

AP  
2  
2

14-1932

# The Public

A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy, and  
a Weekly Narrative of History in the Making.

Vol. XVIII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, JANUARY 1, 1915.

No. 874.

EDITORS, 1898-1913: LOUIS F. POST AND ALICE THACHER POST

SAMUEL DANZIGER, MANAGING EDITOR.  
STOUGHTON COOLEY, } ASSOCIATE EDITORS.  
ANGELINE L. GRAVES, }  
STANLEY BOWMAR, BUSINESS MANAGER.

### ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JAMES H. DILLARD, Virginia	LINCOLN STEFFENS, New York
HENRY F. RING, TEXAS	HENRY GEORGE, JR., New York
HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Ohio	FREDERIC O. HOWE, New York
HERBERT QUINN, West Virginia	ROBERT BAKER, New York
Mrs. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Ohio	GRACE ISABEL COLBORN, New York
BRAND WHITLOCK, Ohio	W. G. EGGLESTON, California
JOHN Z. WHITE, Illinois	C. E. S. WOOD, Oregon
LEWELLYN JONES, Illinois	R. F. FETTERBREW, South Dakota
Mrs. LONA INGHAM ROBINSON, Calif.	J. W. S. CALLIE, England
L. F. C. GARVIN, Rhode Island	JOHN PAUL, England
S. A. SPOCKWILL, Minnesota	ERNEST BRAY, Australia
WILLIAM F. HILL, Missouri	GEORGE FOWLES, New Zealand

Published by STANLEY BOWMAR, Manager  
Elsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents      Yearly Subscription, One Dollar  
Canadian and Foreign, \$1.50  
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at Chicago,  
Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

### CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:	
Why?	3
Why Not?	3
A Spider and Fly Affair	3
The Unemployment Conference	4
Uneasy Consciences	4
Mr. Rockefeller and His Taxes	4
"Failure of Competition"	5
Taxing Wages	5
Making Anarchists	5
The Obliging Interstate Commerce Commission	6
A Narrow Escape	6
Law and Liberty	6
Robbing the Sea of Its Romance	7
Declaring a Holy War	7
Fine Possibilities for Trouble	8
The Question of National Defense	8
The Case of Leo Frank	9
War and Bravery—Robert S. Doubleday	10
INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:	
Press Censorship in Louisiana—Letitia D. Miller	11
Futility of Charity—Edward W. Van Valkenburgh	11
Department of Commerce on Taxation—Alfred H. Henderson	12
How to Abolish Pittsburgh's Slums—Bernard B. McGinnis	12
Made in America—E. C. Clark	13
NEWS NARRATIVE:	
The European War	14
Mexico	15
Philippine Disturbance	15
Government Suit Dismissed	15
Rebuff to Perkins' Tariff Commission Idea	15
Congressional News	16
National Civic Federation on Free Speech	16
California Referendum Results	16
News Notes	17
Press Opinions	18
RELATED THINGS:	
The Clock—Charles H. Winke	19
Christian Ethics and the Land Question—Alex. Mackendrick	19
Chloride of Calcium—Elliot White	20
The War Spirit's Food—Clement Wood	20
BOOKS:	
Regulation That Does Not Regulate	20

## EDITORIAL

### Why?

Why is it that a set of men who own a strip of land upon which cars are run, and capitalize the value that comes to it through the growth of population are reckoned as little better than freebooters; while the men who own the land on each side of the strip capitalize the same value from the same source, and are looked upon as the bone and sinew of the country?

S. C.



### Why Not?

Even a standpat politician or an orthodox professor of political economy can see that a man placed alone and empty handed in an unsettled wilderness will be able somehow to earn a living, even though it be a poor and primitive one. How strange it is then that they fail to see that that same man can make a much better living if placed on an unused natural opportunity in the midst of civilization with companions and capital ready to assist. The only advantage the wilderness has is that there access to natural resources is supposed to be free, while in civilization it depends on the permission of a private owner. But why not allow the unemployed men in a civilized community opportunities at least equal to those of men in a more primitive state of society?

S. D.



### A Spider and Fly Affair.

That we have a more pressing problem in widespread unemployment, than in how to help the Belgians, was made clear by a Brussels banker, Mr. Alfred Molitor, who is quoted as follows by the San Francisco Star:

I find in San Francisco and in the United States a lot of people accosting me in the streets, asking me for money and work, and I think if the colonization committee that is offering land and work to the Belgians would find something for their own unemployed to do here, they would be doing more good.

If they have farm land and work they should give to their own people first.

This is as much a well deserved rebuke as it is timely advice. As long as unused natural resources are closed to our people, it is mockery to offer them to unfortunate foreigners. The way to help the Belgians is to abolish land monopoly, and allow all who wish to use them access to natural opportunities. Without doing this the plan to import Belgian farmers is as philanthropic as the spider's invitation to the fly. The Belgians are surely enduring enough misfortune without being urged to swell the list of victims of American land monopoly.

S. D.



### The Unemployment Conference.

It is to be hoped that the National Conference on Unemployment, meeting at Philadelphia this week, will do something more than is indicated in the advance reports of its doings furnished the press. These reports fail to tell of anything likely to solve the unemployment problem. A year ago the conference took no other action than to favor a system of national employment agencies. Surely an organization that wants to solve the unemployment question should not be content with that. No system of employment agencies can direct to jobs job seekers in excess of open opportunities. If the conference dodges this question again, as it did last year, the unemployed will be no better off as a result of the meeting.

S. D.



### Uneasy Consciences.

Very evident for some time has been the uneasiness of predatory interests concerning the investigations conducted by the Commission on Industrial Relations. And now something like a panic has been produced by announcement of the intention to inquire into the workings of the Rockefeller Foundation. There has long been a well grounded suspicion that much so-called philanthropic work is being carried on in order to divert attention from the underlying causes of economic injustice. Perhaps this explains why an investigation is unwelcome. At any rate, it is interesting to note the following panicky utterance in Charles P. Taft's Cincinnati Times-Star of December 19:

According to Mr. Walsh the investigators will attempt to discover "if the creation of the foundations and funds is the beginning of an effort to perpetuate the present position of predatory wealth through the corruption of the sources of public information." Doubtless this statement is quite indefinite enough

for Mr. Walsh's purpose. But under what authority does Mr. Walsh term the funds in question "predatory wealth"? Have the courts so decided or is the expression Mr. Walsh's personal decree? It would be interesting to learn, too, if President Wilson agrees with this characterization, which is nothing more than an expression of the socialistic propaganda. And will the President permit Mr. Walsh to use the power of the United States Government to harass great charities merely because they do not agree with his socialistic theories?

How great must be the dread of an investigation which prompts a useless appeal to President Wilson to stop it! Is not the objection also a trifle inconsistent? These Foundations, that have been conducting surveys and investigations of all things superficial and of nothing fundamental, should be willing to suffer investigation themselves without protest. If they have nothing to conceal a thorough inquiry will do much to increase their usefulness. Then why object so strenuously?



Mr. Walsh can undoubtedly furnish the Times-Star with evidence of the predatory nature of wealth derived from certain sources, regardless of whether or not any court has passed upon it. He does not need to quote the Supreme Court's decision of 1911 declaring the Standard Oil Company an illegal combination in restraint of trade, even though that would meet the Times-Star's own illogical reasoning. He can easily show that however legally acquired wealth may be, it is none the less predatory if it does not represent an exchange of service for service.

S. D.



### Mr. Rockefeller and His Taxes.

Mr. Rockefeller's relations to his government never ceases to be a source of interest to his neighbors. He poses as a man of high moral rectitude, and a Christian gentleman; and as an earnest of his sincerity he has spent a vast amount of money in founding institutions ostensibly for the benefit of the general public. He has given many outward demonstrations of his claim that he is merely the steward of the great wealth that has been entrusted to his keeping. Yet, co-incident with all this is his strange attitude toward the payment of taxes to the state. Where he should pay his taxes, and what the amount should be is another question, but his attitude toward his fellows is puzzling.



No other living man has so much at stake, no other man has so much dependent for safety upon the government as Mr. Rockefeller; and one would

think that he would be as just in his dealings with that protecting government, as he is generous with the public. It would naturally be supposed that having such vast interests at stake, he would do all in his power to maintain amicable relations with the government. And if there should arise any uncertainty or confusion regarding his obligations it would seem reasonable to suppose he would take the public into his confidence, and set other citizens a good example; that he would not stand so much upon his legal rights as upon his moral obligations. He is subject to the same laws and regulations as are his more modestly endowed fellow citizens, and he should be willing to pay his proportionate share toward the expense of the government. Even though the taxes laid upon him be unjust, the best way for him to free himself is to be open and above board in all his dealings with the public. If he attempts to evade the law, other men will use his example as an excuse for some other evasion. Whatever merit there may be in his munificence to the public, that munificence, if it is to be appreciated as such, must be preceded by justice to the state. S. C.



#### "Failure of Competition."

It is to be hoped that President Charles R. Van Hise of the University of Wisconsin was incorrectly reported in the Chicago Herald of December 23. He was therein said to have used as examples of the failure of competition the increase in price of oil since the alleged dissolution of the Standard Oil Trust. Of course, if Professor Van Hise actually believes that the different parts of the Standard Oil Company, or of the Tobacco Trust, are now earnestly competing with each other there may be some point to his reported remark. But if he does so believe he needs information badly. If he believes that the Sherman law, or any of the anti-trust laws passed by the present Congress, have had or will have the slightest effect in preventing monopoly, then he should investigate the underlying causes of monopoly.

