever echoed from every quarter of the horizon.



Will Texas Lead the Way?

St. Louis Post Dispatch, July 27.—James E. Ferguson's victory in the Texas Democratic State primary, Saturday, July 25, has decided national significance. * * * For the growing American army of landless and homeless tenant farmers—now more than 40 per cent of the whole number of American farmers and more than 50 per cent in Texas—it means that a beginning has been made toward relieving their condition, that public attention has at last been focused upon their problem, and that in the judgment of a large majority of the voters of one of the greatest states the time is ripe for radical land reforms. For the railroads of the Southwest it means that the people will not permit them to refund their enormous quantities of watered securities at par, thus fixing the burden of excessive rates and inferior service on shippers for two more generations. It is notice to these roads that they must prepare to refund their bonds on the basis of actual values invested in their properties, including not one dollar of franchise values. For the protective tariff wing of the Southwestern Democracy, led by ex-Senator Joseph W. Bailey, it means a final and crushing defeat, a triumph for the Wilson bill's agricultural free list in the chief of the agricultural states. In this campaign all the great corporate interests of Texas—railroads, express, public utility, telegraph, telephone, lumber, oil, cattle, etc., all but two or three of the leading daily newspapers; 90 per cent of the prominent politicians of all factions; 80 per cent of the lawyers and nearly all of the preachers; the whole landlord element with rare exceptions; most of the bankers and big business men—these and other powerful elements of society, including the Texas Federal office holders, were aligned back of Col. Ball of Houston, the railroad-prohibition candidate for Governor. James E. Ferguson of Temple had nobody with him but the plain people—farm folk in the country, workingmen and small business men in the towns and cities. The returns show * * * that the people of Texas as a whole welcomed the opportunity (afforded them by the candidacy of a vigorous, modern-minded young man who never before ran for office), to consign the whole tribe of old-time political bosses—pro and anti-pro, Bailey and anti-Bailey—to the political scrap heap. Saturday's primary signals the arrival of a new era in the political and industrial affairs of Texas. It foreshadows land and industrial

legislation which will lead the way for other states, as Texas led the way for them a quarter century ago by creating the first Railroad Commission.



Remove the Cause.

New York Call, July 25.—To see a New Haven director in jail would probably delight the dear old ladies who inhabit the government offices at Washington—but the real government of the nation isn't going to let anything like that happen. Nor would it do any good if William Rockefeller and a bunch of his associates did go to jail. Putting men in prison is an archaic manner of dealing with such a situation as that presented in the trust problem. Some day, when officials cease to infest public office, but really occupy it for intelligent work, we shall stop fooling with our great problems as we do nowadays. * * * For the New Haven directors to do as they did was but the inevitable thing for them to do. Of course they combined many roads and of course they looted them to their limit. But they could have done none of those things if they hadn't owned the roads.

**RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT**

**NOTWITHSTANDING WARS AND
RUMORS OF WARS.**

By James H. West.

Earth's night is waning! Beautiful and fair
The dayspring flashes gold across the deep.
I see the wailing nations cease to weep,
For War and Want Me wounded in their lair
And know their end approacheth. Stricken,—bare,—
Bewildered by the Day,—the selfish heap
Of woes that thrive in darkness take their leap
To escape the sunbeams netting in their hair.
At last man rouses, knowing Earth his Mother
Amplly provides for all her children's needs:
Means of exalting holds she for each one,
With woe to him who would oppress his brother.
Hail, humankind! more now than kings or creeds!
And every lifting forehead fronts the sun.



THE FULL STATURE OF MANHOOD

From The (London) Nation of July 18.

The historian who assumes that every period resembled the Napoleonic wars will get his view of mankind dangerously simplified and riskily foreshortened. The part which nationality plays as a motive in life varies from decade to decade and from one latitude to another. In normal times the average citizen of the civilized modern State is a buyer or a seller, an employe or an employer, a believer or a skeptic, a Tory, a Socialist, or a suffragist, nine times and even ninety-nine times, as against the hundredth moment in which he must realize acutely that he is an Englishman

or a German. It is this immense preponderance of interests and concerns at once wider and narrower than nationality which, to our thinking, renders any attempt to read the march of history in national terms abstract, false and even trivial. The great changes in human society of which we are aware, and the greater changes that we dimly divine, are all concerned with relationships that vary hardly at all with frontiers and only a little with climate. They are the relationships of employer and employed, of men with women, and of the dark races with the white. In these conflicts the brain and the will of mankind are largely absorbed today, and it seems to us that they must be wholly absorbed in them tomorrow. When a historian comes to us with the prophetic message that the real issue of today and still more of tomorrow is whether Britain or Germany shall possess the mastery of the world, we find ourselves merely bewildered. . . .

