The Public

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Law.

Natural law may not be so obtrusive or so apparent as statute law, but it cannot be evaded, repealed, or declared unconstitutional.

S. C.

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Eleven Stubborn Jurymen.

President Wilson's direct appeal to Congress for the annulment of the Panama toll exemption of American coast-wise shipping has awakened a reassuring response from Senators and Representatives. True, the friends of Privilege—in both parties—who oppose the President because of the headway he is making against their pet interests, and the little Congressmen who have failed in all other ways to attract public attention, will seize upon the occasion to display their patriotic eloquence; but the country has survived such afflictions before. The world, aside from these Chauvinistic Congressmen, has agreed that the provisions of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty reading, "The canal shall be free and open to vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these rules on terms of absolute equality," mean "terms of absolute equality."

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The country is to be congratulated upon its escape from being called into the international court at The Hague, and compelled to keep its plighted word. But it is still more to be congratulated in having a man in the President's chair who has the courage to face the taunts of the yellow press and the little Congressmen who charge him on the one hand with yielding to the demands of the transcontinental railroads, and on the other, of groveling before Great Britain. Such criticism would bar any man from yielding to what was right, and would put an end to all peace. And it is anything but to the credit of the Irish-American societies that they have joined in the cry. They might better follow the advice of Rabbi Hirsch and drop

their hyphen. Irishmen in Ireland may oppose England to their heart's content, but as Americans it ill becomes them to foment trouble with a former foe. The United States offers the oppressed of other lands an opportunity to achieve a destiny denied them at home; that opportunity should not be used as a base for embroiling us with other nations.

S. C.

Strength Does Not Excuse Injustice.

"We are too big, too powerful, too self-respecting a nation to interpret with too strained or refined a reading the words of our own promises just because we have power enough to reach them as we please." In preaching this doctrine of common honesty in international dealing President Wilson performed a valuable service that will have consequences extending beyond his own official term. It applies to many other questions than that of Panama tolls. For it is a fact that we have on certain occasions in the past interpreted "with too strained or refined a reading the words of our own promises," and have done so "just because we had power enough to read them as we pleased." That was done with the Filipinos and many times also with Indian tribes. Even in the case of Cuba we hedged on our promise of independence by compelling addition of the Platt amendment to her constitution. Those who then urged the policy of honesty were sneered at as possessors of "super-heated consciences." President Wilson has established a precedent that should never be violated. In different words he has proclaimed a sentiment which years ago another stated as follows: "That we should do unto others as we would have them do unto us. That we should respect the rights of others as scrupulously as we would have our own rights respected, is not a mere counsel of perfection to individuals, but it is the law to which we must conform social institutions and national policy if we would secure the blessings of abundance and peace."

S. D.

Real Bravery.

Lest the Carnegie Hero Fund Commission should overlook a deserving aspirant, The Public would call its attention to the case of William J. Calhoun, of Chicago. At the Swedish-American banquet, to mark Ericsson Day, Mr. Calhoun said: "As a result of Democratic free trade policies we are today eating corn and butter from Argentina and oats from Canada, while our own farmers are unable to get a fair price for their produce. . . . The hope of the nation lies in policies which will protect our industries at home and enable us to find markets abroad. In other words, the hope of the nation is in the Republican party." It is submitted in all fairness that a man who can rise in the presence of 500 banqueters, with representatives of the press present, and give utterance to such words is worthy of something more than a place at the board.

S. C.

Brazil in Trouble.

It is too soon to pass upon the underlying causes of the revolt in Brazil, or to hazard a prediction as to the probable outcome. Enough is known, however, to warrant the fear that troublesome times are ahead. Race conflicts are given as one cause, and financial stress following the failure of the government to carry through its plan of state aid to the coffee and rubber industries. That a nation able to emancipate its slaves without war, and without compensation to the owners, should now suffer from social disturbances, is unfortunate; but when it is realized that the races in Brazil have lacked that great melting-pot that has saved this country—the public school—small wonder need be felt at increasing disturbances in so large a territory, with such separate and distinct colonization as that of the Germans and Japanese, added to the already mixed population of Portuguese, Spaniards, Negroes, and natives. The naval revolt in November, 1910, a few days after the inauguration of President Fonseca, when the crews of eight of the principal ships in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro dictated terms to the government, indicates a lack of political coherence.

The valorization scheme of the government was foredoomed to failure. and the present financial stress should cause no surprise. Attempts to maintain prices by buying at a certain minimum price are just as impracticable as the maintenance of prosperity and high wages by means of protective tariffs. And Brazilian statesmen, like some American statesmen, have yet to learn that commerce moves in obedience to laws as inexorable as the gravity that controls the flow of water. The stream may be dammed, but sooner or later the water will overflow. Brazil did relieve the coffee growers by buying and storing coffee when it fell below a certain price, but assured profits merely stimulated further coffee planting; and the time soon came when the stock accumulated in the glutted market could not be worked off between seasons. Even had the government succeeded in restrict-

ing the planting of new plantations in Brazil, it would have been unable to control the industry in Mexico, Central America, Java, or any other coffee country. The same was true of the rubber industry. Men cannot lift themselves by pulling on their boot straps, even in Brazil. S. C.

Mexico and the Philippines.

Former President Taft in endorsing President Wilson's Mexican policy gives sound reasons therefor, based altogether on considerations of expediency. It is a pity that Mr. Taft has never realized that these same reasons make immediate withdrawal from the Philippines the policy of wisdom, to say nothing of the moral principles involved. Imperialism is everywhere a bad business proposition.

S. D.

A Protest Which Congress Should Heed.

A strong protest against expenditure of $56,000,000 for four battleships has been sent to Congress by a committee of prominent women, including Lucia Ames Mead, Mary E. Woolley, Jane Addams, Ida M. Tarbell, and others. The reasons given in this protest are powerful ones and will not be without effect if Congressmen will pay some attention to the merits of the proposition under consideration. They call attention to the selfish motive of the naval officers who urge such expenditures, to the fact that the reasons they offer are only fantastic possibilities not reasonable probabilities, to the fact that we have never asked any nation to arbitrate and been refused, that our only war in 100 years with other than an American power has been the Spanish war which we ourselves started, and to the further fact that we were never attacked when we had a small navy, and we maintained the Monroe doctrine, in 1895, nevertheless. The protest shows that Japan, which is usually portrayed as the greatest menace, knows that a war with us would be national suicide. Strongest and most impressive of the reasons given is the following:

"'One can never tell what the case may be a year hence,' said one of the admirals. Alas, we can surely tell that a year hence another long roll of victims, numbering about as many as perished in four years of the Civil War, will have died because of our folly in putting our greatest defense where it is least needed, leaving our greatest needs unremedied. The yearly cost of our national Children's Bureau, which is trying to prevent our awful infant mortality, is less than the annual *repairs* on two torpedo boat destroyers. Let us indeed 'be prepared'; but let us prepare for our certain, definite foes and call a halt on the increase of defense against the bugaboos conjured up by timid visionaries."

This protest ought not to fall on deaf ears. The Congressman must be utterly lacking in patriotism who in order to promote the building of destructive engines of war will block the taking of effective measures to prevent needless loss of life.

S. D.

Who Is Responsible?

Responsibility for the mutilation, in the interest of Washington land speculators, of Congressman Henry George's bill, is attributed by the correspondent of the Philadelphia North American in the issue of March 6 to Congressman Ben Johnson of Kentucky, Chairman of the District of Columbia Committee. The charge seems unbelievable. But whether Mr. Johnson is the one responsible or not a majority of the District committee must be. Members who can not clear their record on this matter should be borne in mind by their democratic constituents this fall.

S. D.

"Unfit to Be Voted On."

"Unfit to be voted on." In this way the New York Times of February 12 characterizes the proposition embodied in the Herrick-Schaap bill for a popular referendum on the question of cutting in half the tax rate on buildings. In this the Times speaks for the Allied Real Estate Interests, The Citizens' Union, and all other plutocratic interests that wish to continue reaping where others have sown. If the approval of these interests must first be obtained before the popular will on any measure may be expressed there never will be any expression that may lead to possible consequences. In this matter the New York Times openly admits—what progressives have long known to be the case—that it and the interests for whom it speaks are opposed to popular government. They have no objection to the form—in fact, they probably like it—but they do object to the substance.

Another fact is also made clear. The proposition to halve the tax on buildings is one to relieve congestion, one that will do something to remove the cause of tuberculosis, reduce the frightful percentage of infant mortality that prevails on the

crowded East Side and put better housing accommodations within reach of the poor. It is not as far-reaching a measure as should be adopted, but is a move in the right direction. But it will also affect unfavorably the profits of those who hold valuable land out of use or only put it to partial use. This clearly weighs more heavily than any question of public welfare with the Times, the Allied Real Estate Interests and the others who are moving heaven and earth to prevent even a popular expression on the matter. If their efforts at opposition succeed they cannot escape moral responsibility for the result. Every victim who this year contracts tuberculosis because forced by poverty to live in crowded, unsanitary quarters in New York City may justly attribute his misfortune to opponents of the Herrick-Schaap bill. The mother of every infant driven to a premature death will have good cause to remember what these respectable Tories have done. The poor of New York City have a valid moral claim for support this year from the individuals, organizations and newspapers that have declared as "unfit to be voted on" a slight effort to make it possible for them to help themselves.

S. D.

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A Rejected Opportunity.