S. D.



#### Taxing Wages.

The extremity to which the European world has been brought by the present war may be seen from the political condition of England, the richest participant in that war. At the beginning of hostilities there was a disposition on the part of certain economists to take some consolation from the fact that most of the countries were nearing the limit of taxation, and would be compelled in

seeking additional revenue to levy upon land values. Particularly was this likely to be true, it was thought, in respect to England, which already had adopted a small tax on rent. But when the great war credit of a billion and three quarters of dollars was voted by Parliament, none of the new burden was levied upon land values. The income tax was doubled, and the taxes upon beer, tea and tobacco were raised; but the tax upon rent remained as before. This has been a sore disappointment to the advocates of scientific taxation. And many are blaming Lloyd George for not taking advantage of this opportunity to continue the work he had begun.



It is scarcely conceivable, however, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has lost faith in the land reform question; nor does it seem reasonable to doubt his sincerity. It is more likely that the eagerness of the Government to avoid all controversial points during the stress of war prompted him to hold the land question in abeyance until the return of peace. But that this should have been necessary, and that the Government should have seriously thought of laying a tax upon wages, shows to what extremity affairs have come. For, while it is true that there is no difference in reality between taxing one man's thousand dollar income earned as wages, and another earned as a salary, and a direct tax upon income is preferable to an indirect tax upon consumption, yet to have laid one penny of tax upon wages, while one penny of rent remained untaxed, would have been the height of economic folly. The landed interests, however, will have but a brief respite. A full reckoning is in store for them. S. C.



#### Making Anarchists.

It speaks volumes for the stability of moral character when the average man can stand erect under the stupendous load laid upon him. Bound at the bottom of a social scale, in a society of ever increasing wealth, culture and power, he is compelled to see these advantages, which are due to the labors of himself and his fellows, turned aside and made to profit only the few. It is our boast that this is a democracy, that all men stand alike before the law, and that all men have an equal chance in acquiring wealth; yet the press has been filled, page after page, until it exceeded even the voluminous war news of this day, with the doings of a certain young man who had committed murder. The only difference between his case and that of many other murderers lies in the fact that

he had a great deal of money. This has led to the employment of noted "legal talent," to the testimony of famous experts, and to sensational court proceedings that have extended over many years. The slimy trail winds in and out of the courts of several states and two nations, and the end is not yet in sight. Had that young man been an ordinary citizen, without the means to hire great lawyers, his case would long ago have been disposed of and forgotten. But having great wealth at his command the law has been made a plaything in his service, and brought into contempt. The ordinary man, without money or friends, who is "railroaded" through the courts, feels bitterness in his soul, and he believes the anarchist who tells him there is one law for the rich and another law for the poor.



Again, this average man reads in the press accounts of charity balls, and similar functions that may be given without the excuse of charity, such as the one recently reported from Washington. These accounts of unparalleled lavish expenditures make strange reading for men and women who lack bread to eat in times of stress, and are seldom out of sight of poverty during so-called prosperous times. And that they can read these things under such circumstances and hold their hand is evidence of the greatest self-restraint. There is no call for sumptuary legislation regarding the expenditures of the rich. Individuals must be allowed to exercise their own discretion as to the best method of spending their money; but it must be apparent to any thinking person that these accounts of extravagance, in times of industrial depression must make bitter thoughts in the victims of misfortune. They will hasten the crystallization of the thought that must go before action. It will be well for these careless pets of fortune if intelligent understanding precedes the crystallization.

s. c.



### The Obliging Interstate Commerce Commission.

When the Interstate Commerce Commission declined in July to allow a five per cent increase in freight rates, it suggested that passenger rates might be raised. The suggestion has since been generally followed. Now that the freight rate increase has been granted, will passenger rates be voluntarily reduced? If not, why should not the Commission compel such reduction? Otherwise it will be in the position of obligingly granting to

the railroads even greater taxing power than they had asked.

s. d.



### A Narrow Escape.

Voluntary action on the part of business men in providing a \$100,000,000 "cotton pool" to back Southern bankers in handling the cotton situation, instead of throwing the burden upon the Federal Government, has established a good, rather than an evil, precedent. It is reported that none of the money has been called for, that the mere assurance that it could be had for the asking was sufficient to quiet the market, and steady the nerves of the men most directly in charge. To have attempted the valorization scheme might have offered a little relief to the sorely stricken cotton growers, but it would have led to a train of evils similar to those that have flowed from the protective tariff of the Civil War; whereas, the trouble is now confined to this immediate time and occasion, and will pass with the returning seasons, leaving the whole citizenship the stronger for the experience.

s. c.



### Law and Liberty.

The recent vote on the liquor question in the House of Representatives is a source of perplexity to the minds of many persons. The great mass of the people of this country are in favor of temperance, but there is confusion as to the best means of promoting it. Legalized prohibition of the liquor traffic is not so simple a matter as might at first appear; and it may be a question whether the advocates of temperance are really best promoting the cause they have so much at heart by their method of procedure. It will be readily conceded that any man has the right to bar liquor from his home. It may be granted that a number of families may unite to exclude liquor from their midst. But that the world may do so does not necessarily follow. For, if progress is to continue, and new ideas are to find expression, there must be some place upon the habitable globe where the individual holding those ideas may live.



The largest political unit being a nation it is a practical question as to whether it may establish prohibition. If a nation presumes to act upon matters of personal conduct it is equivalent to expatriation or surrender on the part of the citizen; for if alcoholic drinks be so prohibited, the citizen must either forego what he considers his

right, or leave his country. As to murder, theft, and a few other acts that are condemned un-animously by the human race, such action is wise; but in matters such as the use of liquor and tobacco, regarding which there is such a wide range of opinion, would the nation be justified in taking such action? Small communities may do so, for the individual objector may exercise his right by moving to another community. Just how large the unit exercising such authority may be is a matter to be determined largely by expediency. If the small village may safely bar liquor, and the nation may not, without injustice and unnecessary hardship to the individual, it is for practical statesmen and sociologists to determine from experience just where the line should be drawn.



It may be doubted if it is wise for the advocates of prohibition to press their authority at this time. Moderate steps will have the approval of the better class of liquor men; extreme measures will meet with conscientious resistance. Hence, too much haste may really retard the movement. This is the more important for the reason that there are other measures before the public of greater importance than prohibition; and intemperance and unreason in one may retard all.

s. c.



### Robbing the Sea of Its Romance.

When a British naval critic started a discussion shortly before the breaking out of the present war as to the comparative efficiency of battleships and submarines few people realized how prophetic his words were destined to be. Mines have rendered the German harbors unapproachable, and submarines prevent the enemy from removing the mines. The greater fleet, under favorable conditions, can bottle up the smaller fleet, but to do so in the presence of submarines it must pay a heavy toll. The tale of British losses from mines, submarines and accidents has risen almost to the dignity of a battle; yet the navy has not had so much as a peep at the German fleet. The percentage of fatalities has been nearly as great as would have accompanied the wrecking of airships. And when it is realized that the mass of the men so killed went to their death like rats in a trap, it may well be imagined that the time will not be long before naval warfare will lose its glamour. In the olden days when the men could watch the fleet maneuvers, and from deck and portholes see the enemy's ships disabled and sunk, with their own vessel perhaps

sharing the same fate, there was something heroic and exhilarating about a sea fight. But to be confined in an iron box, the mass of the crew below the water line operating machinery, and only a few gunners and officers in command ever seeing the enemy, there is little of the romance of a sea fight. Add to this the unexpected shock of mine or torpedo from a submarine, and it would seem that all individual volition had been removed.



As though this were not enough to try the nerves of men, accidents, such as occurred on the British battleship *Bulwark* and the French ship *Jena*, and our own *Maine* must add their appalling toll. Considering the quickness with which these vessels go to the bottom, and the enormous loss of life that accompanies them, one is reminded of the caustic comment of our own Admiral Farragut regarding "iron pots" that were to be substituted for wooden vessels. If naval warfare is to be carried on in submarines, with the assistance of mines, and land campaigns are to be conducted in trenches and tunnels, under the direction of aeroplanes, it will require a strong imagination on the part of the participants to clothe war with the glamour of the heroic. The more the combatants sink from sight, and the more the widows and orphans appear before the public eye, the less likely will statesmen be to settle disputes by an appeal to arms.

s. c.



### Declaring a Holy War.

It would seem, judging from present indications, that Mohammedans take their religion no more seriously than do Christians. The Holy War has been held over the heads of Christians for ages, as the appalling extremity to which the Mohammedans will bring Christendom if pushed too far. The believer in the Koran has been held up by believers in the Bible as a terrible creature, fond of murder, and rapine, and taking a savage delight in killing defenseless women and children; and when was added to this the supposed dispensation of the church in a Holy War, in which his reward in heaven would be in direct proportion to the number of Christians he murdered, the last word in terrorism is supposed to have been said. It so happens that all the countries at war, save Germany, have large numbers of Mohammedans among their subjects. When, therefore, the head of the church in Constantinople proclaimed a Holy War, the thought was that all these millions of Mohammedans, in India, in the

Caucasus, in Egypt, and in the north of Africa, who are subject to the Allies, would spend their last drop of blood in killing Christians. It is more than likely that Mohammedans obey this call to murder in much the same way as Christians yield to the injunction to love one another. S. C.



