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EDITORIAL

Co-operative Statecraft.

The decision of the Washington Administration to call the major South and Central American countries into conference, with a view to deciding on a plan for pacifying Mexico, may well be called a positive step in the new statecraft. Argentina, Brazil and Chile, the famous A B C countries, together with Bolivia, Uruguay and Guatemala, co-operating with the United States, will reassure the Mexican people as to our disinterested motives, and still further cement the ties of friendship in the Western Hemisphere. The same, or a similar combination of western nations, should assist the Haitians in their housecleaning.

S. C.



Society's Duty to Individuals.

"We are any of us liable to run into hard luck, but that does not by any manner of means lessen our duties to ourselves and to society." So wrote Theodore Roosevelt concerning race suicide in answer to a mother of seven whose husband is out of work and who is in danger of losing her home. Before speaking of duties to society, should not the Colonel have noted that society has been guilty of gross neglect of duty to this woman and her family? While society maintains conditions which deprive willing workers of opportunities to support families, the less said about their duty to have families the better.

S. D.



Civic Backsliding.

A negro burned alive in Texas, and another saved from lynching on the same day in Illinois by the resourcefulness of the sheriff, who lodged him in three different jails in as many towns, marks a serious lapse in our progress toward law and order. Lynchings in the United States, according to the record of the Daily News Almanac, show a fluctuating decrease from 190 in 1894 to 26 in 1914. And a gratifying feature of this decrease in mob-murders is the absence of torture. For a number

of years the United States enjoyed the unique distinction of being the only civilized country in which men were burned alive. But this latest exploit of the Texas mob shows that the poison of unruliness is still in our blood; and those who would give reality to American ideals must renew their endeavor toward eliminating the spirit of violence. Mankind still has within it a large element of the savage that rises to supremacy when sufficiently provoked. And the same spirit of savagery manifested in the European war crops out in this country in time of peace. Our complacent disregard for the orderly processes of law prevails to an alarming extent. Although human relations are supposed to be covered by law in this country, men are quick to appeal to violence; and they do not hesitate to take human life when it stands between them and the object of their desire. The worst of these manifestations, however, are to be found in mobs bent upon avenging crime. The Illinois mob that was outwitted by the sheriff would have given its victim as short shrift as did the Texas mob; yet in neither case, according to dispatches, was the guilt of the victim certain. The crimes in both instances were most revolting, and, as if to arouse the last bit of passion, both of the accused men were negroes.



What is to be done about it? Educate, educate, and continue to educate. Educate the negro to higher ideals; and give him an opportunity to attain them. Most unfortunate and oppressed of races, the fruits of oppression bring upon it still further burdens. No man commits these crimes except when insane; and punishment, no matter how frightful, has no terrors for the mad. It is, indeed, not unlikely that the thought of these awful consequences, like the lure of the precipice, upsets the tottering mind and leads to the commission of the very act they are intended to prevent. The white man also must be educated toward higher ideals. Being of the controlling race, there is less excuse for his resort to violence. The laws of this country are made by the people, and are changeable at the will of the people. It is a poor return for the privilege of American citizenship that men in settled communities resort to methods of savagery. It is not flattering to our pride to know there are places in the country where the law can seize an accused man, but cannot protect him until he has had a fair chance to prove his innocence. Some of that superpatriotism now clamoring for defenses against a foreign foe might well be devoted to making our citizenship more defensible.

S. C.

Beneath the Armament Question.

The big army and navy demand apparently takes no account of the deficit in national revenues. And thereby hangs a tale. The scare concerning national security is to be utilized to secure restoration of the Payne-Aldrich tariff rates. Of course it might be urged that this does not necessarily follow. It might be said that army and navy expenses could be raised through an increase in direct taxation. But while this might be done, it is almost certain that it will not be. The principal support of the militarist movement in the United States comes from predatory interests, including those that want tariff rates increased and oppose direct taxation. If Congress were to insist on raising by direct taxation of privileged interests the entire cost of the army and navy there would be a sudden waning of militarist propaganda. The few democrats who have been frightened into supporting the big army and navy program will have no influence when the question of revenue comes up. Security for predatory privileges is the real meaning of the cry about "national security."

S. D.



Responsibility for Eastland Disasters.

Possibly some one responsible for the Eastland disaster will go to jail or suffer some other legal punishment. But one may well question whether that will have any effect in preventing another catastrophe of the same kind. Whoever is responsible probably knew beforehand the possibility of disaster, and also realized that this involved danger of punishment. But it had no deterrent effect. The opportunity for gain, together with the possibility of avoiding disaster, made the risk seem worth while. Such opportunities under similar circumstances will present themselves again. And it is much to be feared that neither the Eastland occurrence nor the most severe punishment of those responsible therefor will alone prevent individuals from taking criminal chances when there is prospect of gain in sight. If conviction and punishment could put an end to such greed it would have been ended long ago. But something more is needed. There should be sufficient opportunities for men to profitably employ capital and labor in a useful manner without endangering the lives of others. If that were the case there would be no temptation in the prospect of gain at the risk of killing innocent persons. But since we keep laws on the statute books that restrict opportunities and hamper useful industry, conditions are created that continually offer irresistible temptation to certain weak or careless individuals. Then

when these succumb we punish them—sometimes. But the most essential preventive measure is omitted. That is to impress on those who uphold restriction of opportunities their responsibility for the indefensible neglect that leads to Eastland disasters.

S. D.



Fair Weather Friends of Peace.

Some erstwhile peace advocates have apparently failed to realize that if peace principles are correct at all, the European war has not made them less so. They claim to be peace advocates still, but say that until the war has ended in a way to suit their sympathies peace principles must be suspended. Some of these are even indignant at the refusal of other peace advocates to abandon their principles. Well, every cause that is worth while has its fair weather friends, and the cause of Peace is no exception. The war and international disputes make it possible to distinguish between those who favor peace at all times and those who only favor it while there is no strong public sentiment openly expressed to the contrary.

S. D.



Pounding Sand.

Once more sociologists find themselves facing the stone wall that lies across their path, and through which they see no door. After years of strenuous effort laws are put on the statute books ameliorating the condition of the less fortunate toilers. Child labor laws are passed, the hours and conditions of woman's labor are bettered, and various measures are taken looking to the health and safety of employes. But scarcely are these laws on the statute books than evasion begins. And when deception has been laid bare, and bribed officials have been rooted out, the evaders have recourse to new laws which, under the guise of amendments, render them impotent. The New York Legislature, for instance, has created a new industrial commission of five members, only three of whom may be from one political party. These are to be advised by an industrial council of ten members, five of whom are to represent employes and five the employers. The governor has power to remove members whom he may think unfaithful. This commission is given optional power to suspend the laws governing labor conditions. It does not require the seventh son of a seventh son to predict the result.



But what more can be expected from the "trial and error" philosophy? How can there be peace

and harmony between Labor and Capital so long as the present stress of conditions prevails? With Capital driven to the point of extinction by Monopoly, and Labor goaded to the verge of rebellion by Necessity, the two face each other at best in an armed truce, and at worst in open warfare. Is it not clear that the most that can be got from restrictive measures is temporary relief? How can any board or commission, or any number of boards and commissions, determine what is fair to Labor or to Capital? No man can say what another man's rights are, or what wages and conditions he should enjoy. And even were that possible, he could not secure to that man those rights. There is but one way in which Labor can secure its full rights and keep them: the competition of a free market. Remove the restraints of production and trade, give Capital and Labor free access to raw materials—the earth—and they will soon determine a just division of the product.

S. C.



Man-owning and Land-owning.

The New York Herald recently printed a picture of an old man who, before the Civil War, was classed as property. At the age of twenty years, when he was valued at twelve hundred dollars, he served as part purchase price for certain real estate in Atlanta that is now valued at \$10,000 a front foot. That is to say, an inch and a half of the frontage of that land is worth today as much as a slave in his prime sixty years ago. Suppose the Confederacy had been successful, and slavery had not been abolished, and this man had remained in the possession of his original owner? The increase of his family would not have amounted to anything like as much as the increase of the land for which he was exchanged. And had the owner undertaken to monopolize slave value, instead of land value, he would have met with so many cares and expenses that his net profit would have been small. Slavery, indeed, was not profitable of itself in the South. It was the increase in land values that gave to planters such wealth as they acquired; and had they employed the peasant labor of Europe, instead of slaves, they would have been much richer. It should be noted, however, that although the master never made much from his slaves, the slaves always lost. And the same answer can be made to those critics who complain that their land-holding has netted them a loss instead of a gain. Though land speculators do not always gain from holding land, the public always loses. What, after all, is the difference between appropriating man-

value and land-value? Indeed, in the last analysis are they not, economically speaking, one and the same thing? The first abolition movement in this country was merely the beginning of the economic emancipation of man.

s. c.



The Enemy Within Our Borders.

There is grave peril to the nation in the demonstrated fact that a monopolistic corporation can have an obnoxious labor leader sent to the penitentiary for life for a murder he did not commit. A foreign invader would hardly do worse. There is danger in the economic conditions that breed such affairs as at Bayonne, New Jersey. An affair unpleasantly like what occurred two years ago at Zabern in Alsace. National security is menaced far more by such happenings than by any possible hostile foreign invasion. The American people have far more cause for concern over the Lawson case—an outrage within their own jurisdiction—than over any matter connected with the war in Europe. There is little consistency in worrying over the exportation of arms for foreign belligerents, while a domestic trade in arms goes on to be used against striking workers in the United States. There is less consistency in raising a hullabaloo about national defense while we allow workers to be subjected to predatory monopolies already established in the country. Before we busy ourselves with armies, navies or fortifications, with wars in Europe or Mexico, or with preparations against an imaginary foreign enemy, let us demonstrate our ability to deal intelligently with the real enemy that is already here.

