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EDITORIAL

A Dangerous Citizen.

Surgeon General W. C. Gorgas, draining Panama marshes and bringing health to the men working in a climate that had decimated the French, was a most estimable citizen. Many people have been glad to honor him for his great work. But Major General W. C. Gorgas, proposing to add thirteen years to the average of human life by doubling the wages of workmen, is in a fair way to be denounced as a dangerous citizen. Doubling the wages of workmen can be done only by taking from the House of Have and giving to the House of Want. Destroying insect parasites is popular; restraining human parasites is dangerous. s. c.



The Tragedy of Diaz.

There is material for a tragedy in the fate of Porfirio Diaz. It contains a lesson of a great opportunity deliberately rejected. A writer in the April-June number of the Unpopular Review tells how this opportunity was presented to Diaz when at the height of his power. He says:

I asked President Diaz once, why he didn't 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."

In thus passing on a pressing duty to his successors, Diaz committed his most serious blunder. The evil of land monopoly, allowed to flourish unchecked, finally produced a revolution, and the justly impatient people installed a successor to Diaz with what must have seemed to him rude and needless haste. If instead of passing on to his successors the duty of freeing Mexican labor, Diaz had undertaken the task himself, he would have made for himself an honored name in history. His rejection of the great opportunity must inevitably and justly cause him to be placed with the selfish and short-sighted rulers of other times and other countries, whose ruinous misgovernment drove their people to revolution. s. d.

Public Sympathy As An Asset.

In the contest of wits that marks the struggle between Capital and Labor, it would seem to an onlooker that the Capitalist had worsted his opponent in the plea for public sympathy. A few years ago Capital felt itself so strong that it defied public opinion; while Labor, realizing its weakness, appealed to the public for sympathy; and that defiance of Capital and appeal of Labor won the latter many victories during the growth of the trade union movement. But a change seems to have come over the situation. Capital, realizing its loss of prestige, has undertaken to make friends of the public; while organized Labor, confident in its strength, is paying less regard to public opinion. In the earlier days Labor pleaded for arbitration; Capital declared it had nothing to arbitrate. Now Capital appeals to arbitration; while Labor seems to view it with distrust. This is not the universal policy of either Capital or Labor, but it appears to be a growing tendency.



It would seem to be a short-sighted policy on the part of the men to refuse arbitration. A little reflection on their part should enable them to see that the lost prestige of Capital, through a defiance of public opinion, and a refusal to arbitrate differences, is merely a foreshadowing of their own possible condition, if they adopt the same policy. The initial refusal of the Chicago street car men to arbitrate would have led them into almost certain defeat, had they not subsequently reconsidered their action. The mass of the public was not in sympathy with a strike, although it does sympathize with the men. The same thing is true of the Chicago builders' strike. The refusal of the carpenters to arbitrate the questions in dispute is costing them the loss of public sympathy they can ill-afford to spare; and should their action be persisted in, it may lead to serious consequences to their organization. Society has become too complicated, and commercial interests are too closely interwoven to permit one interest to arbitrarily upset the whole social order, merely to settle a particular dispute. Compulsory arbitration has its disadvantages; but unless means are found to adjust these differences without the strike and lockout, the general public will feel itself justified in taking the matter into its own hands, and compelling arbitration. The American public is tolerant of inconvenience, and jealous of personal liberty. It is sympathetic, and it will in the long run side with the oppressed. But its tardiness in responding to the appeal of vic-

tims of oppression is often increased by indiscretions on the part of those who would have its aid. Labor unions, and labor leaders, can no more afford to defy public opinion than can the capitalists. As they grow in strength through the sympathy of the public, so they will be able to profit by that strength by retaining that sympathy.

S. C.



Making Labor Mobile.

In discussing the recent London tramway strike a sympathetic critic in the London Herald offers a suggestion worthy of careful consideration. The fluidity of Labor and Capital is an essential part of the competitive theory of political economy. But while it is true in theory that Labor and Capital tend ever toward the point of highest wages and interest, and away from the point of lowest wages and interest, various artificial restraints interrupt the tendency; and this interruption is much more pronounced in the case of Labor than in that of Capital. One of these artificial obstructions to the free flow of labor from one point to another is discussed by the Herald critic. It appears that the strike on the municipally owned tramways of London failed, and the men were compelled to accept the terms of the County Council—terms that the Herald and other radical papers consider unjust.



In considering the causes that led to the failure of the strike the Herald critic calls attention to the fact that the men were unable to make use of one of their most powerful weapons. Commenting upon this weakness he says:

If it were found that the tramway strikers, instead of waiting for a resumption of work, were slipping away into other occupations, the County Council would at once come to its knees. If the men could proceed to supply the demand for makers of war munitions at this moment, the problem would be solved. Here is where the organization of labor defeats itself. It is foolish to suppose that a mechanic of ordinary intelligence cannot master two, three or even half a dozen trades, if he is properly taught, and the apprentice tradition is broken down. But the fact is, the plumber, carpenter and decorator, not to mention the minute subdivisions in the engineering trades, cannot pass the boundaries of their occupations. The trade union, as a matter of fact, ultimately serves the ends of the employer. There is nothing so controllable as a rigidly bounded group of laborers. A new kind of labor exchange is what is needed.

This is a feature that has not received sufficient attention. The trade union, in protecting itself, has erected barriers that keep out fellow unionists

in other occupations; so that when the men in one occupation find themselves so aggrieved that they had rather abandon their jobs than submit to the injustice, they find alternative occupations closed. Were it possible, for instance, for carpenters to drift into kindred occupations, any injustice done them would soon make itself apparent in a scarcity of carpenters; and the employers would be forced to remove the grievance.



The inevitable answer to this fertile suggestion will be that the pressure upon all other trades and callings is so great that any addition to their membership would tend to give their employer control of them. The Herald critic himself notes this weakness; for he admits that the men would still be handicapped because of a lack of sufficient surplus employment, which is true in England, he says, because of the suppression of rural occupations. Urban and industrial employers possess in consequence a monopoly that forces workers to compete for the privilege of being employed. He concludes:

Given the full play of the nation's activities, employers would be compelled to compete for men. The tramway worker, during his days of enforced idleness, might stroll into the country and reflect that the vacant field he sees is a cause of his grievance. His real problem is how to force that field into productive use. If he tries, however, he will find that the land owner laughs at him. It costs nothing to hold land unless it is rented. Perhaps if the State collected the rent from the land owner, the whole problem would be solved.

As of old all roads led to Rome, so all economic problems now lead to the land. Upon the land man finds his natural employment; and all the subdivisions of labor, no matter to what degree they may be carried, rest finally upon this primary occupation. Correct this, and all the others will adjust themselves.

S. C.



What Is In A Name?

The repeal of the Illinois law prohibiting corporations from owning or dealing in real estate, other than what they use for commercial purposes, calls attention once more to the confusion in certain minds between names and realities. The earlier law makers of Illinois, fearing that land—which all must use—might somehow be monopolized by perpetual corporations, decreed that no corporation might deal in real estate. This is but another expression of the thought that large land owners, merely because of their size, are detrimental to the country, as compared to small

land owners; that alien land owners, for the reason that they are alien, are objectionable. The essence of the land question lies not in the form of the ownership, nor the magnitude, nor even the abode of the owner, but in the fact itself. It makes little difference to the users of land whether it belongs to one man, who draws a hundred thousand dollars, for his permission to use it; or to a thousand men who draw each a hundred dollars for such permission. Nor does it matter to the tenants whether the owner lives in the immediate neighborhood, or in a foreign country. The evil lies in the fact that the users of the land are compelled to pay for its use to another person, or persons, who renders no service in return. It is conceivable that the subdivision of land may be carried to such an extent as to militate against its best use, as has been charged in some parts of France and Belgium. But regardless of the size of the holdings, the correction necessary in our land system, to restore industry to a normal basis, will come through requiring the owners of land to pay annually into the public treasury the value that the public confers upon the land. When that is done it will not matter whether the holdings be large or small. It will not matter whether the owner be a native or a foreigner. When land values are recognized as the creation of the community, as belonging to the public by right of creation, and are taken by the public to defray its expenses, the ownership of land can be as free as the ownership of any form of capital. s. c.



Mental Deficiency and Crime.

In its column headed "The Human Side of Things," the Chicago Daily News of July 1 tells some tales of the trouble the Juvenile Court has in properly dealing with cases before it. The following is an example:

Sam is a mental deficient of 9 years' intelligence who knows only one way to make a living, and that is by carrying baggage at the Union Depot. As Sam never had the price of the license required by the city he inevitably is arrested and sent to the House of Correction. Sam has been arrested seventeen times and his life is one continued circle of baggage carrying, arrest, trial, House of Correction and release. A baggage carrier's license costs a few dollars, probably one-hundredth part of what Sam has cost the city for his arrests, trials and imprisonment.

Is it not well for the city that this poor baggage carrier is a "mental deficient?" If he were not he might reason that he would be taking no more chances of punishment for crime if he turned his hand to pocket-picking or burglary, instead of trying to earn his living honestly. Pos-

sibly much of the appalling increase in juvenile crime in Chicago will be found, if properly traced, to result from such laws as the silly ordinance that makes it a privilege, requiring payment of a license, to engage in an honest occupation. Mental deficiency in law making is undoubtedly more responsible for crime than mental deficiency elsewhere. "Expert criminologists," who are so sure that psychopathic treatment for criminals will reduce crime, would do better to urge similar treatment for the lawmakers.



West Virginia's Opportunity.

