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EDITORIAL

Uncivilized Warfare.

A "civilized war" that requires killing of women, children and other noncombatants has little more in its favor than a barbarous one.

S. D.

The Crime of War.

The longer the war lasts the fainter become efforts to stick to some principles of humanity and civilization. The very meager excuses urged by the German government in defense of the Lusitania outrage are lacking in the case of the Arabic. The Arabic carried no ammunition and being bound for a neutral port, could not have been on any errand that—even from the point of view of an advocate of war—justified endangering the lives of those on board. For the sake of the honor of the German government, it is to be hoped that it will disavow the shameful act. For the sake of the honor of the German people it is to be hoped that they disapprove of it if their government does not. They surely will when the madness of war shall have passed, even should passion prevent it now.

Of course, the incident has stimulated war talk here. Theodore Roosevelt and others, whose education in principles of true civilization has been neglected, naturally look upon any other course than war as sacrifice of national honor. Their idea of national honor is exactly the same as is held by those who uphold the Arabic outrage.

The Arabic incident again demonstrates the correctness of Bryan's position in urging application to the Lusitania controversy of the arbitration methods provided for in the peace treaties. It is not too late to adopt that policy now, and should the German government lack the moral courage to admit the wrong committed in the Arabic case, the same method could be applied to that. An impartial tribunal could safely be trusted to condemn both outrages.

S. D.

Paying for War.

The cost of war is not all paid in money and human life. In England an uncensored press, the right of trial by jury, and freedom from search, as well as other time established rights, have been suspended by the Defense of the Realm act. So desperate is the military condition that all means are resorted to by the government to preserve the national existence. Thus do the toil-won achievements of centuries slip away in the confusion of war. There remains the hope that the loss will be so keenly felt that the conclusion of hostilities will see not alone the restoration of these rights, but the acquirement of others for which the people have long struggled.

s. c.

The Militarist Spirit.

When accused of advocating militarism advocates of preparedness deny the charge, and say they only wish a military machine to protect us from the insolent militarism of foreign nations. But unfortunately for this denial many American militarists will insist on speaking or behaving in a manner that shows the same spirit of arrogance as in European militarist monarchies, and the same contempt for democracy. Thus in an address on August 11 to the business men taking a month's military training at Plattsburg, New York, General Leonard Wood is reported in a militarist paper to have said:

I hope that when you gentlemen go away from here you will use your influence, as good American citizens, in contrast to the ignorant masses, by whom you must not be influenced, and that you will do all in your power to help obtain sane, good legislation for the establishing of an adequate armament.

It is to be hoped that General Wood's feeling toward "the ignorant masses" is not due to the recollection that these are the people who employ him; and pay by far the greater share of the taxes from which his salary is paid. How he feels about the right of the majority to rule is shown in his urging of his hearers to obtain what he calls "sane, good legislation" regardless of the wishes of the masses. Thus is the militant spirit displayed while the army is comparatively small. What will it be when the advocates of preparedness have their way?

s. d.

Virtue by Compulsion.

Reports from the Philippines continue to call attention to the deterioration of government as American office holders are replaced by Filipinos. To begin with, this raises an interesting question

of fact. Since every Democrat in this country knows that Republicans are utterly unfit to administer government affairs, and all Republicans are convinced that Democrats never are clothed with power without throwing things into confusion, the question arises as to whence came the efficient administrators who have given the Philippines this remarkable government. And as it is a well known fact that a displaced office holder can see little good in his successor, one wonders just how much credence should be given these reports.

But suppose the reports are true, what then? The virtues of a democratic, or free, government lie in the effect upon the character of the governed, and not in the mere material condition of the state. If mere material accomplishment were to be the test of efficiency, slavery and all forms of absolutism could be vindicated. And the same logic that upholds American control of the Philippines would vindicate German control of Belgium, or even of the United States. It is generally conceded that German municipalities are better governed than American cities; but how many Americans are willing to submit to the arbitrary exactions of an autocratic government, in order to attain such an end?

Mistakes undoubtedly will be made by the Filipinos—just as Americans have made and are making mistakes—but so long as they maintain any kind of government they will learn more from one year of practice than from ten years of precept. And the American government may make as many mistakes getting out of the Philippines as it made in getting in; but this is the price we must pay for our original mistake. Indeed, we must bear the shame of knowing that the Filipinos also suffer because of our blunder.

International Co-operation.

Each of the world's "family of nations" is a political community organized under a common central government with more or less closely held political divisions. Each assumes an attitude of independence in the family. Being compelled to occupy the same world house which is the common heritage, this spirit of independence begets a narrow selfishness that not only bars proper co-operation in the common interest, but makes the occurrence of serious family jars so probable as to apparently justify each in strenuously preparing for them. An unhappy and demoralized family it is, and a wasted heritage. Surely it is time

to get together and provide a basis for more harmonious relations. The independent experience of the nations points the way to such a basis, for the principle of "home rule" has been so successfully applied to their political divisions, and such progress has been made in satisfactorily defining its limits as to give encouragement to earnest effort in applying the principle to the broader field of international relations.



It may be fairly doubted that very effective international co-operation could be secured without further applying the great democratic principle of "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none"; but the immediate great problem for the world's statesmen is to give it a start. Some encouraging movement is so anxiously looked for that an international advisory body of notable makeup, such as it would be practicable to provide for promptly, might serve the purpose; and that it would be a wise policy to officially start it in this country seems to be made clear by the threatening effort to involve us in militaristic preparation for a later family jar.

W. G. STEWART.



Reducing Danger to the Minimum.

In answering questions of Mr. J. Hollingsworth Wood, secretary of the American League to Limit Armaments, the Chicago Tribune has been forced to admit the impossibility of a navy sufficient to meet that of any hostile European group. Then to lessen the force of this admission, it adds, "Life cannot be prepared against all possibility and all contingency." That is true enough. And it opens the question to what extent can we prepare and what methods would be best. Can we not do more to avoid danger of war without armaments than with them? If it were more to the interest of foreign nations to be at peace than at war with the United States, would there be any serious danger of war? If war would be destructive of advantages offered by the United States to the world, with profit to itself as well, would that not be a stronger safeguard than armies or navies? Free trade with the world and economic justice at home would establish such conditions. A nation that can and would offer to its own people, and to all who would choose to come, opportunities denied elsewhere, and which placed no obstacles in the way of international trade, would not only ensure prosperity to its own people but would be a universal benefit which could not be interfered with without injuring the world. The danger of war in such a case, without any army or navy, would only be imaginable with an ignorant

nation governed by insane rulers. But life cannot be prepared against all possibility and all emergency. That being the case, would it not be better to adopt the methods that would make few and remote the possibilities and emergencies which cannot be guarded against, than the method urged by The Tribune, which is just as likely to increase them and bring them nearer?

S. D.



Habits of Thought.

Americans may have forms of expression and modes of thought that are amusing or amazing to foreigners; but it may be doubted if any are so striking as the language of the King of England is to Americans. Notwithstanding the fact that royalty has been stripped of the last vestige of divine right, and holds absolutely no power that is not continually subject to the will of the people. George V still uses the language of the days when kings were kings. "I am delighted," the King writes to Admiral Jellicoe, after a visit to the fleet, "that I have been able to carry out a long cherished desire to visit my grand fleet," and he congratulates the admiral upon the force he commands "with the full confidence of myself and your fellow countrymen." Even the message itself, like the speeches from the throne, was penned or censored by the cabinet; yet it preserves in phrase and diction the language that separates royalty from democracy. That such phrases should be used in one of the most democratic of governments shows how little may be the relation between word and thought. The relation of the English King to real authority is quite similar to that of the Mikado during the days of the Shogunate; but with this difference: the Shogun ruled by military power, while the Prime Minister serves by the expressed voice of the people.

S. C.



Some Errors Die Hard.

Fifty thousand women are at work in the ammunition factories of England, thus enabling an equal number of men to go to the front. But that does not stop the irrelevant, as well as untrue, assertion by American anti-suffragists that women cannot render assistance in war.

S. D.



The Frank Case.

The daily press has thoroughly denounced the lynching of Leo Frank and excoriated the cowardly perpetrators of that horrible crime. Little was said that might be justly considered too severe. But the pity of it is that it can do no good.

The mob was composed of men who refused to be convinced, in spite of all evidence, that there was any doubt of Frank's guilt. They were, furthermore, imbued with the barbarous belief, endorsed by the Georgia statutes, that it is right and just that a life be taken for a life. And they had had occasion to observe that lynching of Negroes, regardless of proof of their guilt, is tolerated and approved. It was but a short step toward treating a white man the same way. Under these circumstances should the vigorous newspaper denunciation fall under the eyes of the lynchers, it is unlikely to excite any other feeling than amusement. It will be regarded with the feeling natural to one in a place of safety toward threats directed at him from outside. From the point of view of the lynchers it would seem that the comments were based on ignorance or misunderstanding. So they probably will not feel inclined to reform.



For the public sentiment which resulted in the tragedy there were many contributory causes. One is the common police practice of finding someone to blame for a crime, whether the right party or not, and convicting him regardless of guilt rather than admit a mistake. Another is the sensational paper, of the Hearst kind that magnifies everything that might be construed as evidence of guilt and minimizes everything that shows otherwise. But the greatest blame must be placed on the courts of Georgia, which denied a fair trial. There may be some excuse for the unfortunate trial jury and judge that believed themselves in danger. But there is no excuse for the Supreme Court of the State. No finer example of shirking a duty can be found than in the action of that court in first denying an appeal based altogether on the merits of the case, on the claim that it could only pass on technical errors, and then refusing to pass on an appeal on technicalities because such an appeal was not made in the first place. It was this disgraceful quibbling that was responsible for the events which followed, culminating in the shameful lynching.



