

# The Public

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a Weekly Narrative of History in the Making.

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## EDITORIAL

### The Acid Test.

The Declaration of Independence furnishes an infallible test for every important public measure. However plausible the argument in its favor, no governmental policy can be right which is not strictly in accord with the doctrine that all men have equal rights to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. That is the test which can not be safely undergone by any of the laws or policies conferring privileges, limiting suffrage, or tending to interfere with the individual's right to freedom of action limited only by the equal rights of others.

S. D.

### A Fickle-Minded Public.

It is but a few years since politicians were ringing the changes on the depredations of the trusts, and the people were working themselves into a frenzy over that latest spawn of Wall Street. Yet the Supreme Court has rendered a decision declaring that the largest trust of all is not a trust, and few people take the trouble even to damn the Court. Nor is it many years since the silver question rent parties, divided churches, and all but led to actual revolution. Wheat sold at fifty cents, and there could be no relief, we were told, until the gold standard was abolished, and wheat reached a dollar a bushel. The gold standard is still in force, and wheat sells for a dollar and a quarter, with other farm products in proportion. Yet strikes and lockouts continue, and legislatures enact minimum wage laws. May not all this be taken as an indication that the statesman has not as yet put his finger upon the real source of the trouble?

Money is a mere counter. It matters little whether it be made of leather, paper, or metal. So long as the law grants special privileges to the few, they will take their toll, no matter how it be measured. Nor does it matter whether in-

dustry be organized in large or small units, or whether they take the form of partnership, corporation, or trust, those to whom the law grants special powers over industries will continue to exact tribute. If those men and women who aspire to leadership would look beneath the surface, and consider fundamentals, they not only would save themselves from much absurdity and ridicule, but they would the sooner be able to lead the people out of bondage. s. c.



### The "Grandfather" Clause.

At last the Supreme Court of the United States, forced to squarely face the issue involved in the "grandfather" clause of Oklahoma's election law, has rendered a definite decision. It decided in the only way it could without revoking the Fifteenth Amendment. The "grandfather" clause had no other object than to disfranchise Negro voters for the sole reason that they happen to be Negroes. Aside from the accident of birth, there is no objection urged against Negro voters that is true of all the race, and that is not just as true of many white voters. Aside from the accident of birth there is no objection worth considering that could not be overcome, without doing violence to democracy, and without racial discrimination. Had the framers of the "grandfather" clause been more concerned for democracy and less concerned about race prejudice they would not have resorted to so discreditable a subterfuge. Suffrage is a right not a privilege. In a democracy the exercise of rights can not be denied to any mature person of sound mind on account of an accident of birth.

s. d.



### A Disgraceful Law.

In California it is a crime to ask either a written or spoken pledge of a candidate for the Legislature. This law was enacted in 1905, when the Southern Pacific dominated the politics of the State. It has apparently failed of its purpose to block progress, but its presence to this day on the statute books is not complimentary to the succeeding legislatures which should have repealed it.

s. d.



### Trying to Gag Criticism.

While legislators in some States would make it criminal to question candidates concerning their course if elected, there are at least two legislators in New Jersey who imagine it to be a

crime to ask them for information about their actions while in office. These two legislators are Assemblymen Hunter and Barbour of Passaic County, who have had an editor arrested for asking this question: "Will the Republican machine assemblymen tell the people of Passaic County why they voted against local option?" The writer arrested is James G. Blauvelt, editor of *The Way*, a column that appears in the *Paterson Sunday Chronicle*, the space for which is paid for by Mr. Blauvelt, who is responsible for its contents. If the publication of such a question has hurt Messrs. Hunter and Barbour sufficiently to justify arrest of the editor, then the conclusion is unavoidable that in an accurate reply would be involved some admissions which would be injurious to them. In that case, however, Mr. Blauvelt performed a public service for which he deserves commendation. If the aggrieved legislators do not yet realize this, they probably will before the case comes to an end. s. d.



### A Free Speech Victory.

As might have been expected, Cincinnati's Court of Appeals has ordered Mayor Spiegel and Director Holmes to refrain from interfering with free speech. Probably both officials—even though one of them was formerly on the bench—were ignorant of the existence of such a right. They thought that their official positions empowered them to determine who might or might not express his views on the public streets. This was practically the position assumed by Director Holmes before the court. He had refused to allow Herbert S. Bigelow to hold a street meeting because it seemed to him "an I. W. W. proposition." Even had this absurdly false conclusion been true, it would have failed to justify his refusal. Under cross-examination Mr. Holmes admitted that he had never heard Bigelow speak. Yet he felt sure that he stood for I. W. W. principles. It must have been due to equally thorough investigation that he acquired his peculiar ideas about the legal power conferred on him by his office. s. d.



### Explaining Nearing's Dismissal.

An explanation of Scott Nearing's dismissal is offered by one of the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, John C. Bell, attorney for the contractor bosses who control Philadelphia Republican politics. Mr. Bell says that in a private conversation Nearing expressed a very uncomplimentary opinion about a certain academy in Philadel-

phia. If Nearing actually did so express himself, it is safe to say it was his honest opinion with a substantial basis of some kind. It would be a kindness to the academy to say nothing about an uncomplimentary opinion, expressed by one whose views on educational matters have considerable weight. It is furthermore safe to say that Nearing's dismissal was not actually based on any such frivolous grounds. The trustees are all connected with big business enterprises. Not one of them would dismiss without a hearing, on account of some trifling gossip, a competent employe with a record of years of satisfactory service. That such a pretext is urged is merely evidence that the trustees are ashamed of the true reason.

S. D.



### Another Case of Coercion.

The dismissal from the University of Colorado of Professor James H. Brewster is not surprising, in view of recent disclosures concerning political control in that State exercised by big monopolistic corporations. When Professor Brewster defended the cause of the strikers he naturally gave offense to the interests, whose power has been demonstrated in the conviction of John R. Lawson. It is not reasonable to suppose that these interests would tolerate any expression by a public educator unfavorable to them. Like the case of Scott Nearing, the Brewster case shows that when educational institutions come under the control of certain kinds of business interests their usefulness becomes seriously impaired if indeed it does not come altogether to an end.

S. D.



### Pennsylvania's Schoolmaster.

Another schoolmaster in politics is playing havoc with the plans of political bosses and predatory interests. He is Governor Martin G. Brumbaugh of Pennsylvania, who before his election was superintendent of Philadelphia's public schools. His recent veto of the Pittsburgh graded tax repealer served to increase an already strong suspicion that Bosses Penrose, Oliver and McNichol made as serious a mistake in supporting him for Governor, as was made by Boss Jim Smith of New Jersey in supporting Woodrow Wilson. But this Pittsburgh veto was but one of a number which kept predatory interests and political bosses from securing the measures they had put through a servile legislature. The railroad corporations had induced that body to pass a repealer of the Full Crew law. The arguments used in its behalf—not only before the legislature

but in paid half-page advertisements in daily papers throughout the state—were plausible enough, until the Governor exposed them in a veto message. Employes that appeared before legislative committees to urge repeal were shown to have been promised increased salaries in case of success; some facts were garbled in presenting arguments and others were suppressed. What must be even more embarrassing to the corporations is the following plain statement:

Within one year the railroad companies secured an increased freight rate by action of the Interstate Commerce Commission. A potential argument of the companies for this increase was the fact that the Full Crew law added to the expense of operating their service. They had scarcely secured the increased rate until steps were taken to repeal the law requiring this full crew.

Another offense to the bosses was the vetoing of a number of bills designed to give the Governor's own party an unfair advantage, to hamper independent voting, to prevent fusion, and to help Penrose get rid of an independent committeeman. Is it any wonder that Senator Oliver's personal organ, the Pittsburgh Gazette-Times, has finally lost patience and in its issue of June 20 openly denounced the Governor? Politics would surely be improved by the entrance of a few more schoolmasters, if Woodrow Wilson and Martin Brumbaugh may be regarded as typical.

S. D.



### Vindicating the Honor System.

Some idea of Warden Allen's honor system at the Joliet penitentiary may be had from the conduct of the prisoners since the murder of Mrs. Allen. The first impulse of the men was to lynch the man suspected of the crime; but when they had been quieted, and the prison chaplain had pledged them to do nothing to disgrace the warden's honor system, they soon came to realize what the new order means. Mr. Allen's grief and despair at the death of his wife under such horrifying circumstances was so great that at first he declared he had lost all heart for the work, and never again would enter the penitentiary. This brought the men face to face with the possibility of losing the honor system, and returning to the old methods of harshness and severity. They were filled with consternation at the thought; and they united in a petition to Mr. Allen to return and take up again the work of regenerating the prisoners. They asked to be permitted to join hands with him over the grave of the woman who did so much for them, and make the work a success. Together they promised to

build a real honor system, as a fitting memorial to the dead woman that will be more lasting and durable than marble or bronze. They declared: "We will build men in whom honor is not dead, and will not die."



The State is to be congratulated that Warden Allen has seen his way to resume the work he has thus far so ably done. It is still in the experimental stages; but enough has been accomplished to prove that it is a real advance in the treatment of prisoners; and it is most important that such men as he, who have a special talent for the work, should be kept in charge until the new order has been firmly established; for it is most devoutly to be hoped that the honor system will not share the fate of so many good ideas that have fallen into incompetent hands. If hanging is the worst use a man can be put to, the old style imprisonment is the next worst. Every encouragement should be held out to those who are striving to regain their lost footing on the moral ladder; and all honor should be accorded those men and women who are striving to help their weaker fellows.