William Seymour Edwards, Republican National Committeeman for West Virginia, is a man with a vision. He would make West Virginia a tax-free State, and has published a pamphlet showing how this can be done. This has created considerable discussion. His plan is that the State acquire possession through purchase of such natural resources as its coal, oil and natural gas lands, its forests and water power. If the people of West Virginia owned and leased out these resources, the revenue would be more than sufficient to pay the expense of running the State government. The State received in taxes in 1910 \$5,336,884; and counties and municipalities received \$4,119,396 additional, a total of \$9,456,280. Mr. Edwards shows that the State could have received in royalties on coal mines \$5,403,318, on oil \$2,250,000 and on gas \$1,000,000. Water power, he figures, could be made to yield from \$30,000,000 to \$60,000,000 a year revenue. From the forests he says can be produced revenues that may be reckoned in a few years to exceed \$30,000,000 to \$50,000,000 per year. His figures may be heavily discounted and still be ample to prove his case.



The method Mr. Edwards would have the State pursue is to purchase through issue of long time bonds bearing 4 and 5 per cent interest. That means, in effect, that he would allow the present owners of these resources to draw in interest on non-taxable bonds what they now get in royalties and other forms of rent. So the present value of the purchase would be of no benefit to the people. They would have to wait for an increase in value before they could draw anything. Still, this would be enough of an improvement over existing conditions to make its adoption worth while, were there no other objection, or were there no better way. But there do happen to be other objections and there is certainly a better way.

A serious objection is unconsciously indicated by Mr. Edwards himself, at the very beginning of his plea. He starts by asking "Would you like to live in a State where there are no taxes?" Then further on he says:

Would you like to live in a state where farms and lands enhance in value by reason of this freedom from taxation, this prevalence of good schools and good roads, where population increases at equal pace with the rising values of the land . . . where the mere incidental rise in the value of town lots and city property assures abounding and universal prosperity?

In showing that the inevitable result of his plan would be a general increase in value of privately owned land, Mr. Edwards makes clear that his proposition would only change tax burdens into rent burdens; that increase in values would make acquirement of farms and home sites more expensive and difficult. Since all privately owned lands would be free from taxation, owners could hold them out of use indefinitely without cost to themselves. And why should they not do so, while they would be enhancing in value? Why should they risk money and labor in improving the land when there would be unearned increment to be had, without any expenditure? That would surely stimulate land speculation. Mr. Edwards' plan would relieve industry from taxation, but would leave it at the mercy of private landlords, who certainly could and would take from it in increased rents, all that would be saved in taxes.



West Virginia can become a taxless State without buying out any of the holders of natural resources. It need but abolish the taxes on labor that Mr. Edwards would abolish, and raise public revenues by appropriating, through the taxing power, the rental value of all lands, including the resources which Mr. Edwards would have the State buy. The so-called tax on land values that would remain would be, in fact, not a tax, but ground rent paid to the State. No long time interest bearing bonds would be necessary to accomplish this. The State would benefit from existing values as well as future values. It would get the benefit of future increase in values of not only a few natural resources, but of every inch of land within its boundaries. And why should it not? These values have been and will be created by the people and justly belong to them. There is no need to disturb land titles in West Virginia or elsewhere. All that is necessary is to take rental values. That would give a State where, as Mr. Edwards says of his own plan, "no taxes are levied on chattels, upon the farmers' live stock,

the mechanic's tools, the merchants' goods, the bankers' bonds, the manufacturers' machinery, the railroads' rolling stock." The holding of valuable land out of use, under this system, would be an unprofitable proceeding, whereas under Mr. Edwards' plan it would be the reverse. Land speculation would thus be eliminated, and as long as a valuable bit of land remained unused there would be a job open to any man that would want one. Speculative rent would be abolished, together with taxes on labor. Involuntary unemployment would be at an end. There would at the same time be reduced cost of living and increased wages, and West Virginia would lead the world in civilization. Mr. Edwards has come close to a great truth. If he looks a little more closely he may see the way to put his State in the van of progress.

S. D.



A "Taxless" Town.

West Virginia has a "taxless" example in the town of Harrisville. This city owns gas wells which it leases to operators. The rent of these is said to be sufficient for local expenses. The result is no taxation for local purposes. Since that leaves town lots untaxed, the financial benefits of this arrangement must necessarily be absorbed by land owners. For the landless inhabitants there can be little or no benefits. This does not mean that Harrisville's policy is wrong. As far as it has gone it is quite right. But it should go further. The rental value of the town lots should be taken for public purposes also. Then the benefits of the plan would be fairly distributed.

S. D.



New York's Reactionary Convention.

That the New York State Constitutional Convention is a reactionary body was apparent when it assembled. Its actions since have strengthened that impression. Nothing progressive can reasonably be expected of a body where men like Elihu Root and William Barnes control, and it is not surprising that so far nothing important of a desirable nature has been accomplished. Home Rule for Cities, Initiative and Referendum, Proportional Representation, The Recall and other measures against which no valid objection can be offered have met with very cool receptions. On the other hand, there is danger of adoption of measures so reactionary that they could not hope for favorable consideration in any body other than one dominated by privileged interests. Measures are pending to restrict suffrage,

to compel a second submission of the pending woman suffrage amendment in case of adoption, to make more difficult future amendment of the constitution, and other plans to interfere with democratic government.



The hand of predatory interests is furthermore seen in the proposition to change the present flexible taxation provision into a cast iron one designed to perpetuate taxation of buildings at the same rate as land values. This measure ought to be entitled:

A resolution to continue land speculation, unemployment, high rents, high cost of living and congestion of population; to increase the rate of infant mortality; to spread tuberculosis and other diseases, to foster vice and crime, to keep wages low and to conserve the legalized power of a few to appropriate the earnings of others.

Fortunately, the people of the State will have a chance to reject the work of the convention.

S. D.



Buzfuz Up to Date.

When Sergeant Buzfuz discovered an awful amount of guilt in Mr. Pickwick's innocent note about chops and tomato sauce, he did nothing more absurd or unreasonable than a recent performance by Charles Edward Russell. He comments on the following statement by William J. Bryan:

The slaughter of innocent women and children is indefensible, whether it be by drowning or by starvation.

This unequivocal condemnation of all slaughter of innocents Mr. Russell distorts into an attempt to excuse the sinking of the Lusitania. If that style of reasoning should be allowed, then any one of Mr. Russell's Socialist speeches or writings can easily be construed into an emphatic repudiation of Socialism. Yet this is but an example of the way nearly all neutral or impartial utterances and actions have been misconstrued, since the war began, by partisans on each side into favoritism for the other side. Mr. Bryan and President Wilson have both suffered from such misjudgment on the part of persons apparently unable to conceive of the possibility of a word or act not influenced by partisan motives. And these same persons have, in all seriousness, extended their absurd method of misjudging others to every reference of any kind by any one concerning the war.

S. D.

War and Honor.

It is not so easy for moralists, as it is for lawyers, to note a distinction between the sinking of the Armenian and that of the Lusitania. Both acts seem to be on the same plane with all murderous warfare. If there is any difference, it is not enough to make a distinction worth while. Both were equally the result of militarist training. A nation can afford to sacrifice much before resorting to a policy that leads to commission of such acts. War does not conserve a nation's honor. On the contrary, it does more to impair it than the most humiliating terms of peace.

S. D.



Unprofitable Interference With Freedom.

If the German government deliberately wished to cast doubt on the claim that the people favor the war policy, it could not have adopted a surer method than it actually took in compelling the Vorwärts and other papers to temporarily suspend. If it is a penal offense to publish a demand for peace, then it is impossible to say whether public opinion is fairly represented by the papers that demand continuation of war. Moreover, when a government meets criticism with suppression instead of argument, it justifies the suspicion that the criticism may be unanswerable.

S. D.



Opportunity for Peace.

Since the people of every one of the belligerent countries have greater cause for hostility toward their oppressors at home, than toward the foreign enemy, democratic elements would do well to follow the example of the German Socialist committee in demanding speedy peace, without infliction of harsh terms on any one. In allowing themselves to be swept into the war the Socialists and other democrats of Europe made a grievous mistake. But if they should now succeed in forcing peace in spite of tory opposition, the fault will be at least partially redeemed.

S. D.



A Mere Woman!

The return of Jane Addams from Europe marks the completion of the initial steps of one of the world's great movements. The Woman's Peace Conference at The Hague has set in motion forces that will be felt throughout the world. It demonstrated that women are neither the illogical, inconsistent, narrow-minded creatures imagined by those near-statesmen who deny them the suffrage,

nor the frivolous, babbling, hysterical beings dreamed of by the poet; but just plain, rational human beings, who, kept from the firing line by the accident of birth, and bound to the race by closer ties, have suffered with keener anguish the depredations of war. The conduct of the women since the Conference has increased the world's estimation. The delegations sent by the Conference to the various courts of Europe were everywhere received with fitting deference, and their experiences and opinions were cabled throughout the world. Miss Addams speaks as one having authority; and her words will do much toward bringing men and women to a better understanding of each other. The nations at war, she says, must go on; for one of them to suggest peace would be considered a confession of weakness, and would invite disaster. The neutral nations must make overtures, and in time these overtures will be accepted. Whether or not this be the best course, no one can say that the Women's Peace Conference and their subsequent conduct does not measure up in every way with that of the men.

S. C.



LURING THE PEOPLE TO WAR

But the people want to fight!

Of course they do.

Not less inevitable and irresistible than the desire to eat when hungry, or to run when confronted suddenly by a wild animal, is the desire to strike and kill when dominated by the idea, "My country's flag has been insulted," "Our property has been seized," "Our rights are being denied," etc., etc.

