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EDITORIAL

Let the Whole Truth Be Known.

That there should be differences of opinion in the Commission on Industrial Relations regarding recommendations to be made is in itself neither strange nor discreditable. But there should be no difference of opinion about letting all important facts be known that its investigations have disclosed. Presented in a properly condensed form, these facts will make possible an intelligent decision on the various recommendations submitted. If it is true that some members of the Commission wished facts suppressed, displeasing to the Rockefeller or other interests, then they have demonstrated their unfitness as investigators, and have discredited in advance the recommendations they will sign. Any fact that a group of members considers important enough to present should be presented, since those who differ with them are looking at matters from a different viewpoint and are in not so good a position to pass upon its significance. Let there be a fair presentation of conditions as all the members of the Commission have found them.

S. D.

Singletax in Operation.

Our California brethren have emphasized the fact that in that State attendants at the Conference will see the Singletax in practical operation in districts where irrigation has been provided by an assessment upon the land, irrespective of improvements. California is to be congratulated upon its progressiveness; but demonstration of sound taxation principles can be found in many other states. Minnesota has applied the same principle to drainage; while the cost of the construction of street improvements—pavements, sidewalks, sewers, etc.—in many cities is laid upon the land benefited without regard to improvements.

Many objectors to the placing of the cost of government exclusively on land values seem to be

unconscious of the fact that the special assessment, which they approve, is based upon this very principle. Singletaxers have indeed made too little of the fact that all the points involved in the Singletax are already found in our fiscal system. To the oft-repeated objection that it is unjust to tax the owner of improvements and personality on the land, it may be answered that the extensively used special assessment for street improvements involves that very principle. If it be urged that the introduction of the Singletax after people have bought land subject to a general tax is unfair, it may be answered that the special assessment is scarcely more than a century old, and that it has been introduced in most places within very recent years. In all cases it has resulted in a change from the principle, as well as in the method, of taxation after the property had been purchased subject to the general tax.



The substitution of the Singletax for the general tax does not introduce a new principle or a new method. It merely extends the principle of the special assessment—which defrays the cost of such special improvements as street pavements by a tax on the frontage of the land benefited—and changes the method to conform to scientific principles of taxation. Precedent-worshipping persons may be assured that they themselves have already approved and now practice both the principle and the method of the Singletax.

s. c.



A Truthful Labor Commissioner.

Labor Commissioner E. W. Olson of the State of Washington, is telling some truths that will not increase his popularity with local real estate boomers. In answering a request by the Dutch Consul for information concerning opportunities for immigrants Mr. Olson frankly contradicted all talk about prosperity. He told him that jobs are so scarce in Washington that men are working for \$1.60 a day, and said further that this must continue and even grow worse "until our lands are made available to the people at prices that will permit settlement." He showed further that the only government land available is in regions remote from markets, while millions of acres of highly productive but privately owned land are being held out of use "by speculators who are unwilling to sell except at fabulous prices." If any effort is being made to bring Dutch settlers into Washington to help a real estate boom, Commissioner Olson's letter should be enough to stop it.

What Mr. Olson said about Washington applies with equal force throughout the United States. In the cities where pitiful "boosting" movements are being organized there is the same comment to offer, and the same warning to be given to all who might be attracted by "booster" literature. Were there an official of the Olson caliber on duty wherever these schemes are tried, it would be a wonderful help in stimulating application of the remedy to economic evils, and in bringing about real and lasting prosperity. But it would spoil the land speculator's game.

s. d.



Progressive Winnipeg.

Winnipeg voters in F. J. Dixon's district have done remarkably well in sending him a second time to the provincial legislature. Mr. Dixon stands for progressiveness in the true sense of the word. He has been a pioneer advocate in Manitoba of direct legislation, which was made the leading plank in the platform of the successful Liberal party. He stands moreover for the Singletax, for woman suffrage, for public ownership, and other democratic measures that are coming to the front in Manitoba politics. That frank expression on what some consider radical views is good politics, may be seen on noting the size of Dixon's latest majority. In a district casting about 6,000 votes he has this year won by the tremendous majority of 4,112 as against 1,500 a year ago, which was then reported as "the largest majority ever achieved in the history of Manitoba." He was elected as an independent but had the endorsement of the Liberal party, which will have but slight opposition in the new legislature. Since the party is strongly pledged to a progressive program speedy legislation along those lines may be reasonably expected.

s. d.



The Manley Report.

Advance notices of the Manley report, which the Commission on Industrial Relations is said to have adopted, indicate that it is bristling with facts which give the lie to all claims of general prosperity. When half the wage-earners are shown to be getting but \$500 a year, when the babies of the poor die three times as fast as those of the rich, when economic pressure prevents two-thirds of all children from getting a grammar school education, when one-fifth of the time workers in basic industries are out of jobs, when tenantry is increasing on the farms as well as in the cities,

then it is simply ridiculous to assume that there can be any approach toward prosperity without radical reforms. The report is said to show that two per cent of the people own 60 per cent of the nation's wealth. Not the most staunch defender of existing conditions would claim that this two per cent does 60 per cent of the work, or that the wealth of the country would be 60 per cent less than it is had this two per cent of the population never existed nor any one ever performed the functions assumed by it. Yet unless this can be shown it will be impossible to escape the conclusion that two per cent of the people are drawing by legal means unearned wealth from the other 98 per cent. And there is no escape from the further conclusion that 98 per cent are being deprived of wealth that they have earned. Against facts like these it is vain to bring statistics of bumper crops, of bank clearings, of savings bank deposits, of trade balances or any of the other items commonly produced to make a showing of prosperity. They may show prosperity for the two per cent. But that is all.



Of course there is nothing surprising in the Manley report. It does give us figures more or less exact of the extent to which has gone a tendency known to be in progress. It did not require an investigation by a commission to show that conditions were bad. It was enough to know that we have in this country, and have had for many years, a protective tariff and federal excise taxes, that states, counties and cities levy taxes on industry and its products, that public service franchises are handed over to private corporations, that it is easy and frequently profitable for desirable land to be monopolized and withheld from use, that land speculation and inflating of land values are constantly going on, and that predatory privileges of many kinds are authorized by law. Under such conditions concentration of wealth and steadily increasing poverty are inevitable. The tendency must continue until the cause of it will be removed. Tariffs, excise taxes and other taxes on industry must be abolished, the rental value of land taken for public purposes, public highways removed from control of private corporations, and other forms of privilege abolished. It will be useless to do less. S. D.



Questions for Militarists.

Since the Manley report shows that two per cent of the people own 60 per cent of the nation's wealth, through control of all predatory privileges,

the question is pertinent; will this two per cent do 60 per cent of the fighting in case of war? Do the big army and navy advocates propose to put 60 per cent of the expense upon them? Sixty-five per cent of the people, as the Manley report shows, own less than five per cent of the wealth. Will they be required to bear no more than five per cent of the expense, and to furnish no more than five per cent of the soldiers? S. D.



The Cart Before the Horse.

In its issue of July 16 the Chicago Tribune said:

This nation assuredly, if it is wise, will drop the theory that life here presents unbounded opportunities for comfort and happiness to all the citizens of the United States. It no longer does, if it ever did. It leaves a large part of its workers dependent upon fixed standards of pay, and if those standards do not permit of comfort and security, there is no escape for the persons governed by them.

For this frank expression the Tribune deserves credit. There will be more than one occasion when reference to it will tend to create discomfort in circles where there prevails smug satisfaction with things as they are. But since the Tribune knows that existing conditions in the United States deny comfort and security to many workers, what good reason has it to offer these workers, as to why they should interest themselves in any other political question than that of bettering economic conditions? Why should they, or any one in any danger of being reduced to their condition, give precedence to such a question as the one to which the Tribune gives such prominence, that of national defense? Why worry about an, as yet, non-existent foreign enemy when there are actually at work within the United States forces oppressing and despoiling a large part of the workers and depriving them of comfort and security? Besides what kind of national defenders can be made out of workers forced to toil for a bare existence deprived of comfort and security? S. D.



Real Duties and Counterfeit.

Public officials who spend time in spectacular military training camps, while humdrum matters of greater importance remain unattended to at home, deserve such a rebuke as Benjamin C. Marsh administered to Mayor Mitchel of New York. "We didn't elect our Mayor to be a soldier," says Mr. Marsh, and adds further on:

We are killing off about 27,000 people a year from preventable diseases, chiefly due to bad housing and working conditions and poverty.

The unemployment problem, in dealing with

which your Committee on Unemployment made such a brilliant fiasco last winter, is still with us—almost untouched.

During the time it is reported you are to spend in camp, we shall be wasting tens of thousands of dollars interest on land the city has condemned but is not using.

No one objects to your having a vacation, but I respectfully submit that it could be more profitably spent studying a manual of economics rather than a manual of arms. . . .

Maybe when you get us militarized, you and the rest of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment will trust the voters to decide our economic problems by referendum while you get ready for war.

What Mr. Marsh tells Mayor Mitchel shows the unreasonable nature of the whole furor about military preparedness. There is more important work to be done than playing soldier. The ravages of unjust legislation far exceed any to be feared from a foreign enemy. Taxes on labor and exactions of ground lords and other privileged barons take from the workers contributions no less than would be demanded as tribute by the most greedy invader. Why allow our attention to be diverted from these enemies, or why allow energy needed to combat them to be expended in worrying over Roosevelt's nightmares? Why should public officials neglect their real duties to perform imaginary ones? S. D.



