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a Weekly Narrative of History in the Making.

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EDITORIAL

Two Kinds of War Reporting.

In the present war the correspondents are not permitted to report anything of their own knowledge; in Mexico they are allowed to report everything that takes place, and vastly more that does not happen at all.

S. C.



His Back to the Future.

Among the things to be thankful for this coming Thanksgiving Day is the fact that Theodore Roosevelt, when he swings his Big Stick, has only his own weight to put into the blow, and not the weight of the American people. In his address to the students of Princeton, Mr. Roosevelt said that he had seen with his own eyes plans of two of the nations now at war to capture American cities and hold them for ransom. Doubtless this interesting event will take place at the conclusion of the present war, when the money will be very much needed. He also explained to the young men that a nation could enforce a treaty only when it had a stronger military establishment than any other nation, and that it was safe from attack only when it was stronger than all other nations combined. Commenting in a recent press article on the peace treaties negotiated at Washington, Mr. Roosevelt said:

The ruthless strength of the great absolutist leaders—Elizabeth of England, Catherine of Russia, Peter the Great, Frederick the Great, Napoleon, Bismarck—is certainly infinitely better for their own nations and is probably better for mankind at large than the loquacious impotence, ultimately trouble-breeding, which has recently marked our own international policy. Strength at least commands respect; whereas the prattling feebleness that dares not rebuke any concrete wrong, and whose proposals for right are marked by sheer fatuity, is fit only to excite weeping among angels, and among men the bitter laughter of scorn.

Some men learn by experience; some have wisdom thrust upon them; and some—never learn at all.

S. C.

Terrorism No Guarantee of Peace.

Military preparations "for purposes of defense" by one nation are represented by militarists of other nations as intended for attack. So when our own militarists insist that we be prepared for military defense they are working to bring about a situation that will cause us to be looked upon as contemplating aggression. Protestations of desire for peace are practically worthless while preparing for war. Not a nation that is engaged in the present war but has protested that it wants nothing so much as peace, that it prepared and mobilized for defense only, and that war was forced upon it. Why should any of these nations look upon us as more sincere, if we imitate their militarist policy? Why should they not suspect us of harboring designs against them? Does not experience tell them that aggressive warfare is always waged by countries that have made preparations for "defense"? To prepare for war is very likely to bring on war.



Not only must continual preparation for war cause us to be subjected to the suspicion of contemplating war, but it must sooner or later actually lead us into an aggressive war. If the theory is correct that our safety requires a stronger military force than other nations, then, whenever we may have so strong a force, the logical course will be to find a pretext for attacking at once the nation we most fear. Otherwise this other nation may profit by the delay to overtake us in the race for military supremacy and attack us. We can not enforce peace through terrorism.

S. D.



The Victor's Dead Sea Fruit.

The latest number of BODENREFORM to reach these shores prints the following letter from the owner of several tenement houses in Stettin (East Prussia) to her tenants:

Stettin, Sept. 1st, 1914.

Mr. and Mrs. X.

The great and favorable turn of affairs which has come about for our nation, through the Grace of Almighty God, and our brave troops, strengthened by Him, permits us to look forward to a great and blessed future. May our people never forget this Mercy, never turn from the God of their Fathers who has preserved them from all evil. Your rent will be raised to thirty marks from the first of October.

Yours truly,

MRS. R.—

The thirty marks meant an average of four marks extra a month over the former prices. As Bodenreform observes, it will not be easy to prophesy just *how* high rents in the pious lady's

houses will go, provided the German victories continue!

And what *we* observe in relation to this incident is that it points once more to the self-evident but usually avoided (or denied) fact that the average man in the ranks of any army will get the worst of it, *in any case*, whether his colors lead him to victory or defeat. He risks his life and returns, victorious or defeated, to higher rents, higher taxes, a harder struggle for life, often crippled or with weakened health. When the average man who makes up the rank and file of any army remembers this, and does not allow himself to become intoxicated by jingo flag-waving and sabre-rattling, wars will become a thing of the past. For wars cannot be fought without the man in the ranks.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.



Favor Peace But—

The herring fishers who favored free trade in everything but herring, have a counterpart in some peace advocates of the present day. These condemn every nation for waging war except the one in which they happen to have been born. They are peace advocates, but—. They hold that their country is the only one that sincerely wanted peace and only reluctantly went to war when it realized that it must. And they can see nothing but bitter prejudice in the peace advocate who holds his country to be as much to blame as any. Between the jingo militarist and the "peace advocate but" what practical difference is there?

S. D.



Evidence of Prejudice.

Those who charge The Public with partiality and prejudice usually neglect to specifically state on what these charges are based. For that reason an expression of appreciation is due a southern Illinois reader, who, in charging us with anti-German prejudice, submits the following as evidence and argument:

Issue of September 11. Unreasonable Expectations. What brutalities were committed at Zabern? Men guilty of insulting officers being interfered with, you call brutalities? In this land of ours what would have happened? It seems to me as though I had read of something like the following: A private was found guilty of having addressed a letter to a higher officer. This letter was intercepted by the captain (?) unlawfully; and what happened? Yes, yes, seeing the splinter, etc. Did you ever hear of any other brutalities committed in this country—out West, out East, Homestead men being shot down for marching peacefully along the highway. Yes, **we are free** and I think it hardly necessary to go to Europe to find strikers rather unkindly treated.

September 11, page 866.—Unwise to pay Black-

mail. **Predatory commanders!** This sounds as though a little school boy that had never heard of war were talking!

September 18, page 889.—**Cowardly Game of War.** Wonderful! Wonderful logic! Curious doctrine you preach.

September 18, page 902.—**Patriotism and Murder.** This article I presume your imaginary Frenchman would take exception to as being too favorable to the Germans. This is as bad as anything I have been able to discover in *The Public* concerning the French. About the facts in that article, I cannot deny, not being familiar with anything of that nature, but I very strongly doubt. It smells too much like so many infamous lies that fill the English press, which the five eminent reporters, as given in the *Chicago Tribune* of a week or two ago [discredited] which no doubt you have seen. To people half way inclined to learn the truth this would go a good ways [to] inform them. That article in which you accuse the Prussians of committing atrocities I can not find, is not necessary either, as no doubt your memory is not so short as to have forgotten.

We boast so much of our republican institutions, of our liberties, of the Home of the Free and the Land of the Brave and all that sort of thing, and don't seem to know that the German enjoys more real liberty than we and the autocratic rule of the Kaiser is at least as much circumscribed as the power of our President. It should hardly be necessary to call your attention to our free press, as long as the press publishes nothing not pleasing to the powers that be. Here comes a little woman that is to address her fellow mortals, and the whole city is in uproar, the police force has to be called out! That is because we are so brave and free! Take a trip on one of our railroad trains, and not being a grape juice man you take along something a little stronger than milk, take out your flask openly like a man, not a sneak, and see how free you are! There is so much that could be said about cruelties and killings not in Prussia, but in the Land of the Free. Think of Colorado, of Homestead men shot down for marching on the highway, and about you or anybody else being asked about calling out the soldiery. Remember Chicago.



The evidence against *The Public* for anti-German prejudice is thus presented. Would any attorney consider a word in rebuttal necessary before a jury of *The Public's* unbiased readers? If, on the other hand, a counter charge of inattentive reading were brought against the writer of that letter, would not his communication be sufficient to convict him? That he questions the existence of his French co-prosecutor is pardonable, as would also be the Frenchman's questioning of his existence. There is so little ground for either to base their charges upon that had their letters not been actually received the possibility of such baseless complaints would have been inconceivable.



The sad part about this controversy is not the

reflection on *The Public*. It is bad enough that the workers in the countries of the Dual Alliance and of the Triple Entente have been deluded by their rulers into engaging in a murderous brawl, but it is sadder still that men of democratic inclinations in America should allow sympathy with either side in this disgraceful affair, to lead them into an attitude of pugnacity in behalf of their favorite, when there are far more important matters needing their attention. Events of the European war call for comment on this side, but not such comment as comes from a partisan feeling due to accident of birth or environment. The comment called for is that which points a moral to be applied to affairs of our own. Unintentionally our pro-German critic makes this clear. In showing that the Zabern affair is a possibility with us, he justifies all that was said in comment. Seeing the criminal nature of the Zabern happening, Americans militaristically inclined, can be more easily led to see the wrong of similar outrages here. And the truly patriotic German should be thankful, rather than resentful, for criticism which may lead his countrymen to end such an abuse at home; just as the truly patriotic American gratefully appreciates such justifiable criticism of outrageous wrongs here, and such exposures of shams, as those with which our German critic favors us.

S. D.



Improving Market Facilities.