The student of social evolution can probably explain why this is so. He can tell us that in days gone by the life and happiness of the individual were indissolubly connected with the preservation of his nation's honor and existence. Conquest meant annihilation. After a war, the victor slaughtered the vanquished, destroyed their homes and cities, appropriated their wealth, reduced the survivors to slavery or worse. Preservation of self could be accomplished only through preservation of the integrity and independence of the group.

We need no specialist in social science to tell us that things are quite different today. Conquest now does not mean what it did years ago. The governing classes of a defeated nation, its political and economic rulers, may suffer a diminution of authority and power; but as far as the people at

large are concerned, there is very little if any change for them. The great masses of the conquerors and the conquered alike continue their daily toil for the necessaries of life. Poverty, vice, crime and other concomitants of modern social and economic organization persist as before. The life of the common people remains a succession of joys and griefs, struggles and successes, births and deaths; except that in addition they suffer the usual penalties of war—increased taxation, broken homes, sad memories of the lost beloved.

However, we need not concern ourselves with the origin, reasonableness or justifiability of man's impulse to fight in response to such ideas or situations as enumerated above. The fact remains that it does exist. It is a part of human life, and must be accepted as such. No amount of theorizing, no attempts at overlooking it, can sweep it out of existence.

The foregoing is obvious to a student of social psychology. Cabinet ministers; public officials, editors, writers, preachers are all well aware of it. If sincere in their protestations that they are striving for the realization of such ideals as "Peace on Earth," "Universal Brotherhood," "Federation of the World," etc., they should act in accordance with the principle that tendencies to certain definite kinds of action, grow and strengthen through exercise, but weaken and die through disuse. Sentiments of peace and good will can grow only when appropriate situations are present; but when situations of the kind mentioned above are created we find an immediate response in the shape of impulses to fight and destroy. Should we not then expect our leaders to be careful not to create situations that might provoke such undesirable tendencies?

Let us see, however, what occurs almost constantly.

A petty official or an irresponsible individual in a foreign land pulls down or otherwise shows disrespect for our flag. Are the facts stated as they actually happened? "Our Flag Insulted" is dinned into our ears. Instantly the blood rushes hot to the brain, the fist is clenched, the breath quickens, and we are ready, nay eager, to sally forth and slaughter numerous foreigners, who perhaps have not even heard of the incident.

Or the government of a foreign land is attacked by a revolutionary force. The latter seizes the property of a wealthy resident, a citizen of our country. Undoubtedly this is of great interest to the parties immediately concerned, especially to the owner—very slightly so to the rest of us. But

what happens? "Our Property Seized" is flashed before us. The word "our" is accepted uncritically, and the response is as before—an insane desire to commit murder.

A group of capitalists, citizens of our country, seek to control an industry in a smaller, weaker land. The people of the latter object to having their resources exploited by outsiders, and attempt to regulate the organization of that industry so as to exclude the foreigners. It would be but natural for most of us to sympathize with the weaker. But the hysterical proclamation that "Our Citizens Are Denied Their Rights" changes the sympathy into bitter enmity.

The people of a neighboring foreign possession have risen against their government. Foreign owners of property in that possession note with consternation the increase of losses, due to unstable conditions accompanying the rebellion. It would be extremely advantageous for them if our government interfered and re-established order. But their losses do not interest us to such an extent as to wish to stop them at the sacrifice of our lives. Instead of presenting to the public the true state of affairs, the press and other moulders of public opinion either ignore or merely hint at it, giving prominence to every detail of suffering that accompanies the uprising. These details are recited at such length and so frequently that we finally decide that "Our Country Must Interfere in the Cause of Humanity."

A group of manufacturers find it profitable to dispose of their wares in a non-industrial country. They find a rival foreign group bidding for the same market. By some means or other, the rivals obtain the privilege of trading with the natives. An occurrence of this sort unquestionably has some significance for the economic life of our country. But it may be doubted whether a clear understanding of the situation would generate in us the species of homicidal mania, frequently called "patriotism," with which we respond to the frenzied cry that "Our Interests Are Threatened."

The reader may insert names of different countries in the incidents described; the facts remain the same. Case after case might be cited where the knowledge of the plain, unvarnished truth would not cause a finger to be moved, except by those directly affected. But the leaders of public opinion do not tell us the facts as they are, without clothing them in thought-clouding, emotion-provoking verbiage. If they did, there would not be the response they seem so anxious to obtain. They carefully conceal the truth, and bring forth old, tried and effective situations, all certain to

produce the same effect in the uninitiated: stiffened backbone, dilated nostrils, flushed cheek—fierce anger and a ferocious desire to destroy “the inferior peoples who stand in the way of our growth and expansion.”

And then we see the smug, complacent, contented *dei ex machinae* point to their victims, and hear them say with ill concealed joy: “But the people themselves want to fight.”

ALEXANDER FICHANDLER.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

WAR CONDITIONS IN NEW ZEALAND.

Auckland, N. Z., May 27, 1915.

In these dreadful times with casualty lists coming to hand daily, including the names of friends in all parts of New Zealand, it is difficult to think or write about anything else but the war.

This is a time when it is difficult to get a hearing for any sane reform. At the same time the need for educational propaganda is all the greater on that account.

We still keep the *Liberator* going, and we have had several polls to adopt rating on unimproved values for local purposes, most of them successful. One, in the neighborhood of Auckland, we lost by only three votes.

We see on every hand the results of our work during the past twenty-five years, although the realization of our ideals is not as rapid as we could wish.

In view of the necessity of increasing taxation to pay for our war expenditure, we have had quite a lot of newspaper and other discussion as to how the taxes should be raised.

The farmers, guided by the large landholders and misled by the capitalistic press, have always been our strongest opponents, and in the past we have lost frequent polls for rating on unimproved values because the press warned the people that it was the thin end of the Singletax wedge. That system of local taxation has now become fairly popular with farmers in the districts where it has been adopted, and in the recent discussions on the coming war tax several branches of the Farmers' Union have declared strongly for a land tax. The Provincial Conference of the Union held in Auckland a few days ago, in spite of a good deal of opposition, declared in favor of a land and income tax for part of the war expenses. This marks a great advance in thought amongst the farmers.

GEORGE W. FOWLDS.



SINGLETAX IN SOUTH AMERICA.

Buenos Aires, May 27, 1915.

Our league called *Lega Argentina Para el Impuesti Unica* is growing rapidly. We hold weekly classes for study and for preparing, or grounding, public speakers, as also weekly meetings of members of our General Committee. On this committee are some of our prominent business men; while amongst them

are some who do the open-air work and quite a number of university students and some from the staffs of large institutions in the city. Dr. Felix Vitale spoke here a week ago on Singletax, supported by the so-called Socialist member of the Senate, D. Eurique del Valls Iberlucea. The hall was packed. Robert Baleue and Dr. Vitale are putting in a week getting members for our league. They are doing magnificent work.

One of our members went to Sao Pauli, Brazil, to organize a league. He is back, and his brother, Albert Alves de Lima, goes north tomorrow to continue the work. We have formed a South America Committee for Singletax. Members:

Dr. F. Vitale, president (Italian).
 Dr. Manuel Herrera and Russiq (Uruguay).
 Constancia C. Vigil (Uruguay).
 Voltaire Balino (Uruguay).
 Octavious Alres de Lima (Brazil).
 Jose Custodie Alres de Lima (Brazil).
 Antonio Guernos Talls (Brazil).
 Ingo Argel Silva Juno (Argentine).
 Louis Labadenz (Bolivia).
 Robert Baluet, Canadian (Argentine).
 C. N. Macintosh (New Zealand).

Mr. Antonio Guernos Telles is secretary. His address is 459 Calle Salta, Buenos Aires. This committee is carrying on the international work. Labadenz Luis is a national deputy for Bolivia. Jose Custodia Alres de Lima speaks and writes English perfectly. His address is Rua. Antonio Guernos Telles speaks and writes perfectly Spanish, Portuguese, and English.

We've got the university to include a course on Singletax, in the themes on which the law students must express their reasons for and against. We have three university professors working hard for us with the students. Vitale speaks in the University Hall on 31st to the students of economic sciences. In the Province of Cordoba the local “*Cantro Scorgista*,” headed by Sr. Bernardo Ovdoucz, are carrying on magnificent work. They are backing Dr. Cavcano. This gentleman is Governor of the Province, and is a sound Singletaxer, one who is laying the basis for an Argentine Alberta—Singletax for provincial and municipal purposes in the area under his control. In Rio Grande de Sul (Brazil) we have Dr. Borges de Medeiros, a Singletax state president. In Uruguay, Dr. Cosis is a Singletax finance minister, and a fighter for sound economic principles.

C. N. MACINTOSH.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY.

Seattle, Wash., July 1, 1915.

Poor old Europe these many years has been sowing a crop of bayonets expecting to reap peace, but the inevitable harvest, according to LAW is, that individually or collectively we reap what we sow.

Man is evolving and the Supreme Intelligence directs but leaves nothing vital to our caprice; the seed of a far-off need is Divinely planted and ages afterward comes into flower at the appointed time; then man looking backward, writes an historical sketch and calls it the determinism of history and imagines that his is the Master hand that wrote.

Since the discovery of America over twenty-five millions of people from all over the earth, but principally Europe, have migrated to these United States; an amazing exodus! preparing a continent to receive, to recreate and conserve the best that the Old World has had to offer.

Today Europe wearied with the burdens of empire and lust of greed is committing suicide; in her egotism she has mistaken pomp for power, decay for growth and social and property distinctions as Divine rights, but out of the ashes of her pyre a new people will be born.

We in America have the wealth, power and knowledge to lead and teach the world; never has such an opportunity favored a nation; but will we hold fast to that which is truth? Egotism entrenched behind monopoly rules America today; industrial warfare in Michigan, West Virginia and Colorado and the growth of I. W. W.'s are symptoms of disease in our social relations.