Settling the Mexican Question.

So long as no invasion of Mexico for any purpose is contemplated the Pan-American conference on Mexican affairs can do no harm, and may do good. To do good it must not merely result in establishment of a government, but it must be a government worth establishing. Such will not be a government that will do less than put into effect a practical land policy; one that will assure to every Mexican the right to use of Mexican soil free from exploitation by the big owners expropriated by the revolution. Any settlement of the Mexican question that fails to justly settle the land question will be of no benefit to Mexico, or the United States. S. D.



What Haiti Might Have Been.

How different affairs in Haiti would be today had Haitians applied the economic principles advocated by Toussaint Louverture, founder of their government! Had that course been followed the Negro Republic would be today the most enlightened and progressive in the world. Toussaint would have established absolute free trade with the world. That he saw enough beyond this

to be sure of the proper means of raising revenue, there seems no evidence at hand. But whether he saw it or not, absolute free trade, under the primitive conditions then prevailing, would have led him almost unconsciously to make land values the sole source of public revenue. There would have appeared no need to grant privileges to foreign capitalists, to be made later an excuse for foreign interference. The inhabitants of the island having access to its natural resources, and assured the full product of their labor would have had no cause or desire to engage in revolutions. Prosperity would have prevailed of a kind that to this day does not exist elsewhere. But Haitians let themselves be led by false teachers, even as citizens, both white and black, of other republics still permit themselves to be led. The deplorable situation of today is the result. S. D.



Inexcusable Intervention.

The sending of marines to Haiti was a poor example to set Europe. By no stretch of imagination can interference there be construed into an act of defense. It was simply one of those acts which would better have remained unperformed. It is a sample of the kind of mischief we will be getting into continually should the big-army-and navy program be adopted. S. D.



An Improper Request.

If it is true that an embargo on arms would render the Allies unable to fight further, then the Austrian government should have given some assurance that it and its allies would not take advantage of a disarmed enemy, but would agree to mediation. That could have brought peace, without any other dictation of terms than would be approved by an impartial commission. Since no such assurances were given, the Austrian government's request was equivalent to asking that the United States take action to deprive its enemy of power to resist. That was not a proper request to make of a government that wishes to be neutral. S. D.



Actions Louder Than Words.

Four Norwegian vessels were admitted to American registry during the first week of August. Have the owners not heard of the LaFollette Seamen's bill? And don't they know that it does not pay to operate under its provisions? Or is it possible that all the talk to that effect has no foundation in fact whatever? S. D.

Distributing Evils.

Much is made in some quarters over the fact of a wider distribution of railway stocks and bonds. Twenty of the leading companies had 153,610 shareholders in 1904, while in 1914 the same companies had 376,897 shareholders. An increased distribution of stocks, it is held, will tend to beget greater public sympathy for, and closer co-operation with, the roads. The explanation of the fact of a wider ownership lies partly in the falling rate of interest and the difficulty of finding safe small investments; and partly in public confidence in present-day railroad management. Railroad wrecking, like wildcat banking, is becoming conspicuous by less frequency. The new conditions have put railroad stocks upon the same footing as other commercial paper; and money drawing three per cent interest in savings banks is put into railroad shares.



So far as the increase in the number of stockholders indicates greater wealth among the people, it may be welcomed; but it has also its objectionable phase. The railroad business, chastened and frightened as it is, still lacks much of being in harmony with the rights of all the people; and the remaining steps in the readjustment cannot be taken without further curtailing the privileges of the roads. If the stocks be held by a few rich men, the change will be made with much less compunction on the part of the people than if the distribution be more general. The active campaign for the rate increase carried on by the railroad brotherhoods is an indication of what may be expected of the small investor. As the trainmen feared an increase in wages would be impossible without greater earnings, so the stockholders will view the relation between rates and dividends.



Privilege, no matter how widespread its ownership be made—short of universality—is still privilege, working to the profit of some at the expense of others. Announcement should be continually made that all public service corporations will be deprived of their special privileges as rapidly as may be, and that land values will be taken in taxation as soon as possible. Investors in either land or public service corporations should be kept in mind of the fact that real democracy does not permit any citizen to profit at the expense of another.

S. C.



Too Many Proclamations.

Mayor Thompson has acquired the proclamation

habit. Not content with official announcements of days of rejoicing over the settlement of labor disputes, and days of mourning for the victims of shipwreck, he enters the commercial field and appoints days for marketing. In this he is likely to meet a rebuff. People can rejoice or mourn, as befits the occasion; but to interrupt the course of trade, and concentrate into one week the marketing of several, may seriously disarrange prices. Should the Chicago housewives take seriously the Mayor's proclamation of "Peach Week," and do all their canning at that time, the unusual demand would send prices up to a point that would be a hardship to buyers and defeat the very purpose in view. The less trade is interfered with the better for both buyer and seller. The consoling thought in regard to the action of our proclamation Mayor is that his suggestion to buy peaches at a particular time is like the advice to go early and avoid the rush—will be heeded by few.

S. C.



The Attack on Osborne.

Mysterious seems the motive back of the effort to secure the dismissal of Thomas Mott Osborne from Sing Sing prison. All reports show that he has instituted much needed reforms in the prison policy. Convicts in Sing Sing are no longer treated worse than caged animals. He has put an end to brutal punishments, and has endeavored to give the inmates of the prison a chance to learn by actual experience that square dealing and humanity to the weak are policies that bring best results to individuals who adhere to them. Why there should be opposition to him is hard to understand, unless his advocacy of payment of prisoners for their work should be distasteful to employers of prison labor. But if so, why should such opposition prevail?

S. D.



Modern Barbarism.

It would hardly seem possible that a place exists in this land and age in which the "authorities and local business men" are so barbarous as to turn the occasion of an execution into "a public holiday spectacle." Yet this was what was done in Starkville, Miss., the other day. The New York World describes the affair in a front page article in its August 7th issue under the heading "Two Negroes Hanged as a Holiday Crowd Eats and Drinks." That a crowd of 5,000 persons can be drawn together for a picnic, the central feature of which is the hanging of two men, is a depressing, not to say alarming, fact. It is unfortunate enough

that so many people, otherwise humane and refined, should endorse capital punishment, but they may be excused, in a measure, on the ground of an honest belief that the same is a necessary protective measure; for such is the power of long established custom and opinion. But that the humane instincts should have become so benumbed in certain directions as to cause persons, otherwise refined and gentle, to enjoy and make light of that legal barbarity, the hanging of a human being, is well nigh unbelievable.



If the condemned had been Whites, the affair would probably not have occurred; but that they were Negroes reflects no less discredit upon those responsible. On the contrary, it convicts them of another barbarous trait—race prejudice. Such, however, is the deteriorating influence of all public wrongs. No people can long remain civilized, who continue to harbor uncivilized institutions. The instigators of this damnable, bloodthirsty joy-fest are a disgrace to our country and age. Let every decent man and woman register an indignant protest against such low, brutal and demoralizing business as this Starkville public hanging.

DE WITT CLINTON, JR.



PROPERTY PHILOSOPHY.

The economic issue, as it confronts the American people, is a very new one, which could never have arisen had conditions remained as they were a century ago. While a large proportion of the people in a community hold property there can be no conflict over property ownership. So long as men could cross the frontier, and by taking up free land, become property owners at will, it was impossible to stimulate interest in property income as opposed to service income. The open public domain was an effective answer to all of the objections that were directed against property ownership and property income.

The spirit engendered by property ownership exhibits itself dramatically in small, well-to-do towns surrounded by prosperous farms. The entire population of such places looks with unrelieved dread upon every proposition that in any way affects property rights. The people ask only that they be let alone, and removed from any part in the conflict which industrial development has fomented—the same industrial development which has led to the increase in town land values. Such towns, with their spirit of hostility toward every proposition that looks to the disturbance of prop-

erty rights, typify the conditions in a society where property ownership is the rule, and not the exception. In the same proportion that property ownership is prevalent, the property spirit and the property philosophy permeate the thought of a community.

Property ownership engenders a faith in the property philosophy. An absence of property ownership has the opposite result. A situation has developed in the centers of industry and commerce which is essentially different from that in the well-to-do country town. Here the great mass of people own little or no income-yielding property. It makes no difference at all whether the proportion is one-tenth of the people with nine-tenths of the property, or one-fifth of the people with four-fifths of the property. The fact remains that in modern industrial centers most people are not owners of property, and that, on the other hand, the ownership of the great mass of property, particularly of income-yielding property, is centered in the hands of a comparatively small group of persons.

As a result of the concentration of property ownership, and of the development of property forms which automatically yield an income to the possessor, a situation has been created in which a great part of the community depends solely, or largely, upon the expenditures of effort as a means of securing income, while another part of the community, a smaller group, receives its income chiefly from property ownership.

Perhaps the United States has not yet reached the point where an open breach may be expected between those who receive service income and those who receive property income. Certainly the crisis in the conflict has not yet come. Nevertheless, one who has watched the development of the past few years, who has followed the labor movement in its larger phases, who has given ear to the undercurrents of socialistic thought and syndicalistic agitation, cannot help feeling that the United States is moving toward the crisis at breathless speed.