The National Conference on Unemployment met in New York City on February 27 and 28. Its object was supposed to be to find some solution of the unemployed problem. If so, it has failed. According to reports most of its time was taken up with discussion of the establishment of national labor exchanges or employment agencies. Such institutions are useful enough, but however efficiently conducted they may be they can not give labor access to unused opportunities. In commenting on the conference's failure a Pittsburgh correspondent remarks: "I can stand on my roof and throw stones on twenty-five good jobs. They are all in sight and they are all vacant, and I don't need anybody to find them for me. All I need is permission to use my hands on them." How such jobs could be made available to labor there were competent men ready to explain to the conference. The Manhattan Singletax Club had asked for just twenty minutes to present a constructive proposal to that effect and was refused. Why, is not evident. Surely the program might easily have been arranged to permit it. Through this denial the conference threw away an opportunity to perform a valuable service to the unemployed.

S. D.

The Masses and the Associated Press.

Whether it shall be safe for a paper—especially a small, weak one—to criticize a powerful corporation, will be determined by the outcome of proceedings brought by the Associated Press against The Masses, the illustrated Socialist weekly. For publishing a cartoon charging that corporation with coloring the news the editor and artist have been indicted for criminal libel. However unreasonable these criminal proceedings may be, to effectively fight them requires a defense fund and an appeal for help is made by The Masses. The issue is not what will become of the threatened newspapermen, but whether an attempt will succeed "to put down by force of legal procedure the few free and independent critics of the Associated Press." If it should become unsafe to criticise the principal dispenser of news in this country, then every monopoly and grafting institution will be protected against publicity.

S. D.

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Which Is the Better Way?

Last week a man of great wealth passed away. He was one to whom fortune had been most generous; for, while yet a young man, he inherited a large fortune, and though he gave little attention to business that fortune had increased five-fold before his death. He was a modest man, who eschewed the follies of society, and spent his energies in the creation of a fine country estate. He acquired 100,000 acres of land in the mountains of North Carolina, spent a million dollars in leveling and grading a mountain, and erected thereon a house of 236 rooms. The house and grounds are said to be among the finest in the world. But he did more than this. He raised blooded stock on his model farms, and propagated rare plants and trees. And the newspaper obituaries contain the significant and all-embracing phrase: "He had a number of charities."

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It may be said of this man that he lived according to his light. Yet how different his life from that of Joseph Fels! With a fortune many times greater he was content to accept a fabulous toll from his fellow men, and give in return—charity. A sop to charity was sufficient, as he viewed his responsibilities, to discharge his debt to that army of men, women, and children whose toil created his income. There might be long hours at nerve-racking labor, and hard fare of insufficient nutrition. Wages of grown men might be too small to keep a family, and children might be sent into

mill and shop to eke out a bare living. He was sorry; such things were unpleasant. But he contributed to a "number of charities," and busied himself with his superb estate in the North Carolina mountains. Whole families might be living in single rooms, in order to contribute to his income, but he saw them not as he wandered through the 236 rooms of his own house. Children might be huddled in tenements, far removed from trees and flowers, but in the midst of his 100,000-acre estate he saw only peace, loveliness, and prosperity. He was not a bad man; he did not mean to be unjust; and he was not unkind. For did he not contribute to charity?

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But did this man discharge his full duty to his fellows? Is it sufficient that they of vast incomes hire agents to distribute alms to the victims of a system that makes vast incomes possible? What is the opinion of mankind? Can we imagine memorial meetings held throughout the country, nay, throughout the world, in memory of such a one? Will men speak in reverent tones of his life and deeds long after he is gone? Will the historian name him as one of the factors making for progress in the toilsome climb of the race toward a higher plane? In generations to come the wandering tourist may be shown through the palace of 236 rooms; but he will marvel less at the great building, and its rare treasures of art, than at the strange economic conditions that made it possible for a man to erect such a structure for his wife and child, while thousands of men and women who contributed to his income would have been glad of three rooms, or even two.

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But no wandering tourist will visit a palace reared at the command of Joseph Fels, or stare at rare art gathered from the four corners of the earth. Rather will he find him treasured in the hearts of men, as a part of that priceless heritage of the race, the men and women who have done something for the uplift of their fellows. Mr. Greatwealth was moved to compassion at the sight of the bent back of labor upon which he rode, and gave him a crumb of charity. Joseph Fels called upon all who ride on the back of labor to get down and walk; and instead of giving charity he strove to make men understand their rights, realize their power, and stand erect. Mr. Greatwealth spent a vast income in the gratification of his own desires, and the world considers his death only to the extent of wondering how many millions he had, and to whom they will go. Joseph Fels gave his wealth and himself to establish equal opportunity for all; and the men and women throughout the world who share in that service have consecrated themselves anew in this great cause of justice. S. O.

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JOHN S. CROSBY— A REMINISCENCE.

When I stood, a few days ago, by John S. Crosby's bedside, both of us conscious of the shadow that was closing in upon his mortal sight, his mind alert, his memory clear, his voice resonant, and our hands clasped in unspoken farewell, the mists of thirty years were lifted and we talked of times that were.

He had crossed my path nine years before I knew him. Back in 1884, while practicing law in Missouri, he made a vent for expressing his larger self. It was through a little paper which he called "The Primer," published at his own expense. "The Primer" was handsome typographically, incisive in argument, charming in its English, and inspired evidently by one who knelt at the altar of "Progress and Poverty." A copy fell into my hands at the time when, with a few other Eastern disciples of Henry George, and Henry George himself, I was organizing the "Free Soil Society." This society, which never got much beyond the paper-organization stage, but may have given some impetus in those days of little things to what is now loosely called the Singletax movement, had for its organ a little periodical called "The Freesoiler." Published at New York, it was edited principally by myself in the intervals of a law practice less absorbing than agitation for social justice. "The Primer" attracted me and I wrote about it in "The Freesoiler."

What I wrote proved pleasing to Crosby. His lonesome service out in Missouri seemed to him to have got recognition in the great city which I was destined to leave and he to settle in—where he was to win his spurs as a knight in the cause that had already registered his vows. We talked it over, and much that followed it in later years, as we bade each other good-bye just before he turned his face to one of the twelve gates that stood ajar as we talked. Neither of us could remember where I had published that notice of "The Primer," but I have found it now in my file of "The Freesoiler." It appeared in the May issue, 1884, on the editorial page, and this is it:

A bright and sensible weekly paper has been started in St. Joseph, Missouri, called "The Primer." It is devoted to the industrial, educational and social interests of the people, is issued in the spirit of a

learner rather than a teacher, and hopes by a clean, clear and candid treatment of subjects discussed to commend itself to people of every sect, party and occupation. It is edited by a Southern Democrat and a Northern Republican who have undertaken to induce people to think for themselves of important topics. In purpose, plan and execution, "The Primer" is among the best of recent accessions to journalism, and its issues thus far are full of thought-producing suggestions.

But "The Primer" hadn't long to live. John S. Crosby found himself well within Sill's fine description of "The Reformer":

Before the monstrous wrong he sits him down,
One man against a stone-walled citadel of sin.
For centuries those walls have been a-building;
Smooth porphyry, they slope and coldly glass,
The flying storm and wheeling sun no chink,
No crevice lets the thinnest arrow in.

Crosby himself lived long enough, though, to realize the near approach of what Sill described in his climax:

But by and by earth shakes herself, impatient,
And down, in one great roar of ruin, crash
Watch-tower and citadel and battlements.

It was not until 1893 that I met the editor of "The Primer." I did not then identify him with the attractive little paper I had welcomed editorially in "The Freesoiler" nine years before, until he reminded me of the incident. It was upon a platform in Kansas City, where I was to lecture on my first tour of the continent in behalf of the Singletax. A fine-looking, strong-looking, modest-mannered man, who had just been introduced to me as Mr. Crosby, asked if I remembered "The Primer." I did remember it, and was full of enthusiasm over connecting it for the first time with a particular personality. But our ways parted again. We met at Kansas City once or twice afterward, but it was the man alone, not his name, that I remembered. His name came to me as a permanent remembrance through circumstances entirely new. It was as that of an inspiring speaker for Henry George in the mayoralty campaign of 1897.

As that campaign drew toward its close, when Henry George's body lay ready for burial and I sat in the committee charged with arranging the funeral services, John S. Crosby also was there, but I didn't recognize him. We had chosen Heber Newton to read the burial service and Lyman Abbott, Dr. Gottheil and Father McGlynn to make addresses, when a question arose, whom could we name to close the funeral meeting with a speech distinctly representative of what Henry George taught?

It was a difficult task to follow those three orators with what must be at once an oration and a doctrinal lesson, and the committee realized it. Each of us asked the others, Whom shall it be? At this juncture the reputation of John S. Crosby, which had reached me in Cleveland, suggested a cautious reply. "There is a man named John S. Crosby," I said to the committee, "who, if his speaking and the things he says are half as good as they are reported to be, is the man for us to choose."

"There he is," said Tom L. Johnson, and I looked across the committee table, following Johnson's eye, into the face of the man I had met in Kansas City as the editor of "The Primer" of so many years before.

"And he has not been overrated," interposed Hamlin Garland, whose assurances were rapidly repeated by one after another of the local members of the committee. John Sherwin Crosby was therefore named for the climacteric speech at Henry George's funeral.

And right well did he verify Hamlin Garland's assurances when on that darkening afternoon of October 31, 1897, in the auditorium of the Grand Central Palace, before an audience of 10,000 people, and over Henry George's body, he sustained the high level of McGlynn's oratory while delivering the doctrinal message of the dead leader.