The war lords of Europe were blind, the lords of greed in America have no vision.

For a quarter of a century Europe has been building fleets and training armies, in the interest of peace, she is now reaping the harvest of error.

For a quarter of a century in America we have given monopoly a free hand in the interest of prosperity, but the thinking man hears the rumblings of our own impending dissolution; peace and prosperity cannot come out of greed.

Hordes of workers in America are pouring an avalanche of wealth into the coffers of that sightless nobility, who making merry behind the intrenchments of privilege are unconscious of the approaching storm. Exploitation through monopoly is the last act of barbarism in America.

The present war is the last act of barbarism in Europe; it is the beginning of the end of militarism and the end of militarism is the beginning of true civilization; after the cataclysm will come real peace and prosperity.

W. E. GORDON.



A RUINOUS TRADE BALANCE.

San Francisco, Cal., June 26, 1915.

The war is making clear to many people in our country economic truths which the beneficiaries of privilege have in the past been able to mystify and make appear doubtful. The heavy drop in the rate of exchanges between the United States and Europe has seriously hurt many of our exporting industries. This exchange is the promise to pay of the European buyer for the goods which he receives from us. Heretofore, as our purchases from Europe almost equaled theirs from us, these evidences of what is really nothing more than common barter and exchange of the products of labor, nearly balances each other, and the banking paper known as "Exchange" was maintained at about par, or the actual value of the goods exchanged.

As Europe is not sending us any goods, its promises to pay for the goods sent it now amount to about \$1,000,000,000. The oversupply of these promises to pay, offered for sale to the banks and other buyers, has reduced their value to a price below any that ever existed before in the history of our foreign trade. As a result many of our merchants

have lost the greater part of the profit of their sales to Europe, and in some cases part of their capital has been sacrificed.

Our merchants are thus learning the lesson that trade is only barter and exchange; that they cannot sell goods to foreign countries unless they buy goods of equal value from the same source. They are learning the fallacy of protection; that a "protection" wall built about our country will prevent goods going out as well as coming into our country.

Mr. Claus A. Spreckels, president of the Federal Sugar Refinery of New York, who is a Singletaxer, and therefore a Freetrader, very aptly expressed to me a more evil effect of Protection as follows: "Tariff walls are fortifications, and cause trade jealousy and war. Prussia was at war with the other German states until the German confederation was brought about and free trade existed among them. In our own country Pennsylvania produces iron products, Minnesota wheat, California fruit and each State that which nature has provided it may produce more economically than another. We do not grow pineapples in Oregon. This natural condition existing, we have no war among us."

EDWARD P. E. TROY.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, July 6, 1915.

Mexico.

The political phase continues to overshadow the military. Fear of intervention by the United States has quickened the efforts of the Mexican leaders to come to some kind of an agreement. General Carranza continues to ignore General Villa's overtures; but General Obregon, his most successful general, is reported to have agreed to a conference with General Villa about the middle of July. Meantime a conference at Washington at an earlier date has been announced between representatives of Villa, Zapata and Carranza, at which an effort will be made to come to an agreement upon a man whom the United States can back with moral support and recognize if successful. General Iturbide is still spoken of as the choice of the Washington Administration. [See current volume, page 645.]



General Orozco, who, with General Huerta, was arrested in New Mexico on the charge of violating the neutrality of this country by attempting to start another revolution in Mexico, forfeited his bond, and escaped to Mexico. General Huerta, who had been admitted to \$15,000 bail, was re-arrested, together with several leading Mexicans, in Texas charged with conspiracy. General Huerta's bail was placed at \$100,000, failing to fur-

nish which he was consigned to jail. The case will be heard on the 12th.



Fighting has been continuous in the suburbs of Mexico City between the Carranza and the Zapata troops for fifteen days. The failure of Carranza's forces to take the Capital is given as a reason for the weakening opposition of that General to a conference looking to an agreement on a man whom all factions can support. Communication with Mexico City is still uncertain, and the increasing distress from lack of food in that and other cities makes early action more urgent. Large quantities of food have been sent from this country.



European War.

The Austro-German advance in Galicia and southern Poland continues, but with slackening speed. Zamosc, a fortified town forty-five miles southeast of Lublin in Poland, has been taken by the Germans. The present indications are that the victorious army will press on to Ivangorod and Warsaw. Civilians are reported to be leaving the latter city in anticipation of a siege. A Russian council of war, held at the field headquarters by the Czar, the new minister of war, General Polivanov, resulted in the formation of a board of military supplies with absolute powers to obtain equipment and ammunition. Much hard fighting is reported on the western front at Ypres, in the Arras, Argonne and Meuse regions, and in Alsace, but no material changes in the line have been made. The Italian campaign in the mountains has been delayed by bad weather. Progress is reported in the Isonzo region. Tolmino, on the upper Isonzo river, has been taken, but Goritz defies the invaders. Both Goritz and Trieste are said to be on famine rations. Krithia, on the Gallipoli peninsula, is reported captured by the Allied forces. All land attacks have resulted in heavy losses. The British loss alone is given as 37,900 killed, wounded and missing. The bombardment of the forts on the Dardanelles by the British and French fleets has been renewed. [See current volume, page 644.]



German submarines continue to nibble at shipping entering the war zone, taking a daily toll of vessels large and small. A naval engagement occurred in the Baltic between German and Russian fleets off the east coast of Gothland Island. Russia claims the Germans lost a cruiser and a mine layer; but the Germans admit the loss of only the mine layer. The Dominion Line steamer *Armenian* was torpedoed off the coast of Cornwall on the 30th. Twenty-nine persons are missing, twenty-three of whom are reported to be Americans. As the ship was engaged in the service of

the British Admiralty, and also refused to stop when hailed by the submarine, the American government will take no action.



German Socialists have addressed a manifesto to the German government calling upon it to open peace negotiations, and assuring it that the Socialists of other countries will join in the movement. The government has made no response other than to suppress for a few days the Socialist organ, the *Vorwärts*. Premier Asquith declines, as not in the interest of the nation, to state what would be satisfactory terms. At a public meeting he declared: "We will fight to the end, to the last farthing of our money, to the last ounce of our strength, to the last drop of our blood." The Czar also announces a determination to fight to the end.



A Fortnight of It.

An English exchange gives a graphic account of Josiah C. Wedgwood's two weeks' campaign on the Gallipoli peninsula. Lieutenant Commander Wedgwood was in charge of the third squadron of armoured motor cars; but when it was discovered that these could not be landed, the maxims they contained were removed, and with 2,300 men were put aboard the vessel *River Clyde*, which was to serve as a British Trogan Horse. Great doors had been cut in the sides to permit the men to rush out when the ship was beached. In this manner the first troops were put ashore by beaching the ship. But it was not without a dreadful toll. The Turks gave them no rest, reinforcements were slow in coming, and the cover was insufficient. Wedgwood was three days and nights without sleep. Night and day the fighting continued for fourteen days, in which the French and Senegalese, as well as the English, distinguished themselves. A fortnight after landing Lieutenant Commander Wedgwood was hit by a rifle bullet, May 6, and invalided home. He is now well on the road to recovery, when he will again offer his services to his country. [See current volume, page 645.]



Jane Addams Returns.

Miss Jane Addams, who presided at The Hague peace conference of women, and who headed the delegation that visited Germany, Austria, Italy, France and England, landed in New York on the 5th. She reports a courteous reception by government officials in all the countries visited. It is her opinion that peace propositions should be made by neutral countries, and as soon as possible. Delay, she thinks, will make the work harder. None of the belligerents can make overtures without confessing weakness; hence, if neutral nations

do not intercede, the war must go on till one side or the other is completely exhausted.



Chicago's Right to Seize Telephone Plant.

That the City Council of Chicago can legally declare forfeited the Automatic Telephone franchises of the Chicago Tunnel Company was the legal opinion rendered on July 1 by Stephen A. Foster, special counsel for the council committee having the matter under consideration. Mr. Foster was retained by the committee for this purpose in preference to the corporation counsel, Richard S. Folsom, who has not the confidence of some of the members. Mr. Folsom has prepared a forfeiture ordinance, but Mr. Foster found this to be defective, and submitted to the committee an ordinance drawn by himself. Mayor Thompson is still waiting on a legal opinion from Walter L. Fisher, former secretary of the interior under President Taft. [See current volume, page 525.]



Judge Hillyer Charged With Prejudice.

The Supreme Court of Colorado on July 1 ordered Judge Granby Hillyer, who presided at the trial of John R. Lawson, to show cause why he is not disqualified from sitting in three cases growing out of the Walsenburg strike. Affidavits have been filed with the court to show that Hillyer had been previously employed by coal companies and is prejudiced against union miners. Hillyer is to pass on Lawson's application for a new trial on July 12. [See current volume, pages 443 and 636.]



California League Congratulates Slaton.

After an address by Edward Markham, the poet, on June 23, the California League for Home Rule in Taxation on June 23 sent the following congratulatory message to Governor Slaton of Georgia:

The California League for Home Rule in Taxation, representing 266,000 voters, congratulates you because of the splendid stand you have taken for conscience and humanity in commuting the sentence of Leo Frank, and congratulates the State of Georgia that she has such a humane, courageous and conscientious man as her Governor. We hope and believe that Georgians, even those who now bitterly resent it, will commend your action when calm reflection shall have displaced anger and the desire for revenge.

[See current volume, page 621.]



New York City Denied Equal Representation.

The New York State Constitutional Convention rejected on June 30 the proposition to repeal the constitutional provision restricting New York City's representation in the legislature to half the

membership, regardless of its growth in population. A proposition is pending to restrict the right of suffrage to persons able to read and write English. [See current volume, page 641.]