Nowhere in the world, perhaps, is wealth being produced in vaster amounts than it is in the United States. The country is reported prosperous. Go where one will, he will find that, on the one hand, the producers of wealth are living for the most part in straitened circumstances. They do not starve, to be sure; but they do fight a hard, and sometimes a losing, fight with those implacable enemies, cold and hunger. On the other hand, the family hotels, luxurious apartment houses, summer resorts, winter resorts, cruises,

tours, and pleasure halls harbor a throng, many of whom have never lifted a finger toward the production of wealth, and most of whom are enjoying incomes far and away above the value of their service contributions to society.

The irony of the situation does not lie mainly in the contrast, though it is ironical enough to see the worker skimping, and the idler squandering. The irony of the situation lies in the accusation of extravagance, incompetence, wastefulness, inefficiency, idleness, and dissipation brought by the extravagant, incompetent, wasteful, inefficient, idle, dissipated recipients of property income.

Make no mistake—those who receive property income are not necessarily extravagant, idle or dissipated. They are sometimes careful of money, sometimes miserly. Some of them work—some even overwork. Some are abstemious to the point of asceticism. Nevertheless, the tendency of property income, at least in the second generation, is to create a spirit of indigence and luxurious extravagance, if not of dissolute living. Not all of those who live on property income are parasitic, but they tend to become so. An existence at the expense of others has always, throughout history, led to a deterioration among the parasitic group.

It is not enough that some live from the proceeds of the work of others; it is not enough that some luxuriate idly at the expense of others who toil for a bare subsistence. These idle ones, these luxurious ones, must take the final step, and look down upon those from whose labor they live.

The social snobbery of a parasitic class is inevitable. Its members dare not face their own merits—they would be appalled! They dare not let those upon whose labor they live realize how utterly banal and mediocre are their lives. The workers would then cease to struggle for a position among the propertied class, or else they would set the propertied class to work. Therefore the propertied class, from the elevation of a social position that is built upon the work of those so far below them, look down upon "the masses," "the rabble," "the mob," "the submerged tenth" and they sympathize, they pity, they even give gifts, philanthropically—a mite from out of their superabundance. When questioned regarding this juxtaposition, they answer, "But they get all that they are worth!"

SCOTT NEARING.



Association in equality is the law of progress—Henry George.



The aim of war is robbery and murder is its means.—Enrico Ferri.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

UNJUST TAX DISCRIMINATION.

Chicago, August 17, 1915.

The local Board of Assessors in making its quadrennial valuations of property for taxing purposes, horizontally raised the value of the central business property 13% and raised all other property outside the loop in the city 14%.

Just why outside property should be raised higher is an interesting circumstance in itself. Especially so when it is claimed by George C. Olcott, one of the best real estate experts in this city, that during the past four years central property was assessed at only 70% of real value, whereas property outside was assessed 90% of real value, and because of this disproportion, it is estimated that \$3,000,000 which should have been paid by central property owners was shifted on to the shoulders of property owners outside of the loop.

The values of real estate as fixed by the Board of Assessors is now pending before the Board of Review for final determination. The central property owners have already appeared before this board and requested that the 13% increase on the loop property made by the Board of Assessors be wiped out and that for the next four years remain as fixed in 1911. In support of this, they contend that business is rotten and that much of the help employed in the loop is being laid off. If this request is granted, without a corresponding reduction for outlying property, the result will be that the loop will gain another advantage of about \$1,000,000 and this additional burden will then be borne by the very men and women whom these millionaires are laying off for want of work.

The Chicago Federation of Labor, many of whose members are home owners, have protested against the action of the loop property owners and further insist that justice and equality demand that the assessment of central property be increased 20% and that the 14% increase on outlying property be wiped out.

ERNEST BATTEN.



A WEAK CAUSE MUST SUPPRESS CRITICISM.

Pittsburgh, Aug. 9, 1915.

The case of Professor Scott Nearing of Philadelphia, concerning which The Public has printed various paragraphs, has in a way a recent parallel in western Pennsylvania, where freedom of speech is not entirely accepted as an American birthright. The Reverend Charles E. Snyder of the North Side Unitarian Church of Pittsburgh, an active Single-taxer and a worker in many efforts of political and social progress, maintained an outspoken criticism of the work and doctrine of Reverend William A. Sunday at the time of the latter's visit here a year and a half ago. Mr. Snyder's opposition was taken on the grounds of Mr. Sunday's medieval theology and its stifling effect upon the great mass of the church people who absorb it, of the outstanding

shameless commercialism of the whole Sunday movement, and of the social and economic ignorance and political reactionism evidenced by the Sunday party, which Mr. Snyder primarily pointed out was consciously or unconsciously subsidized by big interests. He uttered from his own pulpit much the same challenge to Mr. Sunday that Professor Nearing published in Philadelphia. Theological differences are acute in western Pennsylvania, and the dislike fostered by the orthodox brethren for Mr. Snyder as a Unitarian was quite generally multiplied by the stand he took on the Sunday visitation.

This summer Mr. Snyder was approached by a well-known lyceum bureau to engage in Chautauqua work during July and August, and he signed a contract for seven weeks' work in western Pennsylvania as morning lecturer. As soon as the programs of the Chautauquas were made public, the places where Mr. Snyder was scheduled to speak became the sources of loud objections from the respectively local censors of thought and deletors of heresy. Preachers hastily sent word to the Chautauqua managers that if Snyder entered their towns, they would lead their congregations in boycotting the Chautauqua. The managers tried to avoid the issue by changing Mr. Snyder's appointments, but finally these various local groups advised the management that there would be no guarantors to contract for next year's Chautauqua with a concern that harbored so dangerous a man as this Unitarian preacher. This action created a business problem of such proportions that the Chautauqua managers cancelled all of Mr. Snyder's engagements after about two weeks' work, and he was forced out of the circuit before this heresy-hunting program devised generally, it appears, by "Christian" ministers and their immediate followers who were determined to shut out this free lance of progressive thought and did it by forcing a business problem upon the employing agency.

It will be noted that this attitude appeared before Mr. Snyder lectured in any of these towns, and that it was taken not because of what he said in his lectures, but because they feared what he might say. The only criticism of the work that Mr. Snyder did in the time he was out of which the writer knows, was a sneer in the periodical published by a steel company in one of the towns where he lectured, to whom his radical political utterances were not pleasing. The writer understands that the employing agency cheerfully admits that it could take no exception to his work. The objections were derived and carried out by small coteries before he visited the towns to which he was appointed. In some instances, it is said, word was sent that "Snyder mustn't enter this town," and in others, as above noted, that the Chautauqua would be boycotted if he appeared.

It will also be noted that this did not occur in Russia or Turkey, but in Pennsylvania of the United States; and also that it was engineered by the devoted followers of Mr. Sunday, who appears to be making bigots numerously.

R. E. SMITH.



There never was a good war or bad peace.—Benjamin Franklin.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

PARTIAL SINGLETAX IN CALIFORNIA.

Letter to the Committee on Taxation of the New York State Constitutional Convention at Albany, N. Y.

San Francisco, June 22, 1915.

In view of the desire of your committee to have information on the subject of taxation affecting agricultural districts, the system of taxation used in the irrigation districts of California may be of some interest to you.

Under the law of California, irrigation districts are formed by vote of the people residing in any section desiring to develop water to be used upon the land. Originally the value of the land, alfalfa, trees, vines, buildings and other improvements were taxed for the maintenance and operation of the districts, and the payment of the interest on their bonds.

In 1909 the Legislature amended the statutes, provided that all new irrigation districts must exempt improvements from taxation, and levy all of their taxes upon the value of the land. At no time was personal property taxed for irrigation purposes.

Five districts remain in existence that were organized under the original law. Two of them by a vote of the owners of the land living in the district, have exempted improvements from taxation, and adopted the new system of collecting all of their taxes from the value of the land. Modesto District held this election in 1911. Turlock, the last district to vote upon this question, held its election February, 19, 1915. The vote in favor of taxing the value of the land only, and exempting improvements in the Turlock District, which they call the Singletax, was 923 to 260 who favored the old system. You will note above that the only persons who could vote on this question were the farmers "who owned the land and lived in the district."

Since the adoption of this Singletax law the Oakdale Irrigation District and the South San Joaquin Irrigation District, each comprising 80,000 acres, have been organized, issued bonds, constructed their irrigation works, and are now using the water on the land. In 1912, the Imperial Irrigation District of 530,000 acres was organized in the southern part of the state, on the border line of Mexico. In October, 1914, this district voted to issue bonds of \$3,500,000 to take over the irrigation works of a company.

In February, 1915, the Anderson-Cottonwood Irrigation District was organized by vote in Shasta County, in the extreme northern part of the state. On the 18th of this month of June the farmers of that district by a vote of 503 in favor to 94 against, approved of the bond issue of \$450,000 for the construction of the works of this new Singletax irrigation district. Altogether, at this time about 1,000,000 acres of irrigated land are being farmed in California under irrigation districts levying their taxes upon the value of the land. New districts are proposed, or in process of organization, which will add one million more acres to this Singletax method of taxation in California. The area at present with-

in irrigation districts in California under the Singletax exceeds the total acreage of improved land in farms in six states.

This system of exempting from taxation all improvements and personal property has brought about wonderful prosperity in these irrigation districts. The Modesto District, which has been operating under this system since 1911, contains about 500 farms of less than ten acres. The census of 1910 showed the entire country of Stanislaus in which that District is located, to have had about 153 farms of less than ten acres in that year. The affect of the Singletax in that district has been to cause a subdivision of lands and an increase in the population of both town and country.