Some confusion seems to have been caused by an editorial on municipal marketing in *The Public* of October 16th. A correspondent, writing from Cincinnati, says:

That anybody who wants to can be a middleman is evidence that there are no monopoly conditions applying to the business is not at all shown; for without the free markets we have here and other places, the middleman would have a monopoly to the extent that he practically dominates the whole business. He can tell the grower: Accept my offer or your stuff will rot on your hands, for you can't use up your remaining hours in hunting up customers. . . . The open curbstone market requires the middleman and the commission man to go to the markets before the consumer comes. They get to the markets at from one to three and four o'clock in the morning. The farmer who can't get a sufficiently good price for his stuff at wholesale from the commission and middlemen can and does wait to sell to the consumer who comes along a few hours later. And where he gets from the consumer anywhere from 25 to 100 per cent better than he was willing to sell at wholesale, the consumer saves anywhere from 25 to 100 per cent, as against what he would have to pay were not these curbstone free markets in existence.

It was not the purpose of the editorial in question to belittle the advantages of free markets, or even of municipal markets when operated according to the natural laws of trade, but to show the futility of the efforts of certain zealous and well-intentioned persons to eliminate the "middleman." The opinion prevails among a large class of people that the middleman, because of his excessive charges, is responsible for present high prices. And that even though he have no legal monopoly he still has the power to say to the producer, accept my offer or your stuff will rot on your hands, and to the consumer, pay my price or go without. But is not this to question economic law itself? What has become of the "higgling of the market"? If this position be true we may as well go at once to Mr. Roosevelt's system of boards and commissions to regulate and control all things. Nay, we shall save time by at once adopting the complete Socialistic program.



No middleman can fix the price at which he buys and at which he sells except when the law prevents others from entering his line of business. Such power exercised by any dealer on the open market means profits greater than the average. Greater profits tempt others to enter that business. They can enter only by cutting prices to consumers and offering more to producers. And this will continue until the profits in that line of business are reduced to the average returns on capital and labor. But this is not to say that middlemen always conduct their part of exchange in the best possible way. They are human, and they are limited as are producers in grasping all the possibilities at hand. Whatever increases competition, whether it be curbstone markets, or municipal markets, spurs all dealers to increased endeavor and better service.



Custom and habit have their place in exchange. A city accustomed from the beginning to municipal markets has little use for the greengrocer; whereas, cities without markets find it next to impossible to introduce them. This difficulty has been increased by the modern habit of phone buying. Busy, as well as lazy, people order by phone, and have goods brought to the door. This is a convenience, but it is expensive. The consumer must say whether he will give his time or pay for the time of the middleman. To those consumers who have no telephones, and who delight in close bargaining, the display of the many-stalled market has attractions aside from the saving itself.

And if markets be properly situated, and well managed, they may increase somewhat the efficiency of service. But has anyone noticed a difference in the volume or intensity of the protest against the high cost of living in market towns and non-market towns? The public market is a success only where there is a public demand for it. In no place will it solve the high cost of living.

S. C.



Free Speech and Legal Equality.

The right of free speech has been upheld within the past two weeks by two juries; one in Chicago and one in Tarrytown, New York. In both places officious policemen arrested open air speakers on charges which were merely intended to give color of legality to the illegal purpose of suppressing free speech. The juries did their duty well. It does not matter who the speakers were. It is immaterial what they said, whether true or false, wise or unwise. They had a right to express their views. If they spoke truth they performed a public service. If they spoke falsely, it was the right of those knowing it to be so to reply and to expose them. In neither case was forcible suppression justifiable. On the contrary, the policemen who interfered with the meetings were the wrong-doers. What is considered a proper penalty for such wrong-doers? Perhaps that question may be answered by considering a recent case involving disturbance of a public meeting.



A few months ago a meeting was disturbed at New York's Fifth Avenue Baptist Church. The disturber, Bouck White, had previously written to the pastor, Dr. Woelfkin, asking permission to publicly address some questions to him. Mr. White honestly believed this permission had been granted, and, under this erroneous impression, unintentionally disturbed the meeting. He is now serving a sentence of six months at Blackwell's Island for this mistake. Mayor Mitchel and Governor Glynn are so sure that this is a proper way to treat disturbers of public meetings that, in spite of the mitigating circumstances, they will not use their power to have White released. The higher courts are so sure that White has been legally and justly dealt with that they will not interfere. Why are not policemen who break up street meetings dealt with in the same way as a man who disturbs a meeting in a fashionable church? In spite of the fact that the misdemeanor committed by these policemen was far more outrageous than the one committed by White, the suggestion that

they receive similar treatment, will probably never be entertained by any court. The principle of equality before the law is not applied as generally as it ought to be.

S. D.



Still Explaining.

Explanations are still flooding the newspaper offices concerning dealings with strikers by the mine owners of Colorado. Since the Ludlow affair a press bureau has been busy sending out these explanations. There surely seems to be much to explain. The explanations are designed to show that devotion to principle and the interests of their employes underlies the mine owners' course. There is so much skepticism concerning that, that voluminous explanations are necessary. But why try to prove anything so difficult? Why do not the mine owners frankly admit that they are looking out for themselves first of all? That existing conditions give them power to adopt the course they have adopted, and that course happens to be the one which seems the best for their own financial interests? No reasonable person would think of questioning such an explanation. They can further say that the conditions which so favor them are the kind that the people of Colorado have declined to change. Consequently, as mine owners, they are not responsible for the existence of such conditions; and they intend to keep on taking advantage of them until the people deprive them of their advantage. Such an explanation would not only be believable but commendably candid as well.

S. D.



Where the Credit Belongs.

The proceeds of a number of heavy taxes levied on the American people are to be used in buying food for starving Belgians. The tax has not been levied by the government but by the Rockefeller interests backed by the power of certain privileges conferred by Federal and State governments. The Rockefeller Foundation will attend to all details of the distribution, and does not seem averse to assuming credit for the philanthropic act, which belongs properly to the overtaxed American people.

S. D.



The Gentle Art of Making Mendicants.

Those sturdy Norsemen who frowned upon the introduction of the Church because it brought beggars would have their patience sorely tried, had they lived in this day and age. Not only do we have beggars, but we have asylums, poor farms,

and pensions. We started with free schools, but now the children have free text books, free medical service, and free dentistry; and the adults have free hospitals, free visiting nurses, free clinics, and free dispensaries, not to mention free libraries, free employment agencies, and free lodging houses. Those English Socialists who are declaring for free bread are not so very far ahead of us. Nor should it be a cause for astonishment when two sons with large property holdings billet their aged mother on the county farm, nor that a woman with an income of twenty-five dollars a week should draw fifteen dollars a month from the county agent. And those persons who express surprise at the number of rich and well-to-do people who attend the free clinics and patronize the free dispensaries simply betray their ignorance of human nature.



It may well be said that no child should be handicapped in his start in life. He should not be deprived of the fullest possibilities of the free schools for want of text books. And if the child's bad teeth lead to poor health, they should be mended. The London school board discovered that some children could not study because of lack of food, and so provided free lunches. The same logic might find that ragged children suffered a mental depression that interfered with their study, and so require free clothing. There seems, indeed, no place to stop logically short of universal communism. But if we do not stop, where shall we end? What will be the moral effect upon the people? If unearned wealth tends to corrupt the rich, will not unearned public largesses weaken the moral stamina of the poor? The rich have many alternatives, if they will to save themselves; but the poor have but one, and we have made that one very difficult.



Why so much "assistance"? Men and women made a descent living in this country a hundred years ago. There was then very little call for public assistance. Families were not then afraid of having children. Judging from the number, they invention have added enormously to the power of were welcome. They were an asset, instead of a liability. Between that day and this science and labor in the production of wealth. Yet, with all this added power at his command, the laborer is unable to lay by anything for sickness or old age. If he dies in his prime he does not leave enough to educate his children. The comforts of modern civilization are beyond his reach, and he must depend upon the charitable rich or the State for

necessities. Some, the strong, the able, and those surrounded by fortuitous circumstances, succeed; but the large and increasing number that fail should give us pause. The poor have enough at best to contend against in the struggle of life without being subjected to the enervating influences of charity. We have drifted into unnatural conditions, and we should lose no time in getting back to sound principles. Charity never was a substitute for justice, and it becomes increasingly inadequate as the complexities of society increase. This is a time for plain, honest thinking. S. C.



South Carolina's New Tax on Industry.

Taxation of industry has been applied pretty generally with results that have been exceedingly harmful. But South Carolina has just legislated to extend the application. The farmer planting more than a third of his land in cotton will be liable to a heavy fine, over and above the ordinary tax on industry. Presumably there are in South Carolina, as elsewhere, farmers who have never cultivated more than a third of their land for any purpose, while others have used every inch of their tracts. So this law, if enforced, will necessarily fall most heavily on the more industrious farmers. Experience will show that this new tax will only intensify the distress it was unreasonably designed to relieve.

S. D.



Failure of the "Practical Experts."

Neither surprising nor regrettable is the failure of the income tax law to produce results commensurate with estimates of alleged experts. The law has so many unjust features and authorizes so much inquisition into matters which do not properly concern the government, that resentment and resistance were to be expected. One trouble with the law is that it was drawn by so-called practical men who "have no use for theories." Their contempt for theories led them to disregard all consideration for any other human characteristic than that of fear. In planning to collect the tax they figured on using the government's physical power in a way that carries with it the same disregard of ethics and the same unconcern for the future, as distinguish the methods of a highwayman or burglar. Any theorist could have told them that such methods must either fail or must prove disastrous in case of success. Many theorists did in fact place such information before the Ways and Means Committee. But while one can lead a horse—or a donkey—to water, no one can force him to drink. The "practical" men on the committee listened to the

practical "experts" and turned contemptuously away from the "mere theorists"—the men who insist that statute laws to be successful must be in conformity with correct economic principles.