NEWS NOTES

—An investigation of the Chicago Board of Education was ordered by the Illinois State Senate on June 30.

—Three and a half-cent fare on motor busses was inaugurated in Seattle on June 29. Books containing 100 tickets are being sold for \$3.50.

—Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, Irish revolutionist and member of the Fenian organization, died on June 29 in St. Vincent's Hospital, Staten Island, aged 84.

—A deficit in Federal revenue of \$35,864,381 is shown for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915. Customs receipts amounted to \$209,268,107. Income tax receipts were \$79,828,675. Internal revenue receipts were \$335,828,377.

—Chicago Singletax women are invited by Mrs. F. J. Loesch and Mrs. Robert E. Graves to meet Mrs. Joseph Fels informally at 3 o'clock on Wednesday, July 14, at 4247 Hazel avenue, near Buena avenue. No cards will be sent out.

—J. P. Morgan, the financier, was shot, but not seriously injured, at his home at Glen Cove, Long Island, by an apparently demented man, calling himself Frank Holt. Morgan's responsibility for sale of war materials to the Allies was given by Holt as the cause of his act.

—The Second National Conference on Universities and Public Service is to be held in Boston at the State House on August 24-27 under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion of Training for Public Service. The call was issued by Governor David I. Walsh of Massachusetts. The secretary of the conference is Edward A. Fitzpatrick, Box 380, Madison, Wis.

—An injunction granted by Judge Frederick A. Smith of the Circuit Court of Chicago stops temporarily at least the enforcement of the new Illinois law, forbidding sale of tipping privileges in hotels and restaurants. The law was to go into effect on July 1. The injunction was asked by lessees of the cloak rooms at the Hotel Sherman and Hotel Morrison of Chicago, who pay \$11,500 annual rent for the privilege of receiving tips from persons checking hats and coats.

PRESS OPINIONS

Hostile Invaders at Hand.

Indiana Labor Bulletin (Indianapolis), June 11.—This government is in imminent danger of invasion. The attacking force has already landed and has found us undefended. This force is no party of any imaginary German, Japanese, English or other magazine fiction army. . . . Its tribute of billions is not collected in stage money. Its danger to our "liberty,"

such as we have, is not confined to the hysterical screeches of the Roosevelts and Gardeners. The spies of this invading host are not to be looked for among the brown-skinned gardeners of the Pacific coast or the peaceful workmen in our cities. They are found in the halls of Congress, in the editorial rooms and publishers' offices of the powerful newspapers. Instead of being silent, unobtrusive, diffident, they are blatant, sensational, shrieking. . . . The cry for more men, more guns, more ships, more forts, is one that can never be satisfied. It is always "more," never enough. First the cry is for the strongest navy on earth and an army large enough to whip any one nation. Then follows combinations of nations, until the ultimate conclusion is that each nation must be armed until it can whip all the remainder of the world. In the meantime each army and navy has thoroughly conquered its own nation and has laid upon it a tribute greater than any foreign conqueror has ever dared demand. It has turned the money and the national interest that might have been used for the relief of suffering at home into the pockets of armament manufacturers, bondholders and an army and navy ring, until the children of the workers are slaughtered faster than in the invaded provinces of a conquered nation. Our schools, hospitals, universities, parks and other services that might have lengthened and strengthened life are fed into the muzzles of our own guns. Every plundering interest waves a flag in the eyes of those who would interfere with its thieving. This is a real invasion, a genuine threat of conquest. Therefore no one gets excited about it.



A Jury of Her Peers.

The Australian Worker (Sydney), June 3.—Almost every jury court, term after term, produces one or more cases in which twelve men solemnly sit down to determine whether or not a woman is guilty of some offense alleged against her. The practice is as old as the courts themselves, but that it should continue, in an age which does not regard antiquity as the sole foundation of right, proves how serious a thing it is to start on a wrong course. . . . In criminal cases, beyond all manner of doubt, there should be, whether the woman is accuser or accused, a proportion of members of her own sex—an equal number of both—on the jury to satisfy the requirements of justice. Trial by peers is a constitutional right, and although it has been restricted in its operation, it applies where the sexes are at variance even more directly than where the differences are social or political. No one today would sanction that a jury of employers should be called by the court to pronounce on the guilt or innocence of workmen accused of trade offenses, or a jury of mistresses to finally determine whether or not maids are criminals. Where the sexes are accuser and accused the jury should be composed of equal numbers of both.



Where to Get Revenue.

Los Angeles (Cal.) Tribune, April 6.—According to Comptroller Prendergast's report, New York city is face to face with a perplexing and difficult finan-

cial situation. The city owes, in round figures, \$1,000,000,000, on which it is paying about \$45,000,000 annually in interest. Its taxable values are said to exceed \$8,000,000,000, and if it were a business organization, instead of a merely municipal organization, it could perhaps solve its problems without a vast amount of difficulty. As matters stand, however, with sharp retrenchment in order, the problem of where and how to cut expenses is by no means simple of solution. A competent receiver, it is pointed out, taking hold of the situation and handling it on a business basis, could doubtless reduce expenses from \$20,000,000 to \$30,000,000 a year without serious impairment of the various necessary branches of city service. Considering the enormous socially created values in New York, it would seem that some method ought to be devised whereby it could derive advantage from the same. Land values, of course, constitute the main item, but the socially created values accruing to the public corporations must also reach to staggering figures. There can be little doubt that the increase in value attaching to real estate by reason of the construction of the subways has been far more than sufficient to pay the cost of the subways. The city, however, gets none of these values, which are pocketed by private individuals. The owners of the gas and electric industries have had the value of their franchise made for them while they slept. The people have been the creators of the same. The same applies to all the transportation systems, the telephone system and many lesser utilities. But New York, in this matter, is not different from its sister cities throughout the United States. We are just beginning to consider and test methods whereby municipalities may be enabled to realize a reasonable share of the values the people create.



Havoc Wrought by a Veto.

Harper's Weekly, June 19.—It was probably President Taft's feeling, lately confessed, toward the "truculent labor leaders" that led to his veto of the Seaman's Bill, in the closing hours of his administration. Though the bill had been pending in Congress for months, he protested that he did not have time to examine its provisions. Of course he was not willing to give the benefit of the doubt to La Follette, Andrew Furuseth, and the truculent labor leaders. President Wilson called upon La Follette, the author of the bill, to explain its provisions. Then he signed it. But it has not yet gone into effect. If President Taft had given the measure his approval, there would probably have been no loss of life in the Volturno disaster. If the Lusitania had been equipped with enough lifeboats, rafts and trained seamen in charge, in accordance with the requirements of the new law, possibly there would have been no death list in that horror, with all the world-wide consequences that may follow the killing of over a hundred American citizens. Nor, in all probability, would there have been today the relations which now exist between Germany and the United States. It was a rather tremendous responsibility that President Taft assumed, when he exercised the power of veto against the Seaman's bill.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

WHO IS TO BLAME?

H. J. Dawtrety.

"Not we," the rulers shout;
"And how the war has come about
We can't make out."

"Not we," statesmen protest.
"Our wish for peace we oft expressed;
We did our best."

"Not we," the nations cry.
Across the seas denials fly
Incessantly.

And 'mid the Babel, still
The toilers ask in mine and mill,
"Who 'll pay the bill?"



JUSTICE THE BEST POLICY

For The Public.

[A reader of The Public offered a \$50 prize for the best answer to the following 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?

The argument advanced to disprove the statement inferred in this question might, to use his own words, be stated as follows:

One man, assuming that he has any business sense at all, cannot absolutely waste millions. He is bound to invest some of the money, and in so doing create labor-saving devices which are a benefit to mankind. And while there will be waste, it will be less than if the money were in the hands of thousands to spend on living on a barely perceptible better scale, for it would then be so diffused that it could never be diverted into capital.

The following is the prize winning answer, by William G. Osborn of Cleveland (out of 137 received)—Editors of The Public.]

The proposal presented in the above argument is as old as the human race.

It has economic forms, and it also has political, social, moral and religious forms.

Its arguments embrace the most vicious sophistries that have ever misguided humanity.

The proposition that the argument supports is not, fundamentally, an economic proposition.

We do not consider the question as to whether it is necessary for a fish to have water an economic proposition.

Neither do we consider the proposition, that equal liberty is necessary for the happiest and fullest development of the human race, an economic proposition. This is a prerequisite granted and understood by everyone but those to whom we have given these "special privileges."

Yet the argument that we are answering is really a proposition to limit the rights of the many in order that we may increase the rights of the few.

All history proves that a voluntary privilege once given becomes involuntary servitude.

When the masses consent to give, continuously, a part of the result of their labor to individuals, they give *wealth*. Wealth is, and always has been, transmutable into *power*, economic, social, political and religious power, and with this result—the individuals to whom this wealth is given (through special privilege) first, use this wealth to increase their power by all possible means, and second, use this increased power to force a yet larger contribution from the masses (by increased privileges), and this process continues until the masses are finally giving up all that product of their labor which is not absolutely necessary to sustain life.

This result is inevitable and has been universal, it is *slavery*—and is slavery "a good economic proposition?"

A proposition that denies the axiom of equal liberty must be fundamentally wrong, it can therefore be neither morally, socially, politically or economically right.

The argument assumes:

1. That the masses "waste."
2. That the money spent on "a barely perceptible better scale" would be "diffused" so that it could not be diverted into capital.
3. That special privilege will invest some of the money given it in labor saving devices.
4. That special privileged millionaires cannot waste millions.

Each one of these assumptions is false.