In California irrigation districts the principle of the Singletax, that it is the population and the industry of the community which create the value of the land, has been fully accepted. The cities and towns within the districts, although they do not use the water for irrigation purposes, are assessed upon the value of their lots, and taxed for the maintenance, operation, payment of interest and debt of the districts in the same manner as are the farms.

The farmers and the business people in these districts give their system of taxation credit for the great prosperity which exist among them, notwithstanding dull times in other sections of the state. Bankers say that this tax system encourages farmers and others to make improvements, as no tax is added to the interest on the money which they borrow for that purpose. It has also brought about a higher standard of living in the irrigation communities. A farmer or a townsman in building a home will spend from ten to twenty per cent more money in modern improvements and beautifying it than is done in other sections.

Testimony as to the effect of this system of taxation is given in the statements issued by the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Modesto, and the City Council of the town of Oakdale. These statements have been signed by the Directors of the Irrigation Districts, Board of Trade, Gas Company, all of the Banks, the Newspapers, Women's Improvement Club, County Building Trades Council and other officials and organizations in each of these districts.

The statement of the Modesto Chamber of Commerce says:

Under the old system of taxation it was found that the small farmer who had built his house and barn and set out trees on his land was paying an excess proportion of the taxes of the district. Whenever he built a house or set out a tree his share of the irrigation tax was increased. The men of thrift who were developing the land and building up the district found their share of the tax burden of the district increasing with their industry.

On the other hand the large owners, who made little or no improvement and refused to sell their land, had their taxes reduced because of the increase in the total assessed value of the property caused by the new improvements. By this means the large holders making no improvements had their taxes reduced, while the small owners had to pay more taxes.

The new system of taxation of collecting all of the taxes from the value of the land has brought great prosperity to our district. Farmers are now encouraged to improve their property. Industry and thrift are not punished by an increase in taxes.

Many houses and barns have been built in the country. In the city of Modesto a new five-story hotel and a six-story hotel are being built at a cost of about \$150,000 each.

In the Modesto Irrigation District the man who builds

a house or barn will not have his irrigation tax increased; he will pay no more than his neighbor next door who allows weeds to grow on his land.

The statement of the Oakdale City Council reads:

Even in the short space of less than a year many of the promises made for the Singletax have been fulfilled. The large ranch so common under the old system of taxation is fast disappearing from our district. Speculators do not buy land here, each sale made to an actual settler who brings his family among us, builds a decent home, seeks to better the social conditions of his neighborhood, and adds greatly to the prosperity of our community.

The exemption of improvements from taxation encourages our farmers to build nice homes, with gardens about them, and to keep their places in the best of order; also assures them that their new neighbors will erect the best homes that their means will permit. Our experience has taught us that the more you relieve improvements from taxation, the quicker will the country improve.

The Singletax is the best system of taxation we have for our farms. We know that it is making our district grow. All of our farmers favor it, because of the exemption of improvements. No one in the district would want to go back to the old system. The Singletax has brought wealth to the old owners, and opportunity to get a home to a man with small capital. Our farmers put the land to its highest use, the use that is most beneficial to the whole community. Our system of taxation compels them to do this, and they thus reap a greater profit for themselves. Our largest landowners who pay the greater share of taxes are satisfied with the Singletax. Their industry is not taxed, and they find their land increasing in value because of the great demand for it; our system of taxation compels them to cultivate land that under the old system would have been left barren; many of them have much larger income. They improve their farms, knowing that when they do so they will not be taxed to death.

We invite farmers to come and settle among us. Their industry will not be taxed by the Oakdale Irrigation District. Our Singletax system of taxation encourages industry. We make the man who keeps his land idle pay the same tax as the man who improves. Those who build up our community and create its wealth will not be penalized.

In assessing land for street work, sewers, tunnels, opening of new streets, and other local improvements the principle of the Singletax is also recognized in California. Under our law taxes for such purposes are levied upon the value of the land, and not upon any improvements or personal property; in some instances, the tax is levied upon the land on a square foot basis according to benefits.

Assessments for reclamation districts in this State are levied according to benefits. Land covered to a great depth with water is assessed higher than land carrying but a small quantity of water; and the increase in the fertility of lands through reclamation is also considered in levying such assessment. These assessments are levied solely upon the land and not upon improvements or personal property.

Our Constitution contains no provision relating specifically to these subjects. The Legislature enacted these statutes under its general powers, although the Constitution does provide that for county and municipal purposes real and personal property shall be taxed.

EDWARD P. E. TROY.



There is not a man in the city of New York with genius enough, with brains enough, to own five millions of dollars. Why? The money will own him. He becomes the key to a safe. That money will get him up at daylight, that money will separate him from his friends, that money will fill his heart with fear, that money will rob his days of sunshine and his nights of pleasant dreams. He becomes the property of that money.—Robert G. Ingersoll.

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 17, 1915.

Interstate Commerce Commission.

The twenty per cent increase in rates asked by Western railroads was partly refused and partly allowed by the Interstate Commerce Commission on August 11. Increases were denied on grain and grain products, live stock, packing house products, fertilizer material, broom corn, and cotton dress goods. It was allowed on soft coal except as to South Dakota points, domestic rice and hay and straw. Commissioners Daniels and Harlan dissented, both holding that the entire demands of the railroads should have been granted. Clifford Thorne, State Railway Commissioner of Iowa, who fought the increase, declares the decision satisfactory. [See current volume, page 259.]



On August 12 the Interstate Commerce Commission forbade further preferential treatment by the anthracite railroads of the coal companies in which they are interested. By means of trackage arrangements and free transportation to junction points favors have been allowed equivalent to unlawful rebates. This the Commission declares illegal and orders stopped. Eighty per cent of the country's anthracite production is affected. Commissioner Harlan dissented from the decision.



Commission on Industrial Relations.

After a wrangle of many days the Commission on Industrial Relations finally agreed to accept the report to Congress prepared by Basil Manley. This is a condensation of facts disclosed during the investigation. The agreement does not apply to recommendations contained in the report. These will be concurred in by Chairman Frank Walsh and by the three labor members, J. B. Lennon, James O'Connell and A. B. Garretson. Another report will be signed by the three members representing the employers' interests, Harris Weinstock, S. Thurston Ballard and R. H. Aishton. The other two members, Professor John R. Commons and Mrs. J. Borden Harriman will sign a third report. The principal facts brought out in the Manley report are as follows:

Labor conditions in this country are such that immigrants come only from the more impoverished countries of Europe such as Italy, Russia, Austro-Hungary and the Balkan nations.

Two per cent of the people own 60 per cent of the national wealth.

Sixty-five per cent own less than five per cent.

There are 44 families with incomes equal to the wages of 100,000 workingmen.

Farm tenantry is increasing and consequently landlordism is also.

Half of the wage-earning fathers get but \$500 a year.

Two-thirds of adult male workers get less than \$15 a week.

Half of the women workers get less than \$6 a week.

In basic industries, workers are unemployed one-fifth of the time.

Three or more persons occupy every sleeping room in 37 per cent of the workers' homes.

Thirty-seven per cent of wives and mothers of workingmen are forced to work to help out the family income.

Babies of the poor die three times as fast as those of the rich.

Nearly 20 per cent of the school children are underfed and undernourished.

Poverty prevents two-thirds of the school children from going through the grammar school.

[See current volume, page 545.]



The report of the Commission's investigators, C. T. Chenery and George P. West on the recent strike at Bayonne, New Jersey, was made public on August 16. It finds that in spite of the wage increase granted, the Standard Oil Company gained the real victory. Sheriff Kinkead is criticized for first intimidating the strikers and then volunteering to act as peace maker. The increases granted make wages for common labor 22 cents an hour. Continuing further, the report says:

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, although conducting an enormously profitable enterprise, pays wages too low to maintain a family on a comfortable, healthful basis.

It fixes wages not with relation to the earnings of the company, but by taking into consideration wages paid by other companies in the same locality and then fixing the wages as low as or lower than the prevailing wage in that locality. In Bayonne it paid common laborers at a lower rate than those of two companies whose plants adjoin its refineries. This is in direct contradiction to the claims of the company in a statement issued at 26 Broadway, that it has always paid the prevailing wage.



The Labor War.

The following letter under date of August 11 was sent to Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, by Frederic C. Leubuscher, president, and Benjamin C. Marsh, secretary, of the New York Lower Rents Society:

Is it not a frightful commentary upon the ineffectiveness of present methods of attempting to secure a living wage for the workers of the country, that machinists and allied trades have had to wait

to secure fair pay till it comes out of the blood money extorted by the Governments of the Allies from the working people of their countries, to slaughter fellow workmen of Germany and Austria? If American manufacturers of munitions and arms could sell their products to the Teutons as they do to the Allies, the case would be as bad.

Are not the methods we use to secure better wages—even a living wage—as stupid and ineffectual as the methods the Socialists in Germany and Austria have adopted to secure better conditions for themselves—at the expense of the workers in other countries? Without the votes of the Socialists, the militarist party in Germany could not have secured war budgets nor war loans.

Today in this country only about one person out of every thirteen engaged in gainful occupations is a member of a labor union, and an increase in the wages of union members means an increase in the cost of living for nearly forty million other workers.