S. D.



Constitution Worship.

The New York Constitutional Convention is serving as a rallying point for renewed activity on the part of the National Association for Constitutional Government. This association, of which William H. Taft, Alton B. Parker, David Jayne Hill, John W. Foster and other equally well known men are members, is seeking to meet what it considers an ill-advised movement for constitutional changes by a systematic study and discussion of the principles of constitutional government. The statement of the association notes a widespread tendency toward ignoring, and finally effacing the distinction between a fundamental law deliberately adopted by the people for the protection of their inherent rights on the one hand, and mere statutory legislation on the other; thus tending to substitute the caprice of the moment for the solid guarantees of a long tested

basis of government. It notes also the efforts put forth to render easier the alteration of the fundamental law, and that many radical proposals of change now await an opportunity to be written into the Constitution; and declares, "We disapprove of radical changes in our form of government, and have full confidence in the excellence and sufficiency of the representative institutions provided for in our Federal Constitution." With this end in view the association proposes to revive and extend a knowledge of the distinctive features of Constitutional government as conceived by the founders of this Republic; to insist upon deliberate discussion of proposed changes in our Federal Constitution before their adoption; and to preserve the idea of a fundamental law and prevent the substitution for it of a mere statutory code subject to frequent change.



Commenting upon the purpose of the Association, Elihu Root says:

The people of the United States have enjoyed constitutional freedom a long time without any conscious effort to maintain it, and many of us have forgotten, many of us have never learned, that it does not come and remain of itself. The principles of our Constitutions have passed without question so long that many of us have forgotten the reasons which underlie them and the necessity for maintaining them. Now the principles are questioned. The assumptions of individual rights which underlie our system of government are denied and it is very important that the people of the country should address themselves to the study of their Constitutions and the reason for them. That ought to be done before changes are made which would be very difficult to reverse, and which would result in giving us an entirely different kind of government.

Such an association, with its opinions and avowed purpose, will be viewed with impatience by some of the radicals. Men and women who have struggled for years to secure public recognition of a right as patent to them as the first statement of the Declaration of Independence become intolerant of such conservatism. They are likely to meet the constitution-worshippers by smashing their idol. It may be doubted if this is the best way of securing the desired changes. Mankind in the mass are conservative by nature. They are fearful of sudden departures from established customs; and they hesitate to venture into new and untried ways. On the other hand, it may be said that if the ultra-conservative continues his opposition to radical thought, and succeeds in his effort to make constitutions very difficult of amendment, he may bottle up discontent until the pressure reaches the bursting point.

It is well that we should cling to some fundamental principle of government. Social and industrial affairs have now become so complicated, and so interwoven, that no change is possible without its effect extending far afield. And the Association for Constitutional Government is well within reason when it insists upon deliberate discussion of proposed changes in our Federal Constitution before their adoption. On the other hand, however, this very complication of social and industrial affairs necessitates new laws and regulations; and when proposed changes have been discussed with deliberation there should be no bar to their adoption. Constitutions should not be amendable by Congress or Legislatures; but what reason is there for supposing that the very same people who adopted the Constitution by direct vote cannot be trusted to adopt or reject by direct vote an amendment to that Constitution? Our present constitutions have as a rule been so unamendable that they are far out of date; and it is not unlikely that when the people get an opportunity they will make a considerable number of changes. But having made those changes, and having brought the constitutions down to date, future alterations will not be frequent. Great Britain has no constitution at all. Yet, although a majority of the people can do anything they wish, radical changes are seldom made. Most of our laws and institutions are good, and one can readily appreciate the solicitude of the conservative in his desire to maintain them. But if he would not see good institutions swept away in a political upheaval, he will heed the request for means to remove or correct the unjust laws and conditions.

s. c.



Unwise Settlements.

Complaints are frequent that farmers and settlers are not receiving the aids from the government that they should. Lack of school facilities in particular is noted; and the social life of the family is too meager for healthy character-building. The complaints seem to be well justified by the facts; yet it may be a question if the remedies proposed are warranted. If the owner of a great landed estate, wishing to bring it under cultivation, were to permit families to locate wherever fancy dictated, and to take possession not only of what land they required for immediate use, but of land to sell to others in the future; and complaints were made to the owner of the estate that the schools and roads and other social conveniences were inadequate, he might well retort that it was not his fault; he had provided ample means for

good roads, schools and other conveniences, but the funds had been spread over such an unreasonably scattered territory that poor results had been inevitable.



The eagerness of our first settlers to get land for speculative purposes has led to the sparse population that makes social co-operation difficult. Had the country been settled as the careful owner of an estate would populate his land, the greater part of the area of this country would still be unoccupied; and the population of the rest would be sufficiently dense to make practical the enjoyment of all the social and industrial advantages that attend full co-operation. But having made the original mistake, the country is now facing the problem of effecting such correction as it can. It would be unreasonable to expect the densely populated parts of the country to provide for remote settlers all the comforts and advantages of civilization. It would, indeed, be impossible to say just how much they were entitled to, or the extent of the obligation of population centers. This much, however, can be said: When land values are taken for the payment of government expenses, land speculation will cease. No one will then hold more land than he can use with profit. This will open up for settlement a vast amount of land well within the fold of co-operating population. And since there will be no financial advantage in the remote settlers, starving their spiritual and social natures for the sake of the future increase in land values, they will abandon such holdings and return to places that enjoy the full benefits of civilization.

s. c.



A Question of Terms.

In the recurring cycles of time, and in unison with the rhythm of nature, certain questions come up anew for discussion as regularly as the roll of the seasons, and the return of hard times. Among these is the proposal to change the terms of political economy. A few years ago we had the Austrian school, with its ultra-refinement of terms; and from time to time various authors—some with a message, and some without—have offered an elaborate, and scientific terminology. Yet, land and capital, rent and interest, wages and labor, are as firmly as ever fixed in the popular mind. The fact is, language is not made; it grows; and people think in the words that grow with them. It is said that engineers are finding that in spite of the advantages of the metric system, specifications must be translated into the original terms

of the laboring men before they can work to the best advantage.



Now, after thirty years' use of the term "Singletax," certain Singletaxers are urging instead, the use of the term "Site tax." It must be confessed that the term Singletax lacks many of the elements of a perfect name for a political or economic movement, but it now enjoys the surpassing advantage of custom and use. It is quite likely that there are terms that would have served better had they been used in the beginning, but Singletax was the best then available, and it is now fixed in common language. The term Site tax has merit; but it is too limited, and lacks precision. It would have little significance among farmers, for they do not think of farms as sites; and it does not contain our full meaning in cities. It is not Site tax that is wanted—for there are already taxes on sites—but the remission of other taxes, and the use of the Site tax only; in other words, the Singlesitetax.



It has been urged that there is a public prejudice against the Singletax, and that the use of a different term would avoid that prejudice. This is likely to be a vain effort. Such an undertaking will be as futile as has been the effort to conduct a Singletax campaign without discussing the philosophy of Henry George. There is every reason, indeed, to suppose that when issues are joined in the discussion of Site tax, opponents will raise the point of evasion, and draw the attention of farmers to the fact, not only that it is based upon the philosophy of Henry George, but that it is identical with Singletax, which the farmers of Missouri voted down; and the change of terms will be heralded as proof of the duplicity of the advocates of the new system.



A reading, thinking, discussing public cannot be tricked into acceptance of a thing as important, and at the same time as simple, as the Singletax. It must come through understanding; and that understanding must be based upon a frank discussion of the fundamental principles involved. That the Singletax has not already been adopted is not due to its name, but to the fact that the public has not been sufficiently educated along economic lines. It may, therefore, be seriously doubted if any changing of terms at this late stage of the movement will add any advantage. The term Singletax has been established; it is in the dictionaries, in literature, in the press, and in the popular

mind; it has a distinct and definite meaning. Why forego all these advantages for the sake of a questionable experiment? Why, indeed, waste effort in making the attempt, for there is small probability that it can succeed?
s. c.



STATE FIRE INSURANCE IN NEW ZEALAND.

Since the New Zealand Government established a state insurance department that section of the insurance press that whistles when monopoly pulls the strings has been watchful for opportunities to criticise and question the experiment's success. So successful has it been, however, that, in the Dominion itself, distorted facts are a boomerang; for the people know. In this country this is not the case—distance provides an opportunity for misrepresentation. In the Chicago Insurance Post recently the following paragraph, which has undoubtedly gone the rounds of the press, was published:

New Zealand is usually the prize exhibit of the advocates of State insurance, possibly because it is so far away that their mis-statements as to its success cannot be easily discovered. Official figures are now at hand showing that State fire insurance has not been much of a success in New Zealand, as the department collected only \$265,000 of \$2,039,000 of premiums in the country. The average rate has increased ever since the State entered the business, going from \$3.12 per capita in 1902 to \$3.50 in 1912, while the per capita loss by fire for the past three years has been \$2.54, as against \$2.24 in the United States. Much of this condition is attributed to lax methods of the governmental office in handling and paying losses, largely due to political influence, and to the failure of the Government to inspect risks until recently. Attention is called to the fact that where governmental interference with insurance has been most pronounced, in America and New Zealand, the fire waste is greatest.