S. O.



### The Mob Vindicates Slaton.

The mob that threatened Governor Slaton of Georgia strengthened all the claims about prevalence of mob rule during Frank's trial. It has made clear not only the justice and courage of Slaton's action, but something far less creditable in the judges and prison board members, who shoved on the Governor a responsibility that they should themselves have assumed.

S. D.



### Leo Frank and John R. Lawson.

The similarity between the Leo Frank case in Georgia, and the John R. Lawson case in Colorado, is that each was convicted of murder without a fair trial. There the similarity ends, and differences begin which make the treatment of Lawson even more outrageous than that of Frank. The mob, which sought in hot blood Frank's condemnation, honestly believed that he had with his own hands committed an atrocious murder. The interests, which in cold blood sought Lawson's condemnation, did not even charge him with knowledge of a crime. The Georgia mob sincerely held that the public good required Frank's death. The Colorado interests had no other motive than to terrorize workers into meek submission to their rule. Frank should be granted a new trial. So should Lawson. Those who have made such

tremendous efforts in Frank's behalf can now prove to the people of Georgia, by making similar effort on behalf of Lawson, that they would have shown as much concern had it been a humbler person than Leo Frank who had suffered from an unfair trial.

S. D.



### Premature Preparation for War.

One may wonder at the moral state of those good people who would have America launch forth on the sea of militarism by setting up a huge military establishment; but it is with nothing less than amazement that one views their methods of preparation. Men may suspend their moral code, and put away their ideals, but how in the name of all Yankeedom can they expect to be excused for such a lack of business acumen? Why pour a billion dollars into war machinery to meet we know not what? Warfare is in a state of transition. Old codes have been laid aside. Rules have been suspended. And the science of wholesale murder has been raised—or lowered—to a new plane. New means and methods of warfare are being introduced daily. The end of the present conflict may see an entirely new order. Most certainly will it differ according to the side that wins. Until the victors draw up the new rules for future international murder we cannot know whether to put our money into asphyxiating gases, or into exterminating gases. We cannot tell now whether the new code will sanction merely the burning of unfortified cities, by dropping from airships barrels of inflammable oils, or the extermination of all the inhabitants by dropping upon them poisonous gas. Why waste our money on preparations for slaughtering our fellows until these Christian leaders have issued the new rules of the game?

S. C.



### Conscious Neglect.

The Federal War Department knows that the average American worker in the prime of manhood is not paid enough to be able to save \$10 a month. The Department makes this clear in its advertisements for recruits. As an inducement to young men to leave their jobs in productive industries it holds up to them the glittering possibility of saving that sum each month. Since the Federal Government is not without its share of responsibility for conditions that keep wages depressed, it does not look well for one of its Departments to make the depression a means of enticing men into the army. It would be engaged in much better business if it did its share in removing the cause that keeps

wages of productive laborers down to the level of a bare living.

S. D.



### Sharing Net Profits.

A zealous correspondent calls attention to the fact that:

The average man in this country is waging a losing fight in the industrial struggle, because he is being exploited by the same monopoly that is devastating the country of its resources. . . . Because the average man is not getting enough of the corporate product to maintain a family, we today are in a condition where child and woman labor have become an economic necessity. So the average American man in industry today, while he is somewhat free from cheap, foreign labor abroad, is not only struggling with cheap, foreign labor at home, and against the powers of monopoly, but is in a losing competition with cheap domestic child and woman labor. This is due to the fact that our legislatures fail to make provision for carrying the principles of co-operation beyond the productive period. . . . Had there been a Federal provision for a sharing of net profits during the past ten years of industrial prosperity, the capitalist would be a harmless factor in our social and industrial economy. And the corporations today would be based upon a far more substantial foundation. Excepting for the monopoly of net profits, a moral and legitimate tax would secure to this country both a prosperous people, and a stable government.



It is to be feared that the correspondent has failed to discriminate carefully between corporations and monopolies. Corporations, as corporations, have been no more oppressive to the workers than have partnerships, or individual employers. They have indeed themselves been the victims of monopolies, along with the workers. The capitalist, no matter whether under the guise of a corporation or as an individual, not only is a "harmless factor in our social and industrial economy," but he is a very useful factor. There is no need of special legislation, either State or Federal, to compel a sharing of the net profits of capital. The sharing is done automatically, and inevitably; for there is the same competition among capitalists that there is among laborers. And wherever in a competitive business a capitalist secures more than a normal rate of profit—which is the prevailing rate of interest, plus insurance—other capitalists enter into competition with him, and divide the profits. The difficulty of effecting a just distribution of wealth lies not in the failure to apportion the net profits of capital, but in the neglect to distribute the toll of monopoly. Where legislation clothes a man with a special privilege his toll is limited, not by com-

petition—as are net profits of capital—but by the limit that industry will bear. And whether this toll be gathered by franchise monopolies, or by the exclusive possession of land, it is taken from industry without an equivalent return; which, consequently, means a dead loss to capital and labor. It is here that "a moral and legitimate tax would secure to this country both a prosperous people, and a stable government." By taking from the individual holders of these monopolies the unearned tolls they collect from industry, and expending them for the benefit of the people as a whole in government service, it will be possible to remit all taxes that now fall upon the production and exchange of wealth. This will so stimulate business that wages will advance, prices will fall, and the employment of women and children in unnatural industry will not be necessary. To attempt to compel the distribution of net profits would be a very difficult, if not an impossible undertaking; but to tax the toll of monopoly into the public treasury is the simplest and easiest thing in all taxation.

S. C.



### Goring the Other Ox.

It has long been the custom of certain writers and speakers in this country to expatiate on the nefarious work of the British Cobden Club in seeking to wreck American industries by lowering our tariff laws. Men still living can recall how the pockets of American freetraders sagged with the weight of British gold, won by betraying their country. It now appears that no less a body than the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is striving to secure a reduction in the Brazilian tariff on American goods; and presently we shall see freetraders of Brazil with pockets bulging with American gold earned by betraying their country. Traitors and patriots seem to be measured by some people according to which ox is gored.

S. C.



### A Question That Will Not Down.

Again the people of Chicago are reminded of the second of the twin plagues—death and taxes—by preliminary figures compiled by the Board of Assessors, showing a decrease of twelve million dollars in the personal property of Cook County. For a number of years the annual increase has been about twenty per cent over the preceding year; but the figures of 1915 are expected to show a decrease of about one and a half per cent. One of the causes given for the slump is said to

be the prosecution of tax dodgers by the state's attorney, and the agitation for the reform of the revenue laws. This caused more people to file schedules, which prevented the board from adding the usual fifty per cent penalty for failure to schedule. The extent to which the owner of personal property can stretch his conscience apparently is equaled only by that of the incoming passenger from abroad. And the readiness with which he swears to the amount of his property can be paralleled only by the willingness of people to take the customs-house oath. But a prisoner in the hands of pirates should not be expected to conform to the canons prevailing among gentlemen; and so long as our lawmakers persist in basing revenue statutes on piratical morals, no one should be surprised that they are met in kind. It is not to be supposed that all this false swearing is done with full self-justification. That is the pity of it. If all who withhold from taxation their personal property, or conceal dutiable goods from the customs inspectors, knew that they were acting upon the same primary and fundamental morals as the slave who stole himself from his master, their case would be stronger. Their action, however, is having its effect as it is; and each failure on the part of lawmakers to accomplish the impossible helps to clear the way for the natural and just system of taxation.

S. C.



### A Lack of Proportion.

If consistency were made the test of good government, it is to be feared that British statesmen would rank rather low in the scale. Members of the royal family may have incomes ranging from fifty thousand dollars up to a half million, while members of Parliament up to 1911 received no pay at all, and now draw only two thousand dollars a year. Contrasted with this modest wage, the Lord Chancellor receives \$50,000. It is, however, in the matter of pensions that the greatest discrepancies appear. The man who goes to the front to fight for his country will draw a few shillings a week if disabled; or his family will receive a similar amount if he should be killed. But the Lord Chancellor, after a service of less than four years, draws a life pension of \$25,000 a year. Three ex-Lord Chancellors are now enjoying these munificent pensions. The proposal to pay members of Parliament a salary was for years resisted on the ground that it would tempt mercenary persons to seek membership in the House of Commons, whereas men of honor and patriotic motives would be glad to serve their

country for nothing. Judged by this standard, imagination fails to measure the patriotism of the high salaried and generously pensioned men who take office in the executive and legal departments.

S. C.



### Land Values of Age.

The twenty-first anniversary of Land Values, London, is marked by an increase in the size of the June number from the usual twenty pages to sixty-four pages filled with matter instructive to the heathen, and enheartening to the faithful. It is a fitting commemoration of the long years of labor carried on by the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, and the faithful few who have borne the brunt of the attack on privilege.



Not the least of the items of interest in this most interesting number is the long array of letters from leading radical thinkers all over the world, testifying to the merit of the work done by those who have put their all into the movement; and wishing them Godspeed to the end. It is no mean thing to have evoked such encomiums; and the recipients—now that the hardest of the struggle is past—may well take pride in the achievement.



### Editorially, Land Values says:

Twenty-one years ago we set out to teach the philosophy of life as revealed by Henry George in *Progress and Poverty*, to make plain his remedy for want and the fear of want and to arouse public sentiment in support of his practical policy. This is still our mission. Those who understand this policy and who give their adherence and support constitute a body of opinion of no mean dimensions. This was realized in the 1909 Budget campaign in Parliament and throughout the country. It was this that carried the Budget and made land valuation possible.

But valuation of the land and the half-penny tax on undeveloped land is not all that has been accomplished. A new economic conscience has been begotten, a higher conception of justice, and a saner view of public policy. It is the leaven that will leaven the whole lump. It is the saving remnant that will, when peace has been restored, lead to the establishment of the Englishman's right to his own country.