Is it not an opportune time for organized labor to assert the right of all workers to the ground rents and land and mineral values which they create? Out of the wages, the workers of our country earn, they are today robbed of nearly three billions of dollars annually by Government, while land speculators make a profit of five billions. Jobs are scarce because land monopolists have cornered the opportunity to produce. Wages are low because hundreds of millions of arable acres of land are idle. Hours are long because hunger due to foreclosing the chance to produce compels workers to accept sweating rather than to starve. Strikes and high tariffs might afford relief and better conditions for a very few workers temporarily, but are proven utterly ineffective.

We urge on behalf of the tenants of this city and of all the country that the American Federation of Labor, at its next convention, discuss the land problem in relation to poverty, low wages, the long day, the seven day week, and unemployment.



Colorado's State Industrial Commission, acting under the recently enacted strike and lockout law, interfered in the strike of employees of a Denver cracker company on August 10. The company reduced wages and the employees promptly struck. The Commission at once ordered the employees to return to work and the company to restore the old rate of wages. The law requires that before wages may be reduced or a strike or lockout begun the Commission must be given thirty days' notice. The Commission must in the meantime investigate and report. Its recommendation however need not be accepted by either party. Union leaders complain that the sole effect of the law will be to give the company thirty days in which to import strikebreakers. [See current volume page 309.]



In a letter on July 21 to the acting Vice-Consul of the Netherlands, at Seattle, Mr. Jan Kool; E. W. Olson, State Labor Commissioner of Washington, writes in answer to a request forwarded from the

Federal State Department, for information about opportunities for immigrants:

For many years past there has been a surplus of labor in our manufacturing industries, and especially is this true of unskilled labor. This condition has naturally forced wages to a very low level, and it is not uncommon to find great groups of foreigners working on railroad construction and highway work, receiving therefor as little and even less than \$1.60 per day and paying from 90 cents to \$1 per day for board, and these conditions are being intensified because of the further fact that but little steady employment is offered, and the workmen are therefore compelled to "drift" the greater portion of the year in looking for work.

The result is that unemployment, owing to the constant influx of European immigration, has resolved itself into a stupendous problem, and until our lands are made available to the people at prices that will permit settlement, the condition of unemployment is apt to increase from year to year.

The land question lies at the heart of our labor problem, and the possibility of a family of limited means successfully establishing themselves on a small farm has almost vanished, and in consequence our cities are being glutted with industrial workers who are unable to find permanent employment at even the present wage standard, which has been reduced to the lowest level. Little, if any, government land is now available to new settlers unless it be in regions so remote from the markets that success is rarely accomplished. While it is true that we have millions of acres of highly productive land, much of which is lying in idleness, this land is being held by speculators who are unwilling to sell except at fabulous prices—at prices so high that the added cost of development puts it beyond the reach of the person of moderate means.

The situation, therefore, is by no means inviting to the immigrant who, with small means, is hopeful of bettering his condition by coming to the United States.



Lawson Gains Preliminary Victory.

The Supreme Court of Colorado on August 17 granted a supersedeas in the case of John R. Lawson, under sentence of life imprisonment. The action allows his appeal for a new trial to come before the court on its merits. At the same time the court issued a writ of prohibition barring Judge Granby Hillyer, in whose court Lawson was convicted, from presiding at future trials resulting from recent strike troubles. [See current volume, page 715.]



Tax Reform News.

The Louisiana State Farmers' Union in session at Alexandria on August 4, adopted resolutions demanding abolition of the poll tax, assessment of public service corporations by parish assessors instead of by a State board, a graduated tax on land values and the Torrens system of land registration. Other resolutions endorse the Initiative, Referendum, Recall and Woman Suffrage.

The Chicago Federation of Labor on August 15 passed a resolution protesting against the proportionally high valuation of residential property and low valuation of property in the loop district. The resolutions declare:

We ask the president of the federation to appoint a committee to wait upon the Board of Review for the purpose of having a reduction made in the outlying districts. The loop taxpayers claim a reduction on the ground that they are being forced to lay off men, but something should be done for the men who are being laid off. They own homes in the outlying districts and are less able to pay increased taxes than the loop property owners.



The Maryland Singletax League has protested against a proposed tax on jitneys in the following statement:

The unemployment problem worried Mayor Preston last winter and the jitney helped solve the unemployment problem. The owner or lessee being out of work is for the time being content to accept the small difference between fares and cost of upkeep. This means of transportation received its big impetus in communities where the number of unemployed was large. Why throw obstacles by the power of taxation in the way of persons trying to employ themselves? Besides this method of forcing the payment of a particular service, viz. (paving and repairing streets) on patrons of the jitneys, allowing those who do not use the jitneys to escape, is absolutely unjust and opposed to every principle of a square deal. How it works in the case of street cars is here shown:

\$100 has to be raised from A, B and C by street car rides, rides being equal.

A worth \$14,000, pays	\$33.33
B worth 5,000, pays	33.33
C worth 1,000, pays	33.34

\$20,000	\$100.00
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If raised according to Constitution:

A would pay 14/20 or	\$70.00
B would pay 5/20 or	25.00
C would pay 1/20 or	5.00

\$100.00

But A rides in an automobile pays	\$00.00
Therefore B pays	50.00
And C pays	50.00

\$100.00



Leo Frank Lynched.

A mob entered the State prison farm at Milledgeville, Georgia, on August 17, where Leo Frank was kept a prisoner, overpowered the warden and guards and took Frank away. Frank had just been discharged from the hospital where he had been since attacked by a fellow-prisoner. Later in the day his body was found hanging to a tree. In a public statement Governor Nat Harris denounced the crime and said he would take every means in

his power to detect and punish the criminals. [See current volume, page 717.]



Mexico.

The peace plan of the Pan-American conference was accepted on August 15 by General Vicente Segura, the Villa military governor of the State of Hidalgo. This is held to indicate acceptance by Generals Villa, Angeles and other leaders in northern Mexico. No direct word has yet been received from General Carranza or any member of his faction to indicate acceptance. Carranza's Washington agency has given out statements showing opposition to foreign interference of any kind. On August 16 a party of Mexicans crossed the Rio Grande at Brownsville, Texas, attacked the United States troops there, killed one man and wounded two. Reports do not state anything further. [See current volume, page 786.]



Haiti.

The Haitian Congress on August 11 elected as President General Dartiguenave by a vote of 72 to 31. Reports on August 12 say that recognition of him by the United States will be delayed until he has proven his ability to guarantee peace and order. [See current volume, page 786.]



The European War.

The German advance in Russia continues. The Bavarian army under Prince Leopold was reported on August 16 to have fought its way across the Bug river and to be about fifty miles northwest of Brest-Litovsk. This is said to form a wedge in the Russian front. Kovno has not yet been taken, as had been reported, but is being vigorously attacked by Marshall von Hindenberg. [See current volume, page 785.]



On the western front the monotonous struggle continues, with no change of importance. After recapturing the trench at Hooge, the British forces found the position untenable and withdrew. A similar deadlock apparently prevails along the Italo-Austrian frontier. Two Zeppelin air raids on England were made within a week, resulting in the killing of some non-combatants. This makes eighteen of such raids since the war began.



In the Dardanelles region the Allies claim to be making progress, which the Turks deny.



The American answer to the request of the Austro-Hungarian government that shipments of munitions of war to the Allies be stopped was published on August 15. The request is denied.

Secretary Lansing based the government's position on the following reasons:

1. That the United States will not change or modify the rules of international usage because Germany and Austria are unable to compete in American markets for American ammunition.

2. That to do so would be a gross violation of neutrality on the part of this country.

3. That the position of both Germany and Austria is inconsistent in that they—particularly Germany—have been the largest dealers in war supplies during wars in the last century.

4. That to yield to the Teuton contention now would revoke the established policy of the United States to insist upon the free dealing by all nations in military supplies in war time.

5. That the reiteration of this policy would force all countries of the world to turn their lands into armed camps in order to be prepared to resist invasion for conquest.

6. That such a course would do more to increase militarism in the world and to prevent the maintenance of peace by peaceful means than anything suggested.

7. That Austria's contentions with respect to the violation of Hague treaties by the United States in permitting arms exportations are not sustained.

8. That the position of this country has been made sufficiently plain to warrant the ending of the discussion.

Secretary Lansing cited the Boer war, the Crimean war, the Balkan war and the Turkish-Italian war as precedents. He also stated:

The contention of the Imperial and Royal Government appears to be that the advantages gained to a belligerent by its superiority on the sea should be equalized by the neutral powers by the establishment of a system of non-intercourse with the victor. Austria-Hungary and Germany—particularly the latter—have, during the years preceding the present European war, produced a great surplus in arms and ammunition, which they sold throughout the world and especially to belligerents. Never during that period did either of them suggest or apply the principle now advocated by the Imperial and Royal Government.

NEWS NOTES

—The United States Government's buffalo herd in the Wichita Natural Forest has now increased to 62 or double what it was three years ago.

—Samuel Alschuler, democratic Democrat, was appointed by President Wilson, on August 17, Circuit Judge of the Seventh Federal District, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation in 1914 of Judge Grosscup.

—The rule in Canada has been revoked on August 10 by the Acting Minister of Militia which required the consent of wife or parents to enlistment of husband or son.

—Reports from Bohemia show that American muskrats imported there in 1905 for fur breeding purposes have increased in numbers and become a

pest. Farmers are now endeavoring to exterminate them.