One suggestion offered by theorists and disregarded by the practical men was that there should be a distinction between earned and unearned incomes. There is no justification whatever for a tax on earned incomes whatever their amount. The recipients of such incomes have performed service of equal value therefor. The government is not entitled to any part of them. A tax on such incomes is a tax on industry. Whether the tax be large or small it is morally theft. Another suggestion was that unearned incomes be reached at their true source. As passed the law apparently made some effort to do this. In fact it did nothing of the kind. The true source of an income is not at the place where it is finally drawn. It is at the place where it is produced. Because the thoroughly practical men, who drew up the law, ignored this theory they failed to reach many incomes, especially unearned ones. Only forty-four incomes have been found in excess of \$1,000,000 a year. Yet a student of the question, H. H. Klein, author of "Standard Oil and the People," declares that there are more than forty-four stockholders of the Standard Oil Company alone drawing incomes of that amount. These could not have evaded the tax, had it been levied at the true source, on the rental value of land held by the monopoly and on franchise values of pipe lines and railroads. The same applies to other unearned incomes. The most essential requirement to the drawing up of a law, that will do the work intended, is the presence in Congress of more theorists, of men able to reason from cause to effect and equipped with thorough knowledge of economic laws. Practical men with no use for theories have failed. No "mere theorist" could fail more completely if he tried. It is time to give the theorist a trial.

S. D.



Statistics for Archaic Economists.

Those political economists who hold that countries prosper as exports exceed imports, because, as President McKinley put it, the balance is paid in gold, will find interesting data in the trade of the Transvaal in South Africa. The imports of the Transvaal in 1909 were \$98,200,000 and the exports \$170,600,000, leaving a balance in favor of the Transvaal to be paid in gold of \$72,400,000. But unfortunately for the theory of the balance of

trade the chief exports from the Transvaal are gold and diamonds. And so far is the excess of \$72,400,000 from representing a gain in wealth that it measures the tribute that the Transvaal paid to the foreigners who own her mines and other natural resources. In that same year Great Britain's imports exceeded her exports to the amount of \$770,000,000. According to protectionist philosophy, the Transvaal is growing rich on its foreign trade, and Great Britain is growing poor. In the light of common sense the Englishmen who own the mines of the Transvaal are transferring the wealth of that country to England without giving anything in return.

s. c.



Government Control of Railroads.

President E. P. Ripley of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad has presented the railroad question to the public in a way that is likely to attract wide attention. Realizing that the present status cannot last, Mr. Ripley points out some of the disadvantages of the present management, and proposes a remedy. First, regarding the waste, he says:

Some method of economy must be worked out. Every night five magnificent trains leave Chicago at practically the same time for Kansas City. Each carries every modern device for comfort. Possibly one of the trains—two certainly—could care for the business. Six trains leave Chicago for Omaha nightly, and five for St. Paul. Two trains could do the business much cheaper and much better. . . . Suppose all the unnecessary train service, now forced by railroad competition, all ticket and freight solicitors and their offices, and all the unnecessary duplications were eliminated? Think of the saving. Suppose the railroads were allowed to co-operate? Suppose railroad groups were established, somewhat after the manner of the regional reserve banks? Each group of railroads could be governed by a board of directors, in which the Government could be fully represented. The Government could say to each of the lines serving certain territory, "We will guarantee that your net earnings for the next five years shall not be less than for the last five, and you also shall be guaranteed six per cent on any additions and betterments which, with our consent, may be made on the property. In return we demand one or more seats on your board and the power of absolute veto upon any act or proposed act which we may consider disastrous to the community or otherwise improper."



Here is a distinct recognition of the principle of government ownership of railroads by a practical railroad man, and the comments on it made by other railroad men show that it is likely to receive serious attention. The present relation of

the roads to the public is an impossible one, and could not have been endured this long except for the rapid growth of the country and the quick returns to capital. When first the different States, and then the Federal Government, began limiting the rates, and specifying the service, it was only a question of time when the burden of early financing would become unendurable. But the introduction of such a plan as that of Mr. Ripley will necessitate a vast deal of preliminary readjustment. Roads that have been losing money for the past five years would not be content to have their losses guaranteed. Railroad investments are entitled to the same treatment as other investments, but to no more. General merchandising and manufacturing when improperly conducted fail, and the capital invested is wiped out; but railroads are not allowed to fail. If one set of managers cannot succeed the court appoints a receiver who conducts the road until it can again be turned over to private management. A private business may fail, and be wiped out of existence, but a railroad, though its management fail, must continue operation.



Railroading is not a competitive business. The law that regulates merchandising and manufacturing does not apply to it. Hence, another governing force must be invoked. The only power that is equal to the cause is the government. Paralleling lines, competitive trains and traffic solicitors merely duplicate the service without increasing its efficiency. And since it is from its very nature a monopoly it must be organized and operated as a unit, subject absolutely to the control of the people. Whether that control should be exercised as a State unit, as a group unit, or as a national unit, and whether by governmental representation on boards of directors, or by government ownership, is a point still to be worked out. Private ownership and operation has been a failure. Private ownership with government control may be an intermediate step in the transition to government ownership. But no move can be made intelligently until legislators have a clearer understanding of public rights and private rights than did the Congressmen who voted down the Bailey amendment to the Alaska railroad bill, which proposed to tax into the public treasury the land values made by the road. Any man or body of men that does not know whether or not a value belongs to the man or men who created the value is not fit to deal with the railroad problem.

s. c.

Need of the Short Ballot.

A ballot eight feet long in Nebraska ought to be all the argument necessary for the short ballot. Less than twelve inches of this length was used for the truly important part, the six measures submitted to a popular vote. The rest was used for the names of candidates from governor to constable. Other states may not have object lessons so extreme as Nebraska has furnished, but they are impressive enough.

S. D.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

FREEDOM OF PETITION IN NEW YORK.

New York, Oct. 20, 1914.

Judge Otto A. Rosalsky of the Court of General Sessions of the State of New York, has decided in the case of *People vs. Samuel W. Simpson*, as follows:

The distribution on the public highway of a petition to be signed by citizens and addressed to the Governor and to members of the Legislature of this State, favoring a local referendum vote on the question, namely, whether or not the tax rate should be reduced on buildings in New York City to one per cent of the tax rate on land, etc., does not come within the purview of Subdivision 5 of Section 408 of the Ordinances of the Corporation of the City of New York, which provides that:

"No person shall throw, cause or distribute in or upon any of the streets, avenues or public places, or in front yards or stoops, any handbills, circulars, cards or other advertising matter whatsoever."

The judgment of conviction is therefore reversed and the fine remitted, and as no successful prosecution can be maintained, the complaint is dismissed.

Dated, New York, October 16th, 1914.

This is the first decision of a court of record in New York holding that the streets are free for the distribution of petitions, pamphlets and literature.

In the brief filed in Simpson's behalf it was argued that if the ordinance applied to his pamphlet and petition then it was unconstitutional. A part of this argument follows:

What is meant in the Constitution by "free press" and "the right to petition the government"? History only can give us the answer. Free press does not mean newspapers only. Pamphlets (i. e., circulars and handbills) have been the weapons of all thinkers in the struggles of the past for liberty, and were in circulation long before the age of printing and newspapers. . . .

Sec. 8 of the State Constitution is as follows:

"Every citizen may speak freely, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right. No law shall be passed to restrain or abridge liberty of speech or of the press."

Sec. 9 of the State Constitution, provides:

"No law shall be passed abridging the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government or any department thereof."

If the right to petition is guaranteed, how can the petition be signed other than by making a request verbally (free speech) at meetings, whether outdoor or indoor, whether one man to another or one man to a crowd, by newspapers or by circulars? Shut off the means of obtaining petitions and you shut off the right to petition the Government, guaranteed by the Constitution. If a petition is attached to a pamphlet, i. e., cir-

cular (as in this case), is it any more illegal than if the two instruments were separated?

Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations*, p. 596:

"The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides, among other things, that Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech or of the press. The privilege which is thus protected against unfriendly legislation by Congress is almost universally regarded not only as highly important, but as being essential to the very existence and perpetuity of free government. . . . And is supposed to form a shield of protection to the free expression of opinion in every part of our land. . . . The liberty of the press might be rendered a mockery and a delusion and the phrase itself a by-word, if, while every man was at liberty to publish what he believes, the public authorities might, nevertheless, punish him for harmless publications." (Perhaps the U. S. Constitution is only binding on Congress and not on the Board of Aldermen.)

Before our present day newspapers, the moulders of public opinion, were pamphleteers: Addison, Steele, Burke, Milton, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, Paine, etc. Must public opinion be moulded today only by newspapers? If all newspapers should be closed to certain propaganda, cannot we safely in New York City go back to pamphlets (i. e., handbills, circulars) as of old? Are only newspapers entitled to the streets?