Yardley* tells the story right. "The impressive tones of McGlynn's voice," he says, "and the applause that followed his speech were dying away. It was a fitting climax, so it seemed, that the last words over the great leader dead, should be said by one who stood so close to him in life as the eloquent priest of St. Stephens. Some on the outer seats rose to go, when a man who was a stranger to most of the assembly, stepped to the front of the platform. Who could this be that dared to follow McGlynn? Surely he did not realize the task he had undertaken. Yet the fine presence of the man, the resonant tones of his voice immediately commanded attention. The speaker was John Sherwin Crosby." It was a thrilling moment. The sound of Crosby's voice, filling the great hall, commanded attention, and the perfect art of his oratory held it, while he proclaimed the message he had been chosen to deliver.

If John Sherwin Crosby, whose own wornout body has been so lately laid to rest, had never said or done anything else in all his long life, his

*Addresses at the funeral of Henry George, Sunday, October 31, 1897, at the Grand Central Palace, New York City. Compiled by Edmund Yardley, with an introduction by **Henry George, Jr.**

life would have been worth the living for these words of his on that occasion and the way in which he spoke them:

This man had a theory—was said to be a man of one idea. If that theory be false, that idea a mere vagary, why, as he passes away, does the world rise and stand uncovered in honor of the man who proclaimed it? It is the natural, universally spontaneous recognition of Henry George's theory as an essential part of God's eternal truth. One word about this theory of his. Much has been truly and eloquently said in regard to the probable effects of its adoption. He believed that when put into practice it would by removing the cause, eventually result in the abolition of involuntary poverty. There are those who say that he was over sanguine as to results, which they assert could not be so beneficent and far reaching as he thought. But it matters not, my friends, what the result would be. That is not your business or mine. Shall we stop to discuss results before doing what we know to be right? If so, how long? Henry George has demonstrated beyond all question that what he demands, that all he asks, is simple justice. It has been said that he threatened established institutions. Threatened? He has not only threatened them; but has shaken them to their foundations. Threatened your institutions, has he? To whom have you built statues in your cities but to men who threatened your institutions?

John Sherwin Crosby was one of the men who could not have kept out of the Singletax movement had he tried. He was one to whom even the first tentative notes of its clarion call were audible. The thoughts of his mind and the impulses of his heart were attuned to democracy. He was a speaker of persuasive manner and rare power, a citizen of righteous purpose and loyal service, a man who loved his fellowmen with the love that is interpreted by the Golden Rule.

LOUIS F. POST.

EDWARD L. HEYDECKER.

Edward LeMoyne Heydecker, Assistant Tax Commissioner in the Department of Taxes and Assessments of the City of New York, died on February 10th, in Mt Vernon, N. Y. Mr. Heydecker was appointed Assistant Tax Commissioner in 1907, on account of his eminent fitness for the position. He was a graduate of Columbia University and of the Columbia Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1885. Even during his college days he was a careful student of administrative law under Professor Burgess and was a student of economics as well.

In his legal work, prior to his appointment as Assistant Tax Commissioner, Mr. Heydecker was best known as the editor of the General Laws, and of various text-books. After his appointment in the Tax Department he was soon recognized as a master of the New York Tax Law and of the theory and practice of taxation. He was well known throughout the United States, as well as in his home State. From the foundation of the National Tax Association, his was one of the guiding minds in the planning of the National Conferences, and, as a member of the various committees of the National Tax Association, he wrote numerous reports, which have influenced the administration of the tax law in many states. The holding of a State Tax Conference in the State of New York in 1911 was largely due to Mr. Heydecker's initiative. He acted as secretary of that conference and drafted various measures, approved by the conference, which became laws in the same year. In particular, he drafted the act requiring the separate statement of the value of land in all cities of the State of New York. Mr. Heydecker invented a method of making inexpensive tax maps for country town assessments, which has already been employed successfully in towns of New York and Connecticut.

While Mr. Heydecker's work for many years was chiefly in the technical administration of the Tax Law and the improvement of administration, he cared but little for this in itself. He was a master of detail and a very clever draughtsman of statutes, but in doing this work he was actuated always by the desire to lay firmly broad foundations for the applications of the principles of Henry George. He was willing to take short steps toward better administration and toward better tax laws, and sought these improvements as good in themselves, but at the same time he always saw the end, which was to him the entire abolition of privilege, and equal justice and opportunity for all men.

Four days before he died, while talking to a friend, he said: "There is one favor that I want you to do for me. If I should go, I want you to ask John S. Crosby to read part of the last chapter of 'Progress and Poverty' at my funeral. I want Crosby to do this for me because I heard him read it at Henry George's funeral. Crosby was in his prime. His face was beautiful and his superb voice made such a moving appeal that then for the first time I really saw the light." Here he sat up in bed and, though not strong, began to quote the passage. The next day Mr. Heydecker was told that he could not recover, and that Mr. Crosby was ill and might not be well enough to do what

he asked. He said his next choice then was John J. Murphy.

There was a simple funeral service at his former home on Lincoln's Birthday. The Manhattan Single Tax Club, of which Mr. Heydecker was a member for over fifteen years, was well represented; the City Tax Department sent a delegation, composed of several of the commissioners, deputies and clerks, to whom he had greatly endeared himself; the New York Tax Reform Association was represented by its secretary and assistant secretary, and the Special Tax Commission, of which he was a member, was also represented.

The Hon. John J. Murphy, in accordance with his last request, read as part of the service the last pages of George's great book, which had most profoundly influenced the life of Edward LeMoyne Heydecker.

LAWSON PURDY.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

PHILADELPHIA'S TRIBUTE TO FELS.

In the city which Joseph Fels called his home and from which he went out to the world with his magnificent gift of himself and his great fortune toward the emancipation of civilization, there assembled on Sunday night, March 8th, a throng of men and women that filled the Forrest Theater and received there a soul-stirring baptism in the ideals of justice and equal opportunity for which Fels lived and worked. It was, therefore, the kind of memorial meeting that "Joe" Fels himself would have preferred, if any. Mere eulogy of his personality or of his kindness or of his generosity was distinctly not the keynote of the addresses made on that occasion. Nor was there any display of mawkish grief over his sudden and untimely death. Rather a hopeful and profoundly serious dedication of that great gathering to carrying forward the banner for which Fels fought to his dying breath. The truth is that one of the most significant features of this splendid memorial meeting was not what the several speakers had to say about the life of Fels. It was the suggestion that came to the meeting from the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia, which had earlier that day at its regular business meeting passed unanimously a resolution, as follows:

> Resolved, that as a memorial to the world-wide service which Joseph Fels rendered to the cause of human freedom, and especially to the cause of free speech, one or more permanent stone rostrums be placed on the City Hall plaza to be dedicated to free speech as guaranteed under our constitution.

To that end a committee had been named to act with committees from other bodies to get this purpose before the Mayor and City Council. Thunderous applause greeted this suggestion and it was heartily indorsed by the speakers, especially by Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor and former editor of The Public, and by the Hon. Josiah C. Wedgwood, the eloquent and forceful member of the British parliament, who had come all the way across the sea to testify to his knowledge of the tremendous land reform movement in England, brought about by his friend and co-worker, Mr. Fels.

The meeting, which was arranged by a committee of men and women prominent in the Single Tax and other reform movements, was presided over gracefully and feelingly by United States District Attorney Francis Fisher Kane. Frank Stephens of Arden read a number of the messages which had been received from sympathizing groups in Norway, Sweden, Spain, New Zealand and other countries, and from several distinguished friends of the dead leader in this country, including a telegram from Henry George, Jr. Fine tributes also were read from the Houston Single Tax League and from the town meeting of the Single Tax experiment station of Arden, Del. The latter is good enough and brief enough to bear quoting in this necessarily condensed report, thus:

> Ever and anon is born a man who devotes his life to a great cause. Joseph Fels was such a man. He lives in the energy and enthusiasm which he sent surging over three continents, and in the men and women into whose hearts he infused some measure of his profound faith.

A resolution also was presented by Mr. James H. Dix, and unanimously carried, suggesting the city of Philadelphia erect a suitable permanent memorial to Joseph Fels, and that a committee should bring that matter to the attention of the mayor and councils.

Henry George, Jr., was on the list of speakers, but was prevented by sickness from being there. His place was ably taken by Dr. Scott Nearing of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Nearing referred to the "life abundant" which the Great Teacher came to bring, and said all would agree as to the essentials of such a life—home, family, job, sense of proportion, love of the beautiful, etc. These in large measure Joseph Fels had possessed, and one thing more—the belief that those things should be the possession of every one. Nearing said he was filled with appreciation for what Fels had done rather than with regret that he had died. The great monument to Fels would not be of marble or brass but that of his devotion to a creed "that will transform society within the next generation." Applause greeted this statement and the speaker ended with this remark: "He has begun a work which we must continue."

Mrs. Rudolph Blankenburg, wife of the Mayor of Philadelphia and a strong suffrage leader, as the next speaker, quoted the well known views of Mr. Fels in favor of woman suffrage. He had said that votes would help women "to do what they had always done and to do it better." Then Mrs. Blankenburg started off on a vigorous suffrage talk with the following tart words to the men, which caused a laugh. Said she:

> Men are inconsistent in expecting women to rear public-spirited sons while refusing them the opportunity to

cultivate their own public spirit by participating in public affairs. There is a lamentable lack of public spirit in the majority of men. We have repressed the mothers; therefore we have second-class men.