### Fine Possibilities for Trouble.

The incipient insurrection in Manila may or may not indicate serious disaffection in the Philippines, but it does indicate the possibilities of trouble for this country. Should a real insurrection break out in the Islands this country would be confronted with the alternative of entering into a war to subjugate a people whom we have said should be free, or leave the Islands under fire. It is doubtful if the American people would have the moral courage to quit the Philippines under fire; and it would be a crime against humanity, and forever blacken our country's name, if we compelled the Filipinos to fight us as they fought Spain. We should lose no time in giving them what they had all but won from Spain when Dewey entered Manila Bay—Liberty.

S. C.



### The Question of National Defense.

The sudden manner was suspicious enough in which was launched the present outcry for increased armaments. Now Congressman Hensley of Missouri, in the House, on December 15, strengthens these suspicions by calling attention to the kind of interests that dominate the Navy League. The men in control of this league Mr. Hensley shows to be closely connected with the Morgan interests. This does not mean that all who are taking part in this movement are subject to suspicion. If that were the case it would not be formidable. But, many sincere men, including even some democrats, have undoubtedly been misled into lending the weight of their names and influence to this scheme. One of these writes in defense of his position protesting against being classed as a jingo or militarist and presenting the following argument:

Let me say that I have no ulterior interest in "appropriations," and I think the organization formed is not dependent on that sort of interest for its support. My "interest" is in making tolerably secure the political liberties and free institutions obtained by our ancestors through infinite sacrifice in past centuries. Without these as a basis, our proposed economic and social reforms would never have been heard of; and if these be relinquished

now, those reforms will have a long sleep before resurrection in the future. The person who can behold the astounding events of the past five months and not feel the necessity of strong national defenses for the American democracy must be served by mental processes truly amazing. It requires little foresight to see possible outcomes of this war which would very soon put us in jeopardy. . . .

You deduce the conclusion that the "adequate defense" asked for must mean ultimately "an armament more powerful than any possible combination of foes could bring against us." Do you make no distinction between means adequate for defense and means necessary for hostile aggression? And is there no sensible middle ground between making no provision against reasonably possible danger and arming against the whole world? Who does not know that the little Swiss nation is infinitely safer, in its liberties and national integrity, than it would be without its vallant and self-reliant preparation for national defense? The same is true of the Dutch, Scandinavian and other countries which make no pretense to vast armaments but which are ready for intelligent and resolute defense of their rights. And poor Belgium's sufferings have not been in vain. She is the vicarious sacrifice for small but self-respecting nations the world over, and any powerful nation will think twice before making the mistake made by those who attacked her. In the face of such examples as these, it is inexcusable and discreditable for a great and wealthy nation like the United States to begrudge the cost of safeguarding her independence and the liberties of her people.

In your issue of December 4 (p. 1154) you say: "The establishment of justice at home by any nation—something none has yet done—will make its destruction too great a calamity to the outside world to be favored by the most selfish." As you admit that the United States has not yet established justice at home, and presumably it will take some little time to do so, what shall we do in the interval? Submit to destruction or conquest? Does not every student of history know that the justice of a nation's institutions never yet appealed to a Napoleon or a Frederick as a reason for sparing that nation from conquest? Is "justice at home" likely to avail more at the hands of modern Napoleons or Fredericks? Is it not likely to be an added incentive to aggression by a militaristic and autocratic power? America is feared and hated by such on account of the democratic tendency of her institutions.

What policy would you have the United States adopt? Should we disband the few thousand men now available for land defense and dismantle our battleships or convert them to other uses? Would you reduce our means of defense, or is there something sacred about the exact amount of naval and military forces we have already developed, so that it should be neither increased nor diminished? A clergyman of my acquaintance asserts that we ought to submit to invasion and conquest by any power that chooses to take possession of our country, rather than engage in even a defensive war. Do you agree with him?

These arguments may be thus summarized: (1) The need of making secure our "political liberties and free institutions." (2) The astounding events of the past few months. (3) The example of Europe's small nations. (4) The need of taking defensive action pending establishment of just conditions. (5) The danger from modern Napoleons and Fredericks.



These arguments may be reviewed in order. (1) It is safe to say that not even the most despotic governments of the present day have in any way indicated annoyance on account of our "political liberties and free institutions." These have never got us into a war with a foreign power. The foreign wars which we have waged since achievement of independence were such as any despotic government, in our place, would as readily have begun. (2) The European war disproves every contention of the armament advocates. It shows that preparations for war do not prevent war, but bring it on. Every nation involved claims that it only maintained an army and navy for defense, and is fighting now only for national existence, nothing more. Whatever may be the private opinions of the rulers, the people of each nation honestly believe their opponents the aggressors. The European war shows not only the futility of defensive armament, unless stronger than that which any possible foe may bring against it, but it also shows that defensive preparations lead to war labeled "defensive" provoked by those who "prepared for defense." Militarism will not permit us, even if we would, to distinguish between "means adequate for defense and means necessary for hostile aggression." The war also shows that our modern Fredericks and Napoleons dare only go to war when they can make show of a defensive pretext—an impossibility in the case of an unarmed opponent. (3) There is no reason to believe that any small nation would fare better than Belgium if attacked by a big one. That Belgium's resistance will discourage future attacks is not borne out by experience. Belgium is neither the first small nation to be attacked nor the first to put up a strong resistance. Germany knew all about the resistance offered to England by the Boer Republics, the resistance of the Philippine Republic to American criminal aggression, the resistance of the Sudanese to England, the resistance of Denmark in the Schleswig-Holstein war, and of all the similar cases in history. For the physically weak it is vain to rely on brute strength for defense. For the physically strong it is better not to use the

means that will help injustice as well as justice. (4) What shall we do in the interval? Why devote all the energy we have toward getting just conditions? There is more reason why Congress should devote attention to that subject, than to the question of armaments. Armaments have been proven futile as preventives of war. If lack of an efficient preventive makes war as imminent as our correspondent believes then we need a real preventive at once. We cannot afford to waste time on such futile measures as armaments. If war should come the responsibility therefor must rest on those who have opposed institution of just conditions, and these ought to bear the entire burden. It is due to our correspondent to say that he is not one of these. (5) It is true that no Napoleon or Frederick was ever kept from attacking a nation by the just conditions that prevailed there. It is also true that no Napoleon or Frederick had an opportunity to make such an attack. Modern Napoleons or Fredericks, should they have opportunity, may feel inclined to take advantage of it. But their people would surely feel differently about the matter.



What should we do should there be an absolutely unprovoked attack upon us? That question is academic. It implies insanity on the part of the attacking nation. The clergyman's answer is certainly a better one than that of the armament advocates. Passive resistance would probably be effective should there be a glimmer of sanity left in the assailants. But the absurdity of fearing such an attack is evident from the impossible conditions it implies. S. D.



### The Case of Leo Frank.

Sentenced to be hanged on January 22 in Atlanta is Leo Frank, convicted without a fair trial. If he is guilty it has not been proven. Strong evidence indicating innocence has not been allowed to be presented to a judge and jury in a regular trial. In Collier's Weekly of December 19 and 26 is C. P. Connolly's account of this case. It is a story that will convict the State of Georgia of legal lynching should the Governor fail to avert the execution. In spite of plain evidence of unfairness of the trial, and in spite of later evidence tending to show the innocence of the accused, the courts decline on technical grounds to interfere. The State Supreme Court held that it could not consider the merits of the case, but only technicalities. There were strong technical points in Frank's favor on which it was possible to obtain

not merely a setting aside of the verdict but a dismissal of his case without a new trial. But wanting his name clear as well as his freedom, he forbade his attorneys from presenting any point except those bearing on the merits of his application. He had such confidence in the fairness of the judges and the laws that he staked his life thereon. In the social class in which he moved, the sacrosanctity of courts and established institutions is accepted almost as a matter of course. In this class there is usually nothing but horror of the radical who would criticise a court, and strong opposition to the notion that judges are entitled to no more confidence than other men. Frank's mistake was such as would naturally have been made by one who unthinkingly accepts the views of political reactionaries. Certain it is that his blind and unreasonable confidence in the fairness of the court proved his undoing.



On rejection of his first appeal Frank allowed the technical matters to be presented in a new appeal. It was too late, with a court that holds red tape to be more sacred than justice. The court held that the technical points, not having been presented in the first appeal, could not be considered in a later one. The fact that there was at stake not only the life of a possibly innocent man, but the honor of the State, weighed less with the judges than hair splitting. So, unless Federal courts can help, only Governor John H. Slaton can save the State from disgrace.



The question is not one of Frank's guilt or innocence, but whether a man shall be hung without a fair trial. An absolutely innocent man would as surely have been convicted under the circumstances that Frank was, as an undeniably guilty one. Such things must not be allowed to occur. If one citizen can be so dealt with, so can another, and no one is safe from being judicially murdered. Unless the Governor is convinced of Frank's innocence he should not grant him a full pardon; but even if he believes him guilty he should commute the sentence. That will save the State from the shame of a legal lynching, make it possible for the charge against Frank to be fairly considered on its merits, and if he should be fairly proven guilty to guard society from him in the future. This action should be urged upon Governor Slaton by all who see their way clear to write to him. There is involved therein a much bigger question than the life of Leo Frank.

S. D.

## WAR AND BRAVERY.

The riotous, reeking war hell of Europe illumines one truth perhaps more conspicuously than any other, and that is that our brothers, our brothers of France, our brothers of Germany, of England, of Austria, all perhaps less unlike ourselves than we sometimes fancy, are, at least in the frenzy of war, neither brave nor Christian.

