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EDITORIAL

Protecting Non-Combatants.

Stripped of diplomatic verbiage the German answer to the American plea for the rights of neutrals on the high seas is an evasion. Germany pleads the law of necessity as its excuse for sinking the Lusitania, and as its right to sink merchant vessels in the future without making provision for the safety of passengers and crew. America cannot and should not concede this right. She should insist upon the sacredness of human life, and should, if necessary, sever diplomatic relations with any denying country until this right is recognized. It is not an excuse for war; it is a cause for firmness and patience.

S. C.



A Peace Precedent.

However the negotiations may end over the Lusitania matter this much is certain, they will not result in the inexcusable calamity of war. The United States leads the world, for the present at least, in that it alone, of all the great nations, has an administration in power, great enough, sane enough and wise enough, not to commit the nation to such a folly. And in spite of impassioned jingo utterances it seems certain that public sentiment overwhelmingly approves that policy. That speaks much for the common sense of the American people, as compared with that of the European nations that have endorsed a war on less provocation. In this connection it is well to quote from a letter to President Wilson by Congressman Warren Worth Bailey of Pennsylvania as follows:

It has been my privilege to confer with a great many people in my neighborhood and beyond it regarding the pending controversy with the German government. Practically without exception those with whom I have conversed or from whom I have heard express the earnest hope that patience may be exercised and a happy solution found, without abatement of the stand we have taken in the interest of humanity, and yet without the slightest threat of violence. Surely the points of difference which have been brought out are not beyond the range of

rational discussion. In all conscience there must be a better way to settle them than the one suggested by those who are urging you to substitute the sword for the pen.

The United States are the light of the world in this hour of darkness. Can we afford to dim the splendor of that light by plunging the country into a situation where its identity would be lost amidst this awful conflict involving more than half the world? Can we afford to sacrifice the high estate which peace affords us in order to assert a right which the moral sentiment of mankind must surely recognize and time inevitably vindicate?

It is not overlooked that the metropolitan press is practically a unit in presenting a view contrary to the one I am venturing to offer, but is it certain that the metropolitan press speaks for the country, for the great mass of the American people? I think not. The mass of the people want peace and they have come to love and trust you because they believe you too stand for peace and for the methods of peace rather than for the methods of war. They believe that you have the purpose and the capacity to maintain the national honor without resort to fire and sword; and I feel profoundly that in writing you to urge the exercise of patience and forbearance in a time when these virtues are so much needed and so little in evidence in a war-torn world I am performing a duty the neglect of which would be inexcusable in one who holds a commission from the people as their representative.

Congressman Bailey has stated the case well. The preservation of peace in the face of the Lusitania outrage will establish a precedent that will make easier the preservation of peace when international differences arise in the future. There is much more involved than the immediate issue. The opportunity is here to demonstrate that even in a case of unprovoked murder, with satisfaction refused, a war policy is not the proper course to pursue.

S. D.



Need of the Wilson-Bryan Plan.

The advantage of the plan embodied in the Wilson-Bryan peace treaties is illustrated in the negotiations with Germany over the Lusitania. Although the exchange of notes has not so far caused much progress or brought concessions of any value, it has given time for cooling of temper and, in spite of the German government's discreditable persistency in evading the essential point at issue, there no longer prevails the extremely bellicose sentiment that might easily have caused war. Thus, even though no peace treaty with Germany was made, the advantage is clear of such a delay as is required by these treaties. Furthermore, Germany's evasive answers show the desirability of the arbitration feature of the Wilson-Bryan plan. Had such a treaty been made with Germany, there would be no question about bring-

ing the matter before an impartial tribunal, where evasion of the issue would not be so easy. Even though Bryan is no longer Secretary of State, his arbitration policy should be adhered to and his peace treaties pushed.

S. D.



Protectionism and the War.

That the war is affecting the United States in the same injurious way as a high protective tariff is shown by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat in a recent editorial reproduced as the "best editorial of the day" in the Boston Advertiser of July 6. The Globe-Democrat points to this year's trade balance of one billion dollars as "something upon which we may congratulate ourselves with propriety." Then further on it says that the balance is not due to any act of the Government, but "to the war and the conditions growing out of the war." "The war has answered the purpose of a protective tariff in reducing our imports." From so prominent a protectionist source this admission is important. We now have protectionist authority for a fact that has long been obvious to all not protectionists; that we have protective tariff conditions in the country in spite of tariff reduction. The Globe-Democrat's admission in connection with the prevailing industrial depression constitutes a clear confession of the fact that protection is a fraud.



That the war has artificially checked imports is no cause for congratulation. No goods would be imported at any time if Americans did not want to buy them, and they would not want to buy them if it were not evident that these goods offered the best value for money spent. Now comes the Globe-Democrat and considers it cause for congratulation that Americans are hindered by the war from getting as much for their money as under ordinary circumstances they could get. That such a state of affairs must be harmful is the only reasonable conclusion. That it has not made the country prosperous but, on the contrary, has made conditions worse is attested by hundreds of protectionist organs and protectionist politicians who have for the past year been telling about the industrial depression.