The tragedy of the Napoleonic era was that at its outset both France and England, by mutual wrongs and blunders, were persuaded that safety could be reached only through supremacy. But the will to power is not yet the national passion, and the lesson of history is that only by untoward circumstances and the folly of statesmen does it ever for a period become the dominant motive with great masses of men. . . .

Does a modern man, watching Serbs or Greeks celebrating victory among their own dead over the burned villages of Turks or Bulgars, while the press rings with mutual accusations of barbarity, seriously think that these peoples in that hour touched the summit of human achievement and felicity? To us a thinker who would persevere war for the sake of its rare heroism and selflessness seems to reason like a madman who would oppose the use of precautions in mines, because a catastrophe gives occasion for moral splendor. Nor can we grasp the morality which erects the will to power into the supreme or indeed into an allowable motive of human action. If men can only reach the full height of their moral stature by sating their will to power, the consequence follows that they can attain humanity only by denying it to others. . . .

The cult of force and the worship of the will are not a possible faith for modern men. . . .

The true futurism is busied no longer with the monopoly of power by the aristocracies of favored races. Its problem is the diffusion and equalization of power in a world where Labor and Capital, and Men and Women, have replaced German and Englishman, conqueror and subject.



If those Senators should prove that Columbia has to spend \$15,000,000 to get \$10,000,000 worth of justice, it would raise a nice problem as to who ought to be investigated.—Craig Ralston.

MILITARISM IN WASHINGTON.

[Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court, in an address upon "The Mission of the United States in the Cause of Peace," in 1909.]

As illustrating the effort to develop the naval and military spirit, it is not strange that the chief of staff of the American army has affirmed that we are wasting time in seeking arbitrations, and that the only true course for us to pursue is to make our military and naval strength so great as to be beyond danger of attack. Nor is it strange that the gallant admiral who started in command of our fleet on its tour around the world is reported to have said that the fewer statesmen and the more ironclads there were, there would be less danger of war. In other words, if we had more guns and fewer people unwilling to use them there would be less shooting. Such logic as that, as Mark Twain would say, is simply unanswerable. It might as well be said that to stop personal quarrels and prevent shooting, the law should require every man to carry a loaded pistol in his hip pocket.



WHITE WOLF.

G. L. Harding

In *The International Socialist Review*.

"White Wolf" is spreading terror among the gentry of the West of China today very similar to the consternation Villa was spreading a few years ago among the científicos of the North of Mexico. Like the Villa of those days, White Wolf is always being captured and his forces annihilated by some fearless commander in the pay of the Government. His soldiers have been represented as bloodthirsty ruffians, and his designs as nothing more than pillage and plunder—and the constant disturbance of Loranorder, that twentieth century fetich, more barbarous than any mud idol in China. But whether murdered by one of his own cowardly band, or slain by some fearless officer of the Republic, White Wolf is always up and at it again somewhere else, and his army of bandits looms up an ever-greater menace to the tottering peace of the Chinese Republic.

White Wolf has ravaged four provinces since last November—Honan, Hupeh, Shensi and Kansu—the heart of West Central China just north of the Yang-tse river. His insurrection covers too wide an area to be reckoned as local. It is part of a wave of national discontent. And whatever may be White Wolf's own political opinions, as distinct from those of the peasantry from which he sprang, it is an open secret that his military operations have the support of a national revolutionary organization. This revolutionary organization, there is hardly need to say, is composed of the same deter-

mined men who put through the Revolution of 1911, but whom President Yuan Shih-K'ai's coup d'état of last summer drove from the country they had wrested from Manchu rule. A formidable rebellion for Dr. Sun's cause flared up last December in far-away Yunnan, the mountainous province in the southwest, China's Colorado. Widespread plots are known to be hatching in Canton and Wuchang, the centers of the 1911 Revolution. And as the news of revolt after revolt is brought up to Peking, always one reads that the strength of White Wolf increases. Only the other day the regular troops at Sianfu, the capital of the great province of Shensi, mutinied en masse on the approach of the brigand leader and turned the city over to his army. The whole country is plainly stirring with symptoms of another tumultuous change. . . .