The State of Georgia can best show repentance by establishing courts that will have more regard for justice than legal quibbles. There are other things it might do, such as abolition of the death penalty, but that is perhaps too advanced a measure to have any hope of adoption in Georgia at present. In regard to arresting and punishing the lynchers, that is probably out of the question. And what good would it do, even if it were done? In the eyes of their townsmen the lynchers would

be martyred heroes. It would no more prevent a repetition of the crime than the death of thousands of soldiers in a battle deters others from enlisting for war. A real punishment to inflict upon them would be a thorough impartial official investigation which would bring out all the facts to prove that Frank was denied a fair trial. Let that be done and the support the lynchers now receive from their neighbors must fall. Let that be done and perhaps they will themselves experience the shame and regret they should feel. And such a punishment would after all be better than any that the law provides.

S. D.



No Dodging of Issues in Colorado.

The Supreme Court of Colorado has met in a fair and square manner the essential issue in the case of John R. Lawson. It has allowed his appeal for a new trial to be argued before it and decided on its merits. In the meantime it has stayed execution of the sentence which, in spite of his pending appeal, Lawson was being compelled to serve. In addition it has prohibited Judge Granby Hillyer, the attorney for the mining corporations appointed by Governor Carlson to try cases against strikers, from acting further in such a capacity. The Court has done well. If Georgia had had as fair a Supreme Court that State would have been spared the disgrace which has come upon it.

S. D.



Judge Alschuler.

An appointment that could scarcely be improved upon is that by President Wilson of Samuel Alschuler as Federal Circuit Judge to succeed Judge Grossecup. Judge Alschuler is a fundamental democrat, whose continuous record of democracy dates back to the days of John P. Altgeld, whose friend and supporter he was. Respect for and confidence in the Federal judiciary will be encouraged and sustained by such appointments.

S. D.



"Checking Socialism."

In an address to the New York State constitutional convention, William Barnes ridiculed the contention that palliative legislation, such as a minimum wage law, would prove to be a check on growth of socialism and anarchism. He referred, as evidence, to the similar contention made by Bismarck in proposing palliative legislation in Germany. Experience has disproven Bismarck's claim and therefore Barnes rightly considers vain the similar hopes of Roosevelt and others.

But Barnes has only stated a half truth. Palliative legislation will prove no check to socialism, but neither will anything else that fails to put an end to involuntary poverty. Opponents of socialism of the Barnes and Roosevelt schools are examples of those who oppose at the same time a popular tendency and the removal of its cause. Palliative legislation, as Roosevelt proposes, must help socialism, for the Socialist propagandist need but bide his time and point to its inevitable failure to cure poverty. Failure to enact legislation of any kind, the Barnes proposal, must also help socialism. The Socialist propagandist need but point to the do-nothing policy and its do-nothing results. It is a hard proposition, indeed, for those, like Barnes, who would at any cost, save predatory privilege, or who, like Roosevelt, fear to attack it.



There is much in socialism that should not be checked. And if these good features were advanced there would be no occasion to worry about the others. The way to abolition of poverty is through that part of the Socialist program which asks for public appropriation of ground rents and assumption by government of its proper but neglected functions in regard to public utilities. There are many opponents of the Socialist program, as a whole, who will gladly work for that much of it, feeling confident that the result will convince all Socialists of the needlessness of doing more to abolish poverty. There are many Socialists willing to make that much of their program their immediate object, confident that its adoption will prove to opponents the need of carrying out all that their platform demands. These two classes deal with the matter in a fair and practical manner. If Barnes and the delegates he controls in the constitutional convention were more interested in checking socialism, than in conserving legalized wrong, they would join in this sensible course.

S. D.



Prosperity Needs Untaxed Industry.

A Canadian paper, the Sault Daily Star, contrasts the fact that Germany with 65,199,530 acres of arable land imported only 25 per cent of its food in times of peace, while England, with 19,432,000 acres of arable land, imports 80 per cent of its food, and comments:

Free trade has turned Britain into a land of pastures. Protection made Germany a land of wheat fields.

It is this false logic that keeps alive the protection fallacy. If for military reasons it were

necessary that a people should be self-sustaining, almost any country could raise its own food. But on economic grounds there is no more reason why a nation should raise all its food than that it should produce all its clothing, all its timber, or all its metals. True economy requires each nation, as well as each individual, to produce what it can produce best. By pursuing this policy England has become the richest nation in Europe. Such vast wealth has poured into the country, indeed, that its rich men can afford to keep land in grass rather than put it in wheat.



That this has not proven to be a complete policy for the country as a whole was predicted by Cobden, when he said free trade would enrich England, but would not enrich the people until the land system had been changed. During England's protection days her arable lands were in wheat instead of grass, it is true, but at what a price. Bread was so dear that the poor starved. The high price of wheat set the farmer to work, but he got little for his labor. The demand for wheat meant a demand for land, and the demand for land forced rents to such a height that only the land owners profited. Britain has adopted only a part of Cobden's program. She untaxed wheat, and bread became cheaper for her people; but what they saved in cheaper bread they lost in dearer mineral lands and building sites. Let her untax industry, as she untaxed bread, and place the burden on land, rural, urban and mineral, and her fields will again be put under the plow, and the laborer will reap the reward.



Germany, by her elaborate system of paternalism, has stimulated one industry by taxing others; but her net gain has been made in spite of—not because of—her tariff. The replacing of the multitude of States, each with its tariff, by the Empire with its one tariff, was such an extension of free trade territory that the country could for a time bear the burden of dearer food. But that such a system of mutual bounty giving—first to the shipping interests, then to the manufacturing, then to the land owners—was doomed to final failure became evident before the present war had begun. To meet the pinch, recourse was had to a tax upon the unearned increment of land; and so successful did this local tax on land values prove to be that the Imperial government had reached out its hand to take its share. In Germany's case, as in that of England, the tax on food put the land under plow, but it was for the benefit of the land owner at the expense of labor.

And Germany, like England, will secure prosperity for all her people only by untaxing industry and taking land values for the support of government.

S. C.



Commendable Work of the Industrial Commission.

The work of the Commission on Industrial Relations has not been wasted. The money it has cost has been money well spent. For this result credit is due four members of the Commission, Chairman Frank P. Walsh and Commissioners John B. Lennon, James O'Connell and Austin B. Garretson. They have joined in a report which presents real remedies. They have deprived Congress of even the meager excuse of ignorance for failure in the future to remove the cause of industrial discontent. That is as far as the Commission had power to go, and these four members, at least, have done their duty well.



The report of these four tersely states a truth to which the other five members seem strangely blind:

The unemployment situation will not be appreciably relieved until great advances have been made in the removal of the two prime causes—unjust distribution of wealth and monopolization of land and natural resources.

This truth is not new, but what is new is the mention of it in an official report to Congress. The report does not stop with the suggestion of removal of fundamental causes; it shows how to remove them. It recommends recovery by the Federal government of natural resources secured from it by fraud, legislation to ensure proper use of such resources in the future, and, most important of all—

The forcing of unused land into use by making the tax on non-productive the same as on productive land of the same kind, and exempting all improvements.

These four members have clearly followed truth regardless of where it led. They have begged no question. They have shrunk from no conclusion, even though counter to prejudices and conventional ideas.



There are other suggestions and recommendations in the report, some of which are not so fundamental as the one concerning the land question which would remove the cause of unemployment and result in just distribution of future production. But the members, desiring to remedy wrongs of the past, urge also

An inheritance tax so graded that while making generous provision for the support of dependents and the education of minor children, it shall leave no ac-

cumulation of wealth to pass into hands which had no share in its production.

There is room for disagreement as to the necessity of such a measure. The cause of unjust distribution once abolished, it would seem better to let bygones be bygones, and allow those who have wealth secured through social injustice of the past to keep it. For, as a matter of fact, but little real wealth passes through inheritance from one generation to another. When we speak of bequests of millions, we do not usually mean that so much actual money, or so much in labor products, has been transmitted. What we do mean is that legalized power has been transmitted, which enables the recipient to appropriate wealth produced by others. When John D. Rockefeller will bequeath hundreds of millions to his heirs, but a small proportion will be in money or goods. The greater part will be in titles to lands, in shares of stock representing ownership of rights of way for pipe lines, of terminals for vessels, and of other public utilities that should not be privately owned. Whatever he may possess in the way of buildings, machinery and other products of labor will in a few years disintegrate and decay. He can have but little of such property in his possession which has not been produced by labor of the past ten or twenty years. Deprived of future power to appropriate without adequate return what others produce his possessions would automatically be reduced in a few years to whatever may be the value of services actually performed by a man of his ability. No inheritance tax would really be needed should the land value tax be instituted. However, the inheritance tax suggestion results from natural impatience with wrongs that have been allowed to flourish too long.



Besides the report of these four Commissioners are reports by two other groups of the Commission. One by Professor John R. Commons and Mrs. Florence J. Harriman seems rather full of trifling suggestions for great evils. It would shove on a proposed industrial commission the duty of further dealing with matters which, its own investigation must have shown should be permanently settled at once without further dilly-dallying. It acknowledges the existence of feudalism in the mining regions, but has nothing to say about removing the cause, monopoly of natural resources. An inheritance tax of from one to fifteen per cent is the most drastic measure it sees its way clear to suggest. This report is partly concurred in by the other three members. Harris Weinstock, S. Thruston Ballard and R. H.

Ashton, who dissent, however, from recommendations favorable to labor unions and secondary boycotts.



It is neither surprising nor disappointing that five members should see nothing better to do than solemnly recommend superficial remedies and should squabble over them. What is surprising and gratifying is that there should only be five out of nine official investigators to still insist on such methods. A few years ago it would have been natural to expect all to be as blind as that. Their reports, however, make all the clearer the extent to which that of Frank P. Walsh and his three colleagues marks progress. So there is due the Commission from the country a vote of thanks, some of which should not even be begrudged the five backward members.

S. D.



NATIONAL DEFENSE.

The people of the United States are rightly concerned with the national defense.

We are spending \$250,000,000 a year for what is termed war insurance and it is agreed on all hands that it is not enough. The navy, on the best authority, is inadequate. The army, likewise on the best authority, is futile. Our defenses must be increased.