Chairman Kane introduced Mr. Post as "the lifelong friend of Joseph Fels." Mr. Post spoke with great feeling of his friend, dead in fact but living in spirit and truth, as a "rich man of brotherly love" who had lived in City of Brotherly Love. In that larger sense, Mr. Post showed how Fels, though a Jew by birth, was broadly Christian in spirit and had obeyed the injunction to give all he had to the poor, but not in the form of charity. He had given toward the establishment of a principle which he believed would make poverty unnecessary for any human being. His was the brotherly love that is based on "brotherly rights." From George, Fels had learned what the tap root of poverty is and he sought to eradicate that root. That was the monopoly of the earth by a few. Said Mr. Post:

> We may not live to see his hopes realized. That is no more our affair than it was his. He has done his duty with reference to the rights of others and passed on. We meet here in order to draw inspiration from his life as well as to honor his memory. * * * The rich man who spends his income for the right, as God gives him to see the right, living modestly that he may have the more to spend for that purpose, is a man to be applauded. He is a man whose memory the good people of a city should be glad to perpetuate. Joseph Fels was such a man. His career of true philanthropy is additional proof of the right of this city to the democratic name it bears—the city of brotherly love.

Mr. Post asked point blank, who is responsible for social injustice? and then aswered: "You and I and every person in this hall—all are responsible and all are obliged to find the reason why."

But the great climax of a great meeting came with the closing address by the English member of parliament. Tall, broad-shouldered and at ease, but with a certain British pugnacity and a voice full of vibrant power, Mr. Wedgwood stirred the audience to prolonged applause by his fluent and forceful appeal. "I am here," he began, "because I loved Joseph Fels. I loved him, not because of his money, but because he was a fighter for freedom and against injustice." Then he went on to speak of the prevalent notion that in America at least men are free and to say that the men who work know they are not free. He referred to the freeing of the chattel slaves and added: "For God's sake, men and women, open your eyes to the wage slavery of the present day." He spoke of how Fels had stood always for free speech on the theory that only so can the public make a wise choice between what is true and what is false.

But the main point of Wedgwood's address was that the meeting should not be allowed to adjourn without a statement of the economic ideas for which Fels stood, which he proceeded to give. First he repeated the iron law of wages under which men must work on the terms of the employer, or not at all; second, that no change can be effected so long as the heritage of all, the land, is the property of the few; and third, every worker must be enabled to receive the full product of his toil. He called on all to join in the work of breaking down the wall that still stands as a barrier between the worker and the raw material.

Finally Mr. Wedgwood spoke of the great work Fels had done in England, thus: "In England he did this. He enabled us to carry a general election on the land question, and he enabled us to carry a budget which gave us valuation of the land separate from the improvements thereon. Having spent two millions in getting that valuation, we don't expect idle land to remain idle when once it is booked. Our object is, of course, to get all local taxation removed from houses on improved land and based instead on the land values." In the course of this campaign Fels had used as one weapon the famous song to the tune of "Marching Through Georgia" which had been sung all over England by young and old, as follows:

> "The land, the land, the ground on which we stand;
> "The land, the land, why should we be beggars with ballots in our hands?
> 'God gave the land for the people."

The speaker said that Fels had given England a new national song, that he had left his mark in England and had given the English a new Doomsday Book.

EDWIN S. POTTER.

THE ELECTION OF HI GILL.

Seattle, March 5.

Some aspects of the election of March 3d in which Seattle gave Hi Gill a majority of 13,000 for the mayoralty have more than a local significance.

A purely personal factor was that Gill claimed to have been awakened by his recall two years and a half ago to realize that his previous administration had been used by designing friends for their personal gain; yet his "reform" did not swing 7,000 votes.

In the primaries, with nine candidates running and a nomination conceded to Gill, forty-four orthodox ministers out of the city's 225 churches undertook to pick Gill's opponent in the finals by endorsing Griffiths, although Winsor, a Socialist and a Unitarian, seemed about to lead the field. The resentment caused by the ministerial endorsement put Griffiths into fourth place. Many of the non-radical votes thus lost to Griffiths went naturally to Trenholme, a candidate generally supported by the same interests that favored Gill, and between whose views and those of Gill there is to be found but little distinction except that of superficial conformity on the one hand and indifferent frankness on the other. The result was that Trenholme was nominated over Winsor by a few hundred votes and the ministers and the people had a devil's choice, so that about eight per cent of Tuesday's vote deliberately failed to vote on the mayoralty candidates.

Among Gill's former supporters there was a considerable defection to Trenholme because of the fear that Gill's election would give a tremendous "boost" to the state-wide prohibition movement now under way; nevertheless Gill's election seemed a foregone conclusion from the moment it was known that he

was to be opposed by Trenholme. The campaign was none the less interesting, however, being enlivened by the supposed leaders of public thought in their endeavors to make the question of sex and liquor moralty the controlling factors of the election on Trenholme's behalf; it was a union of the "peers and the beers," as Lloyd-George puts it. Finally the issue narrowed down to a public inquiry into the names of the supporters of the two candidates, as a result of which it was found that Gill financed his own campaign while Trenholme's contributions included $500 each from the presidents of the traction monopoly, the largest brewery, the chamber of commerce and a principal bank—all of them supporters of Gill as against Cotterill in the election two years ago and as against Dilling in the previous recall election. The effect of the denouement, the day before election, was tremendous.

Gill is elected; his exploiting friends having supported his opponent, whom he personally detests, he may exploit the exploiters; for even the wrath of man shall praise righteousness. Gill's published statement after election is fair and humble enough; his family life is said to be clean and there is no valid reason why he should not make a mayor with whom we can move on toward better things.

Meanwhile the following deductions can safely be made from the results:

A ministerial endorsement is a two-edged sword, and a dangerous thing.

The support of political candidates by the beneficiaries of franchises and other means of exploitation is overwhelmingly unpopular.

Those moralists who seek only the primary virtues of personal decency cannot defeat one whom they conceive to be opposed to them except with a candidate having not only decency but a wider vision and purpose looking toward the improvement of the whole world and the eradication of the organized, legalized hatred of which too large a part of "business" is composed.

THORWALD SIEGFRIED.

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of The Public for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, March 10, 1914.

The President's Canal Toll Message.

Urging abolition of the exemption of American coasting vessels from Panama canal tolls, President Wilson on March 5 briefly addressed Congress. From the standpoint of expediency, the President urged the abolition, since otherwise, he said, he would not know "how to deal with other matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence." From the standpoint of justice he said:

In my own judgment, very fully considered and maturely formed, that exemption constitutes a mistaken economic policy from every point of view, and is moreover in plain contravention of the treaty with Great Britain concerning the canal, concluded on November 18, 1901. But I have come to you to urge my personal views. I have come to state to you a fact and a situation. Whatever may be our own differences of opinion concerning this much debated measure, its meaning is not debated outside the United States. Everywhere else the language of the treaty is given but one interpretation, and that interpretatio precludes the exemption I am asking you to repeal. We consented to the treaty; its language we accepted; if we did not originate it; and we are too big, too powerful, too self-respecting a nation to interpret with too strained or refined a reading the words of our own promises just because we have power enough to give us leave to read them as we please. The large thing to do is the only thing we can afford to do, a voluntary withdrawal from a position everywhere questioned and misunderstood. We ought to reverse our action without raising the question whether we were right or wrong, and so once more deserve our reputation for generosity and the redemption of every obligation without quibble or hesitation.

[See current volume, page 153.]

Railroad Abuses.

Charges of falsification of accounts were made by the Interstate Commerce Commission on March 6 against the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad Company, and against the Chicago, Milwaukee and Puget Sound Railroad Company. The charges are as follows:

That the St. Paul Company exaggerated its income for 1910 by more than $5,000,000.

That for 1911 the road reported a $2,000,000 decrease in income which it falsely informed its stockholders was due to failure to obtain higher freight rates and to increased cost of labor.

That the Puget Sound Company falsely reported an income of more than $2,000,000 for 1910 and used the fictitious showing of profit to boom the sale of its bonds to the public.

That the Puget Sound Company falsely reported a valuation of its properties which was $100,000,000 in excess of the cash investment.

That by a reduction of the rate of depreciation the St. Paul has inflated its net operation income $500,000 a year.

[See current volume, page 154.]

Clifford Thorne, state railroad commissioner of Iowa, appeared on March 10 before the Interstate Commerce Commission and charged the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, the New York Central and the Baltimore and Ohio with juggling their book accounts to influence the commission in deciding on the request for five per cent increase in freight rates. The juggling process he described as follows:

In 1907 a new operating expense account, known as depreciation, was prescribed by the commission.

leaving it optional with the carrier to determine the percentage to be allowed annually.

The Baltimore & Ohio increased the allowance for renewals and depreciation of locomotives 44 per cent per engine in 1913 over 1912. Another remarkable increase on the Baltimore & Ohio occurred just before the 1910 rate case was heard. For the year ending June 30, 1910, there was an increase in the total renewals and depreciation of locomotives amounting to 73 per cent. The Pennsylvania system increased its total allowance for renewals and depreciation of locomotives in the year 1913 over 1912 by $2,083,203, or 113 per cent. The average increase per locomotive in this one year was 110 per cent. It increased its allowance for renewals and depreciation of freight cars 33 per cent per car. The total maintenance allowance for way and structures and equipment in 1912 was greater than ever before in its history, and maintenance in 1913 was $22,000,000 greater than in 1912.