If pamphlets and petitions might litter the streets, we know that newspapers do litter the streets. But what is littering the streets to the awakening of public opinion! Burke said he would rather be awakened by the fire alarm, than be burnt by the fire. We are a Government of and by discussion.

In *Ex-parte Nell*, 32 Tex. Crim. Rep. 275, the Court said:

"A city ordinance declaring a newspaper called 'The Sunday Sun' to be a public nuisance and prohibiting its circulation within the city, is a violation of the Bill of Rights. . . . We are not informed of any authority which sustains the doctrine that a municipal corporation is invested with the power to declare the sale of newspapers a nuisance. The power to suppress one implies the power to suppress all, whether such publications are political, secular, religious, decent, indecent, obscene or otherwise. The doctrine of the Constitution must prevail in this State, which clothes with liberty to speak, write or publish his opinion upon any and all subjects, subject alone to the responsibility for the abuse of such privilege."

That interpretation will be given to a statute which will make it consistent with the Constitution.

HARRY WEINBERGER.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

MEXICO'S OPPORTUNITY.

Philadelphia, October 6, 1914.

Senor M. F. Cirat, Mexican Consul in Philadelphia, says: "The only way Mexico can help herself and settle these civil wars is by equal taxation." Good. Then he adds: "All the lands in Mexico should be assessed at so much an acre. Take a man owning millions of acres, now paying very little tax. Suppose he was assessed at, say, \$1 an acre, would he hold the land? No, he would rent it out, give it away, or do something so that he would not have to pay this tax." Sounds good, but is very bad, as the holder of the worst acre would have to pay the same as the holder of the best acre. Obviously unjust. There is but one conceivable equitable tax for

Mexico or any other country. That is tax based on land value.

A tax to be equitable must be based on a common asset. As land values are the only common asset, they are the only true basis of taxation. Furthermore the expenditure of tax moneys is reflected in the value of the land and nowhere else. For example, no amount of grading, policing or other public service can enhance the value of a building or any other thing made by man. They depreciate in value from the time they are created. But, on the contrary, the land will appreciate in value from the performance of public service. Therefore, land value is the only just basis of taxation. Land increases in value with the population. Thus every member of a population, be he rich or poor, is paying his quota with a tax collected on the basis of land value. With these three points of support the principle of a land-value tax is securely based.

An arbitrary distribution of land would not be practical or desirable. All to be desired is that "occupancy and use" shall become the solid basis of land tenure, and a tax based on land value would naturally gravitate to that end, without fuss or feathers. Tolstoi said the land question is the bottom of all questions. And Emerson seems to have put his finger on the exact spot of unrest, when he said "I cannot traverse the plane, the mountain peak or the valley below, but someone will touch me on the shoulder and say: 'Sir, this is mine.'"

Every title to a piece of land is nothing more or less than a franchise from the community to the individual to enjoy that piece of land. A tax levied on this franchise would prevent land being held out of use. Land held out of use tends to dam up labor and force down wages. Therefore, a land-value tax would liberate the land to the full capacity of the people. It would foster an occupancy-and-use land tenure, and afford a judicious revenue at a minimum cost of collection; without custom houses, detectives or other inquisitorial expensive friction-making paraphernalia.

Such is Mexico's great opportunity. The time is most propitious, on the verge of a new birth, to inaugurate a flexible, judicious social adjustment, not only for herself, but to hold on high an example to a class-cursed world seething in a stifling atmosphere of social unrest.

W. E. JACKSON.



THE COLLAPSE OF CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION IN EUROPE.

Cornish, Oklahoma, Sept. 25, 1914.

I have read with interest what many preachers and others have to say about the collapse of Christian civilization in Europe. Therefore, I desire to express my views relative to the same.

There is nothing wrong with humanity; it is the same today as it was in the beginning. It only needs to be trained and directed in the proper channels to induce individuals and nations to do right.

We are all just as we are educated, and it is impossible for us to be otherwise.

The nations of the earth have been taught from time immemorial that war and human slavery were right, and justifiable in the eyes of both God and

man. That a man could be a soldier and a Christian. That he could be shot in pieces on the battlefield and go right off to glory. . . . That God sanctions both war and human slavery. This is a travesty upon justice, a crime upon nature and an imposition and lie upon God.

It is the greed and criminality on the part of the ruling class that precipitates all wars.

War and human slavery are the most potent factors that operate in the interest of the ruling class.

If the people of our country were taught that it is nothing short of murder and assassination to kill our fellow-beings in war; and that human slavery in any form means nothing but degradation for the race, we would soon be on the high way of Christian civilization.

The nations of the earth will never be civilized as long as they sanction and engage in war. Because war and human slavery, and Christianity and civilization will not harmonize.

R. F. RICHARDSON.

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, November 3, 1914.

Election Reports.

Defeat of reactionary Democratic candidates throughout the country is indicated by early but incomplete returns. The party's majority in Congress is thus reduced almost to zero. Defeated reactionaries apparently include Hogan of Ohio, Karel of Wisconsin, and Sullivan of Illinois, the Republican nominees winning. Progressive candidates, including Robins, generally third in race. Whitman pledged favorably to lower rent referendum defeats Glynn in New York, who evaded issue. Kent and Nolan are elected in California, Keating in Colorado, Crosser and Gordon in Ohio, and probably Buchanan in Chicago. Woman suffrage apparently defeated in Ohio and Missouri and in doubt in Nevada, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. Prohibition defeated in Ohio and California and Arizona. In doubt in Colorado. No returns on pending taxation, initiative and referendum or other amendments.



Mexico and United States.

Confusing and conflicting reports come from the convention at Aguas Calientes. General Carranza's resignation as first chief was qualified by the condition that General Villa also should retire. The convention is reported to have adopted on the 30th a decree deposing both Carranza and Villa from official positions and providing for the choice of a provisional president. The convention is to serve as a sort of congress, which, with the provi-

sional president, will institute certain social and political reforms before holding elections. [See current volume, page 1044.]



Eulalio Guiterrez was chosen provisional president by the Aguas Calientes convention on the 2d, for a term of twenty days. The briefness of the term is due to the fact that the Zapata delegates were not empowered to vote for a provisional president, and the twenty days are provided in order that the delegates may obtain credentials and power from General Zapata. General Guiterrez is known in the Constitutionalist army as the "tiger of Conception del oro." He was made provisional governor of San Luis Potosi by General Carranza, with whom he is said to be most intimately associated.



One of the surprises of the convention is the respectability assumed by the Zapata faction. General Zapata, who began as a rebel against President Diaz, and continued his opposition to Madero, Huerta, and Carranza as each failed to keep faith with the people, has been referred to as a bandit. His army is said to be composed mainly of Indians, and the reports of his operations that reached the outside world have come through his enemies. He is now represented in the Aguas Calientes convention, and his delegates and those of Villa are said to control the convention. General Carranza's estrangement from Zapata and Villa has led to the substitution of what is known as the Ayala plan for the Guadalupe plan. The Ayala plan, which is urged by Zapata and accepted by Villa, calls for the confiscation of one-third of the land held by large holders, to be distributed to the poor farmers, who do not own the soil they till. Legal recourse is provided for the land owner, as well as the penalty for a refusal to abide by the decision of the court, which penalty is confiscation of the remaining two-thirds.



The European War.

The thirteenth week of the war leaves the struggle barren of decisive results. In Eastern Europe the Germans have been compelled to retreat in Poland, and the Austrians have made no further headway in Galicia. In the West the Allies have made small gains in Belgium and Northern France. Along the rest of the line the gains and losses have balanced each other. Dispatches announced the bombardment of Odessa and two other Russian Black Sea ports by Turkish warships on the 29th. Russia recognized a state of war with Turkey by a manifesto issued on the 3d. [See current volume, page 1043.]



The Campaign in Western Europe.

Little change has taken place in the long battle

line extending from the Franco-German border at Switzerland to the North Sea at Ostend. What is spoken of as the severest fighting of the war is reported from the northern end of the line. From La Bassee, south of the Belgian border, to Nieuport, near the sea, much activity has been shown; but it is between Dixmude and Roulers where the Germans have made desperate attempts to break through the line of the Allies, that the severest fighting and the heaviest losses have occurred. The great sacrifices made by the Germans in crossing the Yser seem to have been in vain, for they have been compelled to withdraw to the north bank again. The week's fighting favors the Allies in that the Germans have made no headway in their efforts to push their right wing down the coast to Calais, and so shorten and strengthen their line. It is reported that they are bringing up their heavy siege guns, which by over-reaching the artillery of the Allies have heretofore broken down opposition. The use of these guns, however, will be rendered doubly difficult because the Belgians have flooded all the low lands, which has made the movement of troops difficult. The Germans made a local gain ten miles east of Soissons, where it is announced they drove the Allies to the south of the River Aisne, but were unable to follow up the success. Farther to the east, in Lorraine and the Vosges mountains, the French claim gains. Experts think they see the effect of the advantage held by the Allies in having more men to draw from in sending re-inforcements to the front. Opposed to this is the German advantage of heavier artillery. No decisive battle is looked for in the west in the immediate future.