This paragraph is based on the Government report for 1913. Every one of the four statements made is either misleading or absolutely untrue. Let us take them in the order given. In 1913, it is stated, the Government office got only \$265,000 of \$2,039,000, the total fire premiums in the country. True—and a showing, considered in the light of the facts, that any business organization would be exceedingly proud of. The State Department opened for public business on January 4, ten years ago. Twenty-nine other companies and four associations do fire insurance business in New Zealand, and notwithstanding this keen competition the Government department has been supported so well that it is now, so far as

volume of business is concerned, third on the list; and the next decade, at the present rate of increase, will see it with far the largest premium income.*

"Average rate has increased ever since the State entered business." Mr. Roosevelt's vocabulary would supply the forceful and in this case appropriate little word to characterize that statement. Rates have not increased. As a consequence of the operations of the State fire office the rates on trade risks have been reduced by ten per cent; on dwellings, offices and similar risks by thirty-three and one-third per cent. It has been estimated by competent authorities that by forcing down the rates the State fire office has, in the ten years of its existence, saved the public in premiums \$10,000,000. While this from a point of view of the shareholders and directors in the old-line competing fire companies is not cheering, it is obvious that it is beneficial to the people as a whole.

In the next claim of the Insurance Post there is a typical display of what might be termed property owner's logic, for which allowance must always be made; it has always been and ever will be peculiar. The rate per capita in 1902 (three years before the State department opened) was, we are told, \$3.12; in 1912 it had jumped to \$3.50. Mr. Roosevelt can be excused here. The statement, as far as it goes, is true. But in this connection it is important to know what was the comparative cover per capita in 1902 and in 1912. In 1902 the total fire insurance cover amounted to approximately \$418,500,000; in 1912 it had increased to \$790,000,000. In other words, the amount of cover increased 88 per cent, the amount of premiums paid by only 40 per cent.

It is true that New Zealand's fire loss is one of the heaviest in the world. This is due largely to the combustible construction of buildings—mostly wood—and not to high-class carelessness on the part of the State Fire Insurance office, as the Insurance Post ingeniously suggests. If this were so, the privately owned opposition companies would show smaller losses and higher profits. When it comes to profits the State office heads the list, not only for New Zealand but for the whole of Australasia, notwithstanding their sweeping reduction in rates.



The Insurance Post may also ponder this fact: The New Zealand Fire Insurance Department

*See New Zealand official Year Book, 1914, and Annual Reports of the State Fire Insurance Office, 1912, 1913, and 1914.

owes not one cent on capital account. The debentures issued to provide initial funds have all been bought in. The department is supported entirely by self-accumulated capital, and in addition to having saved the insuring public \$10,000,000 in reduced premiums it has built up a reserve fund from profits and unearned premiums of \$328,360. Whatever quarrel the private insurance companies of this country may have with the advocates of Government insurance, their case will not in the end be strengthened by clumsy misrepresentation of the situation in New Zealand.

STANLEY BOWMAR.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE SINGLE TAX AND DRAINAGE IN MINNESOTA.

St. Paul, Minn., July 25.

California is applying the Single Tax to meeting the expense of irrigation, the cost being assessed upon the benefited lands according to the benefit and without regard to buildings or other improvements.

This is a very good plan. Here in Minnesota our problem is not irrigation, but drainage. Great tracts of the most fertile lands in the State only require to be drained to be very valuable and useful.

For many years this problem has received the attention of the legislature, and a plan has been worked out by which all those whose lands are to be benefited by the system of ditches are assessed according to the amount of benefit their lands receive from the drainage.

Some of these lands are owned by the State. In such cases the State pays its proportionate share and each private owner pays his share. No attention is paid to the buildings or other improvements on the land. The entire assessment is made and distributed according to the Singletax principle.

This work has been going on for many years and many thousands of acres have been drained and the cost assessed on Singletax principles.

In Minnesota we also employ this same principle for many other public improvements, and are constantly extending it.

C. J. BUELL.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE OLD FALLACY.

Washington, D. C., July 24.

While in a Southern town recently I met a fertilizer salesman who was bemoaning the scarcity of potash, which has previously come almost entirely from Germany. There are potash deposits in the Rockies, although not rich enough to pay for working while competing with the German supply, which will doubtless soon again be available. His plan

was to put a high protective (prohibitive) tariff on potash in order to make the working of these mines possible. He pictured the thriving small towns surrounding these mines, with capital enjoying the "privileged" tariff and giving wages to the happy band of workers that were so thankful for a chance to get something to eat; contrasting the whole picture with the present disuse of the land and loss of employment for labor.

It is the same old story of large benefit to a few at the small cost "per each" to the many. Each group of us is supposed to have our own class of protection and to be soaking everybody else just a little bit. Many do not stop to think that although beet-sugar growers, owners of large flocks of sheep, manufacturers of certain lines of goods, and others surrounding them, undoubtedly do get paid more for their goods under their protective tariff, that they also help pay for the "protection" of the hundreds and thousands of other industries. The owners of large amounts of capital perhaps do benefit, but the ordinary American, who is the man needing such benefit and represents more than ninety per cent of our population, is the man who gets it in the neck every time. He is the man who pays a few cents more for a bag of flour for the protection of some mill; who gives the grocer a little more than he should for sugar to protect the sugar interests, who often goes without meat, and when he does get it pays to protect his Western brother; who pays several dollars more for his American-made watch than the same watch is shipped to England and sold at a profit. And this same man will wonder why the cost of living is going up faster than his wages and can not realize that it is the comparative size of his wages and the cost of living that is the vital point to be considered. He will vote for a big wage and never consider that he is voting also for a much bigger cost of living at the same time. What fools these mortals be.

JOHN W. LAW.



THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

New York, July 15, 1915.

Hon William B. Wilson, Sec'y U. S. Dept. of Labor, and Members of the Congress of State Commissioners of Labor at San Francisco:

Gentlemen: May we urge that the Congress of Commissioners of Labor at San Francisco avoid the follies of private charity and the stupidity of superficial public action in considering the growing menace of unemployment?

The startling revelations of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, regarding conditions among the tenant farmers of the middle west, emphasize the too patent fact that with existing monopoly of iron, coal, farm, urban, timber, oil and all lands of the country, unemployment must be prevalent, and with the crushing burden of taxation upon the workers, as a means of maintaining such land monopoly, poverty must be rife.

We refrain from quoting many statistics, proving this monopoly—admitted by every informed unbiased person. It suffices to refer to a few documents of the Federal and Local governments. In "The Lumber Industry," published in 1914 by the

Bureau of Corporations, the statement is made: "One thousand, six hundred and ninety-four timber owners hold in fee over one-twentieth of the land area of the United States from the Canadian to the Mexican border. . . . Sixteen holders own 47,800,000 acres or nearly ten times the land area of New Jersey."

The Secretary of Agriculture shows that only one per cent of the arable farm land of the country is in holdings of nineteen acres or less, while almost exactly one-fifth of this land is held in tracts of one thousand to several million acres.

The Congressional investigation of the United States Steel Corporation showed that corporation to control 60 per cent of the available Lake Superior ores, exclusive of the Hill ore leases dropped this year.

The Census Department also shows marked concentration in ownership of coal fields.

The Standard Oil Company concerns market nearly nine-tenths of the illuminating oil consumed in the United States, controlling the oil fields directly, or through the ownership of pipe lines.

Less than ten per cent of the population of nearly all American cities own most of the value of land therein, while in the larger cities, such as New York and Chicago, one per cent of the population own almost all the value of land, and vast acreage tracts are controlled by a few corporations.

The total expenditures of local, state and federal governments in the country is approximately \$3,000,000,000, of which only about one-sixth is secured by taxing land values, while almost \$2,200,000,000 come directly out of the pockets of the producers and workers of the country. Owners of urban and agricultural lands make a net profit annually, from ground rents and increases in land values, of nearly \$5,000,000,000.

The report on the lumber industry, quoted above, says: "Lavish land grants, ill-enforced land laws, are the historical background of the concentration of land and timber ownership shown in this report."

The fundamental reason for the continuance of monopoly of every sort of land is our system of taxing land at a relatively low rate, and taxing products of labor at a very high rate. This encourages concentration of land held at a speculative price.

Quoting the Lumber Industry Report further: "A study of the present ownership of 7,370,000 acres of railroad, wagon road and canal grant lands, covering most of the granted lands in the map areas and a little elsewhere, shows that of these particular lands, granted long ago to single corporations apparently with the idea that they would be quickly sold to settlers, only 15 per cent are now distributed in small holdings. . . . Of 82,500,000 acres granted to three western railroads in the sixties, the roads still retained 40 per cent in 1910."

The value of farm lands in this country increased by over \$15,000,000,000, i. e., 118 per cent from 1900 to 1910.

The Senate Commission on Agricultural Credit reported: "Under these conditions, rising land values and cumulative taxation, the land is slowly but surely passing from resident ownership to landlord ownership. Farm tenancy is undeniably on the increase."

The London Conference on Unemployment, in

1908 recommended: "That drastic legislation for taxing land values and for enabling public authorities to compulsorily acquire land on the most reasonable terms, is urgently needed to bring all land into useful and productive occupation."