—Miners in the Mons district of Belgium struck on August 6 on account of high cost of food. Clashes with the German soldiers followed, in which ten civilians were reported killed and forty wounded.

—The state census of New York shows that Putnam county has lost 13 per cent of its population in five years. This is attributed to the fact that wealthy individuals are buying large estates and crowding out the small farmers.

—In Durban, South Africa, street railway passengers may ride three miles for three cents. Special rates for school children allow a child to travel 700 miles in ten weeks for 61 cents. Current for operation of the lines is purchased at two cents per unit.

—During the week ending August 7, 1915, four Norwegian vessels of a total tonnage of 16,316 were admitted to American registry. This makes five vessels admitted since the beginning of the fiscal year on July 1. For the year ending June 30, 149 vessels were admitted of 527,071 gross tons.

—A severe storm on August 16 in the region about Galveston, Texas, put to a severe test the sea wall built after the great flood of some years ago. Communication with the outside world was cut off during the process of the storm and had not been restored on August 17. [See vol xii, page 732.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Two Wrongs Don't Make One Right.

The Star (San Francisco), August 7.—It is not true that Police Lieutenant Becker was murdered by Governor Whitman. Becker was killed by the great State of New York, and the killing was a mere act of vengeance. He was killed on the theory that he was guilty of murder, and that the killing of him would prevent other murders—would make society better. . . . It may be that Governor Whitman, in considering Mrs. Becker's plea for the life of her husband, was largely influenced by the fact that Becker was prosecuted by District Attorney Whitman—now the Governor of New York. He could not pardon Becker, or commute his sentence, without by that act severely criticizing his own demand at the trial that Becker be found guilty of murder, and condemned to death. And it seems that Governor Whitman is not a big enough man for that test. Had Whitman been a bigger man, big enough to admit that possibly he was wrong in the opinion that Becker was guilty, he would have spared Becker's life. Had he done so, human life would not have been made cheaper, and there would be no less respect for law in New York. New York and California, and other States, would not be worse if the death penalty were abolished.



A Praiseworthy Innovation.

William J. Chenery in Chicago Herald, August 12.—The Department of Labor is endeavoring, under Secretary Wilson and Louis Post, to keep pace with the moving picture of life. The latest

evidence is the appearance of the Monthly Review of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. . . . The first number of the Review is at hand. If it fulfills its promises every one who cares will have the opportunity of knowing at any time just what is happening to the millions of workers of the land. The magazine will be a sort of intelligence department. When things go badly with the workers in some field the nation will be informed. When serious social diseases are developed precautions may be taken in time to prevent an epidemic. We shall be deprived of the necessity of muddling on. Our sins and mistakes will be deliberate. . . . The importance of such an experiment can hardly be overemphasized. We are the beginning of a new era in social and industrial affairs. We have acquired the germs of a national conscience. But unhappily the germs develop in some parts of the country and lie dormant in others. Light may stimulate the more general development. The Review analyzes the laws regulating the employment of women. Five states improved the conditions under which women must earn homes during the present year. Illinois was not one of them. Indeed, the record shows that no longer is this state in the list of the progressive commonwealths if consideration for women is a test of progress. . . . Misinformation and untruth concerning the happenings in various foreign countries are always being offered for consumption in the United States. This sort of deception is profitable to many. Comes now the National Review with authoritative statements. Does some one allege that unemployment in the United States is attributable to Josephus Daniels? The Review may present the facts on unemployment in the Argentine, in Cape Colony or in Spain. We have a means of discovering just how important a factor is the Honorable Josephus. . . . All in all the Monthly Review is a most hopeful symptom of the national awakening to the needs of the men and women of the republic.



What Militarism Means.

Chicago Tribune, August 12.—In a recent work on the conduct and legal results of the war, written by two distinguished English professors of law, some startling facts are brought out. What they say about the workings of the defense of the realm act is particularly significant. Every citizen is now under military law and subject to fine or imprisonment or both for infractions thereof. The freedom of the press, which has been an Englishman's proud boast, no longer exists. Any report published by a British newspaper which is "likely to cause alarm" may cause the responsible persons to be punished with penal servitude and without jury trial. A constable or other officer may stop any person anywhere and compel him to answer questions put to him. A house may be entered and searched without warrant. . . . For the first time in 250 years a civilian may be sentenced to death without trial by jury. Never in our history has the executive assumed such arbitrary power over the life, liberty, and property of British subjects. The net of restriction is now so finely woven, so ingeniously designed, that it enmeshes every activity of the citizen. The military authori-

ties can, on mere suspicion, arrest any one without warrant, and can equally without warrant enter any house by day or by night. They can punish with penal servitude for life any journalist who speculates as to the plan of campaign of the British or the French forces, and with six months' imprisonment if he criticizes the dietary or accommodation of the new recruits. They can stop any citizen in the streets and compel him to answer questions, even though they incriminate himself. The private citizen is placed under the absolute orders of any major holding his majesty's commission. . . . Some of the dearest and most vaunted rights of the Britons have been trampled upon and destroyed by this act, in which the English government shows in its internal conduct as little respect for its own subjects as in its external it shows for the rights of neutral nations.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

CALIFORNIA.

By John Stephen McGroarty.

'Twixt the seas and the deserts,
'Twixt the wastes and the waves,
Between the sands of buried lands
And ocean's coral caves;
It lies not East nor West,
But like a scroll unfurled,
Where the hand of God hath hung it,
Down the middle of the world.

It lies where God hath spread it
In the gladness of His eyes,
Like a flame of jeweled tapestry
Beneath His shining skies;
With the gleam of woven meadows
And the hills in golden chains,
The light of leaping rivers,
And the flash of poppled plains.

Days rise that gleam in glory,
Days die with sunset's breeze,
While from Cathay that was of old
Sail countless argosies;
Morns break again in splendor,
O'er the giant, new-born West,
But of all the land God fashioned,
'Tis this land is the best.

Suns and dews that kiss it,
Balmy winds that blow,
The stars in clustered diadems,
Upon its peaks of snow;
The mighty mountains o'er it,
Below, the white seas swirled—
Just California stretching down
The middle of the world!



Want makes men murder and hunger drives the
wolf out of the forest.—Francis Villon.

ESPERANTO IN THE WAR.

Part of an Article by Dr. Foehr, Director of the Municipal Polytechnic Academy, at Cöthen, Germany. Originally Published in the Academy Paper, Das Polytechnikum. Reproduced in the Berlin Daily, Der Deutsche Warte, of May 27.

The 1st of August, 1914, was the date set for the Tenth International Esperanto Congress in Paris. About 5,000 delegates from all over the world were expected. The German special train for 500 participants was already prepared when the outbreak of the war destroyed all efforts for a better understanding between nations.

Many concluded that the war of nations had taken from Esperanto its justification. A peaceful understanding between civilized nations was impossible, therefore no international auxiliary language was needed. But Esperanto proved its usefulness at the very outbreak of hostilities. Indeed, the war has shown Esperanto to be indispensable. Many German Esperantists had not waited for the special train to Paris, but had gone to France before the war began. They now found themselves in great danger. But Esperanto proved a powerful aid. Wherever they displayed their badges, the green Esperanto star, they were treated with the greatest courtesy, although they did not conceal their German nationality. On returning through excited Belgium, the Esperanto star proved to be their talisman. The unfriendly, even hostile attitude of the railroad officials changed at once on noting that an Esperantist stood before them, and questions in Esperanto, when they were understood, were answered in the most courteous manner, while questions in French, when asked by a German, received either no answer or brought on abusive remarks.

In the course of the war itself in Belgium and in France, where knowledge of Esperanto is widespread, the usefulness of our international language was shown. In the French prison camps there is frequent occasion for its use. Esperanto is used by all nations in the Red Cross hospitals. . . .

Will Advance Free Trade.

But Esperanto will soon reach greater importance when once peace has been made. Then Germany and Austro-Hungary may be expected to establish closer industrial relations with Turkey, Roumania and Bulgaria. A customs union will be called into being in which Belgium and Servia, should they still be independent states, will join. Probably Holland will join also. The most powerful industrial union which the world has yet seen will arise. . . . Turkey, Belgium and Roumania opened up by German and Austrian capital, will furnish needed raw material to German factories. . . . There will be an oversupply of opportunities for labor, of unused lands and of

capital, the factors needed for production of goods of all kinds. For this Esperanto is indispensable. Austro-Hungary needs it already for its polyglot population. German is too hard to learn, to be reasonably expected to become the common language. . . . The formation of a new and great industrial union will be facilitated through introduction by all the members of a course in Esperanto, as an auxiliary language, into the schools. In a short time the different peoples will easily be able to understand each other.



ESPERANTO AND FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRACY.

For the Public.

All great truths are natural allies. As the universe is established and maintained by the harmonious interplay of balanced forces, so the progress of man depends upon his assimilation of the entire body of natural laws, so far as they concern organic life, individual and social. Onesidedness mars either the individual or the social body. No worker in any department of progress can afford to ignore or despise the labors of those who are engaged in some other phase of the common task of bringing the race forward. The success of any forward movement inevitably reacts in favor of all other forward movements.

Fundamental democrats have long since learned to apply the touchstone of basic principle to all specific movements, which are hailed as leading to social advance. Each of them has to be considered not merely as an isolated proposition, but in its relation to the vital democratic idea. It is only in cases of the most extreme desperation that a given course may be even temporarily accepted merely because it is the lesser of two evils. The subordination of the individual to society and the subordination of society to the individual are alike unacceptable. The truly balanced society will exhibit an organic union of liberty and order, individuality and co-operation for the common welfare.