The Campaign in Eastern Europe.

Reports of the campaign in Poland still favor the Russians. The advance of the Germans on Warsaw completely failed. The army in East Prussia, which was to have supported the army advancing from the west, did not effect a junction. It is thought another advance in Poland will be attempted, with support from the army in western Galicia. Little change is announced in the struggle between the Russians and Austrians. Since all this eastern territory is absolutely excluded from the eye of the outside world, and the reports from Petrograd, Berlin, and Vienna are so conflicting, it is difficult to determine the real situation. Reports of the operations between Serbia and Austria are vague and confusing. Vienna announces a new invasion of Serbia by an army that crossed the rivers Save and Drina on the first. Reports of cholera in Austria persist, but the extent of the disease is not known. Some friction has occurred between Greece and Italy over the control of the Bay of Avlona on the coast of Albania; but it is supposed to have been adjusted.

Turkey.

The eleventh country entered the war of nations on the 29th when Turkish war vessels fired on Russian Black Sea ports. Odessa, Novorossyk and Theodosia, in Crimea, were shelled, but without serious damage. The apology tendered by the Turkish Grand Vizier gives color to the claim that the attack was made by the German officers on the Turkish vessels, and without the authority of the Ottoman government. Both the army and navy are officered largely by Germans, and the German cruisers, Breslau and Goeben, that were caught in the Mediterranean at the outbreak of hostilities, took refuge in Turkish waters, and were reported purchased by the Turkish government. The Goeben bombarded Sebastopol, but was reported disabled by the shore batteries. Battles between Russian and Turkish troops are reported in the Turko-Russian border in Asia Minor near Trebizond. The ambassadors of Russia, France and England demanded their passports of the Turkish government; but before they left the city the Turkish Grand Vizier assured the Russian ambassador that the attack on the war vessels was unauthorized by the government. The ambassador replied that his government had ordered him home, but that if Turkey would dismiss all the German officers in her army and navy, he would, when assured they had left the country, return to his post. The Turkish ministry is split on the question of war, the Grand Vizier representing the peace party, and the Minister of War the war party, which makes compliance with Russia's demands doubtful. The Ottoman government has annexed Egypt officially, and the British government has declared martial law in Egypt. Rumors of a Holy War are heard, but the British express little fear of such a result. Bulgaria is reported to be mobilizing her second line of troops since Turkey broke her neutrality; but her answer to Turkey's inquiry as to which side she favors has not been received.

**Japan.**

No decisive action has occurred in the investment of Kiau-Chau. It is officially reported from London that an Indian contingent has joined the forces of Japanese and English.

**South Africa.**

The vigorous action of General Botha, who took the field in person, is rapidly restoring order among the disaffected Boers. General Beyers and his band were dispersed by the defense troops under General Botha. At Brandvlei and Understedoorsn 100 Boers surrendered without resistance. Colonel Alberts defeated a band of rebels in the Lichtenburg district in the Transvaal, killing 13, wounding 30 and capturing 240. Colonel Conrad Brins, who had charge of the force sent against Colonel Maritz in Northwest Cape province, reports that the invasion has been broken.

On the Sea.

The German cruiser Emden, flying the Japanese flag, entered the harbor of Penang on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, and torpedoed a Russian cruiser and a French destroyer. The British cruiser Hermes was sunk in the Straits of Dover by a German submarine. Owing to the laying of mines by the Germans to the north of Ireland, and the increasing difficulty of patrolling the coast waters the British admiralty has closed the North Sea. This includes the mining of the waters at any point, and necessitates the following by neutral shipping of the routes mapped by the admiralty. After November 5th shipping entering the North Sea by other than the routes prescribed will do so at its own peril.

**Italy.**

The Italian cabinet resigned on the 31st. The cabinet was united as to neutrality, but was divided on the question of armament. One faction wished preparations pushed at any cost; the other, while admitting the need of greater preparation, held that such action would imperil neutrality. Decreasing revenues and growing deficit were the immediate cause of the cabinet's fall.

**Belgium.**

The hardships and privations of the Belgians become daily more desperate. It is estimated that 200,000 have gone to England and 800,000 to Holland. The mass of those remaining in Belgium are homeless and destitute. Three million women and children, according to Walter H. Page, ambassador to Great Britain, are actually suffering from hunger. Foodstuffs collected by Americans are being forwarded from the United States and England. The Rockefeller foundation of New York, whose capital is \$100,000,000, has undertaken to relieve distress in Belgium, and in other war afflicted territory that may be found in want. One ship load of food has been shipped from New York. A commission representing the foundation has gone to Europe to investigate conditions.

**Porto Rico's Labor Question.**

A formal reply to the recent demands of the Free Federation of Labor was given in writing on October 10 by Governor Arthur Yager of Porto Rico. The Governor promises to recommend to the legislature that it adopt measures for survey of public lands and for examination into titles of privately owned tracts. These measures are to be preliminary to adoption of means "to encourage and enable the laborers of Porto Rico, through their labor, to acquire the ownership of small parcels of land." As a measure of temporary relief he says the Bureau of Labor has sent letters to landholders "to encourage their laborers who are now living upon their lands to cultivate gardens

and to grant them the use of a small plat of land near their cottages for this purpose." He further says that he favors establishment of a rural credit plan similar to what has been proposed for the United States in the Fletcher bill. In answer to complaints he promises to investigate the action of the insular police during a recent strike. But he adds to this that speakers who have been arrested must necessarily be in jail "for violations of the law of which they were duly convicted by a court of justice." [See current volume, page 1020.]



Alberta Penalizes Land Speculation.

The Alberta legislature on October 17 passed a bill to place a special tax on wild lands held for speculation. Commenting on this new law C. W. Cross, Attorney General of the Province, was quoted in the Toronto Globe of October 24 as follows:

I regard the passing of the bill providing for a tax upon wild lands as the principal piece of legislation arising out of the recent session of the Alberta Parliament. There are thousands of acres of land in our Province, as in all the other western Provinces, which have been held for years, in many cases, by speculators and investors, and have not been improved in the least. We say now to these absentee landlords, "You must use this waste territory in some way or pay a tax on it equal to \$10 per quarter-section, or about 6¼ cents per acre." By legislating against absentee landlordism in the rural districts of Alberta to this extent, the annual revenue of the Province will either be increased by nearly \$1,500,000, or the agricultural area under cultivation will be extended with great rapidity. The idea is to encourage a movement of people to the fertile lands of Alberta. And they are going out to the farms from such cities as Edmonton in large numbers already.



Eleventh Hour Plutocratic Appeal.

Two days before election a card was sent to every voter in Nebraska urging defeat of the pending taxation amendment widening the power of the legislature in dealing with the subject. The cards were signed "The League of Taxpayers," an organization of public service corporations. Among arguments used were the following: "It will cost the taxpayers of the state millions of dollars"; "Let well enough alone"; "It will re-open the old controversy over exemptions of church property." "Laurie J. Quimby, chairman of the Nebraska Press Association's Committee and a well known singletaxer, in his report says: 'All personal property taxes should be repealed, and only land should pay taxes.' This means Socialism. Why should the owners of land pay all taxes." "Amendment No. 1 was proposed by singletax advocates." [See current volume, pages 880, 974.]

Walker's Progressive Stand on Taxation.

In his speech at Malden, Massachusetts, on October 28, Joseph Walker, Progressive party gubernatorial candidate, who was the regular Republican candidate in 1912, made the following statement:

In a former speech I have called attention to the fact that for ten years our state expenditure has increased at the rate of \$1,000,000 per year, and that for twenty years our net state debt has increased at the rate of \$1,000,000 per year. I have pointed out the various ways in which the state could economize. I have shown that added revenue is imperative and that this can be obtained from those who now dodge their taxes, thus imposing the burden of taxation upon those who are least able to bear it.

I now wish to suggest a great tax reform which goes to the root of the whole taxation problem, and which would solve the question of revenue without imposing one additional cent upon either the consumer or producer. I refer to a tax on the unearned increment of land. Germany and other European countries have already tapped this great source of revenue. It is time that Massachusetts laid this soundest and least burdensome of all taxes.

Such a tax would lift the burden of taxation from the consumer, would free the producer, would remove the tax incubus from commerce and industry, would yield an enormous revenue without injustice to any man; would lessen the cost and stimulate the use of land, and would tend to reduce the cost of living. I stand for granting the right to our cities and towns to tax land at a higher rate than the improvements on land.

[See vol. xvi, pages 963, 988, 1037, 1082.]



New Haven Directors Indicted.