The English Parliamentary Land Enquiry Committee also reported in 1914: "Owing to the inclusion of the value of buildings and other improvements in the basis of assessments, the present rating (local tax) system hampers industry in general and agriculture in particular. . . . The total or partial exemption of buildings and other improvements from rates (local taxes) would stimulate the development of industry and agriculture and encourage the provision of working class houses."

We regret deeply the failure of the Congress of Labor Commissioners to include in its program the consideration of the extermination of land monopoly—by taxing land into use—as the obvious fundamental method to relieve and prevent unemployment.

From the experience of other countries, we know that one palliative announced for discussion cannot be of any permanent value, and will help land speculators. For the Federal Government to purchase land for agricultural laborers at the present low rate of taxation on land values will benefit land speculators chiefly. While sincerely designed to help the workless because landless mass, it will give enormous profits to land owners.

It is intended to help the unemployed; it will actually increase profits of the land monopolist, and upon these profits he will exact a heavy tribute from the worker.

Taxation of land values, and untaxing of labor and the products of labor is a State, not a Federal function. It is, therefore, most appropriate that a congress of State officials should recommend this vital change, and consider the best methods of securing its adoption. Your experience has amply shown you that the urgent need is not more labor exchanges—important as they may be—but more jobs. Your judgment has doubtless firmly convinced you that taxing land into full and productive use is the only effective way of getting more jobs.

New York City has suffered from unemployment seriously and continuously. From our own tragic experience, we urge the members of the Congress of Labor Commissioners to devote their best thought to terminating unemployment by terminating the fundamental cause of unemployment.

FREDERIC C. LEUBUSCHER, President.
BENJAMIN C. MARSH, Executive Sec'y.



Olympia, July 21, 1915.

Mr. Frederic C. Leubuscher, Pres., New York City:

Dear Sir: I have read with considerable interest the circular letter that your society has sent to the Secretary of Labor and members of the Congress of State Commissioners of Labor, which is to be held at San Francisco next month, and am deeply in accord with the suggestions therein made.

In our State of Washington, which has great natural resources, perhaps the richest of any State in the Union, having a population of but little more than a million people, whereas under proper conditions it could easily support in thrift many times

that number, we have for years been confronted with an army of unemployed aggregating a large percentage of the total number of wage earners which constitutes a little more than one-half of our population. This condition, in my opinion, is directly due to land monopoly as a result of an iniquitous system of taxation.

If the right of eminent domain could be extended to the individual so that the millions of acres now lying idle and owned and being withheld from use by land speculators, could be pre-empted by those who desire to put those lands to use, and paying therefor a price equal to the assessed valuation, it is safe to say that we would then have no forced unemployment, and, in my opinion, the State would increase in population by leaps and bounds and poverty would be practically unknown.

As a matter of fact this State with its enormous resources and only a small population serves as a practical example of the result of an unjust system of taxation, and our people are beginning to awaken to the necessity of taking proper steps for the correction of the evil.

Personally, I am deeply interested in this great subject and would, therefore, like to make inquiry of you in regard to available material bearing on the question. If you can furnish me with any literature or statistics that will be of value in disseminating reliable information among the people of our State same will be greatly appreciated.

E. W. OLSON,
State Labor Commissioner.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, August 3, 1915.

European War.

In the East the Teutonic forces continue their advance in Poland. Lublin has been taken by the Austrians, who are now advancing upon Ivangorod to the southeast of Warsaw. North of the Polish capital the Germans are gradually overcoming the Russian resistance at several points as far north as Mitau, which they have captured. It is reported that the Russians have removed all stores and munitions from Warsaw, and are now fighting a rear guard action till the main army has safely withdrawn to the new line at Brest-Litovsk. With Warsaw foredoomed, interest now centers in whether any considerable part of the Russian army will be entrapped by the Teutonic forces advancing from the north and from the south of the city. The taking of Mitau, the capital of the Russian province of Courland, by the Germans, threatens Riga, a few miles to the north, on the Gulf of Riga. No marked changes have been made in the western lines. Small temporary gains have been made by the Germans in Belgium, France, and Alsace with

the use of liquid fire, or "flame projectors"; but these advances have been lost by subsequent attacks from the British and French. The Italian campaign still lags at Goritz, which continues to defy siege and assault. The same is true of the Allies' campaign in the Dardanelles, where the Turks continue to hold their positions. Naval activities have been confined to destroyers and submarines. A British submarine is reported in the Sea of Marmora, where it did considerable execution in sinking Turkish transports and smaller war vessels. An attack of French submarines on shipping in the harbor of Zeebrugge is reported as successful in doing much damage to German shipping. The German submarines have continued to nibble at the shipping passing through the war zone surrounding Great Britain. Among the vessels destroyed was the American steamship *Leelanaw*, the crew of which was saved. The British ship *Iberian* was torpedoed, with a loss of seven lives, one or more of whom is said to be American. The *Iberian* was bound from Boston to Manchester with arms and munitions, and is reported to have refused to stop when hailed by the submarine. This, if true, justifies her destruction according to the laws of war. [See current volume, page 738.]



The completion of the first year of the war has led to much reviewing of the operations of the past twelve months, and many predictions as to the future. The German advance in the West, which began with the siege of Liege, Belgium, August 4, crossed the Marne River within a few miles of Paris one month later. On the 7th of September the Germans began their retreat to the Aisne River, where they "dug themselves in," and where they have remained since the 15th of that month. An effort to turn the German right wing led to a continued extension of the line northwesterly until it reached the sea at Nieuport, Belgium, October 18. All the heavy fighting of the past nine months has not resulted in any material change in this line. The Belgians still hold the southwest tip of their country, the French retain a part of Alsace, while the Germans hold nearly all of Belgium and a wide strip across the north of France. The eastern campaign covered a much wider territory, with less trench warfare. Three times the Russians invaded East Prussia, each time to be driven back with heavy losses. To the south they overran almost the whole of Galicia, laying siege to Crakow and penetrating the Carpathian Mountains. They have now abandoned nearly the whole of Galicia, and are on the point of giving up Warsaw. The Balkan States, which at one time were on the point of espousing the cause of the Allies, appear to have been overawed by the success of German arms. It is now rumored that Bulgaria and Turkey have come to an agreement, and that Roumania is exchanging wheat for German war muni-

tions. Greece is divided between pro-German and pro-Allies parties, with the latter in the ascendant.



On the sea the Allies have been as successful as the Germans have been on land. Both the German and Austrian fleets and all their shipping are bottled up. Submarines alone venture out of their harbors. These sank a number of warships in the earlier days of the war, and continue to prey upon commerce. They have been unable to dispute the Allies' control of the sea, or to stop British commerce. Of war ships destroyed, Great Britain has lost 32, France 12, Russia 5, Japan 3; a total of 52 ships, of 297,178 tonnage. The losses of the German allies were: Germany 67, Turkey 5, Austria 4; total 76, with a tonnage of 206,100. Since February 18, when the submarine campaign against merchant vessels began, the Germans are credited with sinking 152 steamships of over 500 tons. Counting all ships, large and small, the tonnage lost is estimated at 450,000, a considerable part of which belonged to neutral nations. The British tonnage in operation in 1912 was 11,894,791. The loss of non-combatants in the submarine campaign numbers 1,643.



There is no talk of peace from any official source. On the contrary, the Allies are preparing to finance a three year's war. Germany, being the only nation prepared for immediate action at the time the war began, and having the accumulated supplies and the munition factories necessary to the prosecution of a great war, has won and retained the advantage of position on land, but she has been unable to keep her fleet at sea. The Allies, particularly England, have been slow to arm themselves. The great stress is now laid upon the manufacture of ammunition and guns. Little military activity of an offensive nature is expected from the Allies, West or East, until enormous quantities of supplies have been accumulated. Every available manufacturing resource of Great Britain is now devoted to munition making.



Haiti.

The long brewing trouble in the little republic that led to the assassination of President Guillaume, who had taken refuge from a mob in the French legation, has been followed by comparative quiet since the landing of American marines from the cruiser *Washington*. Two American blue jackets were killed by snipers. These men were part of the landing party of 400. Six Haitians were killed and two wounded. The battleship *Connecticut* left Philadelphia on the 31st to reinforce the men doing shore duty at Port au Prince. Admiral Caperton is in charge of the military forces at the Haitian capital. Several aspirants for the

presidency have appeared at the head of their partisans. Negotiations have been under way for some time between the American State Department and the government of Haiti, whereby this country will have a supervisory control over Haitian finances similar to its control over the revenue system of San Domingo. [See current volume, page 206.]

Mexico.

General Gonzales' re-occupation of Mexico City has led to preparations on the part of the Carranza government to forward several trainloads of provisions from Vera Cruz to the capital city. Reports of Red Cross agents detail intense suffering from lack of food. [See current volume, page 740.]

A definite announcement at Washington by the State Department says that the ambassadors of Argentina, Brazil and Chile and the ministers of Bolivia, Uruguay and Guatemala will confer with Secretary Lansing on the 5th as to action to be taken to meet the Mexican situation. Emissaries of General Carranza are on their way to Washington.

Japan.

In consequence of an inquiry into charges of bribery resulting from the parliamentary elections last March, the Japanese cabinet have tendered their resignations. The Emperor has conferred with the Elder Statesmen, who are reported to have divergent views. They will meet in council and render their decision. A new cabinet may result. There is a shifting of party alignments that gives uncertainty to political action; but a change in cabinets during the war is said to be unpopular with the public. [See current volume, pages 329, 547.]