The close affiliation between Esperanto and the aims of fundamental democrats becomes instantly apparent to those who are fully acquainted with both these great forward movements. Esperanto is an agency for tightening the bonds of brotherhood among the nations by the promotion of a closer understanding; fundamental democracy works for the establishment of political, social and economic justice, thus laying a permanent foundation for universal and perpetual brotherhood. Both think in terms of the larger internationality.

It is a pleasing coincidence, which should be fraught with possibilities of a broader understanding between two groups of intelligent workers for the world's welfare, that the National Singletax Conference and the International Esperanto Con-

gress should be held simultaneously in San Francisco; and I trust that some interchange of courtesies may be brought about between the two bodies. Each should learn to know and esteem the other.

It is too late in the day to brush aside Esperanto as a fad or as a utopian fancy. This international auxiliary language has long since ceased to be a mere project. It is a living language, actually written and spoken by many thousands of men and women of all races and in all lands; and its representatives are to be found everywhere on earth. The coming congress is the eleventh of its kind. As I wrote in *The Public* a few weeks ago, I had the privilege of attending the seventh congress, which was held in Antwerp in 1911. At this typical gathering, over 1,800 delegates were assembled from all parts of the world. It was the largest international gathering of any kind that Antwerp had ever entertained; and the enthusiasm was beyond description. Since then, the movement has continued to grow. Almost alone among international bodies, the worldwide organization representative of Esperanto has continued to function during the present war, in which it is rendering most valuable service, in conjunction with the Red Cross (which long since officially endorsed it), by using its admirable system of local agents (*deligitoj*) in every city for the purpose of establishing communication between the wounded and prisoners and those at home who wait anxiously for news of their loved ones.

Esperanto is simply a neutral auxiliary language. It is simple and easily acquired, with none of the complications or irregularities of the national languages, and is yet, by a marvelous system of root-modifications, capable of expressing the widest range of thought, the finest gradations of feeling, the highest flights of fancy, the utmost exactitude required by the technique of science and industry or by the closest logical analysis. It has been put to the fullest tests in all these respects, and has met them triumphantly. It has already a literature of some two thousand books, and at the outset of the war had about a hundred regularly appearing periodicals, of which those published in the neutral countries and in at least one of the warring lands continue to appear. Its literature abounds in poetry as well as in prose, and includes both a large number of original works in every branch of literary expression and translations of many of the masterpieces of the different ancient and modern languages.

The aim of Esperanto is to afford a ready means of intercommunication among the different nations. It is not proposed as a "universal" language, in the sense of supplanting all existing tongues. It is rather designed to supplement them, its neutral character and greater facility of acquisition making it more fit for international use than any national language can possibly be.

Its tendency is to allay national jealousies, while the attempt to foist the language of any one country on the world would rather excite suspicion and ill will. The adoption of this one simple medium allows each individual to cultivate his own language for all domestic purposes, and to remain in close touch with the rest of the world by means of a secondary speech, which it is little more than child's play to learn. When the use of Esperanto becomes general, the smaller nationalities need not pay for the preservation of their native tongues by comparative isolation from the rest of the world. Esperanto originated in the love of peace and brotherhood, and the furtherance of its propaganda is in the direction of world-peace and general fraternity.

Not only, however, have fundamental democrats something to learn from the Esperanto movement and every reason to help progress by attaching themselves to that movement, but Esperantists will find in the program of fundamental democracy the substantial expression of the spirit of brotherhood which animates their labors. We vainly preach brotherhood toward those to whom we fail to mete out justice. Talk is cheap, unless there is manifest intention of transmuting it into action. Fundamental democrats have a large program, which involves nothing less than the abolition of all forms of political and economic oppression. The fiscal measure commonly known as the Single Tax (French, *l'Impôt Unique*, German, *Bodenreform*) is the simple lever by which land monopoly, the greatest of all monopolies and the source of all the most serious ones, is completely wiped out. Natural laws are all simple, although in their applications they lead to the most complex results. Hence, though the simple taking of the entire annual income from land values, as distinguished from labor values, by the community as a whole, and the abolition of all other forms of taxation, may appear at first sight to be a ridiculously trivial measure in view of the vast manysidedness of the social problem, closer study will reveal its marvelous adaptation to the end in view. It is merely setting the social pyramid, now unstably poised on its apex, on the broad base of fundamental justice, thus rendering it unshakable by the storms of time.

But slight reflection is required to establish the fact that land, comprehending in its definition the entire world of nature external to man, was not created by any human being, and cannot be increased or diminished by human activity. From this it follows by elementary reasoning that private land ownership cannot be a natural right. If conceded by society, it must be only as an expedient to promote security in possession, and thus to encourage production. If it is used to oppress later comers into the world, a grave wrong is done. Land is held only on the implied condition that the primary rights of society in what nature gives freely to all are fully respected.

Of course, these are very large claims; and many questions and apparent objections rise to the minds of those who hear or read them for the first time. Too hasty conversion is not expected or desired. It is enough to point out the fact that this economic proposition may be seen at a glance to be intrinsically reasonable and worthy of investigation; and that, if it can make good its claims, it is the most glorious gospel of justice and freedom which has ever been uttered to humanity. Esperantists, who seek to link the nations in bonds of fraternity, should be the first to hail even the possibility that so glowing promises may be capable of realization.

With this tremendous economic reform go, of course, all the auxiliary and subsidiary democratic measures. Fundamental democrats include in their program the equal rights of men and women, genuine and not sham liberty of speech, assemblage, press and mails, religious freedom and separation of church and state, direct legislation and all the allied political measures leading to greater people's power, and whatever else logically belongs to the full expression of the democratic principle. The great stress which they lay upon the economic basis of democracy is due to their recognition of the fact that with its triumph the rest becomes comparatively easy. It is the lever by which the people can secure their remaining rights.

In extending a cordial greeting to the Esperanto Congress, the fundamental democrats of America invite the co-operation of its delegates and visitors in the cause of social and economic emancipation. In unity of effort lies the hope of mankind.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.



REMARKS BY OLD TOM HARDER.

For The Public.

"Yes, sir! I'm a good listener. Most o' people's talk is soothin' to me as catnip tea an' assy-fedity to a baby. But when they want me to wake up an' say yes to everything they say, I rise to object.

Yes! That's what made the trouble between Simpson an' me. He worked for the assessor for two years an' got overloaded with information. Then he come over to my house Sunday afternoon an' dumped most of it onto me. It was soothin'. I went to sleep an' dreamed a celestial brass band was serenadin' me, but he wasn't satisfied to do all the talkin' an' waked me up to say yes to everything.

"Then I had to say a few words to preserve my reputation for truth. He sed them tax dodgers made him tired. Every feller that had a dollar in money or stocks an' bonds, an' notes and mortgages an' portable property of any kind should put in his schedule an' set down every item he had. Then there'd be plenty o' taxes comin' in

all the time an' the school fund an' all the other funds wouldn't be so damnably depleted.

"Yes, sir! Purty hard words, but he used 'em all the same. He sed the funds would be so plenty that the poor ten thousand dollar hard workin' public servant wouldn't be ashamed to ask for his little pittance on pay day, an' the poor oppressed real estate speculators would be free to earn a dollar or two once more.

"Yes, sir! He put in them very words an' he shed tears over the hardships o' the drafters on the public treasury.

"With the dream tunes o' the celestial band yet ringin' in my ears I sed, 'Simpson, my sister's cousin had a hundred dollars o' savin's after teachin' school for five years at thirty dollars a month. She put it in the bank. The bank paid her three per cent interest on it. The assessor found out she had it in the bank an' she had to pay three dollars taxes on it. The assessor got after the bank an' the bank had to pay taxes on that same hundred dollars. The bank had loaned the money to my neighbor Jones an' he'd bought a horse with it, an' Jones had to pay taxes on the horse, an' then the man that sold the horse had to pay taxes on the money again. By that time the tax books was closed for the year so the money didn't get taxed any more that year. An' next year the people were so discouraged, they didn't save any money that the assessor could find.' I sed to Simpson, 'How many times should the same thing be taxed anyway in your expert opinion?'

"An' then I sed, 'I had to borrow \$500 last year to buy feed for my cattle. I give Jones a mortgage on my farm to secure the loan. The assessor taxed me just the same on the farm as if I didn't owe anything on it. Jones got caught an' had to pay a tax on the mortgage an' I had to pay a tax on the \$500 feed I had put into the cattle. That's three times they got us on the same thing. How many more times do you think it ought to be taxed?'

"Then Simpson's temper got warm an' he began to practice self-defense on me. I dodged him better'n I did the tax man an' he broke all his knuckles on the side o' the house.

"Yes, I'm willin' to listen if the folks will let me sleep some of it off."

GEORGE V. WELLS.



THE UNSOLD LANDS.

By Augustine Duganne.

A billion of acres of unsold land
 Are lying in grievous dearth;
 And millions of men in the image of God
 Are starving—all over the earth.
 Oh! tell me, ye sons of America,
 How much men's lives are worth?

Ten hundred millions of acres good,
That never knew spade nor plow;
And a million of souls in our goodly land,
Are pining in want I trow;
And orphans are crying for bread this day,
And widows in misery bow!