Indictments for violation of the anti-trust law were handed down by the Federal grand jury in New York on November 2 against directors or former directors of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company. Those indicted are William Rockefeller, George M. Miller, Charles F. Brooker, William Skinner, D. W. Barney, Robert W. Taft, James S. Elton, James S. Hemingway, Lewis Cass Ledyard, Charles M. Pratt, A. Heaton Robertson, Frederick F. Brewster, Henry K. McHarg, Edward D. Robbins, Alexander Cochrane, John L. Billard, T. DeWitt Cuyler, Theodore N. Vail, Edward Milligan, Francis T. Maxwell. The allegations on which the indictments are based are as follows:

- 1—To secure by purchase all of the capital stock of other carriers or to secure control of the same.
- 2—To secure other properties by leases.
- 3—To compel said carriers to make combinations and enter into arrangements to carry out "the designs of said conspirators."
- 4—To prevent all competition.
- 5—To exercise secret control of the Joy line and the United States Transportation Company, so that all independent steamship companies had to quit or sell out to them.

6—Maintenance of such harassing litigation against other common carriers that they could not effectively compete.

[See current volume, page 683.]



Juries Uphold Free Speech.

Becky Edelson, one of the I. W. W. speakers arrested in Tarrytown, New York, on May 30, for taking part in a demonstration against John D. Rockefeller, was acquitted by a jury at Tarrytown on October 29. The technical charge against her was "disorderly conduct." When arraigned before Justice of the Peace Moorehouse, Miss Edelson demanded a jury trial. She refused services of an attorney, conducted her own case, and challenged all talesmen subject to the suspicion of being under Rockefeller influence. At the close of her address to the jury Miss Edelson is reported to have said:

The Constitution gives me the right of free speech, and whether you acquit or convict me, I shall come back here and harass John D. Rockefeller.

The District Attorney demanded her conviction telling the jury that if they were public-spirited, law-abiding citizens they could find no other way. It took the jury but twenty-five minutes to acquit her. [See current volume, pages 554, 562, 611.]



William Sloan, an agnostic speaker, was acquitted by a jury in Chicago on October 24 of the technical charge of "obstructing traffic." The police who arrested him, besides attempting to substantiate the technical charge, tried to show that Sloan had threatened and resisted them, all of which was disproved by witnesses. It took the jury four minutes to acquit him.

NEWS NOTES

—To prevent the spread of foot and mouth disease the Union stockyards in Chicago were closed by the Department of Agriculture on October 31 under a ten days' quarantine.

—At least fifty miners were killed as a result of an explosion in the mine of the Franklin Coal and Coke Company at Royalton, Illinois, on October 27. No responsibility for the accident was placed on any one by the coroner's jury.

—Thomas Taggart, Democratic national committee-man from Indiana, brought suit for damages on October 28 against the Indianapolis News. He claims that the paper made "false, malicious, and defamatory" statements concerning him.

—A bill to reduce acreage devoted to cotton planting became a law in South Carolina on October 31, through signature of the Governor. It levies fines of from \$25 to \$100 per acre on any farmer who plants more than a third of his land in cotton.

—Details were made public on October 27, by

the Federal Reserve Board, for the administration of the \$135,000,000 cotton pool for the purpose of loans to cotton growers. The distribution will be administered by a cotton loan committee headed by W. P. G. Harding of the board. [See current volume, page 996.]

—Another slide in Culebra Cut blocked navigation in the Panama Canal on the 31st. This is reported to be the aftermath of the big slide on the 14th, and slipped into the Canal when the big shovels had removed the 750,000 yards in the first slide. Colonel Goethals announced that navigation would be open by the 4th.

—The eruption of Mount Vesuvius has reached such proportions as to cause alarm among the people living in the vicinity. Lava is flowing from the crater in such quantities as to cause people to fear a repetition of the eruption of 1906, when property to the value of \$20,000,000 was destroyed, 500 persons were killed, and 50,000 rendered homeless.

—The population of Ireland is slightly decreasing, according to the fiftieth annual report of the Registrar of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in Ireland, just issued. The excess of births over deaths for 1913 amounted to 25,310; but as the emigration for that year amounted to 30,967, the net decrease was 5,657. The population is estimated at 4,373,419.

—President Zamor of Hayti has been obliged to quit Port au Prince, his capital, and take refuge on a Dutch vessel. Desultory fighting between the government and rebels has been almost continuous, and this action on the part of the President is taken to mean the success of the rebels in capturing the capital. [See current volume, page 687.]

—In spite of being adjudged in contempt of court, Superintendent of Schools of Cleveland, J. H. Fredericks, has persisted in his refusal to reappoint teachers who have been active in the teachers' union. He was accordingly sentenced by Judge Neff on October 30 to serve ten days in jail and pay a fine of \$500. He has appealed. [See current volume, page 1046.]

—Income tax returns show 26,818 incomes between \$10,000 and \$15,000; 11,977 between \$15,000 and \$20,000; 6,817 between \$20,000 and \$25,000; 11,144 between \$25,000 and \$50,000, and 3,616 between \$50,000 and \$100,000. The total number of persons, according to the returns, whose incomes exceed \$50,000, and may therefore be considered millionaires, is 5,214. [See current volume, page 1046.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Patriotic Sacrifices of London Thieves

Appeal to Reason, Oct. 31, 1914.—London thieves are showing patriotism, according to a cable dispatch to the Washington Post. Addressing the grand jury at a London session, Robert Wallace, K. C., paid this compliment to the little thieves of London town. "Praise is due to our criminals," he said, "for the self-restraint they are exercising during this period of stress and anxiety. There has been a diminution of nearly 40 per cent in crime in the county of London, a fact that gives great satisfaction to all

who have the interests of the country at heart." It is noticeable that the gentleman made no mention of the big thieves, but dwelt exclusively on the patriotism and loyalty of the little thieves to the big thieves. Very touching, indeed.



As "Heathen" India Sees It.

The Indian Social Reformer (Bombay), September 6.—The outbreak of war in Europe has led to the production of several prophecies of it, said to have been delivered by several astrologers, at some time more or less prior to the war. A correspondent who evidently believes in astrology has sent us a letter, which we print today, explaining that the position of the several planets has been the direct cause of this war. We cannot certainly say that this may not be the case, but it seems to us that as man cannot, at any rate in his present state of knowledge, influence the course of the planets in any way, it is of little practical consequence to him whether a certain event is or not controlled by the course of the stars. On the other hand, the actions of statesmen are influenced by public opinion, and public opinion is influenced, often no doubt by passions and prejudices, but always, in the long run, by considerations of right and reason. Mankind is ruled by ideas, and ideas are the outcome of the human mind. It is more profitable to trace and endeavor to correct the ideas which underlie the situation which has culminated in this sanguinary war than to gaze helplessly on the planets in quest of a cause for human conduct. Is it not just as possible that the position of the planets is the outcome of the war as that the war is the outcome of the position of the planets? It will be said, perhaps, that the planets would have occupied their present position whether there was a war or not. In that case, why can it not be said that the war would have occurred whether the planets are where they are or anywhere else in the firmament?



The Ex-Convict's Economic Problem.

Joliet Prison Post, November 1.—How shall a discharged prisoner make an honest living? This question is of vital interest to the man who has served time, it is also of great interest to the community in which he is to take up his abode. . . . It is frequently found hard by men who have no prison record to earn an honest living; how then about men who have to lie about their past lives in order to get an opening or who go to work under the handicap of having it known that they have served time? . . . We are not urging sympathy for prisoners, or ex-prisoners; we are not making excuses or urging any advantage for them. We are submitting the matter only from a point of society's protection of itself, knowing that this includes the interest of all prisoners who intend to become good citizens. . . . The prisoner has served his time. He is returned to the world. He must find employment at remunerative labor. He has no references. His is the choice, to obtain employment by means of fraud or to tell his past history. If he secures work through lying, he makes a false start. In order to obtain employment in an honest manner he must find an employer who will overlook his

past conduct, and then he must take his chances on what his fellow workers will do about having an ex-convict in their midst. . . . As prisons have been conducted, where has the state failed? How can society best protect itself in the future?

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE LITTLE BULGAR.

For the Public.

Liberty waved her great Torch from on high,
And her worshipers welcomed its light in the sky
As the Ocean Leviathan haled into view
Their choice of two worlds—the Old and the New.
From the far Adriatic they had come all the way—
All fearful, yet hopeful—a motley array;
Montenegrins, Greeks, Servians, Russians, Mag-
yars,
Macedonians, Roumanians, and a little Bulgar.

The Board of Inquiry sat grave at the Gate
And poised in uncertain balance the fate
Of fellow-men, seeking permission to toil
And make bloom as the garden the hungering soil.
Thro' interpreters called their stories they told
Of their hopes and their fears of the New and the
Old—
Their moneys, their business, destinations afar—
And all were admitted but the little Bulgar.

"And why deny me? Is it my faith or my race?"
And the red flash of anger illumined his face,
"The world's grandest hero in learning and war—
Alexander the Great, was a Servian Bulgar.
To fight for our freedom my brave father went;
I came with these friends with his weeping consent.
They told me America's gates were ajar
And I came to work!" said the little Bulgar.

"But my boy, you're young; you're only sixteen;
Labor's struggle for bread here you never have seen.
Go back to your home until big and strong,
And able to choose between right and wrong."
Tho' sorely dismayed, the boy scorned to desist,
But he smote the oak table with his hard little fist,
And the papers and ink-bottles jumped with the
jar—
"As well throw me in the bay!" cried the little
Bulgar.