The Labor War.

The 8,000 striking Standard Oil employes at Bayonne, N. J., have returned to work under a ten-day truce. [See current volume, page 737.]

A threatened general strike in the men's garment trades of New York city was averted on July 20 by an arbitration agreement between the Manufacturers' Association and the union—an agreement also entered into one week later by several hundred independent manufacturers. [See vol. xvi, p. 226.]

The New York women garment workers whose grievances a board of conciliation appointed by Mayor Mitchel has had under consideration, have voted almost unanimously for a strike instead of a

ratification of the board's proposals. Another meeting of the conciliation board was to be held on August 3. [See vol. xiii, p. 855.]

In accordance with the Supreme Court's decision in the Danbury Hatters' case, the United States marshal began on July 28 foreclosure proceedings on the homes of 166 hatters to collect the fine imposed. [See current volume, pages 574, 588.]

Bethlehem Steel Works ordered on August 1 a general wage increase to affect all employes. Colt Patent Fire Arms Company of Hartford, Conn., arranged for a bonus to employes, and the Locomobile Company at Bridgeport, Conn., gave notice of a profit-sharing plan on the same day.

Machinist employes of the Remington Arms Company's plant at Little Falls, N. Y., struck on August 2 because when the promised eight-hour day went into effect they found the daily wage lowered. Another machinists' strike for an eight-hour day and a 15 per cent wage increase were reported from New York on August 2 in the Garvin Machine Company's works. The Bridgeport machinists have for the most part returned to work. [See current volume, page 737.]

At Massena, N. Y., 2,400 employes of the Aluminum Company of America struck July 31 for higher wages. Riots ensued and Governor Whitman at the request of the sheriff sent three companies of State Militia to the town, who charged and dispersed the workers.

The Eastland Disaster.

Between Tuesday, July 27, and Sunday, August 1, Chicago was engaged in burying her dead and in beginning inquiries into the causes of her catastrophe. [See current volume, page 737.]

The coroner's jury on July 29 returned its verdict, of death "the result of the overturning of the steamer Eastland while tied to the dock," continuing:

We recommend that the following persons be held to the Grand Jury on the charge of manslaughter and for such other offenses as the facts may warrant:

William H. Hull, vice president and general manager of the St. Joseph-Chicago Steamship Company, owner of the steamship Eastland, St. Joseph.
 Captain Harry Pederson, St. Joseph, Mich., of the steamship Eastland.
 Joseph N. Erickson, St. Joseph, Mich., chief engineer of the steamship Eastland.

Walter K. Greenebaum, Chicago, Ill., general manager of the Indiana Transportation Company.
Robert Reid, Grand Haven, Mich., United States local steamboat inspector.

Charles C. Eckliffe, Grand Haven, Mich., United States local steamboat inspector.

Nothing in the testimony offered before this jury indicated that the passengers were guilty of any unusual act that contributed to the disaster, and we are of the opinion that no act of the passengers was responsible for the disaster.

In the absence of evidence of undue acts on the part of the passengers or violent physical causes, such as explosions, fire or collisions, the fact that this vessel overturned is proof either that it was improperly constructed for the service employed or that it was improperly loaded, operated, maintained, or that all of these causes operated to bring about the serious result.

It is our judgment that the steamship *Eastland* was both improperly constructed for the service employed and improperly loaded, operated and maintained, and that the parties named are responsible.

After recommending to the State's Attorney and the grand jury further investigation of corporations, individuals and boat construction, the report goes on to say:

It is our opinion that the Federal government's system of permitting the construction of vessels for use by common carriers is unscientific and a menace to public safety. There is not now, nor has there ever been, an inspection service maintained by the Federal government for the purpose of determining the stability of boats offered for passenger service. It is the judgment of this jury that the present method of determining the passenger-carrying capacity of vessels is not founded on any proper basis.

In recommending that Inspectors Reid and Eckliffe be held to the Grand Jury, we recognize the possibility that the courts of Illinois may not have jurisdiction over them. Should the courts of Illinois not have jurisdiction we recommend to the Department of Justice of the United States that they undertake to mete justice to these parties.

The members of the jury were Colonel Henry A. Allen, Harry Moir, J. S. Keogh, Eugene Beifeld, William F. Bode and Dr. W. A. Evans, foreman.



The Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Redfield, announced on the 27th that his board of inquiry would be composed both of officials and civilians, namely, the Federal Inspectors from Milwaukee and George Uhler, Inspector General of steamboat service; and of Harry A. Wheeler, banker, Marvin B. Pool, merchant, and a technical man from the Western Electric Company; Solicitor Thurman and Secretary Redfield, being in personal charge. Next day the following telegram was sent to President Wilson by Mrs. Raymond Robins, President of the National Women's Trade Union League:

Personnel of suggested board of inquiry into *Eastland* disaster thoroughly unsatisfactory. No representative of Labor or the traveling public. Board as constituted represents only employers and inspection service. Urge commission independent of Departments under fire and on which Labor and the traveling public are properly represented.

The Woman's City Club, through its executive board, forwarded a similar protest July 30, asking that more members be named for the Board of Inquiry to "dispel the inevitable impression that a Department cannot impartially investigate itself, and is liable to underestimate the public alarm." A group of Polish National societies representing several hundred thousand members—many Poles went down on the *Eastland*—sent a long appeal to the President on July 31 seeking "an investigation and prosecution which will be carried on free and independent from the responsible heads of the Department upon which a part of the odium and responsibility now rests for the disaster." The Chicago Federation of Labor at its meeting August 1 passed a unanimous resolution petitioning President Wilson to appoint a commission to investigate the *Eastland* disaster and the steamship inspection service of the Great Lakes, to be made up of three divisions: (1) Federal appointees to consist of experts not in the service of the Department of Commerce. (2) Representatives of the traveling public and employes in the lake industries. (3) Members of the Chicago City Council.



The task of raising the *Eastland*, which it was announced would take a number of days at the least, was begun July 28. The Federal authorities, with a writ from Judge Landis, took sole possession of the ship on July 30, the Chicago police having until then had it in their charge.

NEWS NOTES

—A mob at Temple, Texas, burned Will Stanley, a Negro, to death in the public square on July 30. The man was under arrest charged with the murder of three children.

—James Augustus Henry Murray, historian, and editor of the *New English dictionary*, published by the Oxford Press, died July 26 at London, at the age of seventy-eight.

—Charles Becker, former police lieutenant, convicted of the murder of Herman Rosenthal in New York City, July 16, 1912, was executed at Sing Sing prison July 30. [See vol. xvi, p. 1142.]

—Local Singletax advocates of Duluth, Minnesota, under the direction of District Judge Bert Fesler, T. T. Hudson, and Senator Richard Jones, are effecting an organization to co-operate with the Twin City Singletax body in the formation of a State organization.

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see current volume, page 645) for the eleven months ending May, 1915, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for May, 1915, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	\$2,499,592,079	\$1,516,474,600	\$ 983,117,479 Expt.
Gold	143,402,160	119,227,015	24,175,145 Expt.
Silver	46,973,392	25,488,016	21,485,376 Expt.

Total ..\$2,689,967,631 \$1,661,189,631 \$1,028,778,000 Expt.

The exports of merchandise for May, 1915, the tenth month of the European War, were \$273,768,093, as compared with \$161,732,619 for May, 1914, and \$196,607,422 in 1913. The imports for May, 1915, were \$142,284,851, as compared with \$164,281,515, for May, 1914, and \$133,723,713 in 1913. Imports, which had shown a gradual increase from December, 1914, to April, 1915, decreased in May, \$18,291,255. Exports, which had increased from August, 1914, to February, 1915, began to decline in March. The exports for May, 1915, were \$20,978,024 less than those of April.

PRESS OPINIONS

Rewarding Industry.

Mobile Register, July 12.—There are two sections of the taxation bill framed by the recess committee on finance and taxation that apply particularly to Mobile and Baldwin Counties, more particularly to the former. One of them exempts from taxation for a period of ten years all shipbuilding plants, on which \$100,000 and over has been actually spent. This was put in the bill as an inducement to Mr. Hyde or any other ship builder to locate his plant in Mobile. The land on which the plant will be built will be taxed, but the plant itself will be exempt for ten years. This is recognition of the Singletax theory and of the Houston plan of taxation, which the courts of Texas threw over. The land bears the tax, and the improvement goes free. The building of a big shipyard in Mobile employing several thousand men will enhance all property values here and will naturally make the adjacent property worth many times more than it is now. Why should not the improvements be exempt?

The same principle is worked out in the taxation of citrus fruit and pecan orchards, which are exempt for a period of five years, only the land itself paying the tax. The improvements on the land, which the bill calls "the enhancement of values," in the shape of fruit and nut trees, shall be exempt.

Both of these sections are right in principle and should be adopted in the bill without modification. Such a policy of taxation will go a long way toward building up the agricultural and industrial wealth of this community, and Alabama can well afford to be liberal with developers who come here to finance enterprises exempted by these two sections of the revenue bill.



War Ties.