A year ago today China might be said to be the only nation in Asia to have a free press. There were almost a thousand daily newspapers in the country, representing every phase of opinion, uncensored and uncensorable by the Nanking Constitution. In scores of cities newspapers were founded where none had ever existed before. Most of these were founded by the Southern party, and told the truth about corrupt officialdom to the people for the first time. The number of newspaper readers quintupled in two years throughout this vast empire.

Then came the reaction. The editor of the *China Democrat* (Chung Hwa Nun Pao), a graduate of the University of Illinois, and a former secretary to Dr. Sun, was put in jail for six months by the foreign court in Shanghai for approving of the Second Revolution. The *China Republican*, the Revolutionist daily paper in English, on which the present writer served for two months, immediately left the International Settlement and placed itself under the protection of the Republican authorities of the French Concession in Shanghai. French liberty gave them three weeks, then the French police nailed up the doors, and the editors fled to Japan, the editor-in-chief, Ma Soo, being seen off by a file of French marines to make sure he left the country.

These two episodes sounded the knell of China's free press. Ten papers were closed in Canton in a single day. In Hankow five editors were shot, in Peking every opposition paper was wrecked by soldiers. By March of the present year not a single newspaper was left which had ever opposed sincerely the will of the government. Then this government proceeded to pass a series of press laws which were absolutely the last word in the world in the suppression of a free press. Today in China every newspaper must make a heavy deposit to the police for "good behavior," and must be directly responsible to the police for news, editorial matter, and even advertisements. . . . Finally, an elo-

quent clue to the class the government really fears appears from the fact that publishers, editors and printers *must not be students, and must be more than thirty years of age.*

As the free press has gone, so also is being destroyed the last semblance of republican government at Peking. Every official of known republican sympathies is being removed and his place filled by imperialists of the old regime. The man who is giving this change a constitutional form is Liang Shih-yi, President Yuan's private secretary, and the most unscrupulous and contemptible personage in China today. Through his intrigues the Parliament has become a nominated assembly of his own sycophants and its name has been changed very significantly to the Grand Council, the purely decorative assembly of Manchu days. At the same magic touch the Cabinet is now to become the Grand Secretariat, a committee of impotent sinecures. The present Cabinet will be reduced to the position of department chiefs, with no collective authority whatsoever, and the President is to be endowed by the new constitutional committee with supreme military and civil authority.

Meanwhile the deposed Manchu boy emperor sits in his private palace in Peking and bestows the sacred orders of his fathers upon one after another of his loyal followers who are being raised to high office in the Republic. Li Ching-hsi, the most notorious pro-Manchu in Peking, and until yesterday head of the biggest Manchu Restoration movement in China, that among the Chinese of the German colony of Kiaochao, has actually been appointed *chairman* of the Grand Council itself. All the usages of Manchu times are coming back, the titles and elaborate official ceremonial, the knee-crooking salutations of Your Excellency, Your Honor, and the rest, in place of the virile Republican "sien-seng," which for a time corresponded to the "citizen" of the French Revolution. . . .

The republican spirit in China is no longer a political party; the iron heel of the present Huertista government has made it a conspiracy. In this, the third year of the Republic, that conspiracy is becoming more formidable every month. The time must soon come when moderate reformers in China will be fixed on the same dilemma as that which faced the Girondins of the French Revolution. Yuan Shih-K'ai is leading them every day toward an absolute monarchy in which the monarch only is lacking. And the people are rising every day as the festering center of misgovernment in Peking spreads throughout the provinces. Canton, the originator of all of China's reform movements in our generation, has seen gambling, prostitution and the opium traffic revived again into the unholy activity of official protection after two years of the cleanest government that city has

ever had. Nanking, sacked and blighted for years to come by the army of Chang Hsun's indescribable Huns who settled on it last October, has a score against the North which can only be wiped out by a Third Revolution, or, more justly put, by the third inevitable chapter of the Great Revolution of 1911.