A tall Slav arose and respectfully bowed,
"May a word from me and my friends be allowed?
He came from Silistria, I from Tuckkov;
The great Danube divided, but forbade not our
love.
For the Cross 'gainst the Crescent his sire drew the
sword;
To look after the boy we all gave our word.
For the sake of the patriot who went to the war
We'll each be a father to the little Bulgar."

The case was reopened, the judgment reversed;
A few furtive tears aged furrows traversed.
Touching heart, lip and brow, all obeisance made,

Showing heart, voice and mind one blessing conveyed.

The lad kissed the card that was stamped "R. R. West,"

And marked him admitted along with the rest;
And as they filed out thro' the doorway ajar
None strode more proudly than the little Bulgar.

"Oh, they're all scum and riff-raff," I hear somebody say.

But they're changing the map of Europe today;
And Liberty smiles as the patriot throng
Rend asunder the chains that have bound them so long.

If Manhood we seek, not races nor creeds,
To meet as God's children our Commonwealth's needs,

Don't you think they did well who let down the bar
To those loyal good friends and the little Bulgar?

DAVID HEALY.



INCOMES IN OUR VILLAGE .

For the Public.

Most of the well-to-do families of our town are said to live on wealth they have inherited, which, in many cases, has grown considerably since it came into the hands of its present possessors. They take a modest but nevertheless real pride in the fact that they have independent means, therefore do not have to work for a living, and are sustained in this attitude by a public opinion which looks upon them as leading citizens, donors of work, contributors to good causes, and exponents of respectability, culture and refinement. It is not denied that they live well, for they have good cooks. Their houses and persons are most cleanly, for they have many servants. Their manners for the most part are pleasing, tactful, gracious, tolerant, and if anyone asks why they should not be, under the circumstances, he is looked upon as a rude person whose question is prompted by envy. Indeed, the man who first asked this question was the one who had made an investigation of the incomes of our well-to-do citizens. He had traced these incomes and publicly revealed their sources, incurring thereby the displeasure of all classes. Surely this was carrying things too far. The editor of our local paper said such exposure was indecent. It aroused class hatred and bred discontent among the poor, which might easily lead to a lessened respect for constituted authority, and an unsettling of the foundations of society that could only end in socialism and anarchy.

Chief among the well-to-do are the A's, whose social standing is the very highest. The first A. owned a farm which is now the most valuable land in the county, made so by the growth, presence and activities of the people who settled on and around it. Where A's cows once gathered grass his descendants now gather dollars as rent from tenants for the use of land which the A's furnish. Is

there anything reprehensible in that? asks the editor. Why, what would become of the land if the A's did not hold it? In vain was it pointed out that the A's as owners of a section of the universe were the beneficiaries of an unjust social institution; that, contrary to general belief, they were not living on accumulations of the past, but on the labor of the present; that, as land owners, they took no part in the production of wealth—they simply appropriated what others produced. It simply couldn't be so. The A's were too nice to do such a thing!

Then there are the B's, who own the gas and electric light plant. Many years ago the Board of Aldermen, on the representation of the first B, that he was risking his capital, gave him the sole right of supplying gas to the people of our village for a period of 99 years. A part of the consideration B. offered, was to supply the town street lamps free of charge. When electricity came into use an electric company secured a grant from the Board of Aldermen similar to the one given to the gas company, but without any provision to light the streets. The electric company soon after made an agreement with the town to light the streets at a certain sum per lamp, whereupon the obligation of the gas company to do it was repealed, it not being even suspected that the B's were the stockholders of both companies.

As in the case of the A's, it was idle to contend that the B's enjoyed a monopoly, from the revenues of which, all they got over and above what they would have received under competition was a tax on the people of our village. How preposterous! The B's would scorn to do anything that wasn't right. They were public-spirited people and to question their income was virtually an attack on vested rights.

Another well-to-do family are the C's. In connection with the A's and B's they own the street railway and our Board of Aldermen long ago gave them the exclusive right of carrying passengers on street cars. The way the C's watered the stock of these roads, their practice as owners and directors of one road in selling the road to themselves as directors of another road, at an enormously inflated price, the poor service they give the public, and their inhuman treatment of their employes, recently created quite a scandal. But that is said to be past now and the plain people of our village are rapidly forgetting it.

The D. family own the mills and factories. A few generations ago our Board of Aldermen placed a tax on the importation of goods made in other places, on the representation of the first D. that if this were done he would establish a factory in the village and give employment at high wages to "our own people." "Our own people" used to employ themselves, but became unable to do so when the A. family acquired possession of all the desira-

ble land and held it at prohibitive prices. D's scheme was hailed as a great discovery and has been sustained many times at the polls by the plain people. It still has the endorsement of our editor, our high school teacher and our best citizens, but something is wrong with it. "Our people" are frequently unemployed and notwithstanding the fact that the wages paid are barely enough to sustain life, there are always many ready to take the places of those at work. Strikes, too, are frequent and the town is put to great expense in its efforts to maintain order. The scheme does not, as was claimed for it, keep money at home, either. None of the D. family live in our village. They live in the world's capitals on the dividends we send them. The editor says that this helps to make the balance of trade favorable to us, but he has to say something, no matter what, that will prevent our people from realizing that though *they* have not profited by D's scheme the D. family has, and he knows that if our people ever perceive this relation it's good night to D's scheme.

The E. family are bankers. Being monied men our Board of Aldermen had implicit confidence in their wisdom, honesty and integrity. The Board, therefore, permitted the E. family to draft such legislation as it desired, which the E. family has done so successfully that in all monetary affairs they are our masters.

When this revelation of the source of incomes of our well-to-do people was made public, the direct connection between them and the town government was recognized immediately by a number of our citizens. They saw that these incomes depended wholly on government-granted privileges; that the government had lent its taxing power to the well-to-do; that incomes obtained as these were are not earned, but are secured at the expense and loss of other citizens, and that the remedy lies in the abolition of all privileges. But the great majority of our citizens have yet to perceive this. Their faith in the well-to-do is still unshaken. They still look up to them as guides and mentors, still point to them as models our youths should copy, and still believe the incomes of the well-to-do are earned by their superior ability and that their accumulations are the result of hard work, frugal living, self-denial and habits of saving.

CHARLES F. SHANDREW.



SHOT! TELL HIS MOTHER.

By W. E. P. French, Captain, U. S. Army, in Washington Times.

What have I done to you, Brothers—War-Lord and Landlord and Priest—

That my son should rot on the blood-smeared earth where the raven and buzzard feast?

He was my baby, my man-child, that soldier with shell-torn breast,

Who was slain for your power and profit—aye, murdered at your behest.

I bore him, my boy and my manling, while the long months ebbed away;

He was part of me, part of my body, which nourished him day by day.

He was mine when the birth-pang tore me, mine when he lay on my heart,

When the sweet mouth mumbled my bosom and the milkteeth made it smart,

Babyhood, boyhood, and manhood, and a glad mother proud of her son—

See the carrion birds, too gorged to fly! Ah! Brothers, what have you done?

You prate of duty and honor, of a patriot's glorious death,

Of love of country, heroic deeds—nay, for shame's sake, spare your breath!

Pray, what have you done for your country? Whose was the blood that was shed

In the hellish warfare that served your ends? My boy was shot in your stead.

And for what were our children butchered, men makers of cruel law?

By the Christ, I am glad no woman made the Christless code of war!

Shirks and schemers, why don't you answer? Is the foul truth hard to tell?

Then a mother will tell it for you, of a deed that shames fiends in hell—

Our boys were killed that some faction or scoundrel might win mad race

For goals of stained gold, shamed honors, and the sly selfseeker's place;

That money's hold on our country might be tightened and made more sure;

That the rich could inherit earth's fullness and their loot be quite secure;

That the world-mart be wider opened to the product mulct from toll;

That the labor and land of our neighbors should become your war-won spoil;

That the eyes of an outraged people might be turned from your graft and greed

In the misruled, plundered home-land by lure of war's ghastly deed;

And that priests of the warring nations could pray to the selfsame God

For His blessing on battle and murder and corpse-strewn, blood-soaked sod.

Oh, fools! if God were a woman, think you She would let kin slay

For gold-lust and craft of gamesters, or cripple that trade might pay?

This quarrel was not the fighters':—the cheated, red pawns in your games:—

You stay-at-homes garnered the plunder, but the pawns—wounds, death, and "Fame!"

You paid them a beggarly pittance, your substitute prey-of-the-sword,

But ye canny beasts of prey, they paid, in life and limb, for your hoard.

And, behold! you have other victims: a widow soba by my side,

Who clasps to her breast a girl-child. Men, she was my slain son's bride!

I can smell the stench of the shambles, where the
mangled bodies lie;
I can hear the moans of the wounded; I can see the
brave lads die;
And across the heaped, red trenches and the tor-
tured, bleeding rows
I cry out a mother's pity to all mothers of dear, dead
"foes."
In love and a common sorrow, I weep with them o'er
our dead,
And invoke my sister woman for a curse on each
scheming head.