S. C.



### Temperance and Taxes.

The drift of this country toward practical temperance, as indicated by a decrease of 4,000,000 barrels of fermented liquors in the past year,

means really more than is implied in the rejoicing of the temperance advocates. For the falling off in the consumption of fermented and spirituous liquors means a corresponding decrease in the internal revenue; and the decrease in internal revenue, together with the growing needs of government, intensifies the ever-growing pressure that will drive lawmakers to the logical and inevitable source of revenue, ground rent. Temperance workers are building better than they know.

S. O.



### William A. Somers.

The death of William A. Somers removes one who performed valuable service for tax reform in discovering a scientific method of assessment. The Somers system, or methods similar thereto, is now in use wherever assessments are made with some approach toward equity. On the other hand, the lack of such assessment methods, as prevail where the Somers system is in operation, has been a drawback even where, as in Vancouver, a correct system of local taxation has been adopted.

S. D.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### UNACCOUNTABLE FAVOR TO LANDLORDS.

London, May 14, 1915.

The following comment on the revenue policy of the British Government was furnished the press by a friend and co-worker of the late Joseph Fels:

The search for the source of national income to lighten the great war burden is showing an extraordinary tendency to revert to methods long regarded in this country as primitive and puerile. Surely the situation calls for better statesmanship than throwing back to the monopolist partnerships of the past. One wonders if the Government will not next place a tax on salt. It is quite as reasonable as to increase the duty on tea, which has become an all but essential article of consumption. Why is it that in the discontinued discussion of finance in parliament the one obvious source of revenue goes unmentioned? The appropriation of some part of land rentals. Everyone knows that the war debt can only be paid by a greatly increased tax on land values, and yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the members of the House as well, seem in danger of hypertrophy of imagination, in connection with spirits, beer, tea and incomes. It is within the political memory of some that the principle of land taxation was accepted by an overwhelming majority of the people of this country; that it accounts for the continued existence of the present government; that it was sufficiently important to change the Constitution. And now this important principle is waived aside by the magic wand of party truce. How can party truce justify increased duties on spirits and beer? This is an attack upon the liquor trade, the bulwark of the Unionist party. The cynical may be inclined to believe that it is a piece of sordid bargaining, in which the trade stands to benefit by obtaining a larger proportion of the enhanced wages

in the prosperous areas that manufacture war material. Every increase of income-tax seriously penalizes and handicaps industry if it is honestly collected. The party truce does not seem to lead the Chancellor into acceptance of any of Mr. Chamberlain's leading principles. Every imposition of new taxes is backed by an appeal to patriotic patience. Is it that those who live on rent rolls have so little patriotism and are so powerful that the Government dare not advance the tax on land values?

WALTER COATES.



### LESS STRINGENT FRANCHISE REQUIREMENTS.

Balboa, C. Z., June 6th, 1915.

At the present time there is considerable press comment anent woman suffrage, which, as yet, has been adopted by a small minority of States, but few newspapers or magazines refer to the disfranchisement of men by stringent laws covering registration for voting. Before the term "democracy" can be properly applied to some jurisdictions even without reference to woman suffrage, it is necessary that voting regulations of many States be reformed and considerably changed.

Chief among the reforms that should be made is the elimination of property qualifications for voting. Poll tax is such a qualification and is required paid as a pre-requisite for voting in varying amounts in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. In Virginia such tax must be paid not less than six months before election and falling in such payment electors are disfranchised.

Another serious obstacle to democracy in franchise privileges (or rights as should be, but called privilege here in deference to the terminology of vested interests) is the unreasonable residence requirement in many States preceding elections or primaries at which men are to vote.

In order to vote in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Rhode Island, South Carolina and Virginia one must have been a resident of the State not less than two years preceding the casting of any ballot, and of these States a residence within the county is required of not less than one year prior to voting in Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia.

As a pre-requisite for voting, a year's residence is required by Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

Where other requirements of citizenship are uniform it would appear that requirements in all of the above mentioned States as regards residence within the State or county are unnecessarily severe and apparently intended to disfranchise a considerable percentage of the laboring class which makes up a large part of the country's floating population. In fact, a man in many industries who did not move more frequently than once each year or two years would be considered a very stable or permanent employe. Labor organizations would do well to give consideration to these franchise hardships.

The following States require as a pre-requisite for voting a residence of six months: Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, Oregon and South Dakota. Such requirement would appear to be at least sufficiently stringent. It would even appear that this could be reduced to the three months required by the State of Maine, which alone allows voting for less than six months residence. (Unless "repeaters" are carried across borders by politicians, as has been done to pad election returns.)

County requirements in many or most instances are somewhat less stringent than are the State requirements, and precinct requirements in some cases are still more liberal. In Mississippi, however, one whole year within the precinct is required to be able to vote at any election.

In the above mentioned restrictions is reflected in part the control of corporations in politics, since it is the "radicals" to a large extent discharged by reactionary employers who drift from one industrial center to another and who are disfranchised in larger ratio than the so-called "best citizens" and "stable element" of society but of moss covered age as regards political outlook and party ideals.

It is also worthy of mention in this connection that all States except eight require complete federal naturalization before residents are allowed to vote, and one State an additional year before granting the right of ballot, refusing to allow residence prior to full citizenship to be considered such as to comply with residence before voting. The following eight States allow right of franchise after aliens have taken out their "first papers" in naturalization proceedings: Alabama, Arkansas, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, Oregon, South Dakota and Texas.

With reference to the above 't is seriously contended and submitted that those interested in fundamental democracy should use their influence and untiring effort to abolish all property qualifications for voting, including poll tax in any form as a pre-condition for exercising right of franchise. The same influence and effort should also be exerted to reduce State and county residence requirements (and also some precinct) to the ten or thirty days now required in precincts prior to voting at any election in many States.

In some States even precinct requirements are outrageously prohibitive, being one year, as previously mentioned in the State of Mississippi, and six months in Florida, Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In the majority of States precinct requirements are thirty days or less, which should be sufficient for State and county if it is intended that the laboring man should be fairly treated.

Fundamental democracy demands more liberality in the use of the ballot and therefore radical change in the foregoing restrictions of residence requirements and taxes. As is now coming to be recognized, women are human beings and entitled to equal voice with men in the political conduct of the nation. To attain the equal rights now claimed, it requires not only woman suffrage but the cancellation of the above mentioned restrictions on man suffrage.

F. G. SWANSON.

## A FACT.

Topeka, Kans., May 27, 1915.

Friday evenings things that I read in The Public bring about that I speculate as to my brother readers. As I grope cloudily for details to set off the central fact, the love and worship of natural laws in my brother readers, I paint in with decision the little brass front of the Ford car. Readers of The Public, I declare to myself, cannot have missed the resemblance there is to a natural law in the little Ford car.

Oh, yes; besides the family "flying carpet," I own runabout No. 116,274 with a 5 by 4 box bolted on the back of it, for doing the spring wagon work on "the only farm." The family call runabout No. 116,274 the little "beastly Ford"; they use that name now as cowboys used to use "damned old cuss": it is a term of endearment. You see for 3 months I had used a sliding gear and an axle brake. Then I bought No. 116,274, and I was not used to natural laws in transmission and braking. I used to start to back out at about 30 miles per hour; I used to get scared and apply the brake ignorantly; it used to nearly jar my teeth out. The family were always there to criticize; they with human habit thought that the eccentricity of my exit was the car and not my ignorance.

Now one mile from the "only farm" is a school house. One muddy day I caught up with a group of school children, and the spirit of something or other got into me; I wanted to see if the agent had lied. I invited the children to ride, and in one second No. 116,274 had the appearance of my black mare in fly time. Oh, yes, we got there all right, and I learned something. I never pass pedestrians going my way now; my little car has become for me a communion table; in it my brothers are themselves, my hilarious school children are courteous, my brothers who tramp are truthful, and better still, I myself am truthful and sincere. To their thanks I answer truth merely: that it costs no more than going alone; that there is always room in a Ford with a box and 2 steps; that the communion and what I have learnt by it has paid for the car and its up-keep and then some. Now somehow this is not so easy in any other car as a Ford.

Number 116,274 has enforced that I read the Ford Times with something of the impetus with which I have been reading and criticizing the Public for over 8 years. The slightly battered little car, standing waiting to serve in the mud or the snow, or the blinding heat, has in consequence become radiant with life for me. The little advertising yarns and cartoons, the oiling chart, etc., the pictures of traveling Fords over the globe, the excerpts from the sociological and legal departments, the sayings of the leading laborer in Ford production, make my little unpretentious servant seem alive for me.

Now it rather jarred me to read in the March number of the Ford Times that a church deacon who drove a Ford was not plum positive that his little car could carry him to heaven. I know of course that this skit about the deacon should not have jarred me, for I had never had any real interest in heaven, nor any conception of heaven which was not merely accepted to avoid effort. But now that I have read Swedenborg's "Heaven and Hell" it is different;

while I have not as yet accepted the entire statement, I have become interested in the "hereafter"; the logic and spirit of the book have made conclusive what I accepted without thought to escape effort. Now I really see that here and now we are making the "hereafter" irrevocably for ourselves. That to better conditions on earth is indisputably to fill up heaven hereafter, as well as to bring nearer that sentence in the only prayer that never grows meaningless, that the Kingdom and will of the Divine Architect shall become upon earth what it is in heaven.