But meanwhile, under the protection and with the full approval of the government, the foreign powers increase daily the material assets of their strangle hold upon the Chinese Republic. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the most momentous grab of all, the oil concession in northwest China to the Standard Oil. The fields of Chihli and Shansi provinces, covered by the agreement, are claimed by expert prospectors to be the greatest oil deposits in the known world, greater in this single field than all the oil possibilities of Mexico put together. China has relinquished in her contract (made through the agency of the United States Embassy) all the rights to this vast wealth worth having. She keeps the land title, as land in China still belongs to the people, but she assigns the majority control in exploiting the oil and in controlling the affairs of the enterprise as a whole in perpetuity to the most unscrupulous body of financial adventurers in the world. For years the Rockefeller interests have been after this deal. It is not known how many times the Manchus turned them down. But Sun Yat Sen refused a loan of \$125,000,000 when his government was in the midst of its bitterest money stringency rather than barter away the inalienable possibilities of his country to men he knew were enemies of every principle on which his government was founded.

But a man is in the seat of power now who has the proper complaisance in these matters. There is no question in the world but what Yuan is "fixed." The flood of railroad concessions alone which have been obtained in China since his accession to absolute power are enough to expose the alien dictation on which his power depends. The French have a concession from Yunnan, the province they are busily trying to isolate from China, up into the heart of the Yang-tse Basin. . . . During the past two years the "open door" fiction has been exploded beyond recall. Japan has fortified her trade in Manchuria so completely that the economic government of this great province is administered not from Peking, but from Tokio. She has drawn a circle round the mainland facing her island of Formosa and in a year or two at the most will add Fukien and its hinterland of Kiangsi, in the very heart of China, to her "sphere of influence." Germany in Shantung, France in Yunnan and Kwangsi, England in Thibet and Kwangtung, and Russia in Mongolia and North Manchuria, have in point of fact already made the partition of China a virtual status quo which

modern diplomacy lends its whole prestige to uphold. And America, the traditional "friend of China," steps in in the person of the oil interests, and the tobacco interests, and the other great and powerful interests, and marks off not mere geographical "spheres of interest," but vast markets of economic products which take with them the very life-blood of the commercial destiny of China. . . .

China awaits her Pancho Villa. Her Carranza will be Sun Yat-Sen.



THE CHANT OF THE VULTURES.

By Edwin Markham, in Collier's Weekly.

We are circling, glad of the battle; we rejoice in the smell of the smoke.

Fight on in the hell of the trenches: we publish your fame with a croak!

Ye will lie in dim heaps when the sunset blows cold on the reddening sand;

Yet fight, for the dead will have wages—a death-clutch of dust in the hand.

Ye have given us banquet, O kings, and still do we clamor for more:

Vast, vast is our hunger, as vast as the sea-hunger gnawing the shore.

'Tis well ye are swift with your signals—the blaze of the banners, the blare

Of the bugles, the boom of battalions, the cannon-breath hot on the air.

It is for our hunger ye hurry, it is for our feast ye are met:

Be sure we will never forget you, O servants that never forget!

For we are the Spirits of Battle, the peerage of greed we defend:

Our lineage rose from the Night, and we go without fellow or friend.

We were, ere our servant Sesostris spread over the Asian lands

The smoke of the blood of the peoples, the ashes he blew from his brands.

We circled in revel for ages above the Assyrian stream,

While Babylon bulged her beauty, and faded to dust and to dream.

We scattered our laughter on Europe—and Troy was a word and a waste,

The glory of Carthage was ruined, the grandeur of Rome was effaced!

And we blazoned the name of Timour, as he harried his herd of kings,

And the host of his hordes wound on, a dragon with undulant rings.

And we slid down the wind upon France, when the steps of the earthquake passed,

When the Bastille bloomed into flame, and the heavens went by on the blast.

We hung over Austerlitz cheering the armies with jubilant cries;

We scented three kings at the carnage, and croaked our applause from the skies.

O kings, ye have catered to vultures—have chosen to feed us forsooth

The joy of the world and her glory, the hope of the world and her youth,

O kings, ye are diligent lackeys: we laurel your names with our praise,

For ye are the staff of our comfort, for ye are the strength of our days.

Then spur on the host in the trenches to give up the sky at a stroke:

We tell all the winds of their glory: we publish their fame with a croak!

BOOKS

A ROMANCE OF BIG BUSINESS.