We can double our defenses by doubling our expenditure. That would be enough in the view of some folks. We can quadruple our defense by quadrupling our expenditure. Another group of people would consider that enough.

But there are some of us who will not be satisfied with remaining equal to any other power, nor even superior to the next strongest power. We would have nothing less than a defense that is wholly adequate. We would have the United States not merely able to resist attack; we would have the United States proof against attack.

We would have the United States not merely equal to meeting the enemy. We would have the United States annihilate enmity.

That has sometimes been described as a state of non-resistance. It is more than that. It is an irresistible state.

The strongest argument for such a policy is that it is everlastingly right. But let us abandon that argument and rest on the lower ground that it is immediately profitable. Let us leave ethics and talk business.

It may be good business to pay \$250,000,000 a year for war insurance. Nothing is too much that will insure peace. Surely it is better business

to spend a less sum and obtain immunity from war.

The gun toter is always ready to defend himself; usually he has to. The man who doesn't carry a gun is safer even in a rough community. Everyone knows citizens who can go securely in neighborhoods where one policeman scarcely dares go alone. Is there any doubt that the same law applies to nations?

Let's not be content with any second best. Let us adopt the one sure reliance. It takes more courage, it is true, to rely on peace, but have Americans ever been deficient in courage?

Nothing is too good for America. The best gift is peace. We can have it if we will. If we dare trust to peace we can gain the world.

There's a conquest worth achieving.

JOHN S. PARDEE.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION VICTORY.

Tamworth, N. H., August 16, 1915.

At a special election held on August 10th the voters of Ashtabula, Ohio, adopted an amendment to their new City Management Plan charter, providing for the election of the council by proportional representation. The system provided is the Hare, which is already in use for the election of the parliamentary assembly of Tasmania, the city councils of the Transvaal, and the senate of South Africa. The same system, as many readers of The Public will remember, is prescribed by the Parliament of Ireland Act for the election of all the members of the proposed Irish Senate and some thirty-one members of the Irish House.

Though there was some opposition to the amendment, under the able and devoted leadership of Mr. W. E. Boynton, formerly president of the Ashtabula City Council, the election was won by a good margin. Mr. Boynton worked for the cause for more than two years and led the fight vigorously until the end. He says that he was greatly helped in the campaign by the letters he received from a number of eminent proportionalists throughout the country. Following are notable passages from some of these letters:

Lent D. Upson, Director of Bureau of Municipal Research, Dayton, Ohio: "The experience of a year and a half [in Dayton] has now demonstrated the need of a more satisfactory method of connecting public opinion with the government itself. . . . I feel confident that the greatest success of our present type of government (city manager), will come under some form of proportional representation."

William Dudley Foulke, Richmond, Ind., President of the National Municipal League: "It seems strange that after successful application of this plan (Hare System of P. R.), in South Africa, Tasmania, and elsewhere, our own cities should have been so slow to adopt it. I trust Ashtabula will adopt this amend-

ment and thereby lead our American municipalities on the path for a very desirable reform."

C. A. Beard, Professor of Political Science, Columbia University, New York: "The American people want not only efficient government—they want human government. To keep the government human it is necessary to hold it in close touch with all elements of the population. . . . To my mind, the great gains of the new forms of city government cannot be retained unless provision is made for proportional representation."

Richard S. Childs, New York City, Founder and Secretary of the National Short Ballot Organization: "On the adoption of this plan (Hare System of P. R.), this organization, which is a clearinghouse for information for charter revision commissions all over the country, will immediately set up your charter as the model and the starting point for all discussions."

Jeremiah W. Jenks, Professor of Government, New York University, New York City. "May I venture to urge that it is best for those who believe in good government to favor this amendment. I have for many years been familiar with the proportional representation plan, and as it has actually worked in various cantons of Switzerland, in Tasmania, and more lately in Belgium and the Scandinavian countries. . . . Not only is the system one that is just, as every one acknowledges, but it is also practicable and workable, as has been shown by experience."

Robert L. Owen, U. S. Senator from Oklahoma: "I hope that Ashtabula will adopt the plan of proportional representation. In this way harmony will prevail and every class of people of sufficient importance will have a chance to present their views."

Carl S. Vrooman, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.: "I have long been a believer in proportional representation and trust that the enlightened citizens of Ashtabula will avail themselves of this opportunity to put into practice this great democratic principle."

George Burnham, Jr., Treasurer of National Municipal League, Philadelphia, Pa.: "I believe the proportional representation system is the fairest method of electing members to policy-determining bodies. . . . It is only fair that minorities should have a voice in the determination of matters that directly affect their interests. I hope the amendment in Ashtabula will succeed."

C. G. HOAG.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

SPECIAL IMPROVEMENT TAXES.

Parkersburg, W. Va., Aug. 21.

In comment upon the editorial approving of assessment of cost of sewers, pavements and sidewalks on abutting property it may be said this town has had such a system for several years. But as carried out, it often works a great hardship on the small home owner who has to pay the same assessment per front foot on his cheap lot that the rich land owner downtown pays on his, while the nearby lot speculator on side streets pays nothing, though his property is greatly benefited by the sidewalks and street paving in his neighborhood. A tax on the full value of land

with public improvements paid for out of this tax is, not burdensome to anybody but the lot speculator, while the present plan of frontage assessment is a very heavy load for the common, ordinary home owner.

W. I. BOREMAN.



CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

Chicago, August 15.

"Reformers should get together" is a commonplace expression sometimes used unthinkingly. How can Prohibitionists and the United Societies, Socialists, Singletaxers, Democrats and Republicans all get together? Getting together implies a common belief—a common ground on which all can stand.

Illinois citizens, independent of party, are impatient and irritated at the difficulties in the way of constitutional amendments. Many reforms barred by the Constitution are so urgently needed that even Prohibitionists and saloonkeepers ought to be able to agree on such things as the Referendum; the abolition of the power of the courts over the constitutionality of statutes particularly if they have been approved by a referendum vote; Home Rule for cities accompanied by the Initiative and Referendum; and the giving of power to the Legislature to grant woman's suffrage.

These are questions on which people of the most diverse opinions should be united, for progress in all directions is absolutely barred until the blockade established by constitutional limitations is broken.



A Comprehensive Constitutional Amendment.

The Illinois Constitution is divided into fourteen articles to only one of which can amendments be submitted at the same session of the Legislature. This does not mean as is commonly supposed, that only one amendment can be submitted at one time. The exact words of the Constitution are: "the General Assembly shall have no power to propose amendments to more than one article of this Constitution at the same session." Illinois Constitution, Article XIV, Section 2. It is here seen that the Constitution places no limit on the number of amendments provided that they are submitted to only one article at one time.

In considering constitutional changes, a seeming difficulty arises from the fact that the articles of the Constitution are interrelated, being more or less dependent on each other so that many reforms are impossible without amending two or more articles at the same time. A good example is a pending amendment to the revenue article, which equally amends the legislative article, for it proposes to give additional power to the Legislature.

This seeming difficulty disappears in the light of the construction which the courts have placed on the Constitution. They hold that the Legislature may submit amendments affecting any number of articles provided they are actually proposed to only one article to which they are germane. This was conclusively decided in the case of *City of Chicago v. Reeves*, 220 Ill. 274. Counsel for Reeves argued that the Chicago Municipal Court Act was void because it was based on a Constitutional amendment, which admittedly amended at least three articles at one time. The Supreme Court, however, citing a

long line of authorities, held that since the amendment was in form to only one article, and germane to that one article, it met every Constitutional requirement. See article by Judge Clarence N. Goodwin in *Illinois Law Review* for April, 1915.

In line with this decision of the Supreme Court, the writer proposes a series of amendments to Article IV (the legislative article) which shall

1. Give the people the right of veto over legislation by the application of the Referendum to all State laws and the Initiative and Referendum to Municipal laws, also give the Legislature, subject to a referendum, complete power over counties and sections of the State. (This incidentally amends the article on counties—X.)

2. Prohibit courts from passing on the constitutionality of such laws as are enacted on a referendum vote. (This incidentally amends Article VI and also affects the Amending Article—XIV.)

3. Give the Legislature power to classify property for purposes of taxation and power to exempt classes of property or to impose thereon different rates of taxation. (This incidentally amends the Revenue Article—IX.)

4. Give the Legislature power to grant woman's suffrage; also, under certain restrictions, power to determine what offices shall be elective and what appointive, which means the short ballot. (This incidentally amends the Articles on the Executive, Judiciary, Suffrage and Counties, being Articles V, VI, VII, and X.)

5. Give Home Rule to cities enabling them to make their own charters by the Initiative and Referendum and without legislative interference therewith, being a modification of the Ohio plan.

All of the foregoing proposals being germane to Article IV, are very properly submitted as amendments thereto, yet Articles V, VI, VII, IX, X and XIV are also thereby amended.

Inasmuch as practically the whole Constitution may thus be amended at one time, it is futile and foolish to agitate for a Constitutional convention or an amendment to the amending clause.

In a Constitutional convention lurk many dangers, the principal one being that the delegates to such a convention are usually composed of a group of egotists, men imbued with the idea that when they die, wisdom will perish from the earth. Former Constitutional conventions were so dominated by this class of men that the Illinois Constitution is almost unchangeable—not as so many suppose, because only one article can be amended at any one time, but because it takes two-thirds of each house to submit an amendment and also because it requires at the election a majority, not of those voting on the question, but of all those who vote for any candidate, so that those too ignorant or too indifferent to vote on the amendment are counted as though they had voted against it.

Moreover, with all its faults, our present Constitution does possess the merit of having been interpreted by the courts through 45 years of litigation and the expenditure of fortunes in money. A new Constitution would throw upon the scrap heap a half century's work of the courts in construing the Constitution. The question whether or not a statute was constitutional would thereby be rendered vastly more uncertain. This validity of laws is already so

uncertain as to be of immeasurable injury to business. Why aggravate the situation by creating more uncertainty? Rather curtail the courts' jurisdiction so that they can pass only on the constitutionality of a certain class of statutes. This would greatly relieve the uncertainty and help both public and private business.