Brave? What bravery is there in the sway of might made possible only by vaster numbers and superior armament? What bravery is there in the fomenting of mere race hatred that men may craze themselves into dashing at each other like beasts with only murder in their hearts? What bravery is there in planting explosive mines in open sea, that the ships of fellow men may come upon them unawares and their crews be blown to kingdom come? What bravery is there in sneaking, hidden beneath the waters, to strike low down upon unguarded vital spots of an enemy's man-of-war, a trick that even low browed brutes of the prize ring despise? What bravery is there in ruthlessly, wantonly making a million helpless women and children homeless? What bravery is there in wrecking cathedrals and art palaces that cannot strike back? What bravery is there in flying at secure heights and dropping murderous and destructive bombs where defense is impossible? What bravery is there in starving men into submission? What bravery is there in cornering human beings like rats and turning machine guns on them to mow them down in sickening, certain, horrible harvest? Can any sane man call this bravery? When the smoke has rolled away and the reek at last been dispelled by heaven's sweet, pure air we shall be regaled with tales of handfuls of men here and there who essayed fruitless, impossible tasks; of little drummer boys who grabbed a tattered rag of one color or another and strutted for a brief moment upon some parapet till their poor bodies were riddled. Fools! Poor, crazed, vain fools. But in all Europe, in all that land of sturdy men, not one soul who had the real courage to say "Shoot me for disobedience of orders if you will, I shall not kill a brother man of mine merely because he happens to be a little darker or a little lighter skinned, or speaks a different language than I." There was not one nation which had the courage to say: "We will not invade your countries, neighbors; we will not kill you nor harm you; we will not even arm to do so. We have preached that the right will prevail, that the God of good reigns. We will prove our faith, our faith in that God,

our faith in you, our faith in ourselves by our works. We will compete with you, fairly, to render service to the world, but we will not combat with you." Such a nation would have gone unscathed.

War breeds only vain, strutting, murderous demoniaes and saddened men and women. It does not develop really brave men, men of the genuine worth-while bravery. At best, every war movement represents, as the New York Staats-Zeitung, itself radically pro-German, of course, and war fevered, expresses it merely, "The strength of cold steel and cold calculating intelligence."

Christian? Every participating nation has entered the contest announcing its special partnership with almighty God, the God made comprehensible to us by the meek and kindly though courageous master teacher, Jesus, and then hurried into the melee as to a pig-sticking tourney in an abattoir.

Christian? Following in the footsteps of the pre-eminent teacher of justice and fairness, but spreading wanton, needless destruction, resorting to every conceivable conceit; seizing, invading, pillaging, ruining?

Christian? Following in the footsteps of the great revelator who spread for our understanding and guidance the sublime lessons of love and morals and the all reality of the good and the beautiful and the spiritual, but rushing at each other to hack, to behead, to disembowel? What inconsistency, what horror can equal it, and not even the semblance of a question of religious liberty to justify it.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY.

## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

### PRESS CENSORSHIP IN LOUISIANA.

New Orleans, La., Dec. 22, 1914.

There is much criticism expressed at present over the censorship of the press in England and other warring nations. I do not believe this censorship is half so severe or oppressive or anything like so injurious as that exercised by the special interests in the United States. There has been a flagrant instance of this in this State during the current month. A trial has been in progress here of the American Sugar Refining Company on a charge of violating the anti-trust statute of this State, during the course of which Donelson Caffery, the prosecuting attorney, himself a sugar planter, has read letters from all the leading officials of the company proving beyond a doubt a most successful conspiracy to keep a monopoly of the sugar industry of this State and to hold the sugar planters in a state of bondage.

It was demonstrated that the Sugar interests were allied with all the other trusts; that every means was used to crush and drive out competitors; that

false sales were made in New York on the basis of which settlement was made with the planters of this State for their raw sugar. Mr. Witherspoon, the president of the company, writes that this plan "is much safer than raising the price of refined sugar and creates much less widespread dissatisfaction." Their letters also show how they punished any sugar broker who dared sell to an outsider endeavoring to intrude into "their" territory. In short, their plan, most successfully carried out, was to keep the planter to the lowest margin on which he would consent to plant; a very low margin sufficed, since he knew nothing else and was prepared for no other crop.

Did a single New Orleans paper take the least notice of these astounding revelations? Did a hint of them get into the Associated Press dispatches? Not one line, the censorship is too complete for that. There were but vague general accounts of the trial with not a reference to these proofs of infamous oppression.

Without exception, all the Louisiana papers have turned against Wilson and the Democratic party because of their placing sugar on the free list. They all claim that "the Louisiana planter has been slaughtered in the house of his friends." Yet when Mr. Caffery shows that no matter what the scarcity or unprecedented demand for sugar, the trust steps in and deprives the planter of any benefit, they are all dumb. These sensational revelations die on the air of the court room. The trust encourages all this denunciation of the Democratic party because it diverts public attention from it and the real cause of the depression of the sugar industry.

I have but little sympathy with the sugar planter because, no matter what his profits, he would still pay the lowest wages possible to his wretched labor. When these vast tracts are broken up into small farms owned by the thriffler negroes and the Italians, then and not till then, will Louisiana know real prosperity. It may be that the oppressions of the Sugar Trust are hastening this day.

LETITIA D. MILLER.

## FUTILITY OF CHARITY.

East Orange, N. J., Dec. 14, 1914.

It is no exaggeration to say that altruism is, or should be, the foundation and keystone of all religions. Though the cultivation of this spirit has been somewhat neglected by organized religion in the past, there are signs that it will receive increased emphasis in the future. The question arises, How can we best fulfill the spirit of altruism at the present time?

Perhaps a third of the people of our country contribute in some way to charity. By so doing they feel that they have performed in the best possible manner their full duty to society. But if we view things in a broad way we must conclude that there is a vast amount of kindly feeling being exerted with very little lasting result.

Good intentions doubtless count in the last analysis; but good results count still more. Charity may alleviate economic distress; it never cures. If a man has been poisoned and is tossing with fever, the nurse's efforts to cool his brow will seem very worthy. But if she is able to counteract the poison

and effect a cure, her previous efforts must appear very feeble.

It is so with society. The progress that has been attained in every branch of human endeavor is such that a cure for our social ills is now possible. A cure should be our aim. Our duty, as well as the only practicable way to advance the wellbeing of all mankind, is to abolish special privilege, to the end that every man may be given an opportunity to work and produce and the assurance that he will receive the full reward of his labor.

E. W. VAN VALKENBURGH.

### DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND TAXATION

Cincinnati, O., Dec. 12, 1914.

The Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, has just issued a large volume entitled "Taxation and Revenue Systems of State and Local Governments." It is a compilation of the constitutional and legal provisions of all the states regarding taxation and is a foreword of a report to come later to be entitled "Wealth, Debt and Taxation."

The report in hand covers constitutional and legislative provisions as they existed in 1912 and why it is not brought down to a later date is not explained. Certainly the information concerning Ohio could be obtained in an afternoon at Columbus from any well posted official in taxation matters. Hence it does not include the tax changes made in the constitutional amendments adopted by the people in September, 1912, nor the changes and additions made by the Legislature during the administration of Governor James M. Cox.

However, that is not the point I want to direct attention to in the report. Under Ohio and on page 177 the report says:

"As a result of carrying out the provisions of the law creating the tax commission, passed by the legislature in 1910, the assessed value of real property subject to ad valorem taxes was increased from about one-third of the true value to the actual value. This increase in the assessed valuation resulted in a general limitation of the tax rate."

I do not believe this is true of the state in general and I know to a certainty that it is not true of Hamilton County and the city of Cincinnati, particularly of land values as distinguished from the value of buildings. For four years, since the last quadrennial appraisalment of real estate, I have compared sales or market value of land with the tax value and in every instance the sale value was very much in excess of the tax value. In Ohio it has been the custom and is now the custom in filing deeds to simply state with the recorder that the consideration is "\$1 and other consideration." But in a few instances, especially when the land is in the courts or the city, schools or county purchases land, it is possible to get the true consideration.

A case of this kind occurred on December 7 last, when a verdict was rendered in the Court of Insolvency in a condemnation proceeding by the city of Cincinnati on behalf of the public schools. Some time ago the Board of Education fixed on a lot in that section of Cincinnati known as Hyde Park. The

price asked was over \$100,000 so the city decided to go into condemnation proceedings. The verdict was for \$90,000. But the tax value of the tract, for tract it is although it has been platted into lots, is only \$50,870.

This is but 56 per cent of the value set by the court, certainly far from the "actual value" claimed in the report of the Census Bureau. The tract is to be used for a high school building and athletic ground and contains twenty-six and a half acres. At the court valuation of \$90,000 this is at the rate of \$3,375 an acre, for there is not a building on the land. It is safe to say that there is not a farm in all Ohio or anywhere in the world that will command such a price per acre for the bare land alone, and yet the farmers claim they would fare ill if taxation of personal property and buildings and other improvements was abolished and taxes concentrated on land values.

It also illustrates the necessity not alone in Ohio but throughout the nation of having land assessed by some system approaching the scientific, say the Somers system. But more than anything else it enforces the necessity of the people selecting men for assessors who will value land at its actual worth no matter what the tax rate or levy may be.

The Census Bureau report says of the Ohio compilation that it was derived mainly from these sources: Public Laws of Ohio to 1913; The General Code of Ohio, 1910, and the Annual Report of the Ohio Tax Commission, 1911 and 1912. It will in part excuse the report that it thus candidly states its source of information but what it states as a fact is wide of the truth. Land is not valued at its actual value in Ohio.

ALFRED H. HENDERSON.