Every railroad in the eastern district which shows any decline in net revenue in 1913 over 1912 has increased its maintenance allowance more than the decline in net revenues, with the exceptions of the Western Maryland and the Bangor and Aroostook.

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Cost of Living.

According to a report of the Department of Labor issued on March 6 the cost of living in the United States reached the highest point it has so far attained on November 15 last. Since then there has been a slight decline. Compared with retail prices on December 15, 1912, it appeared that on the same date in 1913 potatoes had advanced 43.7 per cent; fresh eggs, 21.9 per cent; pork chops, 16.8 per cent; round steak, 13.1 per cent; rib roast, 10 per cent; sirloin steak, 8.9 per cent; ham, 7.9 per cent; hens, 6.7 per cent; corn meal, 6.6 per cent; bacon, 4.5 per cent; milk, 1.9 per cent; and lard, 0.7 per cent. Sugar, however, declined 8.6 per cent; butter, 2.9 per cent; and flour, 0.6 per cent. Prices in Chicago and New York on Dec. 15, 1913, were:

	Chicago.	New York.
Sirloin steak	$ .35	$ .30
Round steak	.22	.28
Rib roast	.24	.25
Chuck roast	.18	.18
Pork chops	.20	.24
Bacon	.35	.30
Ham	.32	.32
Lard	.16	.18
Lamb	.22	.23
Hens	.18	.25
Flour, one-eighth barrel	.75	.85
Cornmeal, pound	.04	.04½
Eggs, fresh	.45	.65
Eggs, storage	.32	.45
Butter	.42	.44
Potatoes, pound	.30	.30
Sugar	.05½	.05⅝
Milk	.08	.08

[See vol. xvi, p. 1141.]

The Labor War.

Many arrests have been made daily by Chicago police in endeavoring to stop picketing by woman trade unionists in pursuance of the boycott against the Henrici restaurant. One of the arrested ones was Miss Helen Gates Starr, settlement worker at Hull House, and co-founder with Jane Addams of that organization. On account of Miss Starr's activity a business men's committee, consisting of the most prominent in the city, met on March 5, and on motion of Mr. John T. Pirie, of Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co., adopted resolutions of which the following is a part:

Whereas, The public has received an impression that the waitresses of Henrici's restaurant are on a strike, while, as a matter of fact, not a single waitress has left Henrici's employ during the past three weeks for any cause whatsoever, and consequently there can be no waitress' strike on at Henrici's; and

Whereas, A vicious boycott has been instituted against Henrici's restaurant by women who have no connection with said firm and, said boycott has been encouraged by a prominent representative of Hull House, a Chicago charitable organization, presided over by Miss Jane Addams, to the satisfaction and pride of every loyal Chicagoan. . . .

Now, Therefore, be it Resolved, That the mayor take immediate steps to keep the people from gathering in the vicinity of Henrici's restaurant, and forbid any loitering on said block; and,

Be It Further Resolved, That Miss Jane Addams be requested to withdraw the representative of Hull House from further participation in this conspiracy, and to have said representative resume her customary work with the Hull House organization, for which she has proved herself so well fitted by many years' service.

Miss Addams being in Asheville, N. C., telegraphed the following reply to this demand:

All of the residents of Hull House are, of course, free to act as individuals. Miss Starr as a member of the Women's Trade Union League is naturally interested in its affairs. She is not acting as an official representative of Hull House. Is not peaceable picketing allowed under the Illinois law?

On being released on bail Miss Starr promptly returned to picket duty. [See current volume, page 230.]

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Application for an injunction against the Waitresses' Union was made on March 6 to the Cook County Circuit Court by the Chicago Hotel and Restaurant Keepers' Association. The petition claims that the picketing and boycott interferes with all business in the neighborhood of Henrici's restaurant. A cross petition was filed by the Waitresses' Union on March 7, asking that the police be enjoined from interfering with peaceful picketing. While these cases are under consideration the judges advised the union members to refrain from picketing. On account of a misunderstanding of this request picketing continued, how-

ever, for a short time, since which the truce has been observed. On March 9 a committee of the Employers' Association called on the mayor and demanded that he suppress the boycott. The argument was stated as follows by the spokesman, Mr. Robert J. Thorne, of Montgomery-Ward & Co.: "The women who parade in front have nothing to do with the restaurant, and their only legal claim seems to be the right of free speech." The mayor replied that the police were doing all that they could.

❁

Unemployed men in New York City to the number of several hundred, on March 3 marched to the chapel house of St. Paul's Church and asked for food and lodging for the night, as an alternative to being furnished jobs at good wages. They were fed and allowed to spend the night in the church. On the following night they marched to St. Alphonsus Church and made a similar request, but were denied by the priest in charge, who sent for the police and had the leader, Frank Tannenbaum, arrested, together with a number of his followers. Since then the police have broken up meetings of unemployed on the streets and arrested speakers.

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A march of unemployed men from San Francisco under "General" Kelley, with the intention of proceeding to Washington, was stopped by militia at Sacramento on March 7. A delegation was permitted to call on Governor Johnson, who is said to have offered them work, which the men refused until their mission to the city of Washington should be completed. Upon this the Governor declared that while in sympathy with men who want work, his callers did not present an unemployed problem, but only a particular propaganda. On March 9 violent measures were taken by the authorities of Sacramento to drive the men from the city. Having been refused food for several days they were attacked on starting some disorder by deputy sheriffs with clubs and by firemen with fire hose and driven from the city.

❁

Denials of the charges of brutality and misconduct toward Michigan copper strikers on the part of the militia were presented to the Congressional investigating committee on March 9. The committee met in Chicago. Brigadier General Abbey testified that Governor Ferris had ordered a policy of the greatest forbearance toward the strikers. Captain Blackman, who had commanded the militia when a parade of strikers was stopped laid the blame for disorder on the paraders. Other witnesses entered denials of charges against the militia. [See current volume, page 229.]

The Supreme Court of the United States on March 9 affirmed the sentences of Frank M. Ryan and twenty-three other members of the International Association of Structural Iron Workers, who had been denied a new trial by the Circuit Court after conviction of conspiracy to transport dynamite at Indianapolis in December of 1912. Originally 33 were convicted. Two did not appeal and seven were granted new trials by the Circuit Court. [See current volume, page 59.]

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In announcing the plan of the Federal Industrial Commission for public hearings on plans for solution of industrial difficulties, the chairman, Mr. Frank P. Walsh, announced on March 7:

"Why industrial war?" is the question for which the commission is seeking an answer. Why so many strikes and riots and so much talk of dynamiting? Why have organizations that denounce patriotism and religion gained such a hearing in some of the big industrial centers? Why have so many thousands of workers a distrust of the courts? . . .

Industrialism has come on us like lightning out of a clear sky. Fifty years ago we were an agricultural people, living in rural districts and small towns in the most part, and having a chance of getting into the firm whenever we took a job. And now! Huge and still huger cities, sucking the very marrow out of the country—a chance in employment from the small store to some monster corporation that squats in one state and exercises tentacular activities in twenty.

It has come so suddenly that we have not had time to adjust ourselves to the new conditions. We are still going along as though there has been no economic earthquake. Of course, there is trouble, and it is not at all improbable that this trouble may assume the shape of revolution unless our industrial, political and social institutions are changed to meet the new demands.

Take the rights of man, for instance. Yesterday they were rhetorical; today they are economic—the right to work, the right to a decent home and comfortable living, and the right to bring children into the world without wondering how in the name of God you are going to bring them up.

Living wage has come to be as much of a catchword as infant industries and pauper labor of Europe. What is a living, anyway? I know what it is for me, and that's all. Progress has made many new pleasures and privileges, and these must be shaped equitably. There is neither sense nor justice in the calm assumption that the refinements and beauties of life are only capable of being enjoyed by a certain upper class, and the mass of people have no higher aspirations than a full belly, a warm back and a sheltered head.

Industrial training, vocational guidance, blind-alley trades, the hideousness of slums, the curse of involuntary poverty—all things that must be looked into, for in them we may find germs of class hate and reason for discontent.

[See vol. xvi, p. 638.]

Tax Reform News.

The Kentucky State Senate on February 27 passed a bill to submit a constitutional amendment to classify property for taxation. It must now pass the House and then be voted on by the people. A similar measure was voted on last November and carried, but on account of a technicality the result was declared void. [See current volume, page 86.]

The bill introduced by Congressman Henry George Jr., to reform assessment of land and improvements in the District of Columbia was amended into an unrecognizable shape by the District Committee of the House of Representatives. As amended the bill provides for taxation of all kinds of personal property at a fixed rate of one and one-half per cent. Mr. George had proposed a budget system, and annual fixing of the tax rate by the Commissioners. These propositions were eliminated by the Committee. [See vol. xvi, p. 1231.]

In pursuance of a fight against the poll tax, two men are in the Mercer County jail at Trenton, New Jersey, for refusing to pay the tax. They are Louis Josephson and Horace Hervey, president and secretary of the Mercer County Anti-Poll Tax League. They have been imprisoned since February 6. The law requires that they be kept in prison until the tax, with interest, costs, and fees, shall be paid. Bail is not permitted and the right of trial is denied. Should the authorities, therefore, persist in strict enforcement of the law and no one pay the tax and other charges for them, both men must remain in jail for life.