Conquest of the Tropics. By Frederick Upham Adams. Published by Doubleday, Page & Company, New York. Price \$2.00 net.

This first volume of the series that Mr. Adams has undertaken to write on the romance of Big Business gives eloquent promise of those to follow. Assuming that Big Business has its romantic side and that it can be made of interest to the reading public, the author and publishers have set out to give to the public authentic yet readable stories of typical industries that have made themselves a part of our common life.

This first volume tells the story ostensibly of the United Fruit Company; but in reality it is the story of the banana and its subjection to Yankee uses. Bananas have been growing in the tropics a long time. Untold cargoes ripened and decayed before man came to eat of the fruit; and ages rolled by before a way was found to transport the fruit to distant shores. Forty years ago most of the people of this country had never seen a banana, and such poor specimens as did reach the seaports and larger cities commanded prices that were prohibitive to all but the rich. Now it is the cheapest, commonest, and best all-season fruit in the market.

How this change has been accomplished is the subject of Mr. Adams' book. And into the fascinating story he was woven a wealth of interesting and valuable information. Nor has he contented himself with the words of cold type, but has called to his aid the camera, which pictures in fine illustrations every important detail, from the laying of the keel of a United Fruit steamer, and building a railroad into a banana grove in the tropics, to the temples and monuments of prehistoric races.

The reading of such a story gives one a more friendly feeling toward the so-called fruit trust; and if we are to take Mr. Adams' version of the story it would seem that this is one of the good trusts. And again—if the facts are as stated—one

sees that "bigness" and "badness" need not necessarily be associated together in business. But whatever the facts—and we are bound to accept them as given until the contrary is shown—Mr. Adams has given the public a most interesting and instructive book.

S. C.



UNSUCCESSFUL COMBINATIONS.

Corporate Promotions and Reorganizations. By Arthur S. Dewing. Harvard Economic Studies, Vol. X. Published by the Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1914. Price, \$2.50 net.

This is a study of combinations that failed: Leather, Starch, Glucose, Cordage, Cotton Yarn and others. It is largely a history of the decline and fall of bonds and stocks; of bright hopes followed by disaster; of reorganization schemes offering the investor a chance to retrieve his fortunes or to throw good money after bad, as the case might be.

But to many readers the fate of the competitor will be a more interesting question than that of the investor. These combinations had the advantages of large scale production; their managers had experienced the evils of unrestricted competition, and the investor was attracted largely by the prospect of what was going to happen to the competitor. Yet, when the day of reorganization came and passed, the competitor was still there, though, in many sad cases, the investor was not. How did this happen?

Dr. Dewing explains that there are difficulties in the management of consolidated plants which sometimes outweigh the advantages of large scale production. Among these he mentions diffusion of responsibility, lack of knowledge of individual employes, lack of loyalty of officers and directors and an indisposition to certain kinds of work on the part of higher officials. The fascinations of the stock market have distracted some able directors of combinations, who, previously, as managers of comparatively small plants, had attended strictly to their welfare. Superior business ability, devoted to the interests of the business and not to the interests of the manager as distinguished from those of the business, is what Dr. Dewing finds to be the principal factor that makes a combination a success. He finds in this the reason why the Standard Oil Company has been "pre-eminently successful," although a mention of a monopoly of Pennsylvania oil fields and of certain favorable transportation contracts indicates that there have been contributing causes.

But it is the unsuccessful and not the successful combinations that are examined in this book, and as to these there can be no doubt that competition survived.

"I have been impressed throughout," says the

author, "by the powerlessness of mere aggregations of capital to hold monopoly."

He would probably not claim that his book is a complete demonstration of this conclusion and those who are already inclined to accept the conclusion will doubtless admit that there is room for further investigation. There are others, including the Socialists, who believe that aggregation of capital, managed with quite ordinary business ability, such ability as is likely to be found in their management, will hold monopoly. The escape of the competitor in these particular instances is not likely to disturb their opinion.

But in any event this book should be recognized as a useful contribution to the discussion of a very important question—what *does* give a combination the power to stifle competition?

WM. E. MCKENNA.



A POVERTY-STRICKEN MILLIONAIRE.

Joseph Pulitzer, Reminiscences of a Secretary. By Alene Ireland. Published by Mitchell Kennerly, New York. Price, \$1.25 net.