### HOW TO ABOLISH PITTSBURGH'S SLUMS.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Dec. 19, 1914.

In the Pittsburgh Dispatch, under date of Dec. 6th, 1914, appeared an article by Col. T. P. Roberts advocating a plan of rebuilding the entire Hill district and also urging a method to increase the personal property tax in the city of Pittsburgh. His plan to rebuild the Hill district is, briefly: to condemn all buildings, after securing power through the Legislature, and then form a commission or corporation to erect suitable buildings thereon. Col. Roberts states further that "to expect the area in question ever to be improved as it should be to properly represent 'the heart' of a great metropolis, would, under existing laws, be but an idle dream." And we agree with this statement fully, but, instead of suggesting, as does Colonel Roberts, a plan of taking the property by right of eminent domain and forming a commission or stock company to erect suitable buildings thereon, which there is not the slightest chance of the Legislature allowing, would it not be more profitable to arrive at the cause of these tumble-down hovels existing in the very heart of our city? Truly there must be some reason for it, but Col. Roberts does not see the cause, else he would never advocate the increase of a personal property tax. Did it ever occur to Col. Roberts that the reason there are no

suitable buildings erected in the Hill district is because the municipality would immediately start in and fine by an enormous increase in his taxes, every owner who would then attempt to improve the community? He would no doubt be doing a splendid thing for Pittsburgh, but Pittsburgh, instead of encouraging him, turns around and penalizes him every year. The owner therefore decides that it is better to leave his hovel stand because every baby that is born in Pittsburgh and every newcomer to the city are adding to the value of the land on which his excuse for a building stands. But suppose we had a law in Pittsburgh like they have, say in Vancouver, Canada, where the municipality taxes the owner of a vacant lot or the owner of a lot with a disease trap standing on it, providing the bare site values are alike, just the same as it does the owner with a skyscraper or a splendid apartment house on his lot. What would the owners of these lots in the Hill district do if we had such a law in Pittsburgh? I fancy that when they saw an owner across the street, on whose lot was a modern apartment house, paying no more taxes to the city than they were, they would either sell to someone who would put up such a building or put up such buildings themselves. In other words, in Vancouver they encourage owners to erect good buildings by not taxing them for so doing, but here we find them at once and continue to do so every year, even though they have done a good thing for the community. Our realty owners on the Hill, therefore, decide to leave the shacks standing, or, if they have vacant lots, to leave them idle and thus we have our Hill district, in the heart of a great metropolis, covered with buildings, many of which a farmer would consider unfit to protect his stock. But what surprised me most in the article referred to above was the belief that a decrease of the tax on realty, which on the hill is principally land, and an increase in the personal property tax, would relieve this condition. No, Col. Roberts, that will not relieve the trouble, because it is precisely the cause of the condition about which you complain. A light tax on the land in the Hill district because of the numerous taxes that are collected on other property, enables, in fact encourages the owners of realty in that district to either allow their lots to remain idle or if they are covered with disease traps, to remain as they are, whereas if all the taxes were taken off the buildings and all personal property and placed on the land, every owner in the Hill district would be compelled to do one of two things: either sell his lot or erect a building on it so he could collect enough rent to pay his taxes. The rent from a vacant lot would not do it nor would the rent from a shanty. The small owner would thus be encouraged to erect a suitable dwelling, for his taxes would not be increased thereby; now they would. The large owner would either sell or improve his property, and as no one would buy a lot under these circumstances unless he expected to build on it and put it to its best use, we would, in a very short time, see "suitable" buildings going up on the hill.

Another of Col. Roberts' observations, which amused me, was his contention that the property owners were "burdened" with all the taxes, while the non-realty owners are merely "guests" of the realty owners. Nothing could be further from the

truth. I will venture to say that in the Hill district, which he was discussing, 95 per cent of the dwellers are non-realty owners, but instead of being merely "guests" of the owners of the realty, these very same non-realty dwellers pay all the taxes of the realty owners, not directly, of course, but practically every penny that the realty owner pays into the City Treasury is first wrung from the tenant. Taxes are invariably figured in the cost of upkeep of the property rented, and if taxes go up, the rent must go up to meet it. In other words, in addition to interest on capital invested, the owner of the realty must figure in the cost of the taxes, and as the item of taxes increases, other things being equal, the landlord must increase his rent accordingly, but the man who has to squirm and earn it is the tenant who passes it on to the owner so that he can turn it in to the city treasury. In this connection I wish to call Col. Roberts' attention to the following observations:

A tax on land makes it cheaper, but a tax on anything else under the sun makes it dearer, and, conversely, removing the taxes from land increases the price, but removing the tax from everything else under the sun, which of course includes personal property, decreases the price. Then which should we tax? A tax on land does not change the quantity of land; but a tax on anything made by the hand decreases the quantity. An increase of the tax on land forces it into use, but an increase of the tax on anything made by hand, whether it is a house or a jack-knife, forces them out of use. Then which should we tax? Increase the tax on anything movable and it will move away, but increase the tax on land and it will remain where the Creator placed it. Increase the taxes on the land in the Hill district and remove the tax from buildings and all personal property and every owner will be forced to use his lot to the best advantage. He can't afford to hold it idle, neither can he afford to let it stand with a hovel on it. He will be forced to build or sell to someone who will build. In this way and in no other will the Hill district ever be suitably built up. In this way and in no other will the Schenley Farms and other vacant lots be covered with buildings to meet the needs of the toilers. In this way and in no other will every slum district in the heart of every city disappear.

BERNARD B. MCGINNIS.



## MADE IN AMERICA.

Cleveland, N. Y., November 20.

The "Made in America," "Made in Utica," "Made in Syracuse" fad, ought to have a wire in its nose in order that the rest of us may not be rooted out of a place in life. The advocates of this fad appear to be wholly ignorant of the provisions of the natural laws of trade or that they may not be violated with impunity. The fact that "competition is the natural law of trade," will assert itself, even against the "Made in Germany," "Made in China," "Made in America" fad, for the buyers of goods will consider "quality and price" more subservient to their interests than the mere fact that the thing was made here, there or yonder.

Such fads do not proceed from those who think,

but have their origin in the most sordid superficial selfishness.

Beyond this is another cause that lies nearer the bottom cause of all. Over crowded industries give inadequate returns for the effort employed, but instead of enquiring as to why industries are crowded, an effort is made to compel people to trade with them whether they are well suited or served or not.

They do not see that when land is held out of use for speculation that thousands and thousands of people who would engage in agriculture are driven into the trades and mercantile pursuits resulting in their being overcrowded.

O, no, fundamentals or provisions of the natural law are too intricate for their craniums, so they take up some fad or palliative and then run into some cross road newspaper with it as just the thing to boom "our town." "Made in Utica," put a tab on it. That's the stuff—fundamentals be darned.

But just watch that kind of boomerang, follow it to its final logical sequence and the formula will be found to be as follows:

Made in America, made in York State, made in Oswego County, made in Cleveland, Oswego County, made on the street where "I" live, made in "my" house, made by "me," buy your goods from "me," never mind the quality or price; they have "my tab" on them.

Well, what about the rest of the people in your line of business? Oh, I don't care a darn for them. I'm looking out for myself. And the great Chinese philosopher, "Confucius," said: "Those who are always looking out for themselves are generally in rather small business."

E. C. CLARK.

---

## 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, December 29, 1914.

---

### The European War.

All efforts toward arranging an armistice for Christmas having failed, the fighting on the field, in the trenches and on the sea continued as fiercely as before, and with no more definite results. The Germans have not taken Warsaw, nor have the Allies routed the Germans. It is reported that an agreement has been made whereby Bulgaria will remain neutral, while Greece and Roumania come to the aid of the Allies. Temporary success rested with Austria in the struggle with Russia, but she is again on the defensive. No developments are reported from Egypt; and a British raid on the German base of Cuxhaven was without material result. [See vol. xvii., p. 1231.]

### The Campaign in the East.

The Polish struggle is again at a stand. The Germans have been unable, in spite of great sacrifices of men, to cross the Vistula and Bzura Rivers in force. Heavy casualties are reported on the banks of the Bzura and the Rawka Rivers, over which the Germans are trying to reach Warsaw. The German army from East Prussia has reoccupied Mlawa, and the Russians in East Prussia claim no material progress. In the south of Poland the German advance on the Russian line of communication with Cracow has compelled the raising of the siege of that city. The Austrian aggressive measures appear to have exhausted themselves. The Austrians are reported to be driving the Russians out of the Carpathians, but elsewhere in Galicia the Russians have resumed the aggressive. Nothing has yet occurred to indicate definitely the success or failure of this last German invasion of Poland.



### The Campaign in the West.

A continuation of trench fighting still marks the operations along the line from Nieuport to Alsace, with slight gains for the Allies at both extremities. In Alsace the French are reported to have advanced to the outer fortifications of Metz, with which they have exchanged fire. In Belgium the Allies continue to press back the Germans trench by trench; but no decisive action has taken place at any point. Very heavy casualties are said to have occurred in these operations.



### On the Sea and in the Air.

The most dramatic event was the attack of the British on the German naval base at Cuxhaven. Seven aeroplanes, escorted by light cruisers, destroyers and submarines, entered the harbor in daylight on Christmas day, where they were met by German aeroplanes, Zeppelins and submarines, and a spirited action took place. Each side reports having suffered no damage. The Zeppelins could not stand the fire of the ships to get near enough to drop bombs upon them; and the airmen in the planes on both sides seem to have been unable to hit their marks. Four of the British aeroplanes were wrecked, but all but one of the men were rescued by the cruisers. A German aeroplane crossed the Channel and aimed a bomb at Dover Castle, but missed its mark. London is again apprehensive of an air attack.