We who read *The Public* are driven by a desire that His cornerstone, exact justice, shall underly every personal and social action. We use our powers to bring about that the earth, His storehouse for sustaining life, shall be used with equal freedom and under just conditions by all life. And over the entire globe these little brass-faced cars are rolling; little outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace which is moving the human race. They are showing their splendor and simplicity in service; their drivers' tongues are the medium as well as a counts and speedometers. As they run the ticking of their ignition vibrators seems to proclaim, that such simplicity and service cannot be obtained, unless the rules which permeate their production are obeyed, with steady and peaceful financial profit. As they run all over the world, human minds are grasping the need there is for justice and brotherhood in producing, and how these qualities increase the value of, and the profit in human productions, while lessening the cost. Yes, they are working with eloquence for justice; they are indisputably proclaiming that it pays, too. And they are making converts, well far faster for instance than is my perpetual eloquence.

Oh, well, I am at all events persuaded that my little No. 116,274 is carrying me, "on high," to heaven. And Friday evenings it adds to my satisfaction to paint in as one of the striking details of my picture of my brother readers, that the little brass-faced one holds a like place in their environment as it does in mine.

GEORGE E. HUGHES.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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Week ending Tuesday, June 29, 1915.

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### The New Secretary of State.

Robert Lansing, counselor of the State Department and Acting Secretary of State since William J. Bryan's resignation, was appointed Secretary of State on June 23 by President Wilson. Mr. Lansing is a resident of Washington and consequently is not a voter, but is understood to be a Democrat in principle. [See current volume, pages 570, 595.]

### New York Constitutional Convention.

Supporters of the Initiative and Referendum appeared before the Committee on Legislative Powers of the New York State Constitutional Convention at Albany on June 23. Among these were Benjamin C. Marsh of the State Initiative and Referendum League, Edwin S. Potter of Philadelphia, editor of *Equity*, national organ of the popular government movement; Judson King of the National Popular Government League; John G. Hanlon of the American Federation of Labor, and representatives of many civic, political and labor organizations. The committee seemed hostile. Professor Jacob Gould Schurman, vice-president of the convention, said:

I, and most men, have not the time to consider carefully the various propositions that would be brought up, but we do have the time to consider the qualifications of candidates who do have these questions to decide, and we elect them to represent us.

While answering Professor Schurman, Judson King was interrupted by William Barnes, the Republican leader, who brought the recent suit against Theodore Roosevelt. Mr. Barnes said:

You bet, I don't believe in majority rule. I am for protecting the rights of the individual. I am looking out for myself.

[See current volume, page 599]



### The Nearing Case.

Protests against the dropping of Professor Scott Nearing by the University of Pennsylvania have poured in upon the trustees since the matter became public. One of these came from Gifford Pinchot who said:

No believer in freedom can escape strong indignation when he learns how the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania dismissed Scott Nearing. This action is so obviously a blow at freedom of thought that the world of liberal-minded men appears to be united against it.

If that is so, little more need be said. Yet there is one point which does not seem to have been sufficiently emphasized. The dismissal of Scott Nearing is a perfect illustration of the control of education by accumulated wealth. This, to my mind, is the greatest danger that now threatens the universities of the United States. I do not know that there is any organized power among men more effective for evil than the power to control education against the public good. As a man thinketh, so is he. As he learns, so he thinks. To control the teachings of a nation is to control the nation itself.

Another protest from graduates of the School of Political Science of Columbia University declared:

We believe that the economists of this country would unanimously endorse the opinion expressed by H. S. Morris, as reported in the *New York Evening Post*, that Dr. Nearing was "one of the best loved and best teachers in the University." Dr.

Nearing's work has reflected credit and honor upon the University he has saved. Indeed, the recent action of your board in promoting Dr. Nearing might well be taken as evidence of the quality of his work as a scholar and teacher. Finally, we wish to express our confidence in Dr. Nearing and respectfully to ask that you make public the reasons for his dismissal.

One of trustees who voted against Nearing, John C. Bell, former Attorney General of the State and attorney for Boss McNichol, explained his vote in the following public statement on June 22:

I shall not enter into detail further than to say, as an indicative instance, that an instructor who intemperately declares, as reported to us by his dean, that "if he had a son he would rather see him in hell than have him go to the Episcopal Academy"—one of the long established and best preparatory schools in the city, and a fitting school of the University—invites dismissal.

In reply to this Harrison S. Morris, executor of the Joseph Wharton estate, stated:

I have been informed by Wharton Barker, one of the University trustees, that at the meeting of the board of trustees which dismissed Dr. Nearing, they sent for Dean McCrea and extorted from him the admission that Dr. Nearing had made the statement about the Episcopal Academy to one deficient Episcopal Academy student in Dean McCrea's office. Nobody was present except the one deficient Episcopal Academy student and Dean McCrea, and Dr. Nearing's statement to them was a private, not a public, statement; provoked, as I am informed, by the fact that the University received several deficient students from the Episcopal Academy.

A students' committee, representing the 2,200 students of the Wharton school, issued a strong protest against Nearing's dismissal. The protest states that for two years the reactionary attitude of the board of trustees toward academic freedom has subjected the students to the ridicule of every university of standing. The protest states further:

There is not a student of the Wharton School, past or present, of any shade of political opinion, who believes Dr. Nearing's liberal views and earnest personality do him harm. Men who have disagreed with him on every conceivable subject admit that he at least forced them to think for themselves. But real harm has been done to the University as a result of this recent decision, the responsibility for which rests squarely on the board of trustees.

[See current volume, page 619.]



The trustees of the University are as follows:

Charles Custis Harrison, a millionaire ex-sugar refiner.

Samuel Dickson, counsel for the Philadelphia & Reading R. R. and the Lehigh Valley Coal Company. Is a director of the Reading Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company.

Samuel W. Pennypacker, ex-Governor of Pennsylvania. Owed the governorship to Quay, for whom he has always professed great admiration. The State Capitol scandal occurred during his administration, and though himself a member of the Board of Grounds and Buildings that had supervision of the work, he has denied that there was any dishonesty in the transaction for which two of his colleagues served penitentiary terms.

Morris James Lewis, a practicing physician.

Joseph G. Rosengarten, not engaged in business but formerly connected with Powers & Weightman, the "Quinine Trust."

Randal Morgan, general counsel and vice president of the United Gas Improvement Co. He was very active against Nearing.

Samuel F. Houston, chief heir to the Houston estate, a big stockholder in the Pennsylvania railroad and big landowner in Philadelphia. He is a director of three banks and other corporations.

Joseph Levering Jones, a director of two banks, of the Alliance Insurance Company, and of the Fort Wayne and Northern Indiana Traction Company. He is a leading corporation lawyer, and led the fight against Nearing.

George H. Frazier, director of the American Sugar Refining Company, known as the "Sugar Trust." He is a director of three Philadelphia banks.

Charles Louis Borie, Jr., architect.

Louis C. Madeira, coal magnate. Is an official of several mining corporations.

John Cadwalader, large landholder. Reactionary Democrat in politics.

Edward T. Stotesbury, head of Drexel, Morgan & Company, Philadelphia branch of J. P. Morgan & Company. He holds the principal financial interest in the Philadelphia Street Railway monopoly.

Effingham B. Morris, president of the Girard Trust Company, director of the Pennsylvania Railroad, chairman of the Cambria Steel Company and Pennsylvania Steel Company.

George Wharton Pepper, receiver of Bay State Gas Company after Addicks' downfall. Was styled by Thomas W. Lawson "the smug Pep." Is a large landholder. Strongly supported the campaign in Philadelphia of Billy Sunday, to whom Nearing sent an open letter. [See current volume, page 155.]

Samuel G. Dixon, physician and big landowner.

Morris L. Clothier, department store proprietor, director of many big banks and other corporations.

John C. Bell, former Attorney General of the State, attorney for Boss McNichol and one of his chief political followers.

Richard A. F. Penrose, Jr., brother of Senator Boies Penrose, street railway director.

Wharton Barker, financier. Cousin of Joseph Wharton, founder of the Wharton School. Was candidate for President in 1900 as a Middle of the Road Populist.

James W. White, physician, a Progressive in politics.

The two last named favored Nearing. The board is a perpetual body. When a vacancy occurs it is filled by the remaining members.

• **Another Infringement on Academic Freedom.**

Professor James H. Brewster of the law faculty of the University of Colorado at Boulder was dropped on June 22 by the board of regents. Brewster represented the Southern Colorado strikers before the congressional committee which investigated the strike in 1914. In a public statement Professor Brewster declares that the president of the university, Dr. Livingstone Farrand, had pronounced his work as "eminently satisfactory," and when last December Governor Ammons demanded his immediate dismissal on account of his strike views, Dr. Farrand had refused to accept his resignation. Brewster declares that the regents' action resulted from his views on the strike.



**Rockefeller Condemned.**

An open letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was issued on June 17 by the Colorado Protest Committee of which Upton Sinclair is chairman and Frank Shay is secretary. The letter mentions Rockefeller's disclaimer of responsibility for the Ludlow massacre and other occurrences of the strike, and his declarations concerning the right to work. The letter then states:

The miners in Colorado live in towns owned outright and managed autocratically. They live in company houses, they worship in company churches, they trade in company stores with company money. They have no redress for any grievances through political methods, because the mayor of the town is a company clerk, the justice of the peace a company boss, the sheriff a company superintendent. For thirty years you and your associates have banished American institutions from the coal countries of Colorado, and have reduced the mining population to utter slavery. You kill twelve times as many men in accidents as are killed in similar mines in Austria; your control of justice is such that in most cases there has not been even a coroner's inquest—there has not been a cent of damages paid in some districts for ten years.