The British Columbia ministry has undertaken to solve the timber question by introducing a bill in parliament at Victoria providing for a royalty on timber cut that shall rise in keeping with the price of lumber. In presenting the measure, Mr. Ross, Minister of Lands, said:

The Royalty Bill comprises four things. It fixes the royalty increase for 1915, and establishes a level of lumber prices on which future increases will be based; it provides seven 5-year periods for royalty adjustment; and it provides that for each of these periods a given percentage of the price increment for lumber shall be added to the royalty. This percentage is 25 per cent for the first five years, and rises gradually to 40 per cent for the last five-year period. The fourth of the accomplishments of the Royalty Bill is to readjust the rentals between the coast and the interior, and fix them for the whole period of the act.

The first royalty increase takes effect Jan. 1, 1915, and it fixes the rate on the coast at 75 cents per thousand, an increase of 50 per cent. In the interior, the increase for 1915 is made by introducing the British Columbia log scale instead of the Doyle, now in use.

This, he figured, would make an increase of 40 to 45 per cent. In the central and northern interior the royalty is increased to 65 cents for 1915. These three increases hold till 1920, a period of five years. After that there comes in the new principle of progressive increases in royalty based on percentages of the price increment above the base level of $18 per thousand selling price of lumber.

These increases are made subject to the result of governmental investigations and are applied at the end of each five years, to hold for the next five years.

"Therein lies the great principle around which hangs this bill," said the minister. "The principle that the government, the people and the lumbermen are co-operators in an industrial enterprise, the principle that by frequent re-adjustment based on the actual facts, timber royalty will keep pace with the growth in lumber values. So far as I am aware no such principle has ever been enacted before on so broad a scale by any other nation. In it lies not merely the great solution of the royalty question, but also the new principle of disposing of other public natural resources which will live, it is my earnest hope, and which will form the basis for the right handling of other similar policy questions by our government."

Resisting the Personal Property Tax.

Mrs. Belle Squire of Chicago, who has resisted payment of personal property taxes on the ground of having no vote, calls attention in a letter to the County Treasurer to other reasons still remaining for non-payment. Aside from the fact that the bill presented includes charges for taxes during the time that she was denied suffrage, and the further fact that the suffrage act may yet be declared unconstitutional, Mrs. Squire says:

Not the least of these issues is rebellion against a system that penalizes the poor and practically exempts the rich; a system that allows private individuals to collect for personal use the social values that accrue wherever people gather, and which forces the State into the belittling and undignified task of levying upon the paltry household effects of the humble for its extra revenue. . . . If I was wrong in my original contention, then I am not the only law-breaker concerned, nor the worst, for I never swore to obey the law, nor was paid money to uphold it. In fact, I never had a chance to prove my allegiance except in a way that men scorn as intolerable. So if I am to be punished, I must insist that the partners in my previous crimes be punished with me. Needless to say it is immaterial to me whether you settle the matter by ignoring it; by levying upon my few personal belongings; by bringing suit or what you do. All I ask you is to please remember that, while I am willing to suffer for a great principle, there is a vast difference between playing the part of a solitary martyr and that of a scapegoat.

Mexico and the United States.

General Carranza, after a long conference with

his cabinet, appointed a commission on the 3d to investigate the Benton case. Great Britain's assurance that the American government would be given a free hand to deal with the Benton case, has led to Carranza's gradually yielding his original contention that he would answer only to England for Benton's death. Constitutionalist friends at Washington have also brought pressure to bear. Evidence of the desired effect is seen not alone in the General's investigation of the Benton and the Bauch cases, but in the fact that General Villa did not execute Terrazas, Jr., when his father failed to pay the $250,000 demanded. As soon as it became apparent that the Constitutionalists would lose standing with the United States because of their lawless policy, a decided change came over them. Villa now announces that it was not the ransom money that he sought but the suspension of the elder Terraza's aid to Huerta. [See current volume, page 230.]

Wanton murder seems to have been established in the case of the Texas rancher, Clemente Vergara, who was decoyed into Mexico by Federal soldiers, on the plea of settling for horses that had been stolen from his ranch. Officers in charge of the post at Nuevo Laredo declared to the American authorities that Vergara had escaped and had joined the Constitutionalists. But on the night of the 7th the body was exhumed from the Hidalgo cemetery, and brought across the Rio Grande to American soil. Press dispatches report it as the exploit of Texas rangers and friends of Vergara, who crossed the river in the middle of the night to accomplish their purpose. But Governor Colquitt declares that the rangers did not cross the river; but that the body was brought to the American shore in the middle of the night by persons whose identity is unknown. Vergara's family and friends have identified the body.

General Huerta took a bold step on the 7th, in creating a government bank, which will issue 400,000,000 pesos ($200,000,000) in fiat money, based on the $160,000,000 bonds authorized by President Madero, but which Huerta has been unable to sell for lack of recognition by the United States. The dictator is reported to be rapidly completing plans for taking the field in person; and the rumors are reviving that he will appoint as his successor in the Presidential office some one acceptable to the Administration at Washington.

Rebellion in Brazil.

Not to be outdone by Peru, Brazil presents to the World a complete and going revolution without previous warning. Rio de Janeiro and the neighboring cities of Nictheroy and Petropolis were proclaimed in state of seige on the 5th, and the troops held in barracks in anticipation of trouble. The government censorship of the telegraph has prevented more than meager reports of the causes and extent of the trouble. The managing editors of three of the principal newspapers of Rio have been placed under arrest, together with a number of officers of the army. [See current volume, page 32.]

The states of Ceara, Para, and Pernambuco in the northern part of Brazil are struggling with revolutionary movements, said to be due to racial questions, but circumstantial details are lacking. The three states in question have 533,729 square miles, and 2,472,633 population. Business is reported virtually suspended. Appeals of the Governor of Ceara and citizens for assistance have been received at the capital, but the government, mindful of the naval mutiny of 1910, is cautious. Advices received at the Brazilian embassy at Washington are to the effect that there are no disturbances in Rio de Janeiro, and that martial law, which is merely precautionary, may be revoked before the 31st of March, as originally fixed.

English Politics.

Premier Asquith presented to the House of Commons on the 9th the government's plan for the conciliation of Ulster, in connection with the Home Rule bill. The terms of the Premier's offer are that a poll of the parliamentary electors be taken in each of the Ulster counties to decide whether it shall be excluded from the operation of the bill for a period of six years from the first meeting of the new Irish parliament. It is understood that such a vote would exclude four of the nine Ulster counties, Antrim, Armagh, Londonderry and Down, which have Protestant majorities. [See current volume, page 231.]

Mr. Asquith said the government named a period of six years because it would give ample time to test the working of the Irish parliament, and also an opportunity to the electors of the United Kingdom, guided by experience, to pronounce whether the exclusion of the counties of Ulster should end or be made permanent. Two parliaments would be elected before the expiration of the exclusion, which would give the people of Great Britain ample opportunity to reverse the action of the present parliament.

Andrew Bonar Law, leader of the opposition, opposed the six year limit, urging the dissolution of the imperial parliament, and the same sort of referendum for the United Kingdom as the government was offering to the counties of Ulster.

John E. Redmond, the leader of the Irish Nationalist party, said his party was willing to make great sacrifices for peace, but, he declared, the Premier had gone to the extreme limit of concessions. Though the Irish Nationalists disliked the proposals, he said, if their opponents accepted them frankly, his colleagues were prepared to do the same. Sir Edward Carson, leader of the Ulster Unionists, pointed his fiery speech with the declaration, "Ulster will not have this proposal, which means a sentence of death with a stay of execution." If the government, he said, would withdraw the six year limit he would call an Ulster convention to consider the plan.

While the proposed modification of the Home Rule bill is resented by some home rulers, others look upon it as a possible advantage, in that it would free the new parliament from much friction and contention during its formative period. It also frees both the Irish Nationalists and the Liberal party from even the appearance of injustice or intolerance.

NEWS NOTES

—John Bassett Moore, counselor of the Department of State, resigned on March 4.

—George W. Vanderbilt died of heart disease on March 6 at Washington, D. C., aged fifty-two.

—The Joseph Fels memorial meeting in Boston was held on March 7 at the South Congregational Church. The speakers were Reverend L. M. Powers, William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., and Hon. Josiah Wedgwood of England. Professor Lewis J. Johnson presided.

—Hiram C. Gill was re-elected mayor of Seattle on March 3. He had been elected to the same place in 1910, but was recalled in 1911 on account of his toleration of a "wide open" town. He claimed this time to have changed his views. [See current volume, page 206.]

—Loss of wages to organized workers in the United Kingdom on account of strikes during the last ten years amount to $84,741,000. The gain in wages was $13,209,000. Of every 100 strikes, or other disputes recorded during the ten years, one-half were won by the employers, on-quarter by the workers, and one-quarter were compromised.

—Plumbers in Switzerland, according to Consul Philip Holland, are anything but the plutocratic workmen newspaper humorists would have us believe them in this country. The expert plumber receives 14 cents an hour. Helpers receive while serving their apprenticeship 60 cents a week the first year, $1.20 the second year, and $1.80 a week the third year.

—Radical sentiment is increasing so rapidly in Italy that Premier Giolitti, in spite of an administration that accomplished the annexation of Libya, restored the finances after the Turkish war, extended the franchise, and effected various reforms, has been obliged to resign because of the defection of the radicals in the Italian parliament. [See current volume, page 36.]

—The Swedish Parliament was dissolved on the 5th. The defense measures, against Russian aggression, announced by the government include the formation of a fleet of airships and a tax on large incomes. In dissolving Parliament King Gustav announced strict adherence to the constitution and to his motto, "With the people for the fatherland." [See current volume, page 180.]