### Other Countries.

Negotiations among the Balkan countries are reported to have resulted in a definite agreement that Bulgaria shall remain neutral, while Roumania and Greece enter the war in behalf of the Allies. Roumania is credited with 250,000 troops,

and Greece with 100,000. The latter country also has a small navy, including the two old battleships bought from the United States before the present war. A rebellion has broken out in Albania against Essad Pasha. Italy has taken possession of the seaport of Avlona for the purpose, she announces, of restoring order. No action of moment is reported from Egypt or from Turkey. The Holy War offers no evidence of being. Rumors of fighting between the Russians and Turks in Armenia are heard, but nothing is definite. The French Senate confirmed unanimously the bill that passed unanimously the Deputies, granting the government a credit of \$1,700,000,000 to defray the expense of the war for the next six months. German internal trade is said to be picking up. Fewer men in Berlin are out of employment, and the production of iron, which amounted to 1,500,000 tons of pig in July, and fell to 600,000 in August and September, rose to 730,000 in October, with a still greater increase for November. Indications that Germany contemplates the annexation of Belgium are seen by some in the announcement to some of the neutral nations having consuls in Belgian territory that the exequaturs crediting the consuls to Belgium will not be recognized further. Provisional recognition, however, will be granted to those countries desiring it. Representatives of South American republics are in consultation with the State Department at Washington regarding a course of procedure. No notice has as yet been given this country.



#### Mexico.

Brigadier General Scott succeeded on the 25th in inducing General Jose Maytorena to raise the siege of Naco, Sonora, in order to prevent injury to Americans in Naco, Arizona. Accepting conditionally General Scott's plan until it can be submitted to Washington, General Maytorena has withdrawn his troops several miles into the interior. It is supposed that the plan embraces the creation of a neutral zone along the border, within which there shall be no fighting. Firing across the boundary line continued up to the last day of the conferences. [See vol. xvii., p. 1231.]



Fighting at various points, notably in the vicinity of Tampico and Vera Cruz, continues between the Carranzistas and the Convention forces, with results generally favoring the latter. Provisional President Gutierrez has completed his cabinet with the exception of the portfolios of justice and interior. The other appointments are: Foreign relations, Jose Ortiz Rodriguez; War, General Jose Isabel Robles; Finance, F. F. Villarreal; Public works, Valentin Gama; Education, Jose Vascon-

celos; Communications, Jose Rodriguez Cabo; Agriculture, General Manuel Palafox. The Gutierrez government is reported to be substituting civil tribunals for the military tribunals.



#### Philippine Disturbances.

Local disturbances in Manila, in which a number of men with arms were arrested by the police and constabulary have been announced as an insurrection. Governor General Harrison belittles the occurrence, and attributes the trouble to the revolutionary campaign conducted from Hong-kong for a number of years past, and declares that nobody of standing or influence is connected with the movement. The press accuses rival politicians of magnifying the disturbance, some even charging Americans with fomenting the trouble for the effect it may have on the Jones bill now before Congress.



#### Government Suit Dismissed.

Judge Hough of the Federal District Court of New York City dismissed, on December 21, the Government's suit against the Lehigh Valley railroad which was brought on the charge that the road maintained with other roads a monopoly of the mining and transportation of anthracite coal. Judge Hough found no monopoly existing. The Government will appeal to the Supreme Court. [See vol. xvi., p. 879.]



#### Rebuff to Perkins' Tariff Commission Idea.

Following up the action of the recent Progressive party conference which made a paramount issue of the tariff commission idea, George W. Perkins, chairman of the National Committee, is sending letters to party leaders in various localities urging them to organize tariff commission clubs. The following reply was sent him by Judge Arthur G. Wray of York County, Nebraska:

I do not believe the new Progressive party, concerned as it is for the long future, will be inclined, for immediate advantage or otherwise, to give the tariff issue pre-eminence. A considerable number of ultra-protectionists in our party went back to the Republicans in the last election because of their high tariff convictions. Many Progressives who are loyal and still with us consider the tariff a part of the taxation question, and tax reform but one necessary step toward social and industrial justice. Therefore, the wisdom of exalting the tariff above the entire program for social and industrial justice, has not been made apparent.

Nebraska Progressives, in their 1914 state platform—a platform which Colonel Roosevelt declared to be "one of the best and wisest platforms I have ever seen promulgated in a state"—took their stand, among other things, for the removal of the tariff from politics, and then made clear four points of funda-

mental difference in principle between the Progressive and the old line parties, to-wit:

(1) Greater democratic control of public affairs, through the Initiative, Referendum, Recall, short ballot, preferential voting, and equal suffrage.

(2) Public ownership and operation of such complete monopolies as public utilities, Changing business from a competitive to a co-operative basis. Regulation of business through a non-partisan commission possessing adequate power.

(3) A program for social and industrial justice, including conservation of natural resources and a new system of taxation embodying the Lloyd-George idea of discriminating between earned and unearned incomes.

(4) A demand that material progress be accompanied by an equivalent progress in morality, the central point being national prohibition of the liquor traffic as a part of the new nationalism.

(5) In addition to the foregoing, recent events would necessitate proposals for a league of peace and a permanent international court of arbitration or judicial system backed by combined navies of nations as a world police force.

As Nebraska's representative on the national Progressive platform committee of the 1912 Chicago convention, I presented four resolutions to the committee, one of which proposed a program embodying the idea of a permanent international court, supported by combined navies as world police, and declaring further naval armaments by individual nations an international offense.

This resolution—perhaps the only one of the kind presented in 1912 to a national platform committee—was not taken seriously by our committee when read to it two years ago, put in 1916 the idea underlying it will receive careful attention and consideration. And Progressives may well lead the way two years hence in recognizing the obligations and duties of world citizenship and in proposing a league of peace and an international judicial system supported by combined navies as a world police force.

These principles, outlined in subdivisions (1), (2), (3), (4), and (5) above, foreshadow the campaign of 1916, and are of such vital concern, especially to us younger men, that suggestions at this time of organizing tariff clubs and giving the tariff issue pre-eminence do not appeal forcibly to us as members of the rank and file of the Progressive party.

[See volume XVII, pages 1096, 1156.]



#### California Referendum Results.

The measures approved on popular vote in California at the recent election were a red light abatement act, holding owners of buildings responsible for their use; a stringent blue sky act; creation of a commission to control use of State owned waters; exemption of vessels from taxation; abolition of poll tax; issue of bonds for university buildings; allowing Alameda County to issue bonds as contribution to Panama Exposition; authorizing cities to annex contiguous territory; prohibition of prize fights; Torrens system of land title registration; authorizing cities of from

2,500 to 3,500 population to adopt charters; providing for legislative supervision of drainage and reclamation districts; allowing counties to frame charters for their own government; giving State Railroad Commission power to regulate rates of public utility corporations in municipalities when electors so determine; making provisions for incorporation of municipalities; authorizing irrigation districts to acquire property outside of the United States; empowering Railroad Commission to fix compensation for condemned property of public utility corporations; allowing Governor to be elected United States Senator; allowing taxation of lands owned by municipal corporations outside of its limits but exempting improvements thereon; providing for bond issue by city of Sacramento; providing bonds for State buildings in San Francisco; forbidding setting aside of verdicts on technicalities; providing for payment of bonds and interest thereon; exempting educational institutions from taxation; authorizing creation of a minimum wage commission, and providing for improvement of San Francisco harbor. [See Vol. XVII, pages 1040, 1092, 1115.]



Defeated were call for a constitutional convention; prohibition; eight-hour law; Home Rule in taxation; a mild blue sky act; providing non-partisan primary for constitutional convention; disfranchising propertyless voters at bond elections; voting by absent electors; regulating bonds for deposit of public money; allowing excess condemnations for public purposes; protection of game animals; providing for annexation by large cities of contiguous territory; preferential vote; increasing pay of assemblymen; authorizing municipal ownership; bonds for a State building in Los Angeles; prohibiting work on Sunday; authorizing drugless healing, and prohibiting for eight years the holding of elections on the prohibition question.



On important questions the vote was: Prohibition: for, 365,556; against, 524,731; eight-hour law, for, 243,692; against, 568,881; Home Rule in taxation, for 267,618; against, 375,634; exemption of vessels, for, 359,176; against, 301,969; abolition of poll tax, for 405,375; against, 353,312; constitutional convention, for, 180,111; against, 442,687; disfranchisement of propertyless voters, for, 312,193; against, 337,951; minimum wage, for, 379,311; against, 295,109; preferential vote, for, 240,600; against, 294,265.



#### National Civic Federation on Free Speech.

A preliminary report on investigation of violations of the right of free speech was made public on December 26 by the National Civic Federation.

The report says that many cases have been investigated where a claim was made that free speech had been inviolated. It says further:

A review of these cases shows that while free speech is the right to express one's opinions orally, it is not the right to do so in language of any character, since words which tend to incite to disorder, violence and crime, or language which is blasphemous or obscene may not be used.

Neither is it the right to express one's opinion for every purpose, since one may not incite to disorder, or crime, or advocate criminal anarchy. Neither is free speech the right to make oneself heard at any time or at any place, since the right may not be exercised at times and places when so doing interferes with equal rights of other persons. But these necessary restrictions upon speech do not impair the reasonable freedom guaranteed by the constitution.