And when these slaves revolt, you decree the destruction of their last hope of redress, their union; and you decree it in the name of liberty! In the name of liberty you send in thousands of desperadoes and ex-convicts, called company detectives and mine guards, to terrorize helpless women and children. When these women and children appeal to the authorities and the state militia is summoned, you enlist these desperadoes and ex-convicts in the militia; you clothe them in the uniform of the State, arm them with the weapons of the State, put the American flag over their heads and the money of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company into their pockets, and turn them loose with machine guns and torches to destroy a tent city inhabited by women and children. And when you are branded with his infamy before the civilized world, your published defense is, that only one child was shot; that all the rest were suffocated by smoke in the underground refuge to which they had been driven!

And when miners, goaded to madness by the murder of their wives and babies, take up arms in defense of their homes, you use the machinery of the law, which your associates, the coal operators, have owned and managed for thirty years, to sentence to a prison hell for life a man whose offense was—not that he killed anyone—not that he had arms in his hands—but that he was the miners' leader, the moral and intellectual power which kept alive their resistance to your tyranny! . . .

We, the undersigned men and women, having watched the course of events and made up our minds concerning them, declare our mature conviction that the guilt lies elsewhere. We hold you, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., guilty of murder in the first degree, and we here indict you before the bar of humanity.

Realizing that there are fanatical and violent persons who might consider it proper that you should pay with your life for such crimes, we wish to add that we do not believe in capital punishment for any crime, however atrocious. We should not even wish to punish you as you seek to punish Lawson, with confinement in a prison hell for life. It is for profits that your crimes were committed, and it is by depriving you of profits that they must be punished, and at the same time prevented for all future time.

The letter was signed by the following:

Leonard D. Abbott.	Harvey J. O'Higgins.
Jessie Ashley.	Edwin D. Schoonmaker.
W. D. P. Bliss.	Frank Shay.
Will Levington Comfort.	Mary Craig Sinclair.
Sada Cowan.	Upton Sinclair.
Algernon Sidney Crapsey.	George Sterling.
Floyd Dell.	Louis Untermyer.
George Allan England.	Allan Updegraff.
Herman Epstein.	Maud Davis Walker.
Hutchins Hapgood.	Ryan Walker.
Paul Kennedy.	Joshua Wanhope.
William Balfour Ker.	James P. Warbasse.
Daniel Kiefer.	Clement Wood.
Sinclair Lewis.	Art Young.
Donald Lowrie.	Charles Zueblin.
John G. Niehardt.	

[See current volume, page 426.]



**King to Lecture.**

Judson King, executive secretary of the National Popular Government League, has arranged to lecture under the auspices of the Affiliated Lyceum Bureaus, with headquarters at 320 Broadway, New York. His lectures, under the following titles, will deal with governmental problems: The Inside of a Jack Knife, Ventures in Self-Government, Four Months in Switzerland, and The Making of a People. [See current volume, pages 58, 380.]



**League to Enforce Peace.**

The "League to Enforce Peace" was formed at Philadelphia on June 17 at a conference attended

by ex-President Taft, President Lowell of Harvard, Oscar S. Straus, Judge George Gray, Hamilton Holt, Alton B. Parker, Victor L. Berger, Charles R. Van Hise and others. The league's plan is that the United States join a league of nations binding the signatories to the following:

1. All justiciable questions arising between the signatory powers, not settled by negotiation, shall, subject to the limitations of treaties, be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment, both on the merits and on any issue as to its jurisdiction of the question.

2. All other questions arising between the signatories and not settled by negotiations shall be submitted to a council of conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation.

3. The signatory powers shall jointly use forthwith both their economic and military forces against any one of their number that goes against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted as provided in the foregoing.

4. Conferences between the signatory powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law, which, unless some signatory shall signify its dissent within a stated period, shall thereafter govern in the decisions of the judicial tribunal mentioned in article one.



#### European War.

The Galician campaign is marked by the continued advance of the Austro-German forces. The Russian line continues to fall back, but maintains an unbroken front. No resistance was offered at Lemberg, which fell on the 23d, beyond what was necessary to save the heavy guns and the stores. Lemberg, the second city of importance in Galicia, was not fortified, but was used by the Russians as a distributing point in supplying the armies operating in Galicia. The Austro-German forces have taken Halicz, on the Dniester River, and claim to hold all the crossings on that river to the south. Fighting is reported in northern Poland in the neighborhood of Przasnysz. No considerable activities are reported in the Baltic provinces. Speculation is rife as to the next move of Germany, whether she will try to crush the Russian forces in Galicia, advance on Warsaw, advance in the Baltic region, or send all her spare men to the western front. Hard fighting has taken place both in Alsace, where the French have made further small gains, and in the region north of Arras, where the French continue to nibble at the German line. They have succeeded at last in taking the famous labyrinth, the system of trenches above Arras that has been held so long by the Germans. Counter attacks by the Germans have been vigorous, particularly at Souchez, where they claim to have taken ground from the French. Intermittent attacks are reported along the British front, but no decided gains are announced. Italy continues her slow advance, both in the Isonzo region, where Goritz still offers re-

sistance, and in the Adige valley. The Italian forces have reached the mountain passes held by the Austrians, north of Lake Garda, which are shelled by cannon carried to the mountain tops. It is reported from Rome that the Italian Ambassador at Constantinople has been recalled and the Turkish Ambassador at Rome given his passports. It is also announced that Italy will send troops to the Dardanelles. Advances are claimed by the Allies on the Gallipoli Peninsula, but nothing decisive. Turkish losses on the Peninsula are reported to number 143,000. No naval activities are reported, beyond the toll of the submarines. The number of merchantmen sunk appears to be falling off. The loss is largely confined to small coasting boats and fishing craft. No passenger vessels have been sunk since the Lusitania. Berlin announces the sinking of a Russian submarine in the Baltic by a German aeroplane. [See current volume, page 621.]



A bill appropriating \$1,120,000,000 to cover war expenses passed the French chamber of deputies by a vote of 492 to 1. Applications for \$750,000,000 have been made on the British loan of \$1,750,000,000.



Food from Switzerland is being sent into the Duchy of Luxemburg to relieve the people until harvest time. Bread cards allowing seven ounces a day have been in use for some time, and latterly the amount allowed each person has been reduced to four ounces a day. Arrangements have been made by the head of the Belgian relief commission with the German military governor of Belgium, whereby the Belgians are to retain for their own use the crops gathered from their own lands. Great suffering from lack of food is reported in Poland and in Serbia.



The American note to Germany in reply to Germany's note admitting liability for the sinking of the American ship William F. Frye, but claiming the case should go before a German prize court, was made public on the 29th. The American note denies the German claim that the German cruiser had the right to sink the Frye upon payment of damages by the German government. Article 13 of the treaty between the two countries reads:

In the case supposed of a vessel stopped for articles of contraband, if the master of the vessel stopped will deliver out the goods supposed to be of contraband nature, he shall be admitted to do it, and the vessel shall not in that case be carried into any port, nor further detained, but shall be allowed to proceed on her voyage.

The admitted facts show that the master did undertake to throw his cargo overboard, but that

before the work was completed the cruiser sank the ship. The claim of the United States is for indemnity in violation of a treaty, and not for indemnity in accordance with a treaty; and for that reason it is not a matter to be passed upon by a prize court, but to be adjusted by direct diplomatic discussion between the two governments. This stand by the American Government on its treaty rights avoids an embarrassing admission that would militate against it in the Lusitania case.



#### One of the Victims.

Josiah C. Wedgewood, writing from his home, Moddershall Oaks, Stone, Staffs, England, under date of June 8, to a friend in Chicago, says:

I got hit in the groin fourteen days after landing at Seddel Bahr. I shall not be fit to do anything for some months, but it is a great thing to be alive when so many other people are dead. I was in command of a lot of maxim guns.

[See current volume, page 599.]



#### China and Japan.

The American Government has notified China and Japan that it will not recognize any agreement between them that endangers the "open door" policy and the American treaty rights with China. This is spoken of by Washington officials as a caveat, intended to conserve the rights of Americans in future litigation. [See current volume, page 547.]



#### Mexico.

Mexican affairs took a new turn on the 27th when General Huerta, who has been living in New York for some months, was arrested near El Paso, Texas, charged with violating the neutrality laws of this country, by inciting a revolution in Mexico. General Pascual Orozco was arrested with General Huerta. The two men were released on bail. Government officials profess to have sufficient evidence to warrant their action, but have not as yet made a public statement. [See current volume, page 620.]



The Carranza forces under General Pablo Gonzalez, which set out to capture Mexico City, have been defeated by the Zapata forces that now hold that city. Provisions are short in Mexico City, as well as in many other parts of the country, and the international relief committee is having difficulty in meeting the demands of the starving people. Direct communication with the city has been interrupted for six days.



General Carranza remains obdurate, and refuses

to confer with General Villa or others in regard to uniting the warring factions. Two of his representatives in Washington are on the way to Vera Cruz for the purpose of impressing upon him the importance of doing something toward restoring peace in Mexico.



#### Suffrage in Iceland.

The bill passed by the Icelandic Parliament in 1914, granting suffrage to women, was signed by the King of Denmark June 19. The delay is due to a dispute between the Danish cabinet and the Althing, or Icelandic Parliament, as to certain constitutional formalities. It involved the resignation of the resident minister, and the calling of prominent Icelanders to Copenhagen. [See current volume, page 206.]

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Governor Dunne of Illinois on June 28, signed the Bruce bill restoring deserted wives to privileges of the mothers' pension act, of which the last Legislature had deprived them. [See current volume, pages 301, 383, 475.]

—Personal property assessments in Cook County Illinois, are \$12,000,000 less this year than a year ago, according to figures issued on June 25 by the Board of Assessors. Last year they amounted to \$853,325,000. [See current volume, page 429.]