1. *The masses waste little or nothing.* The object of every man's life is happiness through the satisfaction of his desires. Can anything that ministers to those desires be said to be wasted? Is a woolen suit instead of cotton a waste? Is beefsteak instead of beans a waste? Are books, pictures, music, movies, education or vacations waste? No; they are defended on the grounds of sound, economic investments.

If these things are waste, and if waste is prejudicial to the objects of life, then why give special privileges to millionaires in the hope of getting more to waste?

2. *The money spent by the worker is not "diffused" but is immediately returned to the general fund of capital.* The words "barely perceptible better scale" in the argument that we are answering is an example of specious pleading.

If it is not all "diffused," then how can any small part of it be diffused? It can not be contended that the whole of wages is "diffused" because if that were true the total capital of the nation would be diffused in a year's time.

If you take that "small amount more to spend,"

mentioned in the original question, and buy a book, the merchant, through the wholesaler and manufacturer, notifies the worker and he produces another book to take its place on the shelves. In buying the book you decreased the total general business capital fund by the amount represented by the value of the book, but in paying for it you pay an amount that will reproduce the book on the shelf and pay the merchant, wholesaler and manufacturer and laborer for their services, interest and depreciation on their capital, and a profit to each.

Capital, simply an aggregation of profits, cannot be increased except when the value of things produced is greater than the costs of production; that difference, the profit of the operation, immediately becomes capital. Therefore, after paying your money for a book, the total capital fund is not only just as great as before, but you have added to it to the extent of the profits of the merchant, wholesaler and manufacturer.

Therefore, if the money spent by the worker is neither wasted nor a diffusion of business capital, we should give a part of it by privileges only in the expectation of receiving a greater amount in return through a consequent lowering of prices to the public.

3. *Special privilege does not invent or install improved machinery* except when forced to by non-privileged competition. Every special privileged interest that we have is an example of this fact.

The public does not get the benefit, in lower prices, of any improvements that special privilege may make. The "privilege" is always capitalized and profits demanded on that capitalization. The price to the public is always determined by demand and the cost of manufacture of non-privileged competitors.

4. *The sustention of Special Privilege is our greatest economic waste.* We live in an age of "special privilege." We have land privilege, tariff privilege, patent, tax and franchise privileges. Because of the insistence of privilege to increase its power and privileges it has corrupted our courts, our legislative assemblies and our elections, undermined our democratic institutions, perverted our laws, crucified our Tom Johnsons and hounded our Ben Lindseys.

Every dollar spent in these perverted activities and corruptions is a dollar drawn from capital.

Nearly every dollar spent to support our horde of tax gatherers and inquisitors, nearly every dollar spent to support the lawyers, the courts, the amelioratory philanthropies, the statutory regulations of privilege and the intemperate excesses of the malformed victims of the "systems" is a waste, a drain on capital and a charge against "privilege."

Today, not less than half of the productive

value of labor goes to support "privilege," its corruptions and parasites.

Is this a "good economic proposition"?



PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN BELGIUM.

(Address of Monsieur L. Dupriez, Professor of Comparative Constitutional Law in the University of Louvain, Belgium, at a banquet in his honor tendered by the New York State Proportional Representation League, Park Avenue Hotel, May 22, 1915.)

The most immediate and perceptible effect of the introduction of proportional representation into Belgium was giving the Liberal party the number of seats it deserved in Parliament. For seventy years that party had played a great part in the government of the country; it had rendered immense services to Belgium and by a purely free-trade policy had brought about her great economic prosperity. But manhood suffrage had crushed this moderate party, which recruited itself especially in the professional, industrial and commercial classes, and which persisted in offering liberty as the solution of social, as it had proved to be of political problems. A party which had often obtained the majority of the seats in the Belgian Chambers, it could now scarcely secure the election, in certain small districts, of twelve or fifteen members out of a total of a hundred and fifty-two. It was a situation profoundly unjust, injurious to the interests of the country, even dangerous to the public peace.

It was clearly an injustice to leave a great party which at every election received, sometimes almost a third, sometimes more than a quarter of the votes, reduced to getting with difficulty scarcely a dozen of the seats in Parliament. Furthermore, to get even those few seats it was often necessary for the Liberals to beg the help of the Socialists, and it was on that account that almost all the Liberals elected belong to the most advanced and radical section of the party. Among them were to be seen none of the eminent men who held the highest positions in all the liberal professions, the great industries, or wholesale trade. Thus this party, which counted among its adherents so great a part of the intellectual force of Belgium, was not furnishing any of it either to the government, to Parliament, or to public administration. We may add that one of the consequences of this situation was to deprive certain great economic interests of all substantial representation in the Chambers. In short, there was grave danger in holding in absolute political impotence this numerous class of men conscious of their worth and naturally ambitious. Was there not danger of driving them into the ranks of the Socialist party, which seemed more assured of success at the polls? And what might happen to the little country in case the

political struggle should become confined to two extreme parties, one of which inscribed at the head of its program political and social revolution? Was it not wiser and more prudent to maintain this more reasonable and constitutional third party, which might, without danger to political institutions, take the helm of government in case the majority of the voters should withdraw from the Conservative party the confidence which they had long given it?

Proportional Representation, then, brought the Liberal party back to Parliament with a number of seats corresponding to its strength in the country, so that it could take in the Chambers an untrammelled position. And all sections of the party, the moderate as well as the radical, and all the social classes which make up the strength of the party, have since that time had representatives in the Belgian Chambers. We can also say that the most eminent men of the Liberal party are today members of Parliament and that this party can oppose to its opponents of the right (the Conservatives) and the extreme Left (the Socialists) a whole group of eloquent orators and experienced administrators; it is now represented by its true leaders.

Some of the opponents of Proportional Representation have predicted that it would lead to the dissolution of political parties by favoring schisms provoked by personal enmity or by the discontent of special interests. The facts have confounded these false prophets. Never have the parties of Belgium better felt the necessity of remaining united and disciplined. All the attempts made by ambitious and disappointed politicians have miserably failed; even in the most populous districts like that of Brussels, those who have tried to form dissenting parties have barely been able to poll a few hundred votes. In Belgium the experience is conclusive: Proportional Representation assures life to all the genuine political parties but it does not offer any chance of success to factitious groups that try to provoke personal or local quarrels or temporary opposition.

Proportional Representation has also had another happy effect on the organization of Belgian political parties. Whereas the majority system had made each of the parties the party of certain sections of the country, P. R. made all the parties truly national. In Belgium political opinions are very unevenly distributed among the different sections of the country. The Conservatives so predominate in the Flemish provinces that in the year 1909 there was no longer a single Deputy to the Left (Liberal or Socialist) elected by any Flemish constituency. Likewise the Conservatives found their principal strength in the rural districts and the agricultural towns, while the Liberals and the Socialists got most of their votes in the great cities and industrial districts. Thus the Right in Parliament took on the appearance of a party

almost exclusively Flemish and rural, while the Left seemed to represent especially the Walloon provinces and the great urban and industrial centers. Thus also the struggles between the parties were in danger of being complicated and made more grave through the opposition of economic classes and quarrels of race and language. Proportional Representation changed all that; it gave Deputies and Senators to the Catholic Conservatives of the great cities and the Walloon provinces as well as to the Liberals and Socialists of the Flemish provinces. Thus the delegation of members from each section of the country, containing as it does representatives of all the parties of the country and of all the economic classes, is no longer in danger of confusing the desires and needs of one section of the country or of one economic class with the desires and needs of the country as a whole. Thanks to Proportional Representation, each Belgian party has become a party truly national, which knows how to harmonize, and seeks to harmonize, the ideas and the desires, the interests and the needs, of all parts of the country as well as of all economic classes. The political struggles are no longer in danger of being aggravated by race quarrels, the opposition of interests of different parts of the country, or by conflicts between the industrial and the agricultural classes.

So unequal a division of diverse political opinions among the different parts of the country had had the deplorable result of making of a mass of citizens, Liberals and Socialists in Flanders, Conservative-Catholics in the Walloon provinces, veritable political outcasts who had nothing but a right of suffrage that was useless and without value because they could never hope to elect a single representative. Proportional Representation restored to these citizens their political rights; it made their right of suffrage a reality; the votes they cast *now* are effective. Now they all send to Parliament men who truly represent their political opinions and are ready to defend their rights and their recognized interests and to exercise on all the public authorities a vigilant and effective control. In safeguarding thus the rights and the interests of minorities Proportional Representation has at the same time rendered a great service to the political majority; for in permitting minorities to exercise thus some degree of control over public affairs, Proportional Representation keeps the majority from the exercise of its power abusively, obliging it to maintain a prudent and wise policy.

Proportional Representation has also had the advantage of spreading everywhere a political life at the same time more intense and more restrained. In a number of districts in which one of the parties had an assured majority under the old system the groups of voters in the minority, quite discouraged by repeated defeats, had lost all hope; with some this situation had led to indifference

and the abandonment of political struggle, while with others it had aroused anger and bitterness which threatened to lead to violence. Everywhere Proportional Representation restored political contests in their normal form, in which each party could take part with the certainty of securing one or more seats. There was no longer a victor who took all the spoils of the combat and left to the vanquished only the regret and shame of defeat. Electoral contests gained also in dignity, Proportional Representation certainly diminishing corruption in elections considerably; and since its introduction one scarcely ever sees the rioting and violence with which election days too often ended formerly in the great Belgian cities.