Daily News and Leader (London), July 7.—Today, and again next week, an opportunity is given of expressing, in a manner at once appropriate and

agreeable, the warmth of feeling towards the nearest of our Allies which each succeeding month of war has in increasing measure engendered. Symbolism and decoration finds greater favor with the French than among our less imaginative populace, and despite the apprehension with which we view the recurrent invasion of the streets by vendors of rosettes in celebration of this or that newly-instituted "day," France has a claim that makes the wearing of her token wholly welcome. The entente of arms has become an entente of spirit that will long outlive the war and leave both nations the richer. What qualities of ours it may be of profit for France to assimilate can be left for French writers to determine. Our own debt we must be swift to acknowledge. Her gallantry, her nerve, her solidarity, her endurance, her warm responsiveness to friends, not new indeed, but grappled to her by new ties, have impressed themselves indelibly on the mind of England. The invitation, even the double invitation, to offer our tribute of admiration and regard will have a universal response.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

EARTH IS ENOUGH.

The men of Earth have here the stuff
Of Paradise. We have enough!
We need no other stones to build
The Temple of the Unfulfilled—
No other ivory for the doors—
No other marble for the floors—
No other cedar for the beam
And dome of man's immortal dream.

Here on the paths of every day—
Here on the common human way
Is all the stuff the gods would take
To build a heaven, to mold and make
New Edens. Ours the stuff sublime
To build Eternity in time!

—Edwin Markham.



"IMPRACTICAL" MR. BRYAN.

For The Public.

The most dramatic public act since Civil War days was the resignation of Mr. Bryan as Secretary of State. As a startling method for compelling this nation and all nations to give attention to peace propaganda, his act has been remarkably effective. Just when the momentous Second Note to Germany is intensely illuminated in the focus of public consideration he points his finger at it and cries, "See, that Note leaves no other recourse for its enforcement than the Nation's strong right arm. It is an act under the Old System, a system which has failed in every situation of history. My Conscience forbids my hand to sign it. My Reason tells me the hour has

struck calling for a New System whose appeal shall be to Truth, and whose recourse shall be to Persuasion."

The press has a great deal to say about "practicable" and "impracticable" methods of peace. Most people seem heartily in sympathy with Mr. Bryan's peace policy, "only," they say, "it won't work." Mr. Bryan, we are assured, is right in theory, but his theory can't be put into practice.

Is it a fact, then, that the right thing is wrong and the wrong thing is right? In that case we ought not to be too harsh with defenders of Germany who show us why it was "right" to sink the Lusitania, and why the rape of Belgium was a "justifiable necessity."

Mr. Bryan is the first Christian statesman in the nineteen centuries of Christian history who has acted as though the Sermon on the Mount were practicable. His system is Christian to the core. The Christian ideal is peace, typified by the Prince of Peace riding to his throne on the meekest of animals, amid the throng's acclaim of the Reign of Peace. If Mr. Bryan's system is not practicable, Christianity is not practicable and ought to be relegated to the region of dreams and shadows. It is a queer kind of consistency which argues that in order to "bear witness to the Truth" of a Fatherly God and of brotherly love, a Christ must walk non-resistant through slander and abuse to crucifixion, but that a nation believing in a Fatherly God and in human brotherly love must resist with violence any affront to its "honor."

It is always impracticable to operate the laws of one system under an antagonistic system. Folly under a war system, Mr. Bryan's way would be sanity under a peace system. His method presupposes the establishment of a peace system. And such a system is precisely what he insists ought to be established.

On a basis of sheer practicability, let us compare the two "systems."

Why do we have war? Men do not want to kill each other, cripple each other, blind each other. Women do not want to give up the fathers of their children, the sons they have gone down to death to bring forth. We have war because the world is not organized for peace. That is not an adequate statement of the case. We have war because, under the present world system, war is necessary and peace is impossible. There is no power above the nation: We are told there is no good above the nation. International life is subject to no law. In such a world the only appeal is to violence.

Tolstoy in his well-known prophetic vision pictures the nations in mad and deadly chase of the Super-Venus whose nude form is seen silhouetted upon the surface of the sea of human fate. The woman's name is "Commercialism." She has three gigantic arms, each bearing a torch of universal

corruption. The first torch represents the flame of war, and it sets the world on fire.

War, then, is the finality of Commercialism. The jealous nations are in international rivalry for markets. The markets of the world are not free. National expansion depends upon the ownership of new markets, so these markets must be seized and held against competing nations. The time comes when two nations find their future development limited, each by the other. One must decrease that the other may increase. Disputes arise. There is no transcending authority; there is no standard to determine the merits of the case. The only test of right is might.

There are three War-makers. The first is *Nationalism*. Little distinction can be made between the autocracy embodied in "the divine right of kings" and that in the "divine right" of nations. Insane national ambition, blinded by self-conceit, and maddened by "my-country-right-or-wrong" patriotism, holding its "honor" dearer than its sons, expressing its courage in ultimatums, swaggering about the universe with a blazing chip on its shoulder and an open can of powder in its hand, is one of the War-makers that the world is about ready to decapitate.

The second is the theory of *Armed Peace*. The lie of Von Moltke that the only basis of peace is arms has broken every heart in Europe. That lie has created a ghastly Fear that drives the nations to exhausting competition in armaments. It has given bastard birth to a large class whose profession is war; to a second large class that scans every situation from the standpoint of war; to huge industries that consistently work for war and reap vast profits from it; and every human unit of this self-created Frankenstein has become a jingo.

The third is *A False Philosophy*. The doctrine that physical weakness, human sympathy, meekness, truthfulness, and forgiveness are vices, and that the super-virtues are cruelty, craft and force; that the might to conquer is the duty to conquer: this doctrine is a poisonous plant bred in a pagan swamp in the midst of Christendom. It has flowered and born its fruit in the pestilence of slaughter. Now that its curse is known it should be exterminated.

The War System, both as an agent of peace and as a servant of civilization, has utterly failed and broken down. It is menacing every historic civilization that it has not already destroyed. It stands convicted of:

First: Infidelity. It has no God. It acknowledges no Power above the Nation. It casts vile sneers at the divine way of peace as being "pusillanimous" and "childish." It annuls all moral law. It covets that which is another's; it deceives with fair promises; it honors neither father nor mother, brother, wife, child, nor friend; it steals markets, plunders provinces, parcels out the terri-

tory of helpless powers; it murders, maims, lies, rapes.

Second: Lawlessness. It has no laws, for it is an outlaw. Every so-called "law of war" is violated by any nation that is strong enough to do it with impunity, whenever that violation brings with it any advantage whatsoever. There are no rights of neutrals or of humanity that will stop the use of torturing gases, liquid fires, war on non-combatants, or the attempted starvation of an empire.

Third: Insanity. The cost alone of war proves it to be insane folly. The losses of war and through war only add to the evidence. If the entire property value—in money—of these United States could be put out at four per cent interest, the income would not cover the *cost of war during one year of peace*. There is no human reform that could not be attained by the nations of the world if they would marshal their resources for the good of humanity in peace, as they do for its destruction in war. To kill, cripple, and impoverish humanity is suicidal insanity.

The whole war system, vicious, honeycombed with rottenness, intolerable, is ready to fall at the first smart blow delivered by the strong right arm of some powerful nation. For the first time in recorded history there is the possibility of organizing the world for peace. That opportunity is ours! In such a stupendous hour *we dare not fight*.

We are told that a neutral nation cannot arbitrate while its citizens are being unjustly shot and drowned: that our only "honorable" course is to retaliate, and take a hand at once in the shooting and the drowning. Why, in the name of all that is right? *Are we not great enough to be patient, mighty enough to be merciful? Why can not a nation forgive?*

Sure of the justice of our cause, defining and insisting on our rights, holding Europe responsible for every American life and every American dollar she destroys, why may we not, refusing to enter the war in spite of taunt, in spite of so-called reason, take our firm stand for Peace; then when the war is over, lead the maimed and bleeding nations into a new world court where, our claim presented, we await decision? "Some nation must lead the world out of the black night of war into the light of that day when swords shall be beaten into plowshares. Why not make that honor ours?"

Before peace can come, nationalism must give way to internationalism. A world life must be organized. The nations must bow before the divine law that Right is Right and Wrong is Wrong. A new conviction must be born: that the way to have peace is to *prepare* for peace. Some nation must lead the way into disarmament. Some form of society must be devised, some organization of humanity created, that is greater than the nation.

Out of the death of nations must rise a Super-Nation.

What grander destiny for a nation cradled in liberty and dedicated to humanity than to lead the world into an international life organized on a basis that will make peace possible? The old system is dying. Why not begin the new? Then may it be our holy task to wipe away the tears and bind up the wounds of Europe. Then may it be our glory to usher in the thousand years of peace.

"And kings shall learn Forbearance, too, is power, That Peace is braver than the clash of arms."

FREDERICK J. CLARK.



THE GOVERNORS' OPINIONS.

The Public recently sent to the Governor of every State and Territory the following list of questions:

1—A. To what extent does public opinion in your State favor the Short Ballot, Preferential Voting and Proportional Representation?

B. To what extent do you think these should be applied?

2. Should there be any further extension of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall beyond that to which it may be already applied in your State?

3. What measure, in your opinion, is needed for final and proper solution of transportation problems in your State?

4—A. What reforms, if any, would you consider desirable in your taxation system?

B. Has your present system worked so as to justify such comment as was made by Governor Byrne of South Dakota in his recent message, in which he said that the general property tax "stands in the way of a uniformly equitable distribution of the burden of taxation," and that "it is both inherently inequitable and impossible of enforcement"?