Nay, why should we mothers curse you? Lo! flesh
of our flesh are ye;
But, by soul of Mary who bore the Christ man-
murdered at Calvary,
Into our own shall the mothers come, and the glad
day speed apace
When the law of peace shall be the law of the
women that bear the race;
When a man shall stand by his mother, for the
world-wide common good,
And not bring her tears and heart-break nor make
mock of her motherhood.

BOOKS

FOR MINNESOTA VOTERS

The Minnesota Legislature of 1913. By C. J. Buell. Published by the Author, 1540 Laurel Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 1914. Price, cloth \$1.00; paper 50 cents.

Lynn Haines, when he went to Washington to watch Congress for the National Voters' League, did not leave the Minnesota State house unhaunted. His Stories of the Legislatures of 1909 and 1911 are ably continued in Carl J. Buell's history of the session of 1913. Mr. Buell—whose name is familiar to readers of *The Public*—has put into his little book in easily readable form a brief resume and characterization of the session's most important bills, both those passed and those rejected, with the roll calls thereon. and has supplemented this useful analysis with a roster comprising in alphabetical order the name of each State Senator and Representative followed by his recorded vote on these same measures.

There is a difference of efficiency as well as intention between the common people and their exploiters. The ordinary voter asks about his representative at re-election time, "What has he got to say for himself?" "What sort of a man is he?" Big Business asks, "What is his recorded vote on such and such measures?" The sooner the disinterested public learns to ask the Interests' question, the quicker the death of corruption. Such legislative histories as Minnesota and California citizens may obtain after each session serve to create as well as supply this demand for effective political knowledge.

A. L. G.

NEW YORK STATE FINANCES

The Financial History of New York State from 1789 to 1912. By Don C. Sowers. Whole No. 140, Columbia University Studies. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1914. Price, \$2.50 net.

This monograph has a mass of information concerning the revenues and expenditures of New York during almost the entire period of its history as a State. Much of this is of value only to specialists, but some of it should interest the general reader. The history of the Erie Canal, for example, is worthy of study. The author does not find that it inspires confidence in the public management of such enterprises, and the advocate of public ownership and operation will do well to consider the facts, unpleasant as they may be. He will not find them fatal to his theories, and he will gain nothing by ignoring them. Public ownership is more likely to be successful if people know just how it can be made a failure.

The New York legislature has furnished from time to time evidence that democratic government is not an unqualified success. It is interesting to note, however, that when there was a property qualification for the franchise, the voters sent to Albany representatives who did not hesitate to vote themselves extra allowances. They were, in fact, no better than their successors of later years who made appropriations for the improvement of the "Bouquet River," a stream which learned judges failed to find on the map. It will be seen the financial history of New York furnishes instruction and even entertainment.

WILLIAM E. MCKENNA.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**The Judicial Veto.** By Horace A. Davis. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1914. Price, \$1.00 net.

—**My Own Story.** By Emmeline Pankhurst. Published by Hearst's International Library Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$2.00 net.

—**Open-Air Politics and the Conversion of Governor Soothem.** By Junius Jay. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1914. Price \$1.25 net.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Ohio Public Utilities Commission: Uniform Classification of Accounts for Electric Utilities. Published by the Commission, Columbus, O. 1914. Also, Statements in re the Bucyrus Light and Power Company's Appeal from a City Ordinance Establishing a Rate for its Services.

Proceedings of the Conference of Cities Held in Connection with the Pageant and Masque of St. Louis, May 29-31, 1914. Published by the Executive Committee of the Pageant Drama Association under the Editorial Su-

perision of Dr. Arthur E. Bostwick, St. Louis Public Library.

Great Britain and the European Crisis: Correspondence, and Statements in Parliament, Together with an Introductory Narrative of Events. Printed under the Authority of His Majesty's Stationery Office, London. To be purchased of T. Fisher Unwin, London, W. C., and other agents. 1914. Price, one penny.

PERIODICALS

The Singletax Review.

A large part of the September-October number of *The Singletax Review* (150 Nassau St., New York. Price 25 cents) is devoted to proceedings of the Second annual conference of the New York Single Tax League at Buffalo, on September 5. The account of this meeting cannot fail to impress the reader with the fact that the Singletax workers of the Empire State are an able and numerous lot. Accompanying the account are a number of portraits of the more prominent members of the league, together with interesting biographical sketches. An article by R. B. Brinsmade on Proportional Representation, shows the importance of this reform in connection with singletax work—a fact frequently lost sight of by workers who have no patience with any apparent diversion from the main subject. The concluding part of William A. Wood's reply to Professor Irving Fisher on *The High Cost of Living* contains some remarks on the money question which, unless all signs fail, will bring to the Review a deluge of comment and criticism.

S. D.

Proportional Representation.

Equity (Philadelphia) for October presents a fine analysis of proportional representation in connection with the present House of Representatives at Washington. The article is not only analytical but informative and constructive, and persons wishing to post themselves on the status of the movement for electoral reform will find this number helpful. Beside the exhaustive review of the progress of the movement for the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall, this number of the quarterly contains a "Proposed Constitution for an International Government" which may interest those looking to "the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

S. C.

There is a little girl in Springfield, Massachusetts, who, like many of her sex, resents the imputation that the feminine mind is not so strong as the masculine.

One day her mother remarked on the apparent lack of intelligence in a hen.

"You can't teach a hen anything," she said "They have done more harm to the garden than a drove of cattle would. You can teach a cat or a dog, or a pig something, but a hen—never!"

"H'm!" exclaimed the child indignantly. "I think they know as much as the roosters!"—*Youth's Companion*.



Some nations were fighting fiercely.

"Why are you fighting so?" inquired the bystanders, moved at length to curiosity.

"To save civilization!" replied the nations severally.

Here a dragged figure arose from the mire under the feet of the combatants and limped lamely away.

"And who are you?" asked the bystanders, with a disposition to get to the bottom of the matter.

"Don't speak to me—I'm civilization!" the figure made answer, somewhat pettishly.—*New York Evening Post*.



"Willy, is your father a rich man?"

"No, Sallie, he is a professor, so I can be educated for nothing."

"Oh, that's nothing; my father is a minister, and I can be good for nothing."—*Harvard Lampoon*.



"Not long ago," said a Washington lawyer, "I attended a trial during the course of which a youthful physician was summoned as a witness.

"It was natural, of course, that counsel for the other side should, in cross-examination, seize the occasion to make certain sarcastic remarks touching the knowledge and skill of so young a doctor. 'Are you,' questioned the lawyer, 'entirely familiar with the symptoms of concussion of the brain?'

"Yes, sir."

"Then," continued the lawyer, 'I should like to ask your opinion of a hypothetical case. Were my learned friend, Mr. Reed, and myself to bang our heads together, should we get concussion of the brain?'

New Subscriptions Received in the Campaign Which Closed October 30, 6247

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"Mr. Reed might," was the disconcerting reply.—
Youth's Companion.



One of the most amusing instances of the influence of a great mind occurs in the Life and Letters of Nathan Smith, that pioneer American physician. When he lectured at Dartmouth he so stirred up the old president, Dr. Wheelock (to whom these mysteries were new) that the latter soon afterward burst forth in the following college prayer:

"Oh, Lord! We thank Thee for the oxygen gas; we thank Thee for the hydrogen gas, and for all the gases. We thank Thee for the cerebrum; we thank Thee for the cerebellum, and for the medulla oblongata." Evidently Dr. Smith "had the punch."

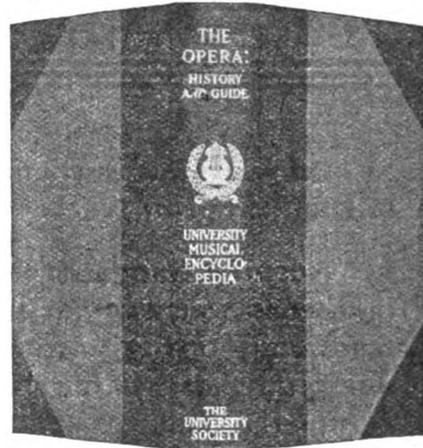


Everyone who wants to be early must soon begin. There are only a few weeks to go. Advance suggestions:

- "The Mexican People: Their Struggle for Freedom." By Guitierrez de Lara and Edgcomb Pinchon - \$1.50
- "The Good Ship Earth." By Herbert Quick - \$1.25
- "The State." By Prof. Franz Oppenheimer - \$1.25
- "Instead of Socialism." By Charles Daniel - 35c
- "The Road to Freedom." By Josiah and Ethel Wedgwood - 50c
- "My Neighbor's Landmark." By Frederick Verinder - 75c
- "Land, Industry and Taxation." By Frederick Verinder - 25c
- "Toward the Light. Elementary Studies in Ethics and Economics." By Lewis H. Berens - 75c

And of course all the Henry George and Louis F. Post books in cloth. Every Christmas they are our best sellers, especially "Progress and Poverty" and "The Ethics of Democracy." Books by Bolton Hall and Frederic C. Howe—but more on all this later. **Book Dept., THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Building, Chicago.**

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