S. D.



Juggling with the Balance of Trade.

The abnormal condition of American trade with foreign countries, which shows for the year an excess of exports over imports of about one billion dollars, has set many persons to speculating

as to its meaning. The balance of trade is one of the things that pseudo-economists—especially of the protectionist variety—delight to conjure with. Millionaire manufacturers, safely ensconced behind a high tariff wall, might be guilty of paying such low wages that the women and children were driven into the factories to help support the family; and many other things that look so beautiful in theory, but that fail to work out in practice, might discomfit the protectionist, but he could always fall back upon the balance of trade. "Behold our riches!" he would exclaim with ecstatic fervor. "We have sold to the world five hundred million dollars' worth of goods more than we have bought of the world." True, he never deigned to explain who "we" were; but the assumption was that the pronoun referred to the citizens en masse, each member of which participated in the protection-wrought prosperity that came of sending more wealth out of the country than was brought into the country. When, however, this balance mounted into billions of dollars, and there was no sign of the promised inflow of "pure gold" with which these exports were to be paid, the enthusiasm of the protectionist began to wane; and for the past few years we have heard less of that particular heresy.



During the past 27 years our excess of exports over imports amounts to more than 11 billion dollars; and during the last 18 years the annual excess has exceeded a half billion a year. Now that the excess has risen to a billion a year, our protectionist friends are uncertain whether or not to rejoice. Had these well-meaning people exercised their reason, instead of hypnotizing themselves with mysterious tables of statistics, they might have saved themselves from the undignified dilemma in which they now find themselves. Debtor nations naturally export more than they import. India, South Africa, Brazil, Argentina, Chili, and all countries in which foreigners have made considerable investments, export more than they import. So far, however, is this from an evidence of prosperity, that it merely measures the tribute paid to persons living abroad who have investments in the several countries. This is quite clear upon a moment's reflection. A dollar invested in land, mines, forests, or other natural resources of a new country, grows, as the country is developed, to be worth many dollars; and the dividends paid on that investment far exceed the original amount invested. The same thing is true of the United States. These enormous excesses of exports over imports represent not the amount

of wealth that we are accumulating, but the dividends that we are paying to foreign investors.



But the stupendous figures rolled up since the beginning of the war in Europe have a new meaning. In addition to the half billion dollars a year in dividends that we pay to Europe, we have this year added another half billion. The first half billion represents our accustomed tribute; the second half billion represents goods that must ultimately be paid for by Europe. Liquidation of this amount will be accomplished either now or at some future time by the cancellation of that amount of American securities held abroad. This is a legitimate balance of trade. Taken by itself it represents that amount of wealth to our credit. The question arises, however, what will be its effect upon the future of American industry? While this half billion represents that much gain to us, it means that much loss to Europe. For, economically considered, it is not wealth that is to be used legitimately—that is, constructively—but destructively; and it corresponds to the burning of a home. The erection of the new building to replace the one burned means increased business temporarily for the builders, but it leaves the owner with purchasing power reduced by the amount of the lost building; and a decreased purchasing power that will have a depressing effect throughout the ramifications of trade. The same thing is true of Europe. America is now feeling the stimulus consequent upon the destruction of property by the war; but in the end she will also feel the depression due to the lowered purchasing power of Europe. Trade, in its last analysis, is barter; and industry—barring the toll of monopoly—is conducted upon a co-operative basis. Whatever loss falls upon any business must ultimately be felt by all the units. Europe is losing what it already has; America will be deprived of what it otherwise would have won had the war not occurred. To both the war will be an economic evil.

S. C.



Maligning the Seamen's Bill.

There can be little doubt that the shipowning interests have entered upon a systematic campaign to discredit the La Follette Seaman's Bill. The cry is raised upon every hand that its provisions regarding the employment of expert seamen and the safety of passengers and crew will prove an insurmountable bar to the development of an American merchant marine. Charles L. Dering, President of the Chicago Association of Com-

merce, is quoted as saying: "As an instrument aimed at American commerce on the ocean and on the great lakes, it was so vicious in effect that we cannot find words to fittingly characterize it." Some are demanding that the objectionable features be eliminated before the law goes into effect in November; many demand its repeal. The American Chamber of Commerce has undertaken to poll the chambers of commerce throughout the country, ostensibly to determine whether or not the law is too drastic. A similar poll of slave-holders seventy years ago regarding the Abolition movement, or of millowners yesterday as to the employment of young children, would have produced results similar to what may be expected from this one-sided inquiry.