#### Congressional News.

By a vote of 197 in favor to 189 against the House of Representatives on December 22 failed to adopt the Hobson resolution for a prohibition amendment to the Federal Constitution. A two-thirds vote was required for passage. The resolution therefore failed of adoption by 61 votes. There voted for the resolution 115 Democrats, 71 Republicans and 11 Progressives. Against it voted 140 Democrats, 46 Republicans, one Progressive (Chandler of New York) and one Independent (William Kent). On each side were reactionaries and progressives. For the amendment were the progressive Democrats, Diffenderfer of Pennsylvania, Keating of Colorado, Lewis of Maryland and Tavenner of Illinois. With these voted such reactionaries as Burnett of Alabama, Clark of Florida, Hobson of Alabama and Johnson of Kentucky. Against the resolution voted progressive Democrats as Bailey of Pennsylvania, Buchanan of Illinois, Crosser of Ohio, George of New York and Gordon of Ohio. With these voted such reactionaries as Underwood of Albania and Broussard of Louisiana. The resolution was as follows:

Article I, Section 1—The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale, exportation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof and exportation for sale thereof, are forever prohibited.

Section 2—The Congress or the States shall have power independently or concurrently to enforce this article by all needful legislation.

[See vol. xvii., p. 1210.]



The House passed, on December 21, by a vote of 218 to 97, the Lever bill providing for federal licensing of cotton and grain warehouses. This is a substitute for a bill licensing cotton warehouses only, which has already passed the Senate. It was at once sent to conference. Both branches

of Congress adjourned on December 23 until December 29.

## NEWS NOTES

—John Muir, naturalist, geologist, author and explorer, died in Los Angeles, California, on the 24th, at the age of 76.

—The Cleveland Singletax Club, like the Chicago Singletax Club, has sent to all clubs and churches an offer to supply speakers.

—That there are 129,000 "employable unemployed" men in Chicago is the estimate in the unemployment report of the Chicago Municipal Markets Commission. [See Vol. xvii., pages 1140, 1191.]

—Life insurance policy loan agreements are not taxable as promissory notes under the Federal emergency revenue law. This was decided by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue on December 23. [See Vol. xvii., page 1155.]

—The Philadelphia Singletax Society announces a talk on January 14 by J. R. Cummings of Bala, Pa., on "National Money and Natural Taxation" and on January 28 by Dr. Henry Leffmann on "Is the Mexican Trouble a Land Question?"

—A Texas law forbidding blacklisting of employes by corporations was held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the State on December 16, on the ground that the act does not "deal with the real needs of the people in their health, safety or convenience," and that it is "purely personal as between the employe and the corporation."

—The elaborate program for the observance of the one hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, December 24th, which was arranged by the British and American committees, has been postponed on account of the war. The American committee announces that suitable exercises will be held in churches February 14th, and in the capitals of the various States February 17th and 18th, 1915.

—The \$10 prize for best essay on "The Philosophy of Henry George," offered to pupils of New York State's high schools by the New York State Singletax League, was awarded on December 23 to Samuel S. Rabinowitz of the Morris High School of New York City. The judges were Amelia Barr, Frederic C. Howe, Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, Dr. Walter Mendelson, John J. Murphy and Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

—Official figures of the November election in California show that Governor Johnson received 460,495 votes. This lacks but 5,764 of the total received by his four opponents. Fredericks, Republican, received 236,328 votes, and Curtin, Democrat, 116,121. For United States Senator the vote was: Phelan, Democrat, 279,896; Heney, Progressive, 255,232, and Knowland, Republican, 254,159. [See Vol. xvii., page 1115.]

—The report on December 25 of the General Education Board founded by John D. Rockefeller, finds educational work hindered in the South as the result of rural poverty. The report declares while the average annual earnings of individuals engaged in agriculture in Iowa were upward of \$1,000, the average earnings of those similarly engaged in some of the Southern States are as low as \$150. The great

bulk of the people of the Southern States were simply not earning enough to provide proper homes and to support good schools. [See Vol. xvii., page 976.]

—A Consular and Trade report relating to conditions in the Marquesas Islands says: "The average wage now prevailing in the Marquesas is about 77 cents a day, but in times of competition for a limited supply, as when several vessels happen to be in port at the same time, it often goes as high as \$4. The labor problem here, as in Tahiti, is a serious one. Almost all Marquesans own land; there are no poor, as food is obtained with little effort."

—Justice Lamar of the Supreme Court of the United States granted on December 28 the application for a hearing before a full bench of the Supreme Court of Leo Frank's application for a new trial. Frank is under sentence of death at Atlanta. He has been denied a new trial by the State courts. The appeal is largely based on the fact that Frank was not in court when the verdict against him was rendered. That this renders the proceeding unconstitutional is claimed by his attorneys, who cite the case of a white slavery conviction under similar circumstances in Sioux City, Iowa, which was set aside by Federal Judge Elliott as unconstitutional.

—The report of Chicago's Commissioner of Public Service, Montague Ferry, on December 26 on the physical value of the elevated street railway property puts it at \$44,159,284. The original cost of this property was \$53,873,584. Included in the estimate is real estate which originally cost \$18,701,051 and is entered at the same amount in Commissioner Ferry's estimate of present value. To his valuation of property Commissioner Ferry adds annual taxes of \$150,000 and 18 per cent overhead charges \$7,975,671, making entire tangible value of the lines \$52,284,955. A supplemental report on intangible value is still to be made. The franchise value, Commissioner Ferry said, is between \$5,000,000 and \$20,000,000. [See Vol. xvii., page 558.]

## PRESS OPINIONS

### A Distinction Without a Difference.

The Trimmed Lamp (Chicago) November-December. The Frenchman who sinks quietly into the mud with a bit of German lead in his heart, is a "patriot"; and the German who dispatches the lead on its errand is a "patriot" too. But if a man from Chicago were to shoot a man from New York, he would only be a murderer. A fine distinction, my masters, but readily elucidated by such metaphysicians as the divine who explained that Christ's (admittedly impractical) doctrine of non-resistance applied only to individuals, not to nations.



### Appreciated Wisdom.

Daily News and Leader (London), December 9.—President Wilson said another word of great value. When this war is past the scourge that will threaten Europe will be the scourge of an armed peace, of a Europe in which every State lives in fear of its neighbor, and dedicates an inordinate share of thought and

wealth to piling up arms. We have only to look around us here and in other countries to see it being proclaimed that the lesson of this conflict is the supreme necessity of armaments and ever larger armaments. Now the patent and glaring truth that this calamity has come upon Europe precisely because nation armed against nation, and fear was the one watchword of statesmen, will not of itself save Europe from falling once again into the hideous blunder and reaping once again all its hideous consequences. The mighty interests for which slaughter and the preparation for slaughter point the way to wealth, and the Yellow Press to which the sowing of international hate and dread is the reaping of profits will seldom fail to work their will with weak Governments. The task of the future will be to strengthen the weak will of statesmen. There is no more effective way than for some Government to give a concrete example of resistance to evil suggestion and of sanity. That is what President Wilson has done. In the United States as here the faction for whom armaments would seem to be an end in themselves have been clamoring for a larger army and a larger navy. President Wilson will yield nothing. Under his Government the United States will not lose its self-possession or be thrown off its balance. From a layman this might be a commonplace. In the mouth of the head of one of the great States of the world it is a fact of moment.



### The High Cost of Living.

Johnstown (Pa.), Democrat, November 26.—Thousands of acres which ought to be producing poultry or other food materials have been given over to speculators and practically withdrawn from use. If the interest on farm land speculatively valued at \$500 an acre is figured into the cost of growing grain or raising chickens of course it will be hard to come out at the end of the year with a profit. One of the big troubles has arisen right here. Farm lands all over the country have advanced enormously, this advance in whole states having in some cases been as much as 300, 400 and 500 per cent. Around our cities and larger towns vast areas have been withdrawn entirely from productive use and agriculture driven to less advantageous points, the town lot boomer having supplanted the husbandman. . . . Even the market gardens in many instances have been forced back and back by the town lot boomers. It is impossible for the user of land to pay the price demanded or the rent the spectacular would extort.

Few students of the high cost of living have taken this phase of the question into consideration, yet it is a very obvious and a most important phase. . . . If the high cost of living problem is to be solved at all, it must be done by squeezing the water, not alone out of corporation stocks and bonds, but also out of farm land values. The singletax would do this most effectually.



It is bad for the ignorant and vicious to do ill, but it is worse for the educated and honest to do nothing. —Unidentified.

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### THE CLOCK.

For The Public.

What seems more innocent than this machine  
 Contrived to measure time? And yet, behold  
 The pulse and traffic of the world controlled  
 By it! Enforcing schedule and routine,  
 It has become a Tyrant set between  
 Man and the freedom that was his of old,  
 When but the hour-glass and the sun-dial told  
 The pace of time, in city and demesne.

None may escape the irksome discipline  
 Its tireless hands impose in this grim day.  
 Efficiency? Perhaps, but dearly bought.  
 The clock's exactitude so long has been  
 Our life's enslaving guidance that its way  
 Outreaches God's, and shapes our very thought.

CHARLES H. WINKE.



## CHRISTIAN ETHICS AND THE LAND QUESTION.

A Lay Sermon to the Readers of The Public.

"And if thou bringest thy gift to the altar and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, go and be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer thy gift."

Many theories and explanations have been offered by the Clergy and supporters of Ecclesiastical institutions, to account for the growing indifference of the people to the ordinances of religion, and for the falling away from church attendance. That the attitude of mind enjoined in the text quoted above may be a sufficient explanation of the increasing indifference of the public to Institutional religion, does not seem to have occurred to any of these theorizers, and we put it forward now as being perhaps worthy of consideration.