The proposed amendments are purely enabling acts. Whilst they place the constitutionality of certain laws beyond the power of the courts, they nevertheless leave our present laws and the Constitution itself in full force until changed by the Legislature and the people. The courts will not be dethroned. They will continue to determine the constitutionality of existing statutes and of statutes that may similarly be enacted, nor do the amendments grant woman's suffrage, nor the short ballot, nor revenue reform. The Legislature is simply enabled to do these things. Even the Home Rule, Initiative and Referendum provisions are not self-executing.

Making the Constitution Easy to Amend.

The most important, the most sweeping and far reaching of the proposed changes is that which relieves the courts of the burden of passing on the constitutionality of such legislation as may be approved by the voters on referendum. Yet the peoples' power will not be so enlarged but that the courts will still retain greater control over legislation than in any part of the world outside of the United States.

Passing on the constitutionality of laws is often spoken of as judicial legislation. It certainly places the power to determine governmental policies in the hands of the courts which is not a judicial function and should not be tolerated by any free people. Yet the courts are not to be blamed because the people themselves have placed this burden on their shoulders. Nevertheless, there is a growing disposition to condemn the courts for declaring popular laws unconstitutional. Is this fair? Must a judge violate his oath of office to win popular approval? Should he be punished for doing his duty by being recalled?

However, the judges themselves should be the first to seek a remedy. They have the most at stake. Their independence and integrity are assailed. This evil is becoming so unbearable that if a reasonable remedy is not discovered, the people in desperation will find one that may be worse than the disease.

The real trouble lies in the fact that "We have," as Albert H. Jackson says, "made a fetish of Constitutions." They are worshipped in this country as was the crocodile in Egypt. Every person who has a reform to suggest wants it embodied in a constitutional amendment, but everything added to the Constitution adds to the courts' power over statutes. Why, then, rail at the courts for exercising a power which the people insist on giving them? If a statute is unconstitutional can any punishment of the judge or any Referendum make it constitutional?

Why have a Constitution? Why a Supreme Law? Does it protect the minority against injustice; the weak against the strong? Even the Bill of Rights, including the provision that "no persons shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," is worse than useless. Every lawyer knows that this clause is a safe refuge for predatory corporations when their privileges are attacked by legislation.

Of course, it is a monstrous thing to take "life, liberty or property without due process of law," but the difficulty arises in determining the meaning and application of the words "life, liberty and property." What is property? According to Singletaxers only labor products are property, but the courts hold that any law-given power by which others are exploited is also property. These definitions are inconsistent. The same inconsistencies arise in the definition of liberty.

The Dred Scott decision was based on the protection afforded to "life, liberty and property" by the Constitution. It fully preserved the "property of the slave owner" but only by sacrificing the "liberty" of the black man, to whom the Constitution was not only useless, but became the tyrant's whip which drove him back to slavery—the cruel instrument of his oppression.

That our Constitution in the sense of its being the supreme law, will ultimately be abolished, admits of little doubt, but progress can only be made by easy stages, cautiously and gradually. The moderate change set forth in the proposed amendment will best preserve what is good in the Constitution and at the same time open the way for further changes under conditions that preclude any sudden or ill-considered action. It provides that no law shall be placed beyond the power of the courts until it receives a majority vote, of both houses and is approved by the Governor (or re-enacted by a two-thirds vote) and by the people.

Surely, in our dealings with each other there should be no uncertainty as to the validity of a law that has undergone the scrutiny of three sets of the people's agents and has then been confirmed by the principal—the people themselves.

E. J. BATTEN.

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 24, 1915.

Commission on Industrial Relations.

Official abstracts are being issued from day to day by the Commission on Industrial Relations of parts of the findings of the different groups of its membership. The parts relating to matters to be made public on or before August 25 of the report of Chairman Walsh and Commissioners O'Connell, Garretson and Lennon, begin with urging as a remedy for unjust distribution of wealth—

The enactment of an inheritance tax so graded that while making generous provision for the support of dependents and the education of minor children, it shall leave no large accumulation of wealth to pass into hands which had no share in its production. The revenue from this tax to be reserved by the Federal Government for three principal purposes: 1. The extension of education. 2. The development of other important social services which should properly be performed by the nation. 3. Develop-

ment in co-operation with states and municipalities of great constructive works, such as road building, irrigation and reforestation, which would materially increase the efficiency and welfare of the entire nation.

Then declaring the two prime causes of unemployment to be unjust distribution of wealth and monopolization of land and natural resources, it recommends as follows:

1. Vigorous and unrelenting prosecution to regain all land, water power and mineral rights secured from the Government by fraud.
2. A general revision of our land laws, so as to apply to all future land grants the doctrine of "superior use," as in the case of water rights in California, and provision for forfeiture in case of actual non-use. In its simplest form the doctrine of "superior use" implies merely that at the time of making the lease the purpose for which the land will be used must be taken into consideration, and the use which is of greatest social value shall be given preference.
3. The forcing of all unused land into use by making the tax on non-productive the same as on productive land of the same kind, and exempting all improvements.

Commenting on this problem the report says:

The unemployed have aptly been called "the shifting sands beneath the State." Surely there is no condition which more immediately demands the attention of Congress than that of unemployment, which is annually driving hundreds of thousands of otherwise productive citizens into poverty and bitter despair, sapping the very basis of our national efficiency, and germinating the seeds of revolution.

[See current volume, page 810.]

Under the head of Denial of Justice, the Commissioners, quoting from the report of Basil M. Manly, Director of Research and Investigation, declare—

First, with regard to the enactment of laws, it is charged that the workers have been unable to secure legislation to protect them against grievous wrongs except after exhausting struggles against overwhelming odds and against insidious influences.

Second, it is charged that after wholesome and necessary laws are passed, they are in large part nullified by the courts upon technicalities of a character which would not be held to invalidate legislation favorable to the interests of manufacturers, merchants, bankers, and other property owners, or thrown out on the broad ground of unconstitutionality through strained or illogical construction of constitution provisions.

Third, that in the administration of law, both common and statute, there is discrimination by the courts against the poor and in favor of the wealthy and powerful, and that this discrimination arises not only from the economic disabilities of the poor, but also out of the actual bias on the part of the judges in favor of the wealthy and influential.

Fourth, that courts have not only neglected or refused to protect workers in the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and of the several States, but that sections of the constitution framed primarily to protect human rights have been perverted to protect property rights only, and to

deprive workers of the protection of rights secured to them by statutes.

Fifth, that the ordinary legal machinery provides no adequate means whereby laborers and other poor men can secure redress for wrongs inflicted upon them through the non-payment of wages, through over-charges at company stores, through exorbitant hospital and other fees, fines and deductions, through fraud on the part of private employment offices, loan offices and installment houses, and through the "grafting" of foremen and superintendents. The losses to wage earners from these sources are stated to amount each year to millions of dollars and to work untold hardship on a class of men who can ill afford to lose even a penny of their hard won earnings.

Sixth, that the courts, by the unwarranted extension of their powers in the issuance of injunctions, have not only grievously injured the workers individually and collectively, upon innumerable occasions, but have also, by the contempt procedure consequent upon disobedience to such injunctions, deprived the workers of the right, fundamental to Anglo-Saxon institutions, to be tried by jury.

Seventh, that laws designed for the protection of labor in workshops, mines and on railroads are not effectively enforced except in a few States.

Eighth, that in cases involving industrial questions the workers are liable to great injustice by reason of the fact that in many localities they are excluded from juries either by the qualifications prescribed (usually payment of property tax) or by the method of selection.

Ninth, that during strikes, innocent men are in many cases arrested without just cause, charged with fictitious crimes, held under excessive bail, and treated frequently with unexampled brutality for the purpose of injuring the strikers and breaking the strike.

Tenth, that in many localities during strikes not only is one of the greatest functions of the state, that of policing, turned virtually over to employers or arrogantly assumed by them, but criminals employed by detective agencies and strike breaking agencies are clothed by the process of deputization, with arbitrary power and relieved of criminal liability for their acts.

Eleventh, that during strikes in many localities the entire system of civil government is suspended and there is set up in its place a military despotism under so-called martial law.

Twelfth, that in some localities the control by the employers of the entire machinery of government is so great that lawless acts on the part of agents of the employers go unheeded and unpunished, while vindictive action against the leaders of the strike is accomplished by methods unparalleled in civilized countries.

To meet this situation the Commissioners recommend: 1—An amendment to the Federal Constitution specifically protecting against encroachment on the rights of habeas corpus, free speech and peaceful assemblage, and the rights to jury trial, to keep and bear arms, to be free from unreasonable searches and seizures, to speedy public trial, to freedom from excessive bail and from cruel and unusual punishments. 2—Action by

Congress to prohibit courts from declaring legislative acts unconstitutional. 3—Provision that in Federal cases, jurors be selected in some impartial manner from a list containing all qualified voters in the district. 4—Congressional regulation or prohibition of private detective agencies and employment agencies doing an interstate business. 5—Regulation by Congress of militia organizations so as to insure impartiality during industrial disputes.



The right of labor to organize is discussed at considerable length. Arguments are presented in its behalf and also for collective bargaining. The claims of open shop advocates are presented. In commenting on the charges of graft, machine politics, factional fights and false leadership in unions the report declares these evils to be inevitable in any democratic form of organization and that they have a tendency to eradicate themselves as the organizations become stronger and the membership more familiar with responsibilities and methods of democratic action. Furthermore it says:

The fundamental question for the nation to decide, for in the end public opinion will control here as elsewhere, is whether the workers shall have an effective means of adjusting their grievances, improving their condition, and securing their liberty, through negotiation with their employers, or whether they shall be driven by necessity and oppression to the extreme of revolt.

Where men are well organized, and the power of employers and employees is fairly well balanced, agreements are nearly always reached by negotiations; but, even if this fails, the strikes or lockouts which follow are as a rule merely cessations of work until economic necessity forces the parties together again to adopt some form of compromise.