—An earthquake in the Imperial Valley in California on June 22 destroyed several lives, and property to the estimated amount of \$1,000,000. The shock was felt most severely at Calexico on the Mexican boundary, and at Mexicali, across the line. At El Centro much damage was also done.

—A life size bust of Henry George and a complete set of his works will be formally presented on July 1 to the North Side Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh. Among the speakers will be Congressman Warren Worth Bailey of Johnstown and Reverend Charles E. Snyder of the North Side Unitarian Church.

—The Chamber of Commerce of the United States as a result of a referendum vote decided by 711 to 54 against a government-owned merchant marine and by 558 to 186 in favor of subsidies. By 422 to 314 a proposition was endorsed for government subscription to a marine development company with \$30,000,000 capital, to make loans on security of merchant vessels.

—Indictments for conspiracy to violate the election laws were brought by the Marion County Grand Jury at Indianapolis on June 22 against 128 men. Among the indicted are Thomas Taggart, Democratic national committeeman for Indiana; Mayor Joseph E. Bell of Indianapolis, Robert W. Metzger, Republican member of the Board of Public Safety, and Chief of Police Samuel V. Perrott of Indianapolis.

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see current volume, page 549) for the ten

months ending April, 1915, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for April, 1915, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	\$2,225,548,068	\$1,374,189,749	\$851,358,319 expt.
Gold	142,124,606	88,090,704	54,033,902 expt.
Silver	42,232,161	23,135,774	19,096,387 expt.
Total	\$2,409,904,835	\$1,485,416,227	\$924,488,608 expt.

The exports of merchandise for April, 1915, the ninth month of the European war, were \$294,470,199, as compared with \$162,552,570 for April, 1914, and \$199,813,438 in 1913. The imports for April, 1915, were \$160,576,106, as compared with \$173,762,114 for April, 1914, and \$146,194,461 in 1913. Imports for April exceeded those of any other month since the beginning of the war, being \$45,919,561 greater than in December, the lowest month. The exports for April were \$184,102,705 greater than in August, the lowest month of the war.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### Intellectual Freedom in Universities.

Chicago Evening Post, June 24.—The Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania has dismissed Professor Scott Nearing from the position of assistant professor of economics in the Wharton School of Finance. No reason has been given for its action, but it is generally understood that certain of the trustees disapprove of views held by Dr. Nearing. . . . That a man of this type should be unable to retain his position in a great university is occasion for dismay, unless the trustees can give better reason for their action than is to be found in his published works. It is occasion for dismay because of its effect upon the sincere, serious and progressive thinkers in all our colleges and universities. It is notice to such men that they must think within prescribed limits; that they must consider the prejudices of trustees and donors and prospective donors before they venture to say what they believe to be true, and if their conception of truth is likely to offend influential persons it must be suppressed or qualified. That condition has obtained in the past in many of our educational institutions, and to a degree, perhaps, greater than the public has supposed. It becomes generally evident only when some man like Dr. Nearing forces the issue. Many another has surrendered or has found safety in the practice of a sort of intellectual sabotage, a preaching of forbidden doctrine under disguise—in either case a course to be deplored. But it is a condition against which free men and honest men are fighting. It must be ended if our universities are to be, in truth, the homes of research and the sources of courageous intellectualism.



### The One Thing Needful.

Ohio State Journal (Columbus), June 18.—Huerta is in New York and continues interested in Mexico, though he brought from that sorrowing land enough money to make living in New York easy enough, and

so does not promise to return. But he has his ideas of what is the trouble in Mexico, and thus he tells it:

There is one very simple reform that can be carried out and ought to be insisted upon—in Mexico. It is this: Under existing laws the proprietor of land that is uncultivated pays no taxes on it; and there are many men of great wealth who keep enormous landed estates uncultivated purposely, so as to avoid paying taxes. The government ought to tax uncultivated land high enough to force the owners either to cultivate or to sell.

That is a common form of oppression, letting people have vast areas of land and not levying a tax on them. Every foot of land should be forced into use by the revenue route. Perhaps we have found too much fault with the "greaser." He has been forced to indolence and ignorance by taking from him the natural means of livelihood. Huerta seems to know what the trouble is, and if this country has any influence down in Mexico, it should break up the land monopoly.



### Shifting the Responsibility.

The Star (San Francisco) June 19.—"We are too close to present events to see the result which the hand of God planned in the European war," said the Reverend D. F. Fox, of Los Angeles, in a sermon last Sunday. But did the hand of God plan that hell? If so, then it would seem that European monarchs and diplomatists, jingoes and junkers and militarists merely executed divine orders, and we may not rightly blame any person or any nation for what has been going on in Europe for almost a year. If the hand of God planned the European war, then the same hand planned each particular horror, and the various weapons and devices for slaughtering and maiming human beings. Is Dr. Fox prepared to defend his statement? It may be rather comfortable for some persons to shift the responsibility to God when anything goes wrong; but there are others who decline to accept such questionable comfort. It is customary for those responsible for social evils—as involuntary poverty, for example—to place all the responsibility upon the Creator. In former times men charged epidemics of cholera, yellow fever and other diseases to God. But we know that those men of former times didn't know what they were saying. They did not mean to bear false witness; they simply didn't know. Things that go wrong in this world are planned by men. It is not fair for man to blame God for violations of moral laws.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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### THAT'S THE STORY OF WAR.

Oliver Allstorm in Dallas Democrat.

Oh, the flag must wave  
 And the men must slay!  
 And the drum must beat  
 And the band must play.  
 There is ever a "must"  
 With the word "obey"  
 And that's the story of war.

Oh, the wife must weep,  
 And the child must crawl,  
 And the home must break,  
 And the house must fall!  
 There is ever a "must"  
 With the battle call,  
 And that's the story of war.

Oh, the men must fall  
 And the blood must spill!  
 And the shot must speed  
 And the lead must kill!  
 There is ever a "must"  
 And a "Yea, I will,"  
 And that's the story of war.

Oh, the land must starve!  
 And the man must die!  
 And the vulture must feed  
 And the wolf must cry.  
 There is ever a "must"  
 Though we know not why,  
 And that's the story of war.



## WHAT LIBERTY MEANS.

From Chapter V, Book X of *Progress and Poverty*,  
 Headed "The Central Truth"—Also Part of an  
 Oration by Henry George, Delivered at  
 San Francisco on July 4, 1877.

The reform I have proposed accords with all that is politically, socially, or morally desirable. It has the qualities of a true reform, for it will make all other reforms easier. What is it but the carrying out in letter and spirit of the truth enunciated in the Declaration of Independence—the "self-evident" truth that is the heart and soul of the Declaration—"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness!"

These rights are denied when the equal right to land—on which and by which men alone can live—is denied. Equality of political rights will not compensate for the denial of the equal right to the bounty of nature. Political liberty, when the equal right to land is denied, becomes, as population increases and invention goes on, merely the liberty to compete for employment at starvation wages. This is the truth that we have ignored. And so there come beggars in our streets and tramps on our roads; and poverty enslaves men whom we boast are political sovereigns; and want breeds ignorance that our schools cannot enlighten; and citizens vote as their masters dictate; and the demagogue usurps the part of the statesman; and gold weighs in the scales of justice; and in high places sit those who do not pay to civic virtue even the compliment of hypocrisy; and the pillars of the republic that

we thought so strong already bend under an increasing strain.

We honor Liberty in name and in form. We set up her statues and sound her praises. But we have not fully trusted her. And with our growth so grow her demands. She will have no half service!

Liberty! it is a word to conjure with, not to vex the ear in empty boastings. For Liberty means Justice, and Justice is the natural law—the law of health and symmetry and strength, of fraternity and co-operation.

They who look upon Liberty as having accomplished her mission when she has abolished hereditary privileges and given men the ballot, who think of her as having no further relations to the everyday affairs of life, have not seen her real grandeur—to them the poets who have sung of her must seem rhapsodists, and her martyrs fools! As the sun is the lord of life, as well as of light; as his beams not merely pierce the clouds, but support all growth, supply all motion, and call forth from what would otherwise be a cold and inert mass all the infinite diversities of being and beauty, so is Liberty to mankind. It is not for an abstraction that men have toiled and died; that in every age the witnesses of Liberty have stood forth, and the martyrs of Liberty have suffered.

We speak of Liberty as one thing, and of virtue, wealth, knowledge, invention, national strength and national independence as other things. But, of all these, Liberty is the source, the mother, the necessary condition. She is to virtue what light is to color; to wealth what sunshine is to grain; to knowledge what eyes are to sight. She is the genius of invention, the brawn of national strength, the spirit of national independence. Where Liberty rises, there virtue grows, wealth increases, knowledge expands, invention multiplies human powers, and in strength and spirit the freer nation rises among her neighbors as Saul amid his brethren—taller and fairer. Where Liberty sinks, there virtue fades, wealth diminishes, knowledge is forgotten, invention ceases, and empires once mighty in arms and arts become a helpless prey to freer barbarians!

Only in broken gleams and partial light has the sun of Liberty yet beamed among men, but all progress hath she called forth.