It must, we think, be admitted that an immense change has taken place during the last few decades in the spirit and temper in which ordinary people are regarding that devil's puzzle, the tendency of increasing wealth to distribute itself without the slightest approximation to fairness and equity. Like Moses, the Jewish law-giver, men are beginning to look upon the condition of their brethren, and to see that their burdens are very great. Unlike Moses, however, they can find no personal oppressor to appeal to or to threaten. Instead of a hard-hearted Pharaoh we have a government composed largely of philanthropic capitalists, who vie with each other in the matter of providing straw for the oppressed

makers of bricks. A network of charitable organizations and associations for the relief of the destitute spreads itself over the country, and a practically universal sympathy with the lot of the poor manifests itself among the well-to-do. And never before in the industrial history of the world have the means of giving effect to this sympathy been so great. By means of scientific invention the productivity of human labor has been increased beyond the wildest dreams. Food supplies and the manufacture of all the commodities that sustain life are always in excess of possible requirements. By the commercial federation of the world, through the developments of shipping and telegraphy, the haggard spectre of famine is practically banished from the horizon of possibilities.

And yet the people perish for lack of food while the produce stores are full and the merchants anxious to sell; and shiver for want of clothing while the warehouses are piled ceiling-high with unsold goods. Unemployed men and women walk our streets and beg at our doors and the cry of the children is always in our ears. With the regularity of the seasons there recur those periodic cycles of bad trade when production has got ahead of effective demand, and which baffles all our attempts to circumvent. All this we see taking place before our eyes, accompanied by a physical, intellectual, and moral deterioration of human character which we know is the direct result of these conditions.

Who is the enemy of society that is responsible for the economic maladjustment of means to ends that produces this hideous anomaly? We seek for him in the form of a human tyrant or group of tyrants and cannot find a vestige of such. The Altruistic spirit has permeated even the upper strata of society, and the struggling middle class have now no monopoly of the virtue of compassion for the downtrodden masses. To take seriously for a moment the jesting words of the late W. S. Gilbert, "Hearts just as pure and fair may beat in Belgrave Square, as in the lowly air, of Seven Dials." Slowly the conviction is forced upon us that the misery of society is not due to the malevolence of individuals, or to original sin, or to the niggardliness of nature, but to artificial economic laws which our forefathers have set up and which we have perpetuated. The real enemy of society we are now beginning to perceive, is an impersonal law-made *tendency* which creates an artificial center of economic gravity, which drives men together in unnatural competition, and which shuts them out from the workshops and storehouses of the ever-bountiful mother nature. It is being increasingly borne in upon us that we need no longer blame God for making human affairs with a perverse tendency to go awry, or attempt to saddle the responsibility upon the broad back of natural forces, but must seek for the cause of destitution and deterioration of character in the

structural flaws in the system of economic relationships which we have set up. The solution of the problem of poverty must be sought for in the science of economics.

It is to men who have reached this position that the voice of Christ comes from across the centuries in the words quoted above. To such there has come the conviction that our brethren have a serious charge against us indeed, that of having constructed our society upon a principle which gives to those who have and withholds from those who have not, and which denies freedom at the physical basis of life, the point where subsistence is earned. If those who have perceived this, and who still cling to the belief that the laws of God are just and equitable laws, decide to postpone their worship until they have made peace with their injured brethren, it will surely be accounted to them for righteousness' sake. Many are at this moment forbearing to offer their gifts at the altar in obedience to this injunction of Christ's. To such there can be no rest until justice is done and reparation made, and they are again free to return with clean hands and pure consciences to offer their tributes of praise at the altar of the Eternal Righteousness.

Human skill has achieved a mastery over the brute forces of nature which our forefathers would have pronounced impossible. It has discovered the solution of problems which formerly seemed insoluble. Must we stand helplessly in front of this, the greatest of all problems, the doing of justice to our much-wronged fellow-creatures, and confess ourselves incompetent to solve it? Christian faith revolts at the thought. The solution must be found, and until then the privileges of joy which belong to righteousness alone, are not honestly ours.

ALEXANDER MACKENDRICK.



## CHLORIDE OF CALCIUM

For The Public.

Deck-hands on the fruit steamer have rolled rusty metal barrels, or "drums" of chloride of calcium on to a tarpaulin on the lower deck, to be hammered open.

A ton or more of the agent will be used in refrigerating the cargo of bananas that the ship is to take on at its next Colombian port.

Each drum, loaded to nearly three hundred pounds, is assailed by the workers in turn, wielding a heavy sledge-hammer, and relieving one another as they tire; for the toil is exhausting under the fierce South American sun-pour, and the sweat runs in rills from the striving, muscular shoulders and arms.

How stubbornly the metal casing holds!

Under blows that shake the ship through its very frame, the stolid cylinder, though dented

like warm asphalt by heavy heels, still holds its shape.

This battling attack serves to reduce the contents to pieces of usable size, as well as to break the drum itself.

At last a rift shows along the rusty flank—another blow, and the head yawns loose at one side—another and another, and with a rending crash the casing splits wide, and the mass of sharp, snow-white fragments within tumbles wide on the tarpaulin.

But now at once the watcher's eyes have to be turned away from this avalanche of gleaming, fractured crystal, for in the blaze of the tropic sun the reflection flung forth from the hoard is intolerably dazzling.

It seems to have instantly generated blinding white fire on contact with the air.

Or is this the flashing ruin of some statue fallen from the sky?—The shattering of a Diana of alabaster, smiting mortal eyes with darkness that dare look even upon the shards of her naked splendor?

ELIOT WHITE.



## THE WAR SPIRIT'S FOOD.

Clement Wood, in the Masses.

Yes, he'll enlist—he'll leap at the chance!  
If you think eleven servile hours a day, six days a week,  
A slatternly wife, a tableful of children all mouths,  
A sodden Sunday, and then the long round again,  
Can bind him to sanity and peace,  
You do not know your brother—  
You do not know yourself!

Better the close-locked marching feet,  
The music like great laughter, the rough comradeships—

War is a picnic, a vast game of chance;  
You may win—or even a quick and bursting death,  
Canceling all these unpaid duty-debts at home.

Then—on to the picnic!  
Out of the foul-aired routine!  
A breath of life, though death be the price!

## BOOKS

### REGULATION THAT DOES NOT REGULATE.

**The Failure of Regulation.** By Daniel W. Hoan, City Attorney of Milwaukee. Published by the Socialist Party of the United States, 111 North Market St., Chicago. Price, 25 cents.

Those who know whence monopolies derive their power will be neither surprised nor disappointed on learning of the failure of attempts at regulation. When we pass laws to prevent what other

laws encourage there must be failure somewhere. Mr. Hoan presents in a paper covered book of 98 pages example after example of unsatisfactory results of efforts to destroy an effect without removing its cause. For those who attribute such failures to inefficiency of American administrative methods, he presents examples from European countries which tell the same tale. So it is not surprising that in Wisconsin—the State where regulation has probably been carried further than elsewhere in the United States—there is the same tale to tell of failure. The result there, as elsewhere, is only to more firmly establish the power of public service monopolies. Whatever views one may hold concerning the monopoly question the little book is well worth studying on account of its array of facts.

The author seems to have committed an error of judgment in his concluding chapter entitled "The Real Remedy." After presenting arguments which aptly apply to monopolies resting on privilege he offers the remedy of Socialism. If thereby were meant only public ownership of public utilities there would be no occasion for dissent even though the label might be inaccurate. But in urging the entire program of the Socialist party he not only fails to convince but plays into the hands of those opponents of public ownership, who appeal to prejudice by presenting the unverified claim that the end would be unlimited Socialism. If this error be overlooked—as it can easily be by all who have open minds—the book may be classed with the valuable contributions to economic study.

S. D.



His Worship—What we want you to tell us is the exact words used by the prisoner when he spoke to you.

Witness—He said, your Worship, that he stole the pig.

His Worship—No, no; he would not have used the third person.

Witness—But, your Worship, there was no third person.

His Worship—Then he must have said, "I stole the pig."

Witness—Well, maybe you did, your Worship, but he did not tell on you.—Sacred Heart Review.



"Pa, a man's wife is his better half, isn't she?"

"We are told so, my son."

"Then if a man marries twice there isn't anything left of him, is there?"—Boston Transcript.



"What," asked the teacher, "do you think is the most wonderful thing a men ever made?"

A little girl whose parents were obviously harassed by the question of ways and means, replied as solemnly as the proverbial judge: "A living for his family."—Sacred Heart Review.

# La Follette



believes in the American people. He believes that YOU should know the TRUTH about the inside workings of YOUR government and the records of your representatives at Washington.

So with the help and approval of a score of other fighters for the common good, Senator LaFollette established

## La Follette's Magazine

devoted to fearless discussion of the most important public questions, and has departments for the home, special articles, stories, a Farm Department, fiction, humor, important news of the world.

Published monthly. Regular price \$1.00 per year. To permit you to get acquainted with the magazine we will send it to you on trial

**3 Months for 25c.**

Simply send a quarter with your name and address to

**LA FOLLETTE'S, Box 75, Madison, Wis.**

## Subscription Offers

The Public, one year, and a free copy of "Social Problems" by Henry George . . . . . \$1.00

(The book can go to one address and the Public to another, if desired.)

The Public, three yearly subscriptions. No premium books. \$2.00

(One of these three subscriptions can be a renewal. Any number of subscriptions will be accepted at this rate: For instance, \$8 pays for 12 subscriptions.)

The Public, thirteen weeks, and three booklets on the single tax, each subscription only . . . . .25

(New subscriptions only.)

**Suggestion:** Paste this in the top of your hat—then remember it is there. Those who have two hats worthy of the honor, may write us for another copy.

**THE CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT  
THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Building, CHICAGO**