With the unorganized, there is no hope of achieving anything except by spontaneous revolt. Too often has it been found that during the delay of attempted negotiations, the leaders are discharged, and new men are found ready to take the place of those who protest against conditions. Without strike funds or other financial support, the unorganized must achieve results at once; they cannot afford to wait for reason and compromise to come into play. Lacking strong leaders and definite organization, such revolts can only be expected to change to mob action on the slightest provocation.

Legislation is recommended to protect men in the right to organize without incurring danger of dismissal, for repeal of conspiracy laws as applied to associations not for profit, and to increase the power of the Federal Trade Commission, and of the Department of Labor in dealing with industrial disputes.



Summing up, the report finds the causes of industrial unrest to be: 1—Unjust distribution of wealth and income. 2—Unemployment and denial of opportunity to earn a living. 3—Denial of justice in the creation, in the adjudication and in the

administration of law. 4—Denial of the right and opportunity to form effective organizations. There are 44 families whose aggregate income is at least 50 millions per year, while between one-fourth and one-third of male workers, 18 years of age and over, in factories and mines get less than \$10 per week and only about one-tenth get more than \$20 per week. From two-thirds to three-fourths get less than \$15 per week. Of women workers two-thirds to three-fourths in industrial occupations get less than \$8 a week, nearly one-half get less than \$6 a week and one-fifth less than \$4 a week. The wealth of the nation increased between 1890 and 1912 from 65 to 187 billions or 188 per cent, while wages increased but 95 per cent, that is, from 2,516 millions in 1889 to 4,916 millions in 1909. The wage earners' share of net production in 1889 was 44.9 per cent, while in 1909 it was but 40.2 per cent. The following conclusions in regard to wages are then declared justified:

1. The welfare of the State demands that the useful labor of every able-bodied workman should as a minimum be compensated by sufficient income to support in comfort himself, a wife, and at least three minor children, and in addition to provide for sickness, old age, and disability. Under no other conditions can a strong, contented and efficient citizenship be developed.

2. Under existing conditions such an income is not received by fully one-half of the wage earners employed in industry.

3. The natural resources of the United States are such that an industrial population properly educated and efficiently organized can produce enough to achieve this standard of living.

4. It is probable that even at present the national agricultural and industrial output is sufficient to permit the establishment of such a standard.

5. The problem is therefore essentially one of distribution.

6. The fixing of the wages of adult workmen by legal enactment is not practicable nor desirable as a general policy, except for public employees.

7. A just standard of wages in any industry or occupation can best be reached by collective bargaining between employers and employees for the purpose of forming voluntary joint agreements. The success and justice of such joint agreements is, however, dependent upon the essential equality of the two parties and can not be attained unless effective organization exists.

The Commissioners further recommend legislation to promote safety and sanitation, and legislation to improve housing as follows:

1. The Federal and State Governments should institute investigations directed not so much to ascertaining existing housing conditions, as to formulating constructive methods by which direct support and encouragement to the promotion of improved housing can be given. Actual experiment in the promotion of housing should proceed as rapidly as proper plans can be drafted.

2. Special attention should be given to taxation, in order that land should as far as possible be forced

into use and the burden of taxation be removed from home owners.

3. The municipalities should be relieved from all State restrictions which now prevent them from undertaking the operation of adequate housing schemes and from engaging in other necessary municipal enterprises.

Other sections of the report deal with public utilities. A recommendation is made that the Newlands act be extended to cover all employes of public service corporations engaged in interstate commerce. Facts are shown regarding underpayment and excessive over-working of telegraph and telephone employes in spite of the fact that "The American Telephone and Telegraph Company has been enormously profitable and is well able to afford the necessary improvements in working conditions." Public ownership of the wire lines is recommended and in the meantime Congress is urged to fix minimum wage standards for the women employes. In regard to the Pullman Company the report says that its capitalization has been increased from \$36,000,000 in 1893 to \$120,000,000 in 1915 without investment of a single dollar by the stockholders. Laws regulating the hours of employes and prohibiting the tipping practice are suggested.



Industrial conditions in isolated industrial communities form another section. There it has been shown conditions of feudalism exist. Through private ownership of the land, the rights of citizens to free speech and assemblage and to use of the public highways have been abridged or denied. Access to the postoffice has been prevented and mail directed to employes interfered with. Legislation forbidding these abuses is recommended and also—

In the case of public lands containing timber or minerals, which are now or may hereafter come into the possession of the Federal Government, it should be provided by statute that neither the lands nor the mineral rights should under any circumstances be sold, but should be used only upon lease for a limited term, such lease to contain as a part of the contract the conditions with regard to the rights of inhabitants as recited above and such lease to be forfeitable without recourse in case of the infraction of said conditions.

The section devoted to agriculture shows that in Texas 53 per cent of farms are operated by tenants as against 37.6 per cent in 1880. In Oklahoma the percentage of farm tenancy is 54.8 per cent. Under the system tenants earn but a bare living and need the labor of the entire family for that. A large proportion are hopelessly in debt, and, in spite of usury laws, must pay 15 per cent interest or more for loans. On store credits they must pay from 20 per cent to 60 per cent. Legislation is recommended to develop long time leases providing compensation to tenants for all improvements made upon the property; to establish national and

state farm bureaus to supervise relations between landlord and tenant, to develop better credit facilities; to establish better rural schools and finally is recommended—

The revision of the taxation system so as to exempt from taxation all improvements and tax unused land at its full rental value.



The report of Mrs. Florence J. Harriman and Professor John R. Commons declares the greatest cause of industrial unrest to be the breakdown in administration of labor laws. Additional legislation would be futile, it says, until methods are devised to make present laws enforceable. It recommends therefore—

The creation of a Federal Fund for Social Welfare, maintained by an inheritance tax on large fortunes, and administered by a Commission on Industrial Relations aided by an Advisory Council composed of representatives of employers and employes.

The Industrial Commission should be composed of three persons with full power to administer all labor laws. It would take over all functions of the Department of Labor and Mediation Board under the Newlands Act relating to conciliation of industrial disputes. A fund for this commission and for other welfare work is to be raised by an inheritance tax ranging from one per cent on fortunes above \$25,000 to 15 per cent on fortunes over \$1,000,000. The money would be used for sickness and unemployment insurance, old age pensions, the establishment of employment offices, the promotion of industrial education through subsidies paid to the various States and enabling tenant farmers to acquire possession of their farms. Federal employment agencies are also recommended and the use of part of the fund is suggested to extend credit to tenant farmers to enable them to become land owners. Labor organizations are endorsed and also the principle of collective bargaining. Both primary and secondary boycotts are approved. The application of the British Trades Dispute Act is recommended so that workers be given absolute freedom to organize. On the Colorado situation the report says that a condition of feudalism exists in the mining regions, but it decries any attempt to hold responsible any single individual. It emphasizes the fact that the whole situation in Colorado, West Virginia and other places where industrial warfare has existed, is due to a system which can not be remedied by the public abuse of an individual. It recommends that corporations and labor unions alike be removed from the control of politics and says that the Industrial Commission, with its advisory council and civil service rules; the initiative, referendum and limited recall, proportional representation, direct primaries and anti-lobbying legislation, would accomplish this purpose, which is essential before any permanent remedy can be effected.

Commissioners Harris Weinstock, S. Thruston Ballard, and Richard H. Aishton dissent from the endorsement of secondary boycotts in the report of Commissioners Commons and Harriman. They declare it to be unjust, inequitable and vicious in that it subjects third and innocent parties to injury and at times to great loss, if not ruin. They oppose it for the same reason that they oppose the blacklist. They declare the Manly report to be partisan and unfair. They say that the Commission's investigations have shown some employers to be guilty of wrongdoing and to have resorted to questionable methods to prevent their workers from organizing in their own self-interest; that they have attempted to defeat democracy by more or less successfully controlling courts and legislatures; that some of them have exploited women and children and unorganized workers; that some have resorted to all sorts of methods to prevent the enactment of remedial industrial legislation; that some have employed gunmen in strikes. The Commissioners endorse collective bargaining but refer to evidence which shows that many employers would be injured or ruined if they recognized organized labor owing to danger of sympathetic strikes, jurisdictional disputes, labor union politics, contract breaking, restriction of output, prohibition of the use of non-union made tools and materials, closed shop, contest for supremacy between rival unions, acts of violence against non-union workers and the properties of employers, and apprenticeship rules. In conclusion they say:

We say frankly that if we were wage earners we would be unionists, and as unionists we would feel the keen responsibility of giving the same attention to our trade union duties as to our civic duties. The ideal day in the industrial world will be reached when all labor disputes will be settled as a result of reason and not as a result of force. This ideal day can be hastened if the employers, on the one hand, will earnestly strive to place themselves in the position of the worker, and look at the conditions not only through the eye of the employer, but also through the eye of the worker; and if the worker will strive to place himself in the position of the employer, and look at the conditions not only through the eye of the worker, but also through the eye of the employer. This, of course, means the strongest kind of organization on both sides. It means that employers must drive out of the ranks of their associations the law breaker, the labor contract breaker, and the exploiters of labor. It also means that, in the interest of fairness, every Board of Directors of an industrial enterprise should have within its organization a committee for the special purpose of keeping the Board of Directors advised as to the condition of their workers. And it finally means that trade unions must, in order to minimize the causes of industrial unrest, among other things remove the weak spots in unionism set forth herein, thereby hastening the day when employers will not longer fear to recognize and deal with unions, and when collective bargaining shall thus become the common condition.

Chicago School Trustees Fight Teachers' Federation.

Chicago teachers will be compelled to resign membership in the Teachers' Federation, should the Board of Education adopt a regulation recommended on August 23 by the Committee on Rules. The regulation provides that teachers may not belong to a labor union or organization affiliated with a trade union, or one which has officers not on the teaching force. Within three months after adoption of the rule teachers now members must furnish satisfactory evidence that they have quit. Before being promoted or advanced in salary teachers must promise in writing that they will not become members. The penalty for violation of the rule is to be fine, suspension or dismissal. Of the six members of the Committee on Rules only three attended the meeting that adopted this regulation. These were Ernest J. Krueztgen, Mrs. Charles O. Sethness and Jacob Loeb. The vote was unanimous. The absent members were Mrs. William E. Gallagher, John A. Metz and M. J. Collins. The resolution must still be approved by the full Board.