Liberty came to a race of slaves crouching under Egyptian whips, and led them forth from the house of bondage. She hardened them in the desert and made of them a race of conquerors. The free spirit of the Mosaic law took their thinkers up to heights where they beheld the unity of God, and inspired their poets with strains that yet phrase the highest exaltations of thought. Liberty dawned on the Phoenician coast, and ships passed the Pillars of Hercules to plow the

unknown sea. She shed a partial light on Greece, and marble grew to shapes of ideal beauty, words became the instruments of subtlest thought, and against the scanty militia of free cities the countless hosts of the great king broke like surges against a rock. She cast her beams on the four-acre farms of Italian husbandmen, and born of her strength a power came forth that conquered the world. They glinted from shields of German warriors, and Augustus wept his legions. Out of the night that followed her eclipse, her slanting rays fell again on free cities, and a lost learning revived, modern civilization began, a new world was unveiled; and as Liberty grew, so grew art, wealth, power, knowledge, and refinement. In the history of every nation we may read the same truth. It was the strength born of Magna Charta that won Crecy and Agincourt. It was the revival of Liberty from the despotism of the Tudors that glorified the Elizabethan age. It was the spirit that brought a crowned tyrant to the block that planted here the seed of a mighty tree. It was the energy of ancient freedom that, the moment it had gained unity, made Spain the mightiest power of the world, only to fall to the lowest depth of weakness when Tyranny succeeded Liberty. See, in France, all intellectual vigor dying under the Tyranny of the seventeenth century, to revive in splendor as Liberty awoke in the eighteenth, and on the enfranchisement of French peasants in the Great Revolution, basing the wonderful strength that has in our time defied defeat.

Shall we not trust her?

In our time, as in times before, creep on the insidious forces that, producing inequality, destroy Liberty. On the horizon the clouds begin to lower. Liberty calls to us again. We must follow her further; we must trust her fully. Either we must wholly accept her or she will not stay. It is not enough that men should vote; it is not enough that they should be theoretically equal before the law. They must have liberty to avail themselves of the opportunities and means of life; they must stand on equal terms with reference to the bounty of nature. Either this, or Liberty withdraws her light! Either this, or darkness comes on, and the very forces that progress has evolved turn to powers that work destruction. This is the universal law. This is the lesson of the centuries. Unless its foundations be laid in justice the social structure cannot stand.



Some men are so busy loving God that they haven't time to love their neighbors. Others are so busy loving their neighbors that they haven't time to love God.—Thomas J. Mulvihill.



The religion that one has to worry about isn't a sort that heaven will raise any flurry about.—Farm, Stock and Home.

## CINDERS.

For The Public.

Jasper Holsworthy laid down the newspaper and joyfully smote the breakfast table with his fleshy hand. "My dear," he said to his daughter, "you may order that electric runabout whenever you please."

Helen blew her jubilant parent a grateful kiss, while Mrs. Holsworthy inquired the cause of his enthusiasm.

"A flaw has been found in the law prohibiting the burning of soft coal within municipal limits, and pending interpretation by the courts we can burn as much soft coal as we wish. You may not know that in our factory alone this will mean a yearly saving of six thousand dollars."

"But aren't smoke and cinders from soft coal inimical to health? They certainly pollute the air and deface all buildings." Mrs. Holsworthy was a member of the Civic Club.

Her husband stared at her with hard eyes, while his head shook with that almost imperceptible movement of defiance with which the self-willed receive criticism of their thoughts or acts. Then he laughed.

"Anne, you are like all the rest of the 'art and civic beauty' dilettantes. You forget that America is first of all an industrial country and that our comforts and luxuries are refined from black smoke and other inartistic material. It is an economic necessity to manufacture at lowest possible cost, and for the sake of a few hundred sighing souls whose raptures over sky tints are interrupted by the black swirls that indicate prosperity we cannot add thousands of dollars to our cost of production. If the people want art, let 'em go to the museums, there's no soft coal there; and if they want unpolluted atmosphere, the country's the place—you don't expect it in a city. As for cinders—well, they're not fatal, so far as I ever heard."

He got up from the table, kissed his wife hastily and left the room, followed by his daughter, who always stood on the doorstep until the motor car turned the corner.

Mrs. Holsworthy suffered the kiss, which was a matter of routine. It came punctually at nine, five minutes after chauffeur blew his horn to announce the waiting car. She had grown out of love with her husband. The years had revealed him devoid of certain niceties of feeling she had thought he possessed, and pride in his own shrewdness had at times even led him to boast to her of sharp practice in business deals. He laughed down her protests, always derided her ideals and scruples, and in time had earned her detestation, although he did not know it. He had spoken so much lately of "lost motion" and "efficiency." She smiled whimsically at the thought of sometime

suggesting to him the lost motion involved in that unwanted morning kiss.

The day following the announcement of the finding of a flaw in the soft coal law a thousand chimneys expressed their joy by clouds of soot that hung for a moment against the cobalt blue of the sky and then settled slowly down to blacken the faces of the people and be breathed into lungs already protesting at the blowing dust of the ill-kept streets.

Maggie Taylor, hurrying to her stenographic job, felt something blow into her right eye as she passed the works of the Holsworthy Company. She gave the eye a hasty dab with her handkerchief and later a gentle rub in an effort to dislodge the infinitesimal cinder that felt as big as a boulder. One of the girls at the office tried to find the particle, but it kept out of sight up under the lid. Maggie had the notes for sixty letters in her book, so could not waste much time over an eye. At the end of the day there was a cutting pain in the pupil, which was suffused with the angry red of inflammation. Maggie faced a raw wind from the west in walking home, but she saved five cents. Her mother, inert from paralysis, cried at her inability to help, but Rose, the twelve-year-old sister, who did the housekeeping of the two rooms and looked after the invalid, brought hot water, and with Maggie's head held lovingly against her flat bosom, bathed the eye. Maggie ate the meagre supper and, despite the increasing pain, she ironed the clothes that Rose had washed during the day.

Stenography and typewriting are in themselves nerve-racking. Add to their results a burning, darting inflammation of the eye and we may not call Maggie Taylor a weakling because she cried herself to sleep. Her mother heard and for the hundredth time prayed that she, the burden, might cease to live. The twelve-year-old child with the face so oddly aged and weary, crept into bed beside the whimpering woman and with caressing hand soothed her to sleep. Then she sighed, and the sigh of a child is the most terrible sound in the world.

The next day Maggie worked with one eye. At five o'clock she was talking incoherently to her machine. The girl who sat next to her took her to an eye and ear hospital. The young surgeon who examined the eye cursed first the burners of soft coal and next the ignorance of the poor. Maggie had rubbed the cinder into the cornea, the west wind had added its quota of cold, the water with which the eye had been bathed had come from a foul tenement house boiler, suppuration had set in, and for the next two months Maggie would sit idly in a darkened room. There was a chance that the sight would not be destroyed. Maggie's employers were not philanthropists; her pay ceased when she could no longer work.

That night Rose lied to the whimpering wo-

man on the bed. Maggie, she said, would be out of the hospital and back at work in two days. The woman slept and the child sighed.

Helen Holsworthy had an engagement to call for her father at his office. A block from the works a cinder blew into her right eye. She smiled as she noted the black cloud of smoke above the roofs, her sense of humor suggesting that the Holsworthy chimney should have more respect for the proprietor's daughter. With her handkerchief she sought to capture the cinder, but succeeded only in moving it to a more sensitive part of the eye. Her father looked tired and in bad humor as he stepped into the car, so she said nothing regarding the inhospitable chimney. They drove through the park and Helen maintained a cheerful chatter, although the pain increased steadily. When they got back home her maid looked for the cinder but could find nothing. Helen bathed the eye with a boric acid solution and concluded that the cinder had eliminated itself.

During the night she was awakened by a pain that almost made her scream. The mirror showed an eye bloodshot and with swollen lids. She walked the floor until morning, unselfishly deciding not to awaken her parents. At breakfast she displayed the eye to her father, laughing forlornly as she blamed his indiscriminating chimney. Mr. Holsworthy rushed to telephone to an oculist of international fame, one whose fees were a matter of concern to even the richest of his patients, who, though considering him an extortionist, did not dare entrust their eyes to a less expensive man.

The great man arrived an hour later. He found Miss Holsworthy in a fainting condition. He cocainized the eye and with a needle-like knife removed the imbedded cinder. Miss Holsworthy, he said, was to spend the day in a darkened room.

Mr. Holsworthy had a phonograph de luxe moved to his daughter's boudoir. While Helen drowsed in the adjoining darkened room her maid fed expensive records of the world's best singers into the phonograph. The eye felt quite comfortable. Several boxes of flowers came during the day from friends who had learned of her accident. When the phonograph grew tiresome her mother read aloud from the room next door. On the whole it was not an uninteresting day.

The following morning the great oculist came again.

"I pronounce Miss Holsworthy's eyes as good as ever—and as beautiful," he said to Jasper, smiling unctuously at his patient.

CHARLES TRUITT.



When a man in a wrong cause attempts to steer his course by anything else than some polar truth or principle he is sure to be lost. Neither memory nor invention will supply the want of this.—Thomas Paine.

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## BOOKS

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### PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EFFICIENCY.

Where and Why Public Ownership Has Failed. By Yves Guyot. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.

This book contains a great mass of data on the question of public ownership, with a copious index to aid the student in locating it. While it might not be entirely fair to say the author has been guilty of special pleading, the reader feels that he has allowed his intense anti-socialistic belief to warp his judgment. One feels that his failure to distinguish between natural monopolies and competitive businesses denotes a lack of complete grasp of his theme. All the author's facts may be true in detail, yet his inference may be wrong because of failure to grasp them all. The French government's operation of the tobacco and match businesses is of a different nature from that government's operation of railroads or telephones. The tobacco business is competitive in most countries, and hence has been brought to a high state of efficiency, and may exceed the French service. Railroads, on the other hand, have little of the stimulus of competition, so that state control might prove as efficient as private control. Besides, it is not a question, as Louis F. Post once said, of whether government control in France secures as good results as private control elsewhere; but whether public control there is better than private control there.