A dissecting room in action, however fascinating the sight, is never a cheerful spectacle. One is compelled to think of this analogy when reading the little book of Mr. Ireland, because here instead of a suffering body we have bared to our mental vision a quivering human soul, *in extremis*. The dreadful morbidity of the subject is greatly lessened by the fine sense of humor which pervades the entire narrative, and so lightens a story which would otherwise be hopelessly gloomy. The author was one of the six private secretaries in the service of the great newspaper publisher during the last eight months of his life. As we read this fascinating study of Pulitzer from an intimate associate, we cannot but think of the futility of human greatness, of the awful price which the immutable Law of Compensation demands of us, should we succeed in attaining a seat among the mighty. In the case of Pulitzer his price was a hell of physical suffering. Groping through an endless night, his eager mind unable to see the events of the world except by means of the eyes of hirelings; his shattered nerves so tense that even the cracking of almond shells at the dinner table were sufficient to induce a sleepless night; and all to what end? That he might own a paper having the largest circulation in New York, that he might have riches, and influence, and be the builder of the first sky-scraper erected on Manhattan. Having possessed himself of all of this at the price he was forced to pay, one cannot but repeat: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

JOSEPH DANZIGER.

It was Smith's first Sunday as usher in church, and he was somewhat embarrassed. Turning to a lady who entered, he said, "This way, madam, and I'll sew you to a sheet."—Boston Transcript.



Teacher: "Earl, did you whisper today?"

Earl: "Yes; wunst."

Teacher: "Clarence, should Earl have said 'wunst'?"

Clarence: "No, he should have said 'twicet.'"—Everybody's Magazine.



"India, my boy," said an Englishman to a friend on his arrival at Calcutta, "is just the finest climate under the sun, but a lot of young fellows come out here, and they drink and they eat, and they drink and they die, and then they write home to their

friends a pack o' lies and say it's the climate that has killed them."—Sacred Heart Review.



No man e'er saw his margins fade
And thought well of the Board of Trade.

—Chicago Record-Herald.



A lively young fisher named Fischer,
Fished for fish from the edge of a fissure.

A fish, with a grin,

Pulled the fisherman in,

Now they're fishing the fissure for Fischer.

—Ladies' Home Journal.



They were discussing political economy. "What do you think of Henry George's philosophy?" she asked. "Not much," he replied. "You have read

Circulation Notes

In the State of Washington, from October to February, one hundred and fifty high schools are to debate the Singletax.

Everyone of the libraries of these schools should be put on the Public's subscription list. In fact, the libraries of High Schools and Colleges are good fields to work in every State.

Subscriptions for them are entered at 65c each.

A special session of the legislature of Virginia has been called for January next to consider the State's taxation problems.

In the House of Delegates there are 100 members; in the Senate, 40; total, 140. Of these, 100 will be entered for a three months' subscription, beginning with this issue.

We would like to cover the whole number for six months, and if the European sovereigns would suspend their family fracas for a few days, they would, we are credibly informed, save almost enough to take care of this item.

STANLEY BOWMAR, Manager.

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Expert Investigation of Mexican Mines, Lands or Enterprises.
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Progress and Poverty, I suppose?" He hesitated a moment and then stammered, "Well, I have read Progress."



Indignant Politician: Why didn't you print all of my speech?

Country Editor: Well, to tell the truth, boss, we ran clean out of capital I's.—Puck.



"William," asked the teacher of a rosy-faced lad, "can you tell me who George Washington was?"

"Yes, ma'am," was the quick reply. "He was an American gen'ral."

"Quite right," replied the teacher. "And you can tell us what George Washington was remarkable for?"

"Yes, ma'am," replied the little boy. "He was re-

markable because he was an American and told the truth."—Tit-Bits.



Tourist: "You have an unusually large acreage of corn under cultivation. Don't the crows annoy you a great deal?"

Farmer: "Oh, not to any extent?"

Tourist: "That's peculiar, considering you have no scarecrows."

Farmer: "Oh, well, you see, I'm out here a good part of the time myself."—Sacred Heart Review.



Honest Agriculturist: "We don't need you women to help us run things. Didn't we men pass the compensation law, protecting everybody except farm hands and domestic servants?"

His Wife: "Yes; and I'm both."—Puck.



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