**Minnesota Singletaxers Plan Meeting.**

A statewide celebration of Henry George's birthday on September 2 is planned by Minnesota Singletaxers. A call for Singletaxers to assemble for this purpose on that day at Duluth has been issued by the Duluth Singletax League of which Marcus L. Fay is president and A. G. Cailey secretary-treasurer. There will also be a conference on matters pertaining to the movement. Among the speakers will be Judge Bert Fesler and Senator Richard H. Jones. The local committee of arrangements consists of L. W. Young, William Busselman and William Munch.

**Heavy Loss from Storms.**

Heavy storms along the Texas coast on August 16 and 17 resulted in a loss of 112 lives and a property loss estimated at \$20,000,000. Galveston suffered the most, and for a time seemed in danger of experiencing a repetition of the flood of 1900. But the sea wall built to prevent such a catastrophe held. St. Louis, city and county, suffered from a flood in the Meramec river on August 22 that caused the death of eight persons. Farms on both sides of the Mississippi were reported as flooded and the property loss is great.

**Mexico.**

The reply of General Villa to the Pan-American peace offer was received on August 19. He said: "We cordially accept the good offices of your excellencies toward calling a reunion of delegates of the contending parties recognized in Mexico." No official response from Carranza has yet been received. [See current volume, page 812.]

The European War.

The German forces in Russia captured Kovno on August 19, Bielsk on August 21 and Ossowetz on August 23. The latter place was evacuated by the Russians without a struggle. On August 21 the Russians gained a naval victory over the Germans in the Gulf of Riga. The Russian fleet was aided by British destroyers. According to reports from Petrograd and London the Germans lost 8,000 men and eleven ships. These were the battleship Moltke, three cruisers and seven torpedo boats. No definite accounts are given of Russian losses. A Berlin dispatch of August 24 denies that such a battle has taken place. [See current volume, page 812.]



On the western front the only new development was the appearance of an English fleet on August 24 before Zeebrugge on the Belgian coast which carried on a bombardment of three hours.



On the Gallipoli peninsula the allied forces gained an advantage over the Turks on August 20, by which they have succeeded in cutting off the communication of the Turkish forces with Constantinople. On August 22, Italy finally declared war on Turkey following refusal of the Turkish government to yield to an ultimatum that Italian subjects in Turkey be allowed to leave.



The government of the Netherlands protested to Germany on August 19 against violation of neutrality caused by passage of a Zeppelin over Dutch territory. On August 21, the British sub-marine E-13 which had grounded on Saltholm Island in Danish waters, was attacked by two German destroyers and destroyed. A protest from the government of Denmark followed. A London dispatch in August 24 said that the German government would apologize. On August 20 the German Foreign Minister von Jagow refused to answer the question in the Reichstag, put to him by Karl Liebknecht, as to whether the government intended to annex conquered territory. On August 22, the Reichstag unanimously voted a new war loan of \$2,500,000,000.



On August 19 the London and Manchester offices of the Independent Labor party were raided by the police. All copies of the party's publications were seized. These include the *Labor Leader* edited by Keir Hardie, the *Socialist Review*, and other literature. The seizure was ordered by the Attorney General, Sir Edward Carson. The Independent Labor party and the *Labor Leader* have opposed the war.



The White Star liner, *Arabic*, was torpedoed and sunk off Fastnet by a German submarine on August 19. The steamer was en route from Liv-

erpool to New York. According to report of the captain and others on board no warning was given. There were 424 passengers and crew on board, including 26 Americans. Of these, 42 were lost, including 2 Americans. No action has yet been taken by President Wilson. On August 24 the German ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, informed the State Department that his government had not yet received an official account of the occurrence, that it did not wish to cause loss of American life, and regretted such loss if it had occurred.



The United States government made public on August 17 the reply to Germany regarding the sinking of the *William P. Frye*. The German offer is accepted to pay compensation for the vessel provided it be understood that such acceptance be not interpreted as conceding the correctness of the German contention that the treaty of 1828 grants it the right to sink a neutral vessel carrying contraband. The interpretation of the treaty, the United States proposes, should be left to the Hague convention.

NEWS NOTES

—Dr. Paul Ehrlich, discoverer of antitoxin and of salvarsan, died of heart disease at Homburg on August 20, at the age of 67.

—The decree of expulsion of Jews from Spain, issued in 1492 by Ferdinand and Isabella, though long a dead letter, was formally repealed on August 3.

—Local option in taxation is included in the platform of the Liberal party of Manitoba, which has just won a sweeping victory in the elections. [See current volume, page 789.]

—A reward of \$1,500 for the arrest and conviction of the first three persons who participated in the lynching of Leo Frank was offered on August 19 by Governor Harris of Georgia. [See current volume, page 812.]

—Abraham Ruef, the former San Francisco political boss, serving a fourteen-year penitentiary sentence, was paroled on August 21. He had served four years, five months and fifteen days of his sentence.

—Regular fare on the municipally owned street railways of Breslau, Germany, for continuous ride with transfer privileges is approximately two and one-third cents. Commutation rates for adults for a year are \$7.14 per person. Each car may carry 21 passengers inside, 6 on the front platform and 7 on the rear platform. Straphanging is an unusual occurrence.

—The State Constitutional Convention of New York on August 17 overwhelmingly rejected the proposed amendment offered by William Barnes, Jr., to invalidate mothers' pensions and other palliative legislation.

—The Lincoln jubilee and exposition, celebrating the 50th anniversary of Negro freedom, was opened

at the Coliseum in Chicago on August 22. Addresses were made by Governor Edward F. Dunne, Bishop Samuel Fallows and others. The exposition, which shows material progress made by the Negroes since attainment of freedom, will remain open until September 16.

—John H. Humphreys, secretary of the Proportional Representation Society of London, is now visiting Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, in the interests of proportional representation. Later he expects to visit Canada and the United States. He will probably reach Philadelphia in October. His address in this country will be care C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

—A fight against the amendment of the mothers' pension law of Washington was inaugurated on August 17, through the efforts of Judge Henry Neill of Illinois, originator of the mothers' pension movement. The last legislature amended the law so as to cut off from its benefits children of divorced and deserted mothers. The constitutionality of this provision will be attacked.

—The Interstate Commerce Commission on August 17 issued a report regarding the Rock Island railroad. It shows how high finance wrecked the road. Financial manipulations, it says, cost the road \$20,000,000. The Commission believes that the case shows the need of some limitations on issuance of stocks and bonds. No prosecutions are recommended. [See current volume, page 810.]

—Total deposits in the postal savings bank at Chicago on July 1 amounted to \$3,267,532, a gain of 42 per cent over a year ago. Three-fourths of depositors are foreign-born. There are 1,593 depositors who have reached the \$500 limit, and can deposit no more, although anxious to do so. This limitation, and also the one forbidding deposit of more than \$100 at one time, Postmaster Campbell shows in his report, cause many to deposit elsewhere, or to hoard their savings.

—In accordance with the provisions of the Wilson-Bryan Peace Treaties providing for International Commissions of Inquiry, the following have been appointed to serve thereupon by the United States: Bolivia, A. R. Talbot; Costa Rica, James B. McCreary; Denmark, Judson Harmon; France, Richard Olney; Great Britain, George Gray; Guatemala, William J. Stone; Italy, George L. MacKintosh; Norway, James Brown Scott; Paraguay, W. S. Jennings; Peru, Eugene Wambaugh; Portugal, James M. Cox; Russia, Charles R. Crane; Spain, Cyrus Northrup; Sweden, Samuel Avery; Uruguay, Harry B. Hutchins. [See vol. xvii, p. 925.]

PRESS OPINIONS

What Jingoos Are Not Shouting For.

William J. Bryan, in the *Commoner* (August): "The Southern congressman who suggested that war, if we are to declare it, should be voted by the people themselves and not voted upon them, struck a popular chord. If there is any question that ought to be referred to a referendum vote it is the question that determines peace or war for the nation, and the suggestion was made still more attractive when he

added that, to secure deliberation in the voting, it ought to be understood that those who voted for war would enlist first. This is capital, and of course no jingo could complain because it would be a reflection upon his courage to assume that he would vote for war if he had any intention of shirking the responsibility himself and throwing the burden and risks of the war upon others. By all means let us have a referendum before war is wished on the public, and let the vote be cast with the understanding that no one will vote for war unless he is ready to enlist. And, as a further protection to the public, would it not be well to give the jingoes the privilege of fighting in the front line so that they would have the glory of dying before any other lives were sacrificed? They might stop fanning the flame that kindles war if they knew that they would have to take some of the risk themselves. Mr. Dooley never said a wiser thing than when, in 1898, he replied to Mr. Hennessey's question that he would go down to see the soldiers off 'whenever those who get up the war enlist.' "



Unsuppressed Facts.

New York Call, August, 14.—Despite Rockefeller and his myrmidons, the Manly report of the Commission on Industrial Relations will be submitted to Congress. It is not a majority report, but it is indorsed by a majority out of the nine members forming the committee. There will be probably three other reports—all capitalistic, or evasive, "on the fence" productions. "Bobtailed" reports, our Chicago correspondent designates them. And note that this Manly report has been carried through and ordered printed by the strenuous efforts of four men—Frank Walsh, the chief investigator, and three men definitely and officially connected with the labor movement, the American Federation of Labor, J. B. Lennon, James O'Connell and A. B. Garretson, all holding high office in the organized labor movement. . . . It will be printed by Congress, and, like all other such documents, printed for free circulation. Make up your mind now to secure a copy—in short, to secure as many copies as you can. Get your application in as soon as possible. We have to assist with all our power in giving this document the widest circulation that ever was given to any Congressional publication. And, beyond all this, it will be invaluable for propaganda for years to come. Act as soon as possible. In all probability the powers that govern and control our legislative bodies will use every effort to limit the circulation of this document and prevent it reaching the workers, as they did with the late Carroll D. Wright's famous census bulletin, which contained similar matter. It went "out of print" with astonishing celerity. . . . Walsh, and there is no more searching and effective investigator in the United States, has done his part, nobly and splendidly. And his efforts have been valiantly seconded by the three labor officials aforementioned.