When Belgium had the block vote system of election (the election of several members together, each voter voting for all) the change of a few scores or a few hundreds of votes in one or two close districts that elected many members sufficed to give the majority in Parliament to one party or the other and to overturn the Government. Moreover, the Government took the greatest care not to alienate—indeed, it often unreasonably favored—the local interests of these districts, and even the personal interests of certain doubtful groups of voters in them. But today, with Proportional Representation, victory is not assured by winning votes of this or that small group in a doubtful district; to change the majority in Parliament it is necessary to bring about a serious and general change of opinion in the country. To keep in power, the Government must above all maintain a policy which is national, which meets the wishes of the whole people, and which, without neglecting local and special interests, conciliates these interests and subordinates them to the general interests and desires of the nation.

But has Proportional Representation improved the personnel of the Belgian Parliament? I do not hesitate to reply to this question in an unqualified affirmative. Undoubtedly this improvement has made itself felt especially among the Liberals, which the majority system with manhood suffrage had deprived of all their real leaders. But it has been evident also among the Conservatives, who have found among their new members from the Walloon provinces orators of brilliant and warm eloquence and debaters of vigorous thought and speech. Moreover, under Proportional Representation, the parties can neglect those candidates who have only local popularity, due especially to their wealth and generosity. The parties no longer have to submit to the pressure of ambitious and intriguing politicians who claim a seat under the threat of insurgency. All those elements are today almost negligible. The parties feel, on the contrary, more and more the necessity of calling to Parliament men of high capacity, because in assemblies in which the adversaries will almost always have about equal numbers, it is necessary

that the cause of each be defended by men of talent who enhance the value of their arguments by the authority of their personal prestige.

Thus Proportional Representation has made of each party a party truly national, comprising and conciliating the interests of all parts of the country and of all economic classes. In short, it has perceptibly raised the intellectual level of Parliament. Is it necessary to tell you that Proportional Representation is today so firmly anchored in the political institutions of Belgium that no one any longer dreams of the possibility of abolishing it? Among its former opponents some accept it now without a second thought, and wish, indeed, to extend its application. Others are resigned to it and even admit that its extension is inevitable. Only a few remain resolutely hostile to the idea, and even they do not attempt any effort to abolish it, for they have had to give up all hope. The Belgian people are more and more firmly attached to this reform because they feel that it has brought into political life more justice and more liberty, and because they know also that it alone can assure the full and effective exercise of the most fundamental of their rights, the right of suffrage.



SUBJUGATORS.

For The Public.

Because the soldier, as a means to attain his object, which was, essentially, to get the best of his fellows, used prayer, certain other persons, who were striving to attain the same object, though not exterminatorily, saw no reason why they might not use prayer too. They, therefore, proceeded to use it.

Thus the burglar, as he shoved his jimmy under the window, prayed that he might despoil the householder of much goodly swag.

And the district attorney begged earnestly that his eloquence might move the jury to convict the accused who, beyond peradventure, he knew was guiltless.

And the factory operator raised his voice, and cried beseechingly for an amendment of the child-labor law which would enable him to get more and cheaper workable children.

And the promoter petitioned that the plausibility of his literature might not fail to entice even the incredulous to invest in his nefarious ground-floor proposition.

And he who was affinity-obsessed entreated lustily that he might be freed from the woman whom, in his foolish, callow days, he had promised to love and cherish.

And the doctor importuned that his skill might keep his patients tetering between despair and hope long enough for them to make over to him the total of their savings.

And the gambler implored humbly that his deft-

ness and the card up his sleeve might win for him the uttermost nickel of his opponent.

And the pugilist, ere he entered the ring, bowed his head, and supplicated that his battering blows might quickly smash his antagonist.

And none of these, or the soldier, perceived, perhaps because they had no sense of humor, that they, in their exercising of the prayer-faculty, were breaking the commandment which is commonly called the Third. GUY T. EVANS.



A MORE FRATERNAL SOCIAL LIFE.

Part of an Address Before Northern Baptist Convention at Los Angeles on May 22, by Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch. Published in The Standard (Chicago).

It is the task of Christianity to fit our nation for a juster and more fraternal social life. We must move toward greater equity in the distribution of wealth or give up our claim to Christian democracy. Today large classes of our people have no property rights in the industrial outfit of the nation, no recognized place within the industrial organization, no protection against the curse of unemployment, no income for old age or times of failing health. They are disinherited on God's common earth; they are only semi-citizens of our republic. On the other side are an increasing number who have withdrawn from productive labor and are living on the work of others. The common object of ambition is to make entire families forever independent of work. Some hold wealth so enormous that the economic destiny of thousands is absolutely in their control. This is an economic contradiction of all the principles of democracy. It involves us in constitutionalized hypocrisy. It is the proper basis for an oligarchy. All other civilizations in history thus far have ultimately gone to their doom because they allowed such conditions to become permanent. . . .

Christianity has not spoken its last word in this matter. We shall have to come to a clear conviction whether it is morally tolerable to live on unearned incomes. This is the most searching moral question before us. Our churches can be ever so emphatic on other moral issues, but unless they have an unmuffled message on the rightful basis of property, they will lose their moral leadership with the mass of the working part of the nation.



PROTECTING EDUCATION.

Mostly From New York American.

We've bounced Professor Ethicus; he had the hard-
hood

To say that bucking bucket shops will do a man no
good.

Such radical remarks as that are highly indiscreet,
Besides, sometimes we trustees take a flyer in the
street!

We've canned Professor Clinical; in answer to a
question

He told his class that pickled tripe was bad for the
digestion.

For views so wildly radical the times are hardly ripe.
And all the trustees of the school are very fond of
tripe!

We've dropped Professor Betterday; he called a
man a bilk

Because he owns a big concern that peddles watered
milk.

Too radical, the fellow is; he does a lot of harm,
And, furthermore, two good trustees have bought a
dairy farm!

We've fired Professor Levelhead; he lately dared to
say

That little children should not work twelve hours
every day.

We simply will not stand for views so radical as
these,

They menace certain factories controlled by our
trustees.

We've sacked Professor Fundament. We really
can't endure

That students learn that boosting rents is what
makes people poor;

So radical a truth must be suppressed with iron hand,
Since two trustees own tenements and three own
vacant land.

So now there are five openings for able, fearless
men

To serve our university with trenchant tongue and
pen.

The places are most honorable, they carry splendid
pay,

And we will tell the occupants exactly what to say!



The one great fact which this war has brought home to us is that under modern conditions a war is not the mere private concern of the nations that choose to fight. It is the concern of the whole world. In old days two nations could fight while the rest of the world looked on unconcerned and went about their own business. It is so no longer. The non-belligerents suffer only less severely than the belligerents. Look at Holland. Look even at the great and powerful United States. There is no dominion in the civilized world, from Canada to Australia, which is not suffering severely from this European war. Yet they were never consulted about it. Nobody asked their consent. Clearly a monstrous injustice has been committed against the whole civilized world. We have to see to it that in future no war is waged without the permission of all those nations which, however neutral, will have to pay for that war. We have also to see to it that without their participation no peace is arranged.—Havelock Ellis.



Nay, do not lose heart; great men and mighty nations have learned a great deal when they practice patience.—Goethe.

BOOKS

SOCIALISM NOW IN AMERICA.

Facts of Socialism. By Jessie Wallace Hughan. Published by John Lane Co., New York. 1913. Price, 75 cents net.

The Truth About Socialism. By Allan L. Benson. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1913. Price, \$1.00 net.

Was Marx Wrong? By I. M. Rubinow. Issued by the Members of the Marx Institute of America. 1914. The Co-Operative Press, 15 Spruce St., New York.

Why I Am in Favor of Socialism. Symposium, compiled by Edward Silvin, P. O. Box 963, Sacramento, Calif. Price, paper, 30 cents; cloth, 75 cents.

Why I Am Opposed to Socialism. Compiled by Edward Silvin, Sacramento, Calif. Price, paper, 50 cents; cloth, 75 cents.

Socialism: Promise or Menace? By Morris Hillquit and John A. Ryan. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.25 net.

Labor in Politics. By Robert Hunter. Published by the Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago. 1915. Price, paper, 25 cents.

The man who has not "read up" on Socialism since he rejected or accepted it twenty years ago is just as intelligently up to date as his friend who "studied up religion" in the nineties and has had no time to look into it since. Investigation may confirm each in his same decision, but, until after exploration into the realm of reality, discussion with either is purely an academic pastime. *Where* one begins to read is not so much matter. American Socialism will do. Nor is it required to read merely the approved leaders' books. Little lamps may be just as clear as locomotive headlights and more easily turned upon dark corners.

Perhaps Jessie Wallace Hughan's *Facts of Socialism* is as good a start off as any. Hers is a handbook of American Socialism today, with its European background briefly described. Its history and present status and theoretical foundations, its ultimate goal and immediate demands, as the author conceives them, are all set forth in a clear, brief, attractive style, each chapter supplemented by a short "Suggested Heading" and "Report Topics" list, an adequate index completing the little volume.

"Socialism," writes Miss Hughan, "is the political movement of the working class which aims to abolish exploitation by means of the collective ownership and democratic management of the principal instruments of production and distribution." And in her chapter on "immediate demands" she says: "In finance the Socialists have two aims, to shift the burden of taxation from the poor to the rich and to provide the various governments with resources for the acquiring of indus-

try. They are free-traders, Congressman Berger having voted for tariff reduction and Canadian reciprocity, but consider the tariff a minor issue from the working-class point of view. A much more important matter to them is the tax on land values, which they advocate with the followers of Henry George, looking forward to the ultimate nationalization of not necessarily all land, but all land used for exploitation. Chief of their financial measures, however, are the income and inheritance taxes, graduated so as to bear hardest upon the rich and incidentally to reduce the plutocratic power."