It may be conceded that Mr. Guyot has established the fact—as far as data gathered from present conditions can establish it—that public control is less efficient than private control; and yet has not solved the problem he set out to solve. Almost all of his comparisons are between unlike things, or under unlike conditions. So far as he has proven anything it is that the Socialist's contention for the socialization of competitive industries is untenable. That the natural monopolies should be socialized—at least to the extent of bringing them under the closest public control—has not been disproven. The author has not, indeed, grasped the fundamental distinction involved. Mere efficiency in the sense of cost is but a part of the question. Even if it could be shown that a private road or a private guard were maintained cheaper than the public road and police, yet the necessity of maintaining equal rights and opportunities to all requires that the common service must remain under the control of the social body.

It is well that Mr. Guyot has made this exhaustive examination into the question of public own-

ership, imperfect though it is in some respects; for while it does not present the full truth, it does bring out a great deal of error. It is well that the rosewater reformers who are proceeding on the "trial and error" theory, without regard to fundamental principles, should be confronted by a demonstration of a large number of errors.

S. C.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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

—How Farmers Co-Operate and Double Profits. By Clarence Poe. Published by Orange Judd Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution. By Thorstein Veblen. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Art of Public Speaking. By J. Berg Esenwein and Dale Carnegie. Published by the Home Correspondence School, Springfield, Mass. 1915. Price, \$1.62, postpaid.

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## PERIODICALS

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### What Mexico Needs.

In the April-June number of the Unpopular Review there is a most interesting and valuable article on the Cause of Revolution in Mexico. "There and everywhere," says the writer, "men who think as I do would break up land monopoly by the Singletax. But if, in Mexico, in its peculiar conditions, there is need of a more drastic step, I would not shrink from the ugly word and the ugly fact of confiscation." Like all who know Mexico the writer of this article sees that land monopoly is the bottom cause of trouble in that unhappy country. "I asked President Diaz once," he says, "why he did not apply the Singletax, and so break up the large estates. 'It must be done some day,' he replied, 'but one of my successors must do it.'" So far as the United States can do any good the author approves of the policy of watching and waiting, although, as he says, "it is weary work." What Mexico needs is three things: The Singletax, well-supported public schools, and a religion that expresses itself not only in creeds and ceremonials, but in every-day life. Alas, Mexico is not the only land which needs just these three things! Perhaps, when she once makes a start, she may make a leap in the right direction ahead of some other countries. Certainly in regard to the land question her very excess of evil may necessitate the forward leap.

J. H. DILLARD.

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### Singletax Review.

The Singletax in Australasia is described by Schuyler Arnold, in the May-June number of the Singletax Review (150 Nassau St., New York; price 25 cents). This is the third installment of Mr. Arnold's valu-

able series on the Present Program and Status of the Singletax Reform. The growth of Houston under partial singletax is described by W. E. Walter. An account of the Colorado Springs campaign by Ernest Sinton and the editors bi-monthly news letter give a full account of what has been done during the past few months to push the movement forward. In the field of abstract discussion is presented a fine article by Alex Mackendrick on "The Approach to Utopia." "The Soul of the Singletax," by Benjamin F. Lindas, "A Defense of the Unearned Increment Tax" by Dr. Marion Mills Miller, and other well written matter appears. It is regrettable that the editor is not yet able to announce the receipt of the 700 needed pledges for the Singletax Year Book. It is a common experience of those who undertake such work, that responses to requests for help come much more slowly than they should. This is not, as a rule, due to indifference, but to failure to realize the importance of promptness. Each neglectful person imagines himself the only one. The next issue of the Review will be a disappointment should it contain no announcement to the effect that more than enough pledges have been received and the work of preparing the year book is under way.

S. D.

**PAMPHLETS**

- The Second Coming of Christ: Is It Pre-Millennial? By R. J. G. McKnight, Wilkinsburg, Pa. 1915.
- Labor Legislation of 1914. Bulletin 166, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., 1914.
- Shinto, the Native Religion of Japan. Address by Frederick Starr. Reprinted from Unity, Abraham Lincoln Center, Chicago, 1915.

Revolutionary Confederation. The Agrarian Question and Practical Means of Solving the Problem. By Modesto C. Rolland. Published by Compania Veracruzana de Publicidad, S. A., Vera Cruz, Mexico. 1915.

An International Commerce Commission on Ocean Freight Rates: Resolutions passed by the Congress of the United States, presented to the International Institute of Agriculture, February 27, 1915. Published by the International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, Italy.

War Pamphlet Series. I. The Morrow of the War. II. Shall This War End German Militarism? by Norman Angell. III. War, the Offspring of Fear. By Bertrand Russell. IV. The Origins of the Great War. By H. N. Brailsford. V. Parliament and Foreign Policy. By Arthur Ponsonby. VI. The National Policy. VII. The International Industry of War. VIII. War and the Workers. By J. Ramsay MacDonald. IX. Why We Should State Terms of Settlement. X. Towards an International Understanding. XI. Women and War. By H. M. Swanwick. Published by the Union of Democratic Control, 37 Norfolk St., Strand, London, W. C. Price, one penny each.



Senator Tillman was arguing on the tariff with a congressman.

"You know I never boast," his opponent began. "Never boast? Splendid!" said Senator Tillman; and he added quietly, "No wonder you brag about it!" —Everybody's Magazine.



One day two laborers were discussing the wisdom of the present generation. Said one:

"We be wiser than our fathers was, and they was wiser than their fathers was."

The second one, after pondering a while and gazing at his companion, replied:

"Well, Garge, what a fule thy grandfather must 'a' been!"—New York Globe.

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A STUDY IN SWEDENBORG

By Charles H. Mann

From the title page of "Spiritual Sex-Life": The marriage enjoined by a spiritual sex-love is essentially a kind of life to which the institution of marriage is subordinate, while, according to popular thought, marriage is essentially an institution to which the life in marriage is subordinate.

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J. J. Garth Wilkinson, of London, a distinguished physician and author, said of this pamphlet: "It is good to connect the body with the soul, and to open the way, so that these veiled subjects may be known in a passionless period as holy as well as blessed before Conjugium arrives."

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ALEX MACKENDRICK, Secretary

Office and headquarters of the League, 120 Boylston Street, Boston. Secretary in attendance every day from 2 till 5 o'clock. Executive Committee meets the last Friday of each month at above address at 7.30. All interested are welcomed at these meetings.

## Rhode Island Tax Reform Association

Singletaxers intending to take a summer vacation are asked to consider our Narragansett Bay. We are to make a speaking campaign and need you. Give us a Sunday anyway. Write to L. F. C. GARVIN, Lonsdale, R. I.

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Workers in our campaign to get one thousand new yearly subscriptions in July will see from an announcement in another column that Congressman Warren Worth Bailey has made a suggestion that is going to bring the co-operation of editors all over the country. The Public now goes to over 1,500 editors, and our advertisement will, at a low estimate, be appearing in not fewer than fifty newspapers the last two weeks of this campaign.

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## Cleveland Writer Wins the \$50 Cash Prize Offered by a Reader of The Public.

The judges (Messrs. C. F. Shandrew, Frank Stephens and E. Paul du Pont) have returned to us the article which they considered best answered the question:

Why is it a better economic proposition for the general public to have a small quantity more to spend per capita than for the same to go (by special privilege) into the hands of one millionaire for expenditure?

William G. Osborn, 1517 East 82nd St., Cleveland, Ohio, is the author. Mr. Osborn's article will appear in next week's Public.

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## Capitalism and Social Service

By Louis F. Post

[The following little "purple patch" is one of a series of quotations from books sold in The Public's Book Department. One quotation will be given each week in this column.]

True enough, capitalism has in fact subordinated the interests of all to the greed of a few, as our socialistic friend says. But that is not capitalism per se. That is not capitalism in and of itself. That is perverted capitalism. I am talking of capitalism unperverted; remember that—unperverted, unperverted.

No, not at all; I don't allude to perversions by individuals. A man may rob a hen roost, thereby diverting one kind of wealth from its owner; or may bribe officials, thereby diverting other kinds of wealth; but all this sort of thing is mere individual rascality. What I am trying to do is to distinguish individual from institutional perversions. I am not thinking of tainted money. I do not allude to any of the perversions of capitalism which the community wouldn't tolerate if the facts were known. These are not the perversions that make capitalism seem like a social ogre. The perversions of capitalism that do make it seem so, and to which I do allude, are the institutional perversions that are maintained by common consent, with full general knowledge of the facts, but in general ignorance of their industrial effects and moral significance.

Were it not for these institutional perversions, Doctor, I really believe that capitalism would produce, in a normal way, through orderly evolutionary processes, under the regulation of the social law of equal freedom operating in conjunction with the individual law of the line of least resistance—I truly believe that in the absence of those perverting institutions, capitalism would produce a co-operative commonwealth of social service infinitely better than any which the fondest visions of utopian dreamers have ever revealed.

From "Social Service," by Louis F. Post.

**Partial Contents:** The Use of Money, The Abuse of Money, Demand and Supply, Competition, The Mechanism of Social Service, Trading, The Circles of Trade, Credits and Accounting, Derangements of the Mechanism of Social Service, Analysis of the Instruments of Social Service, Feudalism, Capitalism, Karl Marx and Henry George.

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## Short-Story Writing



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## What Thirty-One Governors Think!

Governor Byrne, of South Dakota, in his recent message said "The general property tax stands in the way of a uniformly equitable distribution of the burden of taxation." Do governors of other states agree?

This question and a number of others were recently sent to them by The Public.

Thirty-one replied. Their letters, which will appear in issues of The Public, beginning with July 16, make an interesting and important symposium.

Another set of questions, equally pertinent, have been submitted to congressmen, senators and other citizens of prominence. Their replies will be published later.

Look out for these numbers.