Paying for the War.

Herbert Quick in Cleveland Press, August 18: In the House of Lords recently Lord Lansdowne urged the British people to economize. . . . "I believe," he continued, "that the traces which war will leave will be in the form of the arrestation of progress, and of

an immense burden of financial embarrassment." . . . Having danced this ghastly dance of death, the peoples will have to pay the piper. Of course, the people! What people?

If these unheard of taxes are allowed to rest on labor and the capital engaged in production, they will bring national arrestation of progress. If they force the nations to adopt a system of taxation which will rest on unearned values created by common activities, they will be carried with an ease which will surprise the world. These taxes have been rendered inevitable by a war for a national, a collective, a common purpose—in Russia, in Germany, in France, in every one of the nations. They should be paid out of the common property—the rental values of the lands of the nations. They may be so paid without making it necessary for any person to economize save those who, like Lord Lansdowne, have been living on the produce of the labor of others. They may have to economize, but no man engaged in productive labor, whether as laborer, as merchant, or as manufacturer, will feel the pinch until every penny of the rental value of British (or German) lands is used up. Would this be just? Well, who is benefited financially by the excellencies of the British government for which these men are fighting? Who is benefited financially by the German institutions for which the war is waged? Who, in short, would lose if any of the countries engaged in the war should be peacefully occupied and the calamities to be expected in case of defeat predicted by the various statesmen should come upon the land? Would the laboring people lose? Not a penny. All they make now is a living, and they would make that anyhow. The people of Belgium would have been peacefully working at their jobs now, getting good wages and making the same old workman's living if they had not fired a shot when Germany invaded their little kingdom. The money returns of good government go to the owners of lands in the main. . . . Out of these unearned incomes should be taken the moneys to pay the piper. Henry George points out the way; and if the peoples follow that great philosopher in the readjustment Americans can have the joy of knowing that an American philosophy will make easy the yoke and light the burden of the bondage of which Lord Lansdowne spoke.



Uncomplimentary But True.

Johnstown (Pa.), Democrat, Aug. 16.—It was an insane asylum—the incurable ward. It was filled with unfortunates who, mentally, were living in the dark. For the moment it was absolutely quiet. Off in a corner, suddenly, one of the inmates leaped to his feet and yelled fiendishly. He tore his clothing from him. He yelled again—and again. The man next to him followed suit; and so did the next man; and the next. In a moment the entire ward was in a commotion. Guards strove vainly to quiet the unfortunates. There was much rushing to and fro. Everywhere men were shrieking and screaming and tearing their clothing or the bedding.

Aren't we—the people of the United States—much like the inmates of that asylum? All of us are quietly attending to our business. We go to our offices, or to the mill, or to the fields. We have joy in our work.

Suddenly we hear a terrifying shriek. One of us has broken down. Listen:

"War!" he shrieks. "Let us get ready for war! It is bound to come! We must be ready! The enemy is about to attack us! War! War! War!"

And the man next to him cries for war; and the next; the next. Soon we are all crying for war and carnage and bloodshed and murder. The guards strive to quiet us. There is much rushing to and fro. It is an insane asylum! But let us hope that it is not the incurable ward.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE GOOD TIME COMING.

By William Morris.

Come hither, lads, and hearken
For a tale there is to tell,
Of the wonderful days a-coming
When all shall be better than well.

For that which the worker winneth
Shall then be his indeed,
Nor shall half be reaped for nothing
By him that sowed no seed.

Then all mine and all thine shall be ours
And no more shall any man crave
For riches that serve for nothing
But to fetter a friend for a slave.

And what wealth then shall be left us,
When none shall gather gold
To buy his friend in the market
And pinch and pine the sold?

Nay, what save the lovely city
And the little house on the hill,
And the wastes and the woodland beauty
And the happy fields we till.

And the painter's hand of wonder
And the marvelous fiddle-bow,
And the banded choirs of music,
All those that do and know.

For these shall be ours and all men's
Nor shall any lack a share
Of the toil and the gain of living
In the days when the world grows fair.



THE GORSEDD PRAYER.

Read in Welsh and English in the Druidic Ceremonies of the Eisteddfod, San Francisco, July, 1915.

Grant, O God, Thy protection;
And in protection, strength;
And in strength, understanding;
And in understanding, knowledge;
And in knowledge, the knowledge of justice;
And in the knowledge of justice, the love of it;
And in that love the love of all existences;

And in the love of all existences the love of God;
God and all goodness.



INTERNATIONAL LAW.

For The Public.

Tom Atkins and Van Gluck Hapsburg were well behaved and amiable neighbors, though Tom was a bit zealous in promoting his own *personal interests*. Some of his neighbors charged Tommy with being *selfish*;—perhaps he was.

Van Gluck Hapsburg was very frugal, provident and zealous in acquiring all that was his due. Some of his neighbors charged him with being greedy—perhaps he was. Most of their neighbors said of Tom and Van, "Why, they are simply human!" (Which, of course, is true.) "And it is human to err!" Erring neighbors do not always agree in their convictions of what is right.

Tom Atkins and Van Hapsburg, jointly entered into a contract with one of their neighbors, to give him certain services and to take apples in repayment for their services. After the apples were received, the necessity for division between them arose and Tommy said to Van, "you divide them fairly and equally." But Van, sensible in some degree of his own tendency to be greedy, said "O no! Tommy, you divide them equally between us." Then Tommy proceeded to divide the apples (upon his conscience) and in accordance with *his view of right*. Whereupon, Van Hapsburg agreeing that in the division both piles were equal in quantity, protested that the apples Tommy had allotted to himself were superior in size and quality. Then, in an effort to settle the difference between the selfish human and the greedy human, Tommy added *more* apples to Van's pile, while Van, with increasing vehemence, insisted that he must have *better* apples. Each of them felt sincerely that he was being wronged—they argued, lost their patience, got furiously angry, lost their reason and flew at each others throats with murder' in their hearts. The neighbors, in conference, decided to deliberately take them in hand to save them from themselves. They took them both in charge, put them separately in a quiet place to cool off, and proceeded to deliberately investigate the *differences* between them and to adjudicate and settle them in the light of reason and justice, and free from the prejudicial influences of personal selfishness or personal greed.

Now—wasn't that sane and civil treatment of Tommy and Van? Every civilized nation in the world has, in both declaration and deed said so.

They have all said that the differences that arise between individuals, between communities, between provinces or states in union within the dominion of their several national governments shall be adjudicated and settled in that way; by civil and legal deliberative procedure. Since every civilized government insists upon such legal rule of con-

duct, and since every one of the warring nations insists that it seeks only to acquire and secure peace, pray, why not extend the same proven good rule of conduct employed within their several nations to the relations *between nations*?

Every warring nation knows that the club can bring about no peace but the peace of the dead. And that the remnant of living contestants must finally and always submit their differences to the arbitration of law, if they would have peace, even for a day when their warring is ended. Every Tommy and Van will fly to the Club, in frenzy so long as we promote or tolerate the outlawry of war, and ignore the sanity of deliberate adjudication.

It may be that these United States of America will be spared the ignominy of war. Let us hope so. If we are spared from the shame of war, every warring nation will have more respect for us and for our judgment than in that of any other great nation of the world.

It may be that we will be called upon to advise and assist in adjudication of the differences between these war frenzied nations when exhaustion or partial return to reason has been accomplished. It may be that the government of the United States will have the good sense to announce, that the way of permanent international peace, friendliness and prosperity is by the enactment of a code of International Civil Law by an International Congress or Parliament regularly elected by and representative of the people of the several civilized nations.

E. S. DOUBLEDAY.

☪ ☪
PEACE.

Edwin Markham in *Collier's Weekly*.

Let there be no more battles; field and flood
Are sick of bright shed blood.
Lay the sad words asleep:
They have their fearful memories to keep.
These swords, that in the dark of battle burned—
Burned upward with insufferable light,
Lay them asleep; heroic rest is earned.
And in their rest will be a kinglier might
Than ever flowered upon the front of flight.

And fold the flags; they weary of the day,
Worn by their wild climb in the wind's wild way,
See now where they hollow and heap,
Tremulous, undulant banners, one by one,
Living and dying momentarily in the sun.
And War's imperious bugles, let them rest—
Bugles that cried through hurricane their hest;
They are weary of that curdling cry
That tells men how to die.

And cannons worn out with the word of hell,
The brief, abrupt persuasion of the shell—
Let now the spider lock them, one by one,
With filmy cables glancing in the sun;
And let the throstle in their empty throats
Build his safe nest and spill his rippling notes.

BOOKS

FOR GERMANY—THREE PROTAGONISTS.

BOOKS

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

The King, the Kaiser and Irish Freedom. By James K. McGuire. Published by the Devin-Adair Co., 437 Fifth Ave., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.35; postage, 15 cents.

With the German Armies in the West. By Sven Hedin. Translated from the Swedish by H. G. de Walterstorff. Published by John Lane, London and New York. 1915. Price, \$3.50 net.

A German-American scholar, an Irish-American publicist, a Swedish explorer and author, has each recently written from his own point of view, about Germany in the war. All are German supporters. All differ in degree and kind of partisanship.



Ardent lover of Germany, firm believer in her high destiny of "human achievement," in her "moral superiority" though he is, Professor Kuno Francke of Harvard found himself too American for his fellow pro-Germans in this country. He explains in a little book of brief papers written on various occasions.