A very different book in a very different style is Allan L. Benson's "The Truth About Socialism." Less studious, with no index and few references, it is written to attract attention, to persuade and overcome opposition, while it explains. If Miss Hughan's book is good exposition, this is certainly good popular argument. If she writes with visions of a class-room in her mind's eye, he has glimpses of disillusioned men, smug idlers and the magazine stand.

"Socialists agree," Mr. Benson asserts, "that the head and soul of their philosophy lies in the public ownership, under democratic government, of the means of life. . . . Socialists differ only with regard to the means by which public ownership may be brought about. . . . I believe that most Socialists twenty years ago were in favor of confiscation. The trend now is all toward compensation. . . . When Socialists speak of buying the trusts, they naturally invite the inquiry as to where they expect to get the money to pay for them. . . . The Socialist proposal is that the government pay for the trusts with two per cent bonds, and that each year enough money be put into a sinking fund to retire the bonds in not more than fifty years.



Three small books are on the whole unimportant in themselves but are interesting as indicative in some sort of part of the great mass of material that Socialism carries along to find its own welcome somewhere.

I. M. Rubinow's "Was Marx Wrong?" is a little red book full of statistics and bristling arguments against Professor Vladimir G. Simkhovitch's "Marxism vs. Socialism." "Because we are unwilling," he writes, "to be satisfied with preaching the future Socialist state, because we want to work for it now, because we have finally understood that the Socialist movement is an integral part of the labor movement, Professor Simkhovitch takes the liberty to make the charge of hypocrisy against the entire organized movement."

The two other little books, "Why I Am Opposed to Socialism" and "Why I Am in Favor of Socialism," are compilations by Edward Silvin of original statements by several score men and women

of various economic and social faiths, declaring their attitude toward Socialism and one or two of the reasons therefor.



From the pens of very prominent American Socialists come two books concerned with two great non-Socialist organizations: one on record as officially and unalterably opposed to Socialism, the other persistently refusing all official sanction to Socialism—the Roman Catholic Church and the American Federation of Labor.

The great debate between Morris Hillquit for Socialism and John A. Ryan against it which came out serially in Everybody's Magazine in 1913-1914, has been published in book form under the title, "Socialism: Promise or Menace?" and is enlightening to the general reader in more ways than one. It serves as an introduction into the more strictly controversial and doctrinal arena of Socialism; and it discloses the attitude of even the more liberal Catholic churchmen in their rigid opposition to the Socialist teachings.



Robert Hunter's little book, "Labor in Politics," is a studied and able indictment from the Socialist point of view of the American Federation of Labor and its President, Samuel Gompers, for that organization's life-long refusal to declare partisanship in politics. To this policy, for which he blames Mr. Gompers, Mr. Hunter ascribes the extreme backwardness of the labor movement in America as compared with Europe. Because the Federation of Labor is not a political unit, the labor vote can be delivered to neither Republican nor Democratic party in return for party favor, and therefore it receives no consideration from either. Neither does it avail itself of the Socialist strength within it, because it can not agree with Socialism that the interests of Capital and Labor are diametrically opposed, but still works upon the supposition that their interests are really one and that the employer must some day see this truth.

Just here would the Singletaxer—if he were tactless—remark that both Socialist and Labor Unionist are wrong. But the Singletaxer is tactful and rises to say that both are right, for the Socialist means Monopolist when he says Employer, and the Unionist means Capitalist when he says Employer, and they both ought to mean a little of each and act accordingly.

A. L. G.



Real greatness has nothing to do with a man's sphere. It does not lie in the magnitude of his outward agency, in the extent of the effects which he produces.—William Ellery Channing.



A person must never ask whether truth is profitable or becomes a calamity to him.—Nietzsche.

PERIODICALS

Oklahoma Single Taxer.

The first issue of Volume One of the Oklahoma Single Taxer has appeared. The place of publication is Sapulpa and the price is \$1.00 a year. It is to be issued monthly. The editor and publisher is Clarence Davis, who introduced in the State Senate of Oklahoma the Single Tax resolution that received 17 votes in its favor and 22 against. A proposed amendment to exempt improvements, the Single Taxer states, is to be submitted through initiative petition, and if the first issue of the magazine may be taken as a criterion there will be at least one publication in Oklahoma to make a clean-cut and aggressive fight in its behalf.

S. D.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Peace Proposal: A Business Man's Plan. In Six Languages. By Charles L. Bernheimer, P. O. Box 1158, New York City. 1915.

The Foundation of a League of Peace. By G. Lowes Dickinson. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. 1915.

After the War, What? A Plea for a League of Peace. By Irving Fisher. Published by the Church Peace Union, 70 Fifth Ave., New York. 1914.

The Crowning Issue of the European War, a World Federation of Peace. Address by C. S. Eastman, Pontiac, Mich., September, 1914. Price, 10 cents.

The War—The Way Out. By William H. Blymyer. International Arbitration. By William H. Blymyer. To be obtained free of the Author, 49 Wall St., New York.

Report of the British Committee on Alleged German Outrages. James Bryce, Chairman. Printed by Authority. To be obtained directly, or through J. Fisher Unwin, London, W. C. Price, one penny.

Illinois Efficiency and Economy Committee Reports on Military Administration, Civil Service Laws, Secretary of State and Law Officers, Efficiency and Economy Commissions in Other States. Springfield, Ill.

A Great Battle in the Ecclesiastical Heavens. By J. F. Rutherford, Box 51, New York City. 1915. Price, 10 cents.

Farm-Machinery Trade Associations. Bulletin of the Bureau of Corporations, United States Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C. 1915.

Electric Rates. An Analysis of Elements Entering Into Cost of Service. By Percival Robert Moses. Cost of Power in Central Stations. By Henry D. Jackson. Central Power Station Rates. Legal Opinion of Louis D. Brandeis. To be obtained free from the Uniform Electric Rate Association, Box 894, Toledo, O.



The chief statistician of the State of Wisconsin made some peculiar discoveries in examining death certificates. One report is this: "Went to bed feeling well, but woke up dead." Another says: "Do not know the cause of death, but patient fully recovered from last illness." A third reported: "Last illness caused by chronic rheumatism, but was cured before death." Still another: "Deceased never had

been fatally sick." And this: "Died suddenly; nothing serious."—Embalmers' Monthly.



Write, we know, is written right,
When we see it written "write";
But when we see it written "wright,"
We know it is not written right.
For write, to have it written right,
Must not be written "right" or "wright,"
Nor yet should it be written "rite";
But "write," for so 'tis written right.

—Truthseeker.

A Minneapolis Conference

On Sunday afternoon, July 18th, at 1:30 p. m. there will be a state-wide Single Tax conference at the residence of Mr. S. A. Stockwell, 3204 E. 51st St., Minneapolis, Minn., to meet Mrs. Fels, Mr. Kiefer and their party.

This conference will be in the nature of a basket picnic to which everyone interested in a state-wide Single Tax organization is invited.

Those expecting to reach Mr. Stockwell's home by street car should take the 50th Street East and Camden car and get off at 31st Avenue South. 32nd Avenue is not cut thru in the block in which he lives. 3204 E. 51st St. is just two blocks from the car line.

Come if you're at all interested. Don't stay away if it happens to be a rather warm day, Sunday, the 18th. The Stockwells will furnish "cool drinkables and some garden sass."

Waitress—"And how did you find the apple pie, sir?"

Diner—"I moved the bit of cheese aside and there it was."—Pennsylvania University Punch Bowl.

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And, by the way, why is it that people who work hard and long hours have little money to spend on good books? For the answer, see "Common Honesty."

It is a beautifully printed little pocket-size book, bound in strong paper covers. 25c, postpaid; three copies, 50c.

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A DINNER

TO
 Mrs. Mary Fels

July 14

Will be given by the Chicago Single Tax Club, at the Stock Exchange Restaurant, Corner Washington and La Salle, at 6:30 p. m.

Congressman Frank Buchanan will preside. Father Thomas E. Cox, Pastor of St. Basil's Church, will be one of the speakers.

Remember the date—Wednesday, July 14, not Tuesday, 13th, as previously announced. It has been necessary to change the date. Tell your friends about it.

Reservations should be telephoned or mailed to the Club's Office, 508 Schiller Building. Central 6083. Price per plate, 50 cents.

OTTO CULLMAN,
 President

E. J. BATTEN,
 Secretary

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Income Distribution

By SCOTT NEARING

[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.]

Among all of the basic principles of economic life, none is more vital than this—that every able-bodied adult should have a job; that he should work at the thing for which he is best suited and best fitted; and that he should be paid the full value of what he produces. Society is built upon the idea that the people who can shall contribute their time and energy to the advancement of those things in which society has an interest.

Modern economic discussions are being turned toward the conservation of human values. Thinking men realize that the wealth of nations rests upon the fiber of the people; that the progress of civilization is built out of service.

Service is of pre-eminent importance. In the home, in the street, in the shop, in the mine, on the railroad, the greatest single law of life is the law of service—doing for others and sharing with others the burdens and rewards of effort. The work of the world, directed and performed by the hand of man, should have as its final object the greatest service to mankind, or, as Ruskin put it, "the largest number of happy and healthy human beings." Above the rights of property there must be placed the rights of humanity.

The industrial system, like every other social institution, must serve the human race; and serve it efficiently. Today some of the chief questions of economics involve the method of apportioning income. Shall the values created by industry go to those who serve? There seems to be no other basis upon which economic society may finally rest.

An effective system of income distribution will recognize service as the greatest economic asset; will reward service with the values that service creates. Until those who serve receive a return equal to the value of their service, the questions of income distribution can never be settled, because until then they never can be settled right.

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These paragraphs are from the preface of Scott Nearing's new book, "Income," an examination of the returns for services rendered from property owned in the United States. Price, \$1.25.

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