—The action of the Vienna City Council in barring women from new places on the teaching staff of the public schools is said by some to be due to the agitation of the women teachers for equal pay with men. Although the women are required to go through the same course as the men, and to take the same examination, the Christian Socialist majority of the council argues that as women are not heads of families with children dependent on them for support, they are not entitled to the same pay as men.

—Sixty-five miles an hour is the speed of the latest military Zeppelin, which crossed Germany on a trial trip. Steady advance in dirigible ballooning continues, despite disas'ers. The new airship can operate at a height of a mile and a quarter, and carries a more efficient battery of machine guns than any of its predecessors. It also has a device to carry escaping gas clear of the car to prevent explosions. Experiments are being made with an unsinkable gondola to be attached to the Parseval balloons. The gondola, which resembles a submarine, can be quickly detached in case the airship is driven down to the surface of the sea. [See current volume, page 1140.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Equal to Whites in Heroism.

Puck, February 14.—A newspaper account of the Old Dominion steamship disaster spoke thus of the work of the Monroe's stewards: "They fastened the preservers about the passengers, they helped them over the side to the boats, they cheered and encouraged them, and—let this be remembered—these stewards were black men." None too respectfully referred to Governor Blease, of South Carolina, and Senator Vardaman, of Mississippi.

How Univerisities Suppress Economic Truth.

Arthur Wallace Calhoun, Professor of Sociology an Economics, Maryville College, in The New Review (New York), February.—With a tinge of sadness, I recall the case of a head professor in a State college, who in response to a casual remark that the author of a certain gentle book on sociology would never get himself into trouble, replied, "Now you're hitting at me, aren't you? Well, I've a family to support, and I propose to tread carefully till I become indispensable to my institution." And he is still pursuing the same policy. "Poor chap," thought I to myself, "you'll never become indispensable." For,

though he is a most brilliant teacher, he could not stick if he gave free rein to his judgment in social policies. . . . A few months since, an eminent economist, who is probably not outranked by any in the United States, at the end of a course that he was giving in a university away from home, was asked, "How many of the economists of the country feel as you do in this matter?" (The reference being to the professor's view on a certain urgent economic problem.) "Well," he replied, "so far as I can see from talking with them, nearly all do, but not more than two or three will come out and say so. That shows you the power of wealth. Now, I talk very freely, everywhere except in—(mentioning the State in whose university he holds a chair). But I have to make a living, and I would not care to tell all my thoughts on this subject to every voter there." . . . Time and again one must face the issue if he continues in the academic world. If he chances to make a public address on Socialism, it is insinuated in the yellow press that he spends most of his vacation with "the comrades." If he writes an article for a Socialist paper, some eager citizen will lodge complaint with the powers. . . . People will ask his friends whether he believes in free love, and he will be charascterized as an enemy of civilization and a subverter of the social order. . . . These words are not the vaporings of a keen imagination. They are reminiscences. And let it be added, that the academic chair is a very easy place to lose one's soul. . . . The sponsors for the state of affairs just described do not leave it comfortless. They have developed a philosophy. . . . The professor must not be an advocate! He must remember his responsibility, and beware of exercising any personal influence over the tender minds submitted to his care! Better let them reproach him years after for not telling them what kind of world they have to meet, than to run the risk of implanting any bias toward revolution.

Any Way But the Right One.

The State Journal (Raleigh, N. C.), February 20. —Says the Home and Farmstead of Georgia: "Senator Fletcher's bill, creating Federal Land Banks, provides cheap money for the farmers who have land to offer as security. Well and good, so far. But there is in it no provision and no hope for the tenant farmer, however industrious, thrifty, honest and aspiring he may be." . . . It is not the land owning farmer who needs and cannot secure money, but the land-needy farmer. He could easily secure his desire—land—if those who are holding three-fourths of it out of use "for a rise" were made to face the fact there would be no profit in holding. Profit in holding would disappear if taxes were taken off of improvements and put on sale value of land alone. If a man in New York city wishes to cross over into Brooklyn he uses the Brooklyn bridge and gets there at once. If he were to start out to walk around the head of the river, he would not only likely be late and probably never get to Brooklyn, but he would at once be considered a fool. Yet the rural credit scheme simply ignores the bridge and attempts to walk around the head of the river.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

PASS A LAW.

For The Public.

Are your neighbors very bad?
Pass a law!
Do they smoke? Do they chew?
Are they always bothering you?
Don't they do as you would do?
Pass a law!

Are your wages awful low?
Pass a law!
Are the prices much too high?
Do the wife and babies cry
'Cause the turkeys all roost high?
Pass a law!

When M. D. finds new diseases,
Pass a law!
Got the mumps or enfermisis,
Measles, croup or "expertisis"?
Lest we all fly all to pieces,
Pass a law!

Are the lights a-burning red?
Pass a law!
Paint 'em green, or paint 'em white!
Close up all them places tight!
My! Our town is such a sight!
Pass a law!

No matter what the trouble is,
Pass a law!
Goodness sakes, but ain't it awful!
My! What are we going to do?
Almost anything ain't lawful,
And the judge is human too!
Pass a law!

W. L. WELLS.

FROM YEOMAN STOCK.

For The Public.

Once on a time a boy of sixteen was hauling sacks of wheat from his father's field in the Santa Clara Valley to the "embarcadero" on the shore of the Bay of San Francisco, where it was loaded on a schooner and taken to market. This was before the days of railroads, and he could make but one round trip in a day.

On the edge of the salt marshes stood a little house in a beautiful old-fashioned English sort of a garden; it was famous for miles around. Mrs. Gates lived there, and the boy always stopped to help her half an hour in the garden. She showed him how to sow seeds, transplant rooted cuttings, prune the shrubs, and no end of such things. They had been out in the hills together digging up wild roots and bulbs. She was a little old English

woman of peasant stock, unlearned in books, but very wise in the care of the sick, and in every sort of neighborliness. She used to grow potted auriculas and give them away to all the school children in the township for Christmas presents.

So, whenever the boy was late, and yet not hungry, his mother would laugh and say: "You have been gardening some more, and listening to Yorkshire stories from John and Rhoda Gates, and they gave you supper besides."

"But, mother, Mrs. Gates sent you this big, big bunch of flowers. She calls it a 'love-posy,' and says there's rosemary in it for remembrance."

Once the boy did not get home till hours after dark, and then he had a story to tell. There had come an immense band of cattle from another county, filling the road from side to side, pressing hard against the fences, hurried on by loud-voiced vaqueros on wild little mustangs. Fine cattle they were, but badly handled, and at last a big red bull had gone through the fence about Mrs. Gates' garden.

The boy was driving home from the embarcadero; he had the wit to open a farm gate into a field and drive through out of the way of the cattle. By standing on the wagon seat he could see how things went in the garden. He saw fifty animals wandering over the half-acre of plants in fullest bloom. Then he saw little old Mrs. Gates rushing out bare-headed, sleeves rolled up, from her wash tub, and go straight up to the big red bull, as if she had known him from calfhood. She spoke to him, she put her arms around his neck, she led him gently out into the road again, and all the rest followed.

A tall young Englishman, the owner of the cattle, galloped up and gave sharp orders; several vaqueros forced the animals down the road, came back to repair the fence, and, if possible, mend the torn garden. The boy drove up as soon as the cattle were past the field in which he had taken shelter, tied his team, ran in and began resetting pansies and wall flowers torn from the soil by the stampede. Thus he could not help hearing what went on.

The stockman approached the mistress of the garden, apologies in his mien. She forestalled him with her broad, north-country speech: "'Tis the owd Squire's red Durham stock from his farm on the York road."

"Madam, it is! And you?"

"Sir, I used to be Rhoda Kemp; there were a Rhoda Kemp dairymaid on a Squire Wilmot's estate, past five hundred years."

"It is so," said the young Englishman, raising his hat, taking her by the hands. "Now let me send gardeners and ——"

She laughed, and dropped him an old-fashioned curtsy, but she spoke in the neighborly American way. "Not at all; tell your men to open the first gate, and let your cattle in our big pasture till to-morrow. The men can camp by the well; come you in, and pay your debt by being our guest this night."

Then this erstwhile dairy-maid, who had married the son of a game-keeper, and had come to California across the plains, called the boy up and introduced him to "the grandson of old Squire Wilmot of the West Riding;" called her husband out (who could not so well carry it off, but was meekly subservient); ended by giving young Wilmot a trowel and telling him offhand that he could help in the garden till supper was ready. He looked mightily amused over it, and laughed aloud as he gardened with the boy of this tale, telling him about York Minster, old castle ruins, and countryside happenings of his own boyhood in England.

"You Americans are cousins of ours, of course," he said. "I don't know exactly what you do, however, to so change our peasant people. There's Rhoda Kemp, and the Blacows, Proctors, Hudsons and Malderns. Peasants and servants with us; landed proprietors over here. I suppose that's it."

"No, sir," the boy said, politely. "I think it's that, of course, but it's a lot more, too. The young folks are together in the fields and at home, in school and church, at shooting matches, picnics, colt-breakings and rodeos at all the parties and at election dinners."

"Looks pretty democratic," the aristocratic young Englishman from Gilroy remarked. "We hear down our way that in your valley the women expect to vote sometime."

The boy looked sober enough. "Well, sir, we have a lot of big English girls here; I go to school with them, and it hustles a fellow to spell them down. Mrs. Gates' grand-daughter Rose generally beats us all. Besides, these girls can break colts, drive cattle and run gang plows as well as dance and play the piano. One of them runs a ranch for her broken down father, and does it better than he ever did. Of course they ought to vote."