For the United States to place an embargo on the exportation of arms would be, as he views it. (or *did* view it when he wrote the book) a breach of our neutrality, and he therefore as an American speaks strongly against it: "The attempt, therefore, to force our Government into declaring an embargo on arms would either, if unsuccessful, needlessly embarrass the Administration, or if successful, plunge the country into a war which it does not want." Furthermore, Mr. Francke deprecates the drawing off together of Germans in this country for any political action as a grave error, involving in its logical outcome other nationalities and threatening "the end of a large national life," "of American freedom."

"The higher justice in this frightful war," he believes, "the justice that lies in the defense of superior social conditions," is on the German side and the American people as a whole will come to recognize this. But to all German-Americans their duty to America dictates, their wisdom for Germany points out, that only by fair appeals and patient good works can they hope to convert the present pro-German minority in this country into a pro-German majority.

It is to be observed that the resulting success or failure of the tactics urged by Professor Francke does not in the least impair their rightfulness. To put a non-Prussian sentiment into orderly Prus-

sian style: Their correctness is unaffected by their efficacy.



"England will always remain the sole enemy of Ireland. Economic and industrial pressure make her the natural and logical destroyer of Irish industry and commerce." James K. McGuire, Irishman of America, part of whose education was in the German schools of Syracuse, New York, where later he became Mayor, thinks that the freedom of Ireland can never come except through the downfall of the British Empire, and he looks therefore to the Emperor of Germany as the future liberator of Ireland. "After England has been subjugated and conquered the Germans will take over Ireland and make of it a free nation."

"A free nation" made by the Prussian Overlord! England may be "subjugated and conquered;" Ireland may be "taken over." A few Americans think not, but they are no military prophets. They are, however, democrats, and they think they know both dominant Irish ideals and dominant Prussian ideals of liberty to-day. They would, therefore, rise to remark that when Germany and Ireland agree on freedom then will Germany have been reborn or Ireland buried.



A Swedish writer and artist, known far and wide for his travels in Asia, determined upon a visit to the Western battlefront in Europe. Whereupon his many powerful German friends secured for him every facility. With permits from the very highest military officials to go practically anywhere he liked, with autos, guides and guards to take him thither, his was really a royal progress for the seven weeks of his army visit. Behind the German lines in France and Belgium, actually witnessing a battle or back at headquarters with the Kaiser, Crown Prince and their generals, traveling from base to base, or town to town, in Antwerp, at Ostend, everywhere from September 18 to November 6 he made notes and drawings and photographs.

The record of this adventure contains only what the author himself saw, and his personal opinions. Both facts and comments are of general interest. His British publisher answers his fellow-countrymen's censure for so pro-German an offering with the assertion that "Dr. Sven Hedin's book is essentially a record of facts as he saw them"; that "he is a trained observer, and there can be no question of his veracity;" that it is well for the British public whose news is so thoroughly censored, to read a book which for "the first time gives us a comprehensive idea of the wonderful organization against which we are fighting." The author's anti-English opinions, he writes, "though evidently accepted from official Germany without question or examination, do not lessen the value of Dr. Sven Hedin's record of personal experiences. For he is so obviously honest. Indeed, again and again he

naively records little facts which really tell against his case."

And the book is of use in America, too. No advocate of peace can read it without gaining a better measure of his opponent, the militarist—of the absolute power, the complete assumption of superiority of the German military caste in action. More than this, he can actually get a glimpse of what is going on in the German army officers' minds, of how they feel to-day about this war, about their enemies, about the men under them, about themselves and what they look upon as their mission in life, and its relation to Germany and the world. Before he is through the non-belligerent or pro-British reader can actually half understand how Dr. Hedin comes to say that the tales of "inhuman cruelty" on the part of German soldiers in Belgium "are entirely without foundation"; how he can refer to "the time when, for strategical reasons, the army retired from the Marne to the Aisne"; can tell how he met on the homeward journey his old Swedish friend who after two months and a half at the front "was also taking home with him the conviction that in a military sense Germany simply *cannot* be defeated by her present opponents."

But the author's opinions are only incidental to him or his reader. Dr. Hedin is essentially and brilliantly a reporter. His record is a series of descriptions and anecdotes of men, places and events; of officers, privates and prisoners, of camp, trench, and town, of dinners with the Kaiser and Crown Prince, of experiences at the bombardment of Ostend, of visits to the wounded in hospitals. Very much of it is excellently well done. Very little in the big volume, all considered, is tiresome. And the full-page pictures, of the author's own taking, are without question most entertaining and instructive. They turn the book into a splendid example of what is meant by "well-illustrated."

The book itself is a shining illustration of what every seasoned traveler knows: Whether the personally conducted tour is around a city or along a battle-front, everything depends upon where the guide takes you and what you choose to look at. Moreover, every social wayfarer has discovered that he cannot, on the same visit, hobnob with the haughty master of the house and tete-a-tete with his humble servants, too.

A. L. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—*Outlines of International Law.* By Arnold Bennett Hall. Published by La Salle Extension University, Chicago. 1915. Price, \$1.75.

—*Humanity and the Mysterious Knight.* By Mack Stauffer. Published by the Roxburgh Publishing Co., Boston. 1914. Price, postpaid, \$1.50.

—*The Wealth and Income of the People of the United States.* By Willford Isbell King. Published

by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Recognition Policy of the United States. By Julius Goebel, Jr. Whole Number 158, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1915. Price, paper, \$2.00 net.

—The Defeat of Varus and the German Frontier Policy of Augustus. By William A. Oldfather and Howard Vernon Canter. Vol. IV, No. 2, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences. Published by the University, Urbana, Ill. 1915. Price, paper 75 cents.

PERIODICALS

Canada and India.

A better understanding between two sister British Provinces, both loyal though very unequal in autonomous power, is the object of a new monthly entitled "Canada and India" (68 Tranby Ave., Toronto, Canada). The editor, whose name is not disclosed, writes:

(Now that the old international ideals have failed and are wearing themselves away in frightful noise and terrible havoc, we are looking to a fairer future built upon a firmer basis.) It surely behooves each nation to prepare itself for the new day, to raise and broaden its outlook, to measure its policies and to correct the errors into which lower standards may have betrayed it. It is in this spirit that there has been made the following collection of recent utterances by individuals, organizations and the press, expressions of opinion in India, Canada and Great Britain, in regard to an international question [Indian emigration to Canada] which has attained a magnitude that can no longer be ignored. After all, are not knowledge and sympathy the important factors in the successful solution of this and any other international question? Why should not some representative Canadians and Indians, equal in their patriotism and in their loyalty to the British Empire, meet and discuss the matter in a statesmanlike manner with due regard to the economic interests of both countries, and the future welfare of the Empire of which they form such an important part? In this way surely an arrangement could be brought about that would be satisfactory and advantageous to both countries, and which would speedily remove the friction and discontent, which have been gathering between them during these later years.

A. L. G.



One of the "Backward Balkan States."

The Proportional Representation Review for July (Quarterly, Haverford, Pa.) prints the following from a recent interview with the Bulgarian Minister to the United States, the Hon. Stephan Panaretoff: "Mr. Panaretoff said that the proportional system had been introduced for parliamentary elections about two years ago and that the present parliament had been elected under it. The result has been a decided improvement in the feeling between the parties. Under the new system the Agrarian party has secured more representation than it had formerly and the

Labor party has secured representatives for the first time. For the first time, too, it is possible for local governments to be controlled by parties not in control of the national government. At the present time the capital, Sofia [the town council of which was elected by the proportional system on May 16, 1915] is governed by a party that is not in control of the country." The proportional system was introduced by Mr. Ludskanoff, who had been one of Mr. Panaretoff's students in Robert College, Constantinople.

A. L. G.

PAMPHLETS

The Bryce Report on Belgium.

The report of the British "Committee on Alleged German Outrages," of which James Bryce was chairman, has been published in pamphlet form by the Government and is for sale by T. Fisher Unwin, London. Though without the maps or the full depositions of witnesses, which were submitted as appendices to the original report, this document absolutely must convince any fair-minded person of two things: First, that our American press reports of what the Belgians suffered were not only not exaggerated, but in truth were—either through ignorance or intention—mercifully censored. Second, that there was not merely official tolerance of, but explicit army orders for massacre.

A. L. G.



"To Secure the Blessings of Freedom."

Ex-Senator R. F. Pettigrew of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, has published in leaflet form a Proposed State Constitution which reads like the document of and for a free people. Its brevity is in accord with true ideals of the difference between a constitution and a statute book. It is an elastic instrument in the people's hands. "The electors reserve to themselves the power to propose laws and amendments to this constitution, and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the assembly, and also reserve power at their option to approve or reject at the polls any legislative act of the assembly. All laws enacted by the assembly must receive the affirmative votes of a majority of all the members elected to the assembly." Lawyers may not serve as legislators, for the reason, as Mr. Pettigrew gives it in his "Explanation," that "all lawyers practically without an exception, believe in the sacredness of property rights rather than in the sacredness of human rights, and their whole education, training and knowledge tends towards this idea. They are, therefore, 'absolutely unfit to defend the rights of man when they come in conflict with property rights.'" This strange and welcome constitution further provides that the executive shall not have the right to veto any legislative act, that the courts may not pass upon the constitutionality of any legislative or people's law. Full provision is made for direct legislation and the recall, and for amending the constitution as easily as to pass an ordinary people's bill, a majority of those voting thereon being sufficient for adoption. All facilities are given for the people and the assembly, each to propose and submit to popular vote any measures either may originate. No machin-

ery of election, list of State officials, or any other properly statutory provisions are comprised in this simple, restrained and democratic state document.

A. L. G.



The self-made man stalked into the office of a great financier with whom he had an appointment.

"You probably don't remember me," he began, "but twenty years ago, when I was a poor messenger boy, you gave me a message to carry—"

"Yes, yes!" cried the financier. "Where's the answer?"—Argonaut.



"I see that Marconi has invented a device by which you can see through brick walls."

"Somebody invented that long ago."

"Who was it, I'd like to know?"

"The man who first thought of putting windows in 'em."—Detroit Free Press.

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