C. To what extent would you consider Governor Byrne's argument sound in the following:

Some classes of property should not be taxed on the same basis as others. A person should not be penalized by extreme tax exactions for improving his town or neighborhood. The farmer should not be penalized because he improves the acres he holds. Per contra we should not offer reward in the way of tax immunity to him who gives nothing of value but only holds unused land for the increased value which the thrift and industry of the community will surely add to it.

D. Would you consider as a proper step toward solution of tax problems everywhere Governor Byrne's recommendation of a constitutional provision that will "leave the people free to adopt such intelligent system of taxation as they may see fit"?

Thirty-one Governors acknowledged receipt. Some gave definite and specific answers to all questions. Others returned partial answers. Others promised to answer at a later date, and a few refused to answer at all. The publication of these replies began on page 695, issue of July 16, and concludes with this issue.—Editors of The Public.

Governor of South Dakota.

Briefly answering your inquiries in your late letter, I beg to submit the following:

1. (a) Not much attention has been given in this state to Preferential Voting and Proportional Representation. Personally, during the time I have been in public life my attention has been so constantly occupied with other problems that I have not seriously considered this.

There is a growing sentiment in favor of what is called the Short Ballot, though I doubt if the majority yet favors it. I consider it a much needed improvement, and I believe that increasing numbers of people are coming to see that a shorter ballot, electing fewer officers, and holding those elected to strict accountability, will greatly strengthen the power of the people and give them a better and surer hold on the government.

(b) By electing fewer officers in both state and municipal governments, both the responsibility and the powers of executive officers may be increased. Governors and other executives should be held by the people strictly and directly responsible not only for their personal acts but for the execution of the laws and administration of government, as well, thus making government responsive to intelligent public opinion. An executive officer cannot be held responsible for maladministration unless he is given authority and power to correct abuses. Under the system of electing large numbers of officers to perform ministerial and clerical duties responsibility is diffused to the vanishing point, and, if administration is weak, inefficient or corrupt, the blame cannot be placed and people have no effective remedy. Then, too, with a shorter ballot the voters could more easily and effectively concentrate attention on candidates for the more important offices to be filled by election and make better selections.

2. Under our constitution the people can by petition initiate any law or refer to popular vote any law enacted by the legislature. I believe South Dakota was the first State to adopt the Initiative and Referendum, and its operation is not so carefully guarded as it might be. Our ballot is often burdened by a large number of unimportant measures referred to the voters for one reason and another—often wholly selfish reasons—making it difficult to concentrate public attention on important questions. Probably the methods of applying and using the Initiative and Referendum should be better guarded and protected in order to make it a more effective weapon in the hands of the electorate.

3. I do not know what will be the final solution of the transportation problem. I have never brought myself to believe fully in government ownership of railways, favoring, rather, complete regulation and control, as to operating charges, by state and federal commissions; of course, treating the railways as public utilities, their operation and management subject to public control and their rates limited to such charges as, under honest and efficient management, will make a reasonable return on the value of the property used. The railways must be recognized as public or quasi-public corporations, maintained entirely for the service of the public, which service must be efficient and furnished at reasonable rates. If this cannot be realized and made

effective by public regulation and control we will have to come to public ownership. I am glad that the government is preparing to build railroads in Alaska, and in common with other citizens shall watch the enterprise with the keenest interest. It may in some measure at least point the way to a final solution of the problem.

FRANCIS M. BYRNE, Governor.



Governor of North Dakota.

In answering your questions, would say as to No. 1 that there is a growing sentiment in favor of the short ballot and also for a reduced membership in our state legislature, house and senate. Many like myself believe that only the Governor and Lieutenant Governor should be elected, and that all of the other state officers should be appointed by the Governor.

As to the initiative, referendum and recall, there is a very much divided opinion in our state. We have not worked the proposition out so that our people really thoroughly understand it yet.

As to question No. 3 as to the solution of transportation problems, would say that I believe government regulation of them to be better than government ownership.

As to question No. 4, would say that we passed an amendment to our constitution which permits the classification of property. We have been rather fortunate in North Dakota in having our different classes of property fairly equalized, and while there have been some complaints, there have not been many as to the burden of taxation being distributed unequally. Our State tax levy is very small, only four mills on our assessed valuation, and our assessed valuation is only about 20 to 25 per cent of the real value of the property. Our heaviest tax is our school tax. Our people are very liberal in school matters and the taxation for the upkeep of our schools has been rather heavy.

Sincerely,

L. B. HANNA, Governor.



Governor of Oklahoma.

I am pleased to acknowledge receipt of your letter addressed to the Governor.

I have now to advise that the Governor is out of the city, and therefore it will be impossible for him to comply with your request for an opinion by him on the various matters mentioned.

Regretting that we are unable to furnish you with this information, I am,

Yours very truly,

A. N. LEECRAFT,
Secretary to the Governor.



Governor of Indiana.

I beg leave to advise you, in reply to your letter of inquiry to Governor Ralston, that the Governor is out of the city, and when he returns his attention will be called to the same.

Very truly yours,

B. B. JOHNSON, Secretary.

Governor of Wyoming.

In reply to your favor of recent date, making inquiry concerning public matters, I would answer your questions in this manner:

In reply to your first question as to the extent public opinion in Wyoming favors the Short Ballot, Preferential Voting and Proportional Representation, I desire to say that we have discussed the Short Ballot at considerable length, and while we have not yet reached what we consider the ideal form, our ballot is not as cumbersome as it used to be, and we intend, in the future, to still work along this line. As to Preferential Voting and Proportional Representation, we believe in applying these to a reasonable extent and, as matter of fact, I believe that our State Primary Law fully covers the former.

In reply to the query in regard to the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, I desire to say that the Democratic party, of which I am a member, has declared for the Initiative and Referendum. Such a bill was introduced in our late legislature, but was rendered inoperative by malicious amendments and was finally killed entirely.

Our transportation problems are indeed problems in this State, where a vast area of unoccupied land makes it necessary for us to build and maintain public roads over a huge domain which yields us nothing in revenue. However, our counties are each year spending from twenty to fifty thousand dollars each in construction and maintenance of roads, and we ultimately hope to have a splendid system throughout the State.

So far as public carriers are concerned, our last legislature provided for the organization of a Public Service Commission, which has just been put into operation, and we anticipate that it will handle the many problems which arise in connection with transportation by rail, in a manner which will rebound particularly to the public at large.

So far as the matter of taxation is concerned, I do not care to give any public expression at this time. I have made a study, as have others in the State who are interested, of tax matters, and in general I might say that we are of the opinion that the Kansas tax law approaches as near the ideal as any system yet devised applicable to the conditions arising in these western states. We have attempted to model our own tax law somewhat after the plan of the Kansas law and have, in fact, embodied a few of these ideas in our own system. However, I must admit that we are far from ideal, but hope that future legislatures will eventually evolve some plan which will better handle this most important feature of our State government.

I trust that these answers may assist you somewhat in your work.

JOHN B. KENDRICK, Governor.



Governor of Oregon.

Pardon my long delay in answering your letter of April 1. I am enclosing herewith the copy you sent me with your letter, together with somewhat brief replies to its queries:

1—A. Public opinion in Oregon, I believe, favors the Short Ballot and Preferential Voting strongly,

and Proportional Representation not very enthusiastically.

B. With the exception of Proportional Representation, I believe the Short Ballot and Preferential Voting should be applied with very considerable latitude.

2. No.

3. Interfere with them less, just as we do with normal, private business enterprises.

4—A. Generally speaking, our taxation system is fairly satisfactory. It is impossible here to go into detailed reforms adequately.

B. I think not.

C. In theory the argument sounds attractive.

D. I believe in tax matters that legislative actions are more efficient, provided the legislative membership be reasonably efficient.

JAMES WITHYCOMBE, Governor.



FOR REASONABLE SAFETY AT SEA

Andrew Furuseth in the Chicago Tribune of July 27, 1915.

In order to have reasonable safety at sea the first requisite is a vessel well built and properly equipped with the necessary life-saving appliances (lifeboats); the second, a sufficient number of skilled men to take care of the vessel while she is afloat and also to handle the lifeboats after the vessel must be abandoned.

There are two ways in which this may be obtained. One is to enlist in the cause of safety a complete self-interest from a financial point of view of the owner of the vessel. If the loss of the vessel means great financial loss to him, the tendency to earn safety will be automatic. If he be made responsible to the passenger or his heir for loss of limb, injury to health, or loss of life, the loss of a large number of passengers may to him mean bankruptcy.

Coupled with that the ship owner should be made to assume personally a large part of the risk that naturally arises from the dangers of the sea, by depriving him of any opportunity either to overinsure or completely insure his vessel. This was the policy of nearly every civilized government up to about 1850. Our law limiting, or rather abolishing, the liability of the ship owner to the passenger was enacted in 1851, and extended and made more complete, through later amendments or laws, in 1886, as I now remember it, and in 1893.

Our present system of insurance is a gradual development from the partial insurance of ships and cargo to a simple gambling proposition, in which one may take out an insurance policy on a vessel in which one has no insurable interest, and the amount for which we may insure has no limitations in law.

The only means of assuring reasonable safety after the assistance of self-interest has been lost is to establish specific standards in the construction

of vessels, the equipment of vessels, and in their management, giving standards of construction, and stability, and buoyance not only of vessels but of lifeboats, and standards of skill and number in the men employed, especially in the deck department, upon whom depends the handling and safety of the vessel and the handling and safety of the lifeboats.