"And this was our peasant stock!" said young Wilmot, smiling.

"We don't call them that, sir; my mother speaks of them as right good English yeomen, whose ancestors drew bows at Agincourt. Then my father says 'American yeomen,' just like the rest of us."

"And what do you think?" young Wilmot asked.

"I guess it's a good deal in living on their own land, on just what one can take care of with his two hands. Why don't you do that in England? Give every family an acre as long as they work it."

The Squire's son drew a long breath. "Grow up, you young radical," he said; "come over and stay a year with us. I shall sell my cattle and go home before long; I'll write you about it."

Then Mrs. Gates and her tall grand-daughter called them to supper; the boy fed his horses,

spent the evening and heard entrancing reminiscences of Old England.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.

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MR. GRABBENSTATTER'S WAY.

For The Public.

I was puzzled. In no other factory town had I seen the strange, tense, eager energy, which I saw indicated by many of the operatives of the Webwoof Combine, in Spindleberg. What mysterious influence was responsible for this surprising manifestation? Was the incentive a pecuniary one? Could it be high wages?

"No, it ain't high wages, sir," one of the more intelligent looking of the workers (he said his name was Johnson) told me; "wages ain't so high here as what they be in other places, sir. The folks hustle because the president, Mr. Grabbenstatter————"

"Mr. Grabbenstatter!" I broke in, "surely, you don't mean Mr. D. Clifforde Grabbenstatter?"

"Yes," answered Johnson, "have you heard of him, sir?"

"Heard of him!" I exclaimed (it was impossible for me to keep down the ring of exultation in my voice), "why, man, I know him. Often have I been a welcome guest on his princely estate in the Berkshires; and from his own lips have I heard the details of not a few of his unique philanthropic projects. What, my friend, does he do to encourage his laborers here?"

"He gives prizes, sir," replied the man, "he gives a five-dollar prize and a six-dollar prize at the end of every week, sir. The five-dollar prize goes to them that has the most children who's worked the week through; and them that has the youngest child, who didn't lose no time, gets the six-dollar prize."

"Oh," I almost shouted in my enthusiasm, "what a good, grand, splendid idea! No wonder there is so much determined effort to win those exquisite tokens of efficient childhood! I trust, Johnson, that they frequently have been bestowed on you."

"No, they ain't," he gloomed, "they ain't never been given to me. My children's always unlucky, sir. I started seven workin', when I first come to town, two more than anyone else had, sir; an' I was plum sure of gettin' a prize. But before the week was half over, Jim had his arm took off by a belt; an' Minnie got cotched in her machine; an' Johnnie had an eye knocked out by a busted emery wheel. That left me with only four, sir; an' lots of folks has more than four children workin', sir."

"But the other—the six-dollar prize," I gently prompted.

"There ain't no hope for that, neither," Johnson moaned, his face working, as with a recent sorrow, "I put my Susie to work for that prize last Monday, an' for five days she stayed on her job; but when Saturday mornin' come, she wouldn't git out of bed. Coaxin' wouldn't make her; strappin' wouldn't; an' a dose of speerits didn't have no effect neither."

"But a doctor—he could have done something."

"No, he couldn't, sir. A doctor come, but he wouldn't give no hope; he says Susie would have to rest for all of a month, sir."

I grasped the unfortunate parent by the hand. "My poor fellow," I said feelingly, "I wish I could put in words the deep sympathy I have for you in your grievous disappointment! But, cheer up, my friend; the battle is not lost yet; you will have another chance to win when Susie recovers."

"I won't, neither," he lamented, "Bill Huff's boy—he's a week younger than Susie—he'll be workin' before the month's out."

"But," I consoled, "something may happen to the boy; or perhaps Susie will be herself again long before the doctor thinks. Many attacks of sickness, Johnson, are liable to take the most unexpected turns for the better; and Susie's may be one of these. Did the doctor say what her malady was?"

"He called it 'Teethin',' sir," my informant quavered.

GUY T. EVANS.

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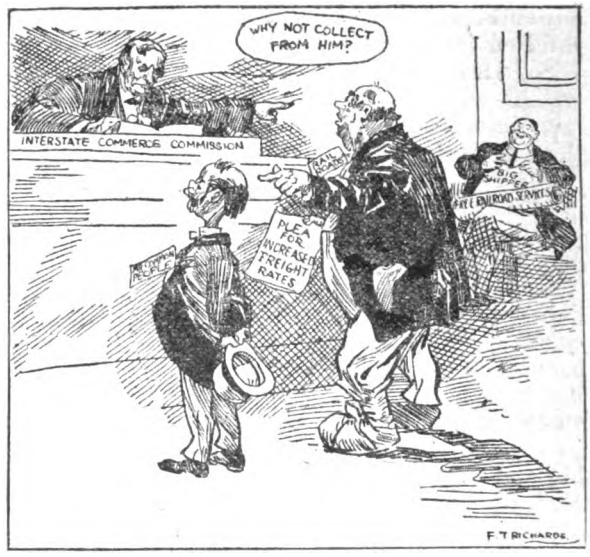
A QUEER SUIT FOR NONSUPPORT.

[From the Philadelphia North American.]



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"I wonder why the baron and Javomir, the poet, always go about together? They are so utterly different."

"Well, the baron thinks himself intellectual when he is with the poet, and the poet thinks he looks smart when he is with the baron."—Fliegende Blatter.

BOOKS

A PRACTICAL TREATISE ON A COMMON EXPERIENCE.

The Mastery of Grief. By Bolton Hall. Published by Henry Holt & Co., New York. 1913. Price, $1.00 net.

In the headings of the twenty-two chapters that make up this flexible, easy-to-handle book, Mr. Hall has set down the human ills to which he ministers the antidote of rational common sense with a cheerfulness that proves the personal test of his prescribed remedy. It is not a patent and may be used freely—the more freely, the more swift and certain the recovery of lost mental balance.

A. L. M.

THE MAKING OF A NEW ORDER.

The Theory of Social Revolutions. By Brooks Adams. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York 1913. Price, $1.25 net.

Does the agitation for recall of judges and of judicial decisions indicate a social revolution? That it does seems quite convincingly shown in "The Theory of Social Revolutions," by Brooks Adams. Mr. Adams shows that the courts have favored the privileged or, as he prefers to call it, the 'capitalistic' class. The movement to place them more under popular control is a movement against privilege. The social changes which he declares imminent may be guided, he says, "as Washington guided the changes of 1789." But of this there does not seem much prospect. The Republican convention of 1912 indicated an uncompromising spirit on the part of the privileged. Speaking of this affair, Mr. Adams says: "Roosevelt's offense in the eyes of the capitalistic class was not what he had actually done, for he had done nothing to seriously injure them. The crime they resented was the assertion of the principle of equality before the law, for the equality before the law signified the end of Privilege beyond the range of the law." Chapters devoted to judicial functions and the records of American courts show how these courts have become strongholds of Privilege. Concrete examples are given of discrimination in cases alike in principle, but differing in power or popularity of the interests involved. These unmistakably show that the tendency of the Supreme court, as well as of other courts, is to do what is popular, regardless of principle, unless there should be a powerful monopolistic interest involved. The opponent of the Recall who demands concrete evidence of discrimination can be accommodated by reference to Mr. Adams' book. That obstinate resistance to change causes disaster is shown in chapters in which incidents of the French Revolution are produced as examples. The opposition of the nobility to the moderate proposals of Turgot was very like opposition of modern privileged classes to similar reasonable proposals. The opinion of the court quoted by Mr. Adams, by which Turgot's proposed highway impost was declared unconstitutional sounds like an extract from a speech by ex-President Taft or some other typical standpatter. Mr. Adams has made a valuable addition to progressive literature. He has given us a book which ought to set the most obstinate Bourbon to thinking—if anything can produce such a result.

S. D.

PERIODICALS

The Single Tax Review.

The January-February number of the Single Tax Review (150 Nassau St., New York) contains an accurate account of the national conference at Washington by John T. McRoy, which is alone sufficient to make the issue an interesting one. Then there is a reply to "The Case Against the Single Tax," the article in the January Atlantic Monthly by Professor Alvin Saunders Johnson of Cornell. The reply is by Professor J. A. Demuth of Oberlin College and ably meets Professor Johnson on his own ground as a professional economist. The bi-monthly news of the movement and other news items are interesting and encouraging, and this by no means completes the list of good things within the 64 pages.

S. D.

A prominent railroad man hurried down the lobby of a Birmingham hotel and up to the desk. He had just ten minutes in which to pay his bill and reach the station. Suddenly it occurred to him that he had forgotten something.

"Here, boy," he called to a negro bellboy, "run up to 48 and see if I left a box on the bureau. And be quick about it, will you?" The boy rushed up the stairs. The ten minutes dwindled to seven and the railroad man paced the office. At length the boy appeared.

"Yes, suh," he panted, breathlessly, "yas, suh; yo' left it, suh."—What to Eat.

"What does your father do for a living?" asked one little girl.

"Why," replied the other, "he takes up the collections in church."—Chicago News.

Gallant Major: It's glad I am to see ye about again, me dear lady; but what was it that was troubling you?

Convalescent: I was very, very ill, major, through ptomaine poisoning.

Major: Dear, dear, now! What with that an' delirium tremens you never know what to eat or drink nowadays.—Punch.