To whom do these acres belong?
And why do they thriftless lie?
And why is the widow's lament unheard—
And stifled, the orphans cry?
And why are the poor-house and jail so full—
And the gallows tree built high?

Those millions of acres belong to Man!
And his claim is that he needs!
And his title is sealed by the hand of God—
Our God, Who the raven feeds:
And the starving soul of each famished man
At the throne of justice pleads.

Ye may not heed it, ye haughty men,
Whose hearts as rocks are cold!
But the time will come when the fiat of God
In thunder shall be told!
For the voice of the great I AM hath said,
That "the land shall not be sold"!

BOOKS

WHEN THE DEAD SPEAK.

Spoon River Anthology. By Edgar Lee Masters.
Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1915.
Price, \$1.25 net.

The plot of Mr. Masters' book is as bold and startling as any of its ideas. It would be hard to conjure up a better medium for the occasional expression of one's views of life. The men and women of the little old Illinois town of "Spoon River," everyone for himself, speaks what he pleases from his grave. Their author-historian allows to each man for his message only a little more space than his tomb-stone might give; and this restraint, this conformity to the straitness of the grave, only heightens and deepens the effect of the whole.

For it is a whole. One man's story is supplemented by his son's, his judge's, his neighbor's. A faithful woman's words are confirmed by her father and explained by her loved one's mistress. Some dead see all that has happened. Others see only a portion. Some are regenerate, others half-defiant still. Each tells the dramatic moment of his life, or the philosophy he lived by, or the lesson he finally learned from death. What things he found true through death, what things he found false in life, he may tell; or simply what he did in the world and why—the motives that in life one does not confess even to one's self, are recognized and acknowledged from the grave. The far-spreading tragedy of stupidity and sin, the

saving grace of pure happiness, the destructiveness of hate, all are seen in their humble human instances. Yet man seems somehow always greater than his fate. For Mr. Masters is no Greek. He may write tragedy, but blind Nemesis is not its guiding god.

The demon of the village, the banker, Thomas Rhodes, who wrecked homes and hearts, and went unscathed, is mentioned here and there, by high and low, always with anathema; and when at last his own turn to speak has come, one finds him, among all the outcast, the sinners, the wantons—him alone wholly unregenerate, entirely unchanged by death, so lost that in the very grave itself smug self-sufficiency envelops his spirit and no light of truth has pierced it yet.

Thomas Rhodes.

Very well, you liberals,
And navigators into realms intellectual,
You sailors through heights imaginative,
Blown about by erratic currents, tumbling into air pockets,
You Margaret Fuller Slacks, Petits,
And Tennessee Clafin Shoppes—
You found with all your boasted wisdom
How hard at the last it is
To keep the soul from splitting into cellular atoms.
While we, seekers of earth's treasures,
Getters and hoarders of gold,
Are self-contained, compact, harmonized,
Even to the end.

To the barbarian these pieces of literature do not look like poetry. But one cares little to dispute the naming of their form. Their substance interests too deeply. This work of Mr. Masters is to read. Any critic's opinion is in a sense impertinent, an interloper between the reader and the book.

One's criticism is of the village of Spoon River, not its biographer. And even this is not precisely fault finding, merely an insistent curiosity: Why did no children die in the town? and, How could one small place give room to so many violent deaths?

A. L. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—A German-American's Confession of Faith. By Kuno Francke. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1915. Price, 50 cents, net.

—Great is America. By Peter Richard Boylan. Published by Purdy Publishing Co., 5 South Wabash Ave., Chicago. 1914. Price, 75 cents.

—The Illinois Whigs Before 1846. By Charles Manfred Thompson. Volume IV., Number 1, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences. Published by the University, Urbana, Ill. 1915. Price, 95 cents, net.

—The Art of Living Long. By Luigi Cornaro. New English Version by William F. Butler, with essays by Addison, Bacon and Temple. Published

by William F. Butler, Loan and Trust Building, Milwaukee, Wis. 1915. Price, \$2.00, postpaid.

—The Deeper Meaning of the "Temperance" Question. By Wallace M. Short. Published by the Hyde Park Press, Station E, Kansas City, Mo. 1915. Price, 68 cents, postpaid.

—Railway Problems in China. By Mongton Chih Hsu. Whole Number 159, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics & Public Law. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1915. Price, paper, \$1.50 net.

PERIODICALS

Ways of Perishing.

The Survey of August 7 is a very important number. Graham Taylor writes for it an account of the Eastland disaster, a fair and circumstantial narrative that in proportion and comment seems wholly satisfactory to the open-eyed Chicagoan, unblinded by personal grief or greed. "When a Sheriff Breaks a Strike," John A. Fitch's report of his interview with Sheriff Kinkead about the Bayonne Oil strike, is an amazing revelation of official violence that was both impartial and illegal. "On reflection it may seem," writes Mr. Fitch, "that New Jersey ought to provide a better way of handling strikes. We take off our hats to a sheriff who believed that his main job was to protect human life even if property had to go hang. But some day Hudson County may have a sheriff exactly like Sheriff Kinkead in every respect but one—he may believe that his job is to protect property even if human life goes hang. What then?" Besides these good articles and even better, is Dr. Alice Hamilton's personal story of her journey with Miss Addams to the European "War Capitals"—for its direct simplicity, frank definiteness and thoroughly American point of view, a war contribution that demands and will receive wide reading. "It is hard to sum up general impressions from this journey," remarks Dr. Hamilton, "there are so many of them. One, however, I should like to speak of, for it is borne in upon me so strongly now that I am at home again. That is, that there is in the countries actually at war no such universal desire to fight on to the bitter end as we suppose over here."

A. L. G.

PAMPHLETS

Public Utilities.

The Uniform Electric Rate Association (Box 894, Toledo, Ohio) was organized to promote the principle of rates based on "cost of service" to each class or group of consumers, instead of the prevailing plan of "all the traffic will bear" supported in disguised phraseology by the National Electric Light Association, which is composed of some 5,000 Electric Light and Power companies in the United States and Canada. Three small pamphlets have been issued by this Uniform Rate Association and may be obtained on request: One is the "Legal Opinion of Louis D. Brandeis," in re discrimination now made between wholesale and retail customers for electric energy.

A second is on the "Cost of Power in Central Stations," by Henry D. Jackson. The third is an "Analysis of Elements Entering Into Cost of Service," by Percival Robert Moses.



Morris Jewellyn Cooke, Director of Public Works, Philadelphia, has contributed a most valuable pamphlet to the public utilities problem, which he calls "Snapping Cords." His intimate personal knowledge and report of the utilities companies' methods both in their business affairs and their politics, his straightforward and fearless criticism of them and their agents, combine to recommend this publication of Mr. Cooke's two addresses. The way the utility companies work, their national co-operation, their unflinching "courtesy" to each other, their deep conviction that government ownership is coming and their resulting intention "to make these plants yield every possible penny in revenue" before that day comes and added to all this their utter lack of "cost systems," and perhaps most interesting to the uninitiated public, their national paid "experts" and publicity organizations with scientific titles—all are freely and definitely discussed by Mr. Cooke, in many cases with names and dates attached. One among the many surprising bits of information in the pamphlet is the confession of the author that he is "personally" "opposed to municipal ownership—at least for the present," not however "for the fool reason that it has been tried elsewhere and found a failure." One imagines that what the most earnest advocate of municipal ownership might say about such an "opponent" as Mr. Cooke would be heartily to pray for more of his kind.



The National Civic Federation (Metropolitan Tower, New York City. Price, 50 cents) has recently published "The Negative Side," being the addresses made by the opponents of Government Ownership at the annual meeting last December, when one session was devoted to a discussion of the question, "How Far Shall the Government Enter Into Private Industry?" Jonathan Bourne, Jr., F. G. R. Gordon and J. W. Sullivan were the speakers. The Federation announces its intention of publishing the entire proceedings of that session in one pamphlet, and, since Ex-Gov. Stubbs of Kansas, Congressman David J. Lewis and Frederic C. Howe upheld the affirmative, one would expect this latter pamphlet to be of greater value to those "intelligently interested."

A. L. G.



Pamphlets Received.

The New Political Economy. 2nd Edition. Address of J. B. Sharpe before the Young Men's Civic Club of Pittsburgh, Pa. Copies may be obtained from W. D. George, 307 Fourth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Spirit of the Road. By John G. Woolley. Address before the Anti-Saloon League of America, Atlantic City, July 6, 1915. Published by the American Issue Publishing Co., Westerville, Ohio. Price, 10 cents.

Shall the Government Own and Operate the Railroads, the Telegraph and Telephone Systems? Shall the Municipalities Own Their Utilities? The Negative Side. Published by the National Civic Federation, Metropolitan Tower, New York. 1915. Price, 50 cents.

Indignant Customer—Barber, why did you drop that towel on my face?

Barber—Because it was hot, sir.—Boston Globe.



An American sea captain engaged a Zulu boy for servant. This boy, seeing his master reading one day, said:

"What part of the page, master, do you read—the black part or the white?"—Washington Star.

ILLINOIS SINGLETAXERS

The state campaign is going on. Press matter is being furnished to newspapers. Louis Wallis, the state chairman, is speaking in various places. We want the names of persons favorable to tax reform and progressive democracy. Also names of newspapers in your vicinity which can use our press service. You can easily help the great cause in which you believe. Singletaxers wishing to cooperate in forthcoming county campaigns are advised to communicate at once with

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