The inspection service established by Congress, presumably for such a purpose, is charged with the investigation of all accidents and disasters. In other words, it is given power, first, to make rules, then to see that the rules are carried out, and, finally, to investigate any disaster that may take place. That is, they are given the power to investigate the results of their own acts, or the acts of others, or disasters for which no one can properly be blamed.

Beginning with the conception that the vessel is safe when it leaves the harbor, the presumption of the investigators naturally is that someone has blundered after the vessel left, or after the vessel was inspected. As a result, licensed officers are put on trial, and they usually are made the scapegoats whether they be guilty or not.

Take the case of the *Eastland*. The captain knew the vessel lacked stability. He knew that it was what the seamen call "tender." There is no doubt but that he knew that 2,500 passengers was entirely too big a load for it, safety considered. If he had ordered people ashore and refused to take his vessel out, he would have been tried and his license would have been suspended or revoked because of such action. Nothing short of the cap-sizing of the vessel would have been sufficiently convincing evidence to prove its instability and the fact that it was overloaded. If he had gone to the owner and told him that he would not take the vessel to sea or out on the lakes, with 2,500 passengers on board, the owner would simply have obtained another master of the vessel, and in either case the captain's means of livelihood would have passed away.

Inspectors from the supervising inspector down to the local inspector are appointed either by the President—by and with the advice and consent of the Senate—or by the Secretary of Commerce. In either instance, the original recommendation and indorsement would come from owners of vessels. The influence that this necessarily has upon the supervising inspector in the making of rules and upon the local and supervising inspector in the carrying out of the rules, needs no comment. Add to this the tradition of the service, that any inspector who is too active or who develops too lively a conscience in some way or another gets out of the service, and it needs no further explanation that the rules are inefficient.

The same vessel may be passed for a certain specific number of passengers in one port and for an increased number of passengers in another port,

and for still further increased number in a third port.

It is true that the statute provides that the supervising inspector shall instruct the local inspectors in their duties and see that the rules are uniformly enforced, and yet all the rules are an annoyance to the ship owner in their general operation, and therefore are protested against, while after a disaster the rules constitute his defense. The first thing he will say when a disaster has taken place is: "The vessel was properly inspected, she came up to every requirement of the inspection service, and if there was anything wrong with her I am not responsible."

The origin of this disaster seems simplicity itself, and may be expressed in one single word, "overloaded." Aside from this, she did not have the proper kind of ballast.

Our whole inspection system needs first a thorough investigation and then a general reconstruction. Inspectors should be given definite and clear rules for their guidance. To endow them with powers of discretion is to put them in a most unfortunate position. Every immediate pressure and interest is sunk in the wrong direction and made to work toward and beyond the danger line.

Therefore, Congress should set specific standards. It should be the inspectors' duty to see that these standards are obeyed and the ordinary citizen should be given power to set the law in motion by a complaint to the courts either against the inspectors or against the owners.

BOOKS

PROPHET OF THE NEW AGE.

Ralph Waldo Emerson. By G. W. Firkins, Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1915. Price \$1.75.

Lovers of Emerson as a rule care very little for any other records of his life than those given in his journals and books. These represent the real man more perfectly than he can be shown in the bare facts of his commonplace life. Mr. Firkins has dressed these facts in an interesting way, drawing largely from the journals and the previous memoirs written by loving friends and admirers of the philosopher and poet. While there is nothing so intimate and personal as his correspondence and journals the present biographer has condensed the vital interest of Emerson's character and movements in three full chapters. The remainder of the volume of 379 pages is made up of criticisms on "The Harvest" or literary work of Emerson, each essay being taken in its order for analysis and review. One who has held with love to the text of these essays may often dissent from the judgment of this critic who sometimes fails to get the Emersonian viewpoint. Yet to the less familiar reader these reviews will be quite satisfying

and serve for as full acquaintance with the famous essayist and lecturer as may be desired.

"Emerson as a Prose Writer," "Emerson as a Poet," "Emerson's Philosophy" and "Foreshadowings" constitute a study in themselves and are deserving of a thoughtful attention from all interested in these subjects. That Emerson set the pace for a larger and fuller development of moral and intellectual power in coming generations is granted in many paragraphs like this:

The life of Emerson seems in its way to have foreshadowed the conditions under which it is probable that the maximum of happiness may be secured for human nature. Those conditions were humility, early stoicism, fortitude, the release from the selfish ambitions which divide and distract mankind, wide and eager curiosity, intense intellectual activity, preoccupation, with the inward life, concentration on the present as type of the eternal. . . . The minimization of pain and the concentration of desire on non-competitive benefits would seem in themselves to remove more than half of the visible obstacles to the amelioration of the status of the race.

And it may be added that there is an increasing portion of the race that is proving the truth—stronger than the seeming—of the removal of "visible obstacles" to the triumph of mind power.

A. L. M.



AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICA.

America in Ferment. By Paul Leland Haworth. Published by the Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

Mr. Haworth's latest book is an informative discussion of all the serious American economic and political problems by one who knows enough about their various proposed solutions to explain them, and gently to temper the more radical proposals to the wide-awake conservative's taste. He stands for conservation, emphatically for restriction of immigration and against the California anti-alien law; mildly inclines to Philippine independence; approves "the Booker Washington way" in the Negro question, adding apparently on his own hook that "race distinctions," separate schools for example, may be necessary perhaps, but "race discriminations"—such as inferior schools for Negroes—should not be tolerated. Syndicalism he condemns, but he stands neither for Labor nor Capital, or rather, for both; he is for their "getting together." About taxation there is little said, that little probably favoring the inheritance tax. He stands for woman suffrage, for "restricted" direct legislation; mounts the "impartial historian's" rostrum *in re* political parties, and remarks that the typical American Socialist is to be respected for "the nobility of his intentions," "though we may doubt his panacea." A. L. G.

PERIODICALS

Seamen's "Emancipation Proclamation."

Andrew Furuseth has in *The Survey* (New York) of July 31 an exposé of the campaign now in progress to discredit the LaFollette Seamen's Law, which is scheduled to go into effect November 4, 1915.

A. L. G.



Causes of Feeble-mindedness.

The conclusion of Dr. H. H. Goddard, head of the well known Vineland, New Jersey, school for defectives, that Mendelism inheritance is the cause of feeble-mindedness—"a view, the practical outcome of which is the prevention of feeble-mindedness by sterilization"—is attacked by H. C. Stevens of the University of Chicago in a very clear and brief essay in the July Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (31 W. Lake St., Chicago). The Vineland method of "pedigree investigation by field workers" without neurological examination is stigmatized by Mr. Stevens as utterly inadequate from which to draw scientific conclusions as to causes. "The psychologists and administrators," he writes, "who are dealing with the problem of feeble-mindedness tend to overlook the importance of pathological changes in the brain. . . . There are two important objections to the theory [of Mendelian inheritance] as it is applied to the problem of feeble-mindedness at the present time. First of all, there is no justification whatsoever for considering feeble-mindedness a unit character in the same sense that tallness or dwarfness of peas, or the color coat of guinea pigs, or brachydactylism in man may be considered unit characters. . . . The second fundamental objection to the Mendelian hypothesis is the neglect of known pathological causes [alcoholism and syphilis, for example] which produce feeble-mindedness."

A. L. G.



One Year of the War.

The Literary Digest of July 31 prints a readable history of the first year of the war, illustrated with maps. The war cartoons in this number are also particularly good.

A. L. G.



A New Business for Women.

Why not women for bookstore proprietors? asks Earl Barnes in the August Atlantic Monthly (Boston). For the sake first, of the public intelligence; second, of the publishers' salvation, and third, of the college woman's own ambition at once to serve society and earn a living, why would it not be a good plan for her to own and operate a bookstore in her home town? The case from all three points of view is put with persuasive good sense and practical suggestiveness by the writer, whose object is not to analyze the reasons why some persons can not buy books, but to see to it that those who can, shall buy.

A. L. G.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Proposed State Constitution. By R. F. Pettigrew, Sioux Falls, S. Dak. 1915.

The American Verdict on the War. By Samuel Harden Church. Published by the Norman, Remington Co., Baltimore, Md. 1915. Price, 15 cents.

A Measuring Scale for Ability in Spelling. By Leonard P. Ayres. Division of Education, Russell Sage Foundation, 130 E. 22nd St., New York. 1915. Price, 5 cents.

The Enforcement of Law. By Robert McMurdy, Title and Trust Building, Chicago. Address of the President, Illinois State Bar Association, Chicago, May 27, 1914.

The Polish Problem. By a Pole. Pamphlet No. 12. Published by the Union of Democratic Control, 37 Norfolk St., Strand, London, W. C. 1915. Price, one penny.

The Prussian in Our Midst. By Norman Angell. Pamphlet No. 13. Published by the Union of Democratic

Control, 37 Norfolk St., Strand, London, W. C. 1915. Price, one penny.



Two countrymen were among the recruits mustered on the drill ground, and one of them, remarkably raw, asked his companion what to do when he got the order "Halt."

"Well," was the reply, "when he says 'Halt!' yez bring the fut that's on the ground to the soide of the fut that's in the air, and thin remain quite motionless!"—San Francisco Star.



A stranded but still haughty "leading lady" was obliged to put up at a dilapidated country hotel. She glanced frowningly about the office, reluctantly signed the register, and took the brass key from the proprietress.

"Is there water in my room?" she demanded.

"Why, there was," replied the proprietress, "but I had the roof fixed."—Exchange,

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ALEX MACKENDRICK, Secretary

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