It is possible that changes in the new law may be found necessary after it has been put into operation; but the principle involved is sound; and there should be no modifications of the law's provisions until an honest effort has been made to give it a fair trial. It has been claimed by the shipowning interests that the provisions for lifeboats are excessive. To make such a claim in face of the constantly repeated losses at sea seems little less than pure impudence. If vessels expecting to be torpedoed, with boats swung from the davits, and every means of lifesaving made in advance, cannot get passengers away, what can be expected in time of sudden collision, except a repetition of the *Titanic* and *Empress of Ireland* disasters? If the bondage under which seamen serve, and which has resulted in driving the better class of men from the sea, is not abolished, how shall we lay claim to being a nation of freemen? The new law offers a practicable means of raising the standard of seamanship and increasing the safety of human life at sea. It is the result of a generation of earnest investigation. Is it to be abandoned before even an attempt has been made to meet its provisions?



Much has been made of the Attorney General's opinion that certain provisions of the new law leave unrepealed parts of the old law that militate against American shipping. Should this prove to be true, the remedy lies not in repealing the new law, but in wiping out the old one. The claim that foreign ships will be exempt from provisions laid upon our own is the merest subterfuge. Foreign ships can come to American ports only in conformity with American laws. The new law makes provision even for the chang-

ing of treaties that may conflict. Foreign ship-owners have no right either to reduce American seamen to unendurable conditions, nor to destroy wantonly American life at sea through inadequate provision for its safety. This cry raised against the Seamen's Bill is nothing new. Scarcely a law has been passed in the interests of Labor, whether increasing the age of child-workers, restricting the hours of women, or bettering the conditions of men, that has not been pronounced inimical to business interests. The opposition against this law is no different from that against all other ameliorating measures; and the earnest determination of the friends of humanity that has put through other laws looking to the betterment of society must be invoked for the support of this one. Involuntary servitude must not be re-established in this country.

S. C.



Spiritual and Economic Reform.

A hopeful note was sounded before the 12,000 delegates to the twenty-seventh international Christian Endeavor Convention that met last week in Chicago, when a call was made by speakers to enter practical politics. This great Christian movement, three million strong, will not have realized its fullest possibilities until its members appreciate their political as well as their religious and social obligations. And they will not have discharged their political duties in accordance with the highest dictates of conscience until they have learned to distinguish between false and true political economy. Too much praise cannot be given these earnest men and women, young and old, for their endeavors in helping humanity to realize a higher ideal. But in their eagerness to quicken the spiritual life of the individual they must not forget, or overlook, the social and political side. The individual cannot live in society without being a part of society, and his political obligations are as binding as his individual obligations—both are parts of the great moral obligation of man, and cannot be separated in the human conscience. The individual is being impinged upon from every side by legal institutions; and these legal institutions are subject to the ebb and flow of politics. Hence, in the last analysis, the individual is constantly subject, whether he will or not, to political action; and the Christian Endeavorers, in common with all other Christian organizations, will not have discharged their full responsibility until they have answered the question put to the Northern Baptist Convention at Los Angeles by Professor Walter Rauschenbusch:

"Is it morally tolerable to live on unearned incomes?" As Professor Rauschenbusch said: "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." The anti-saloon question and prohibition movement, as brought before the Christian Endeavor Convention, is of great importance; but the commandment, "thou shalt not steal," comes before the question of temperance. The individual may practice temperance or intemperance, as he will, but laws that permit unearned incomes leave him no option as a victim of theft.

S. C.



Jobs for the Unemployed in New York.

According to the Tax Department of New York City, there are 454,095 parcels of land vacant within the city limits, assessed at \$618,041,300. That is, the assessors think that for the privilege of making use of this land it would be profitable for producers to pay that sum, or to annually pay the interest thereon. To put it in another way, this land can be made to produce enough wealth to afford a living to workers, pay interest on the capital needed to secure best results, all expenses incidental to its use, and over and above all about \$31,000,000 a year ground rent. With such opportunities lying idle, how comes it that the city is filled with involuntarily unemployed men? And why is it so difficult for idle capital to be profitably invested? The reason is that the owners do not see fit to let these opportunities be used. It is only natural that they should not. The laws of New York penalize improvement of land. The landholder who improves must pay more taxes in consequence. The one who holds land out of use has the opportunity to gain unearned increment without any particular effort on his part. The result is seen not only in these 454,095 parcels of unused land, but in land only partly used, in dilapidated buildings which should long ago have been replaced with better ones, in congested population, and in prevailing poverty, vice and crime. To remedy this state of affairs would seem to be the most urgent and important matter for a legislative assembly. Yet New York has not yet had a legislature that could see that far.

S. D.



Walsh's Latest Offense.

Speaking at Chicago on July 11, Frank P. Walsh made clear that Congress will not do its duty should it needlessly delay action to remedy

the intolerable conditions disclosed by the Commission of Industrial Relations. Said Mr. Walsh:

Whether or not the Congress of the United States is representing the people or are the hirelings of our industrial overlords will be proven by the action they take upon the reports of this commission.

Are we doing our best to bring about a better state of society? Let's hope so. I would that I will live to see the day when the workingman gets what he earns. When the law will be so broad that tremendous fortunes will not go from father to son. When it will be impossible to accumulate these fortunes which are a menace to the free people. And when a free people will awaken and establish a great democracy which will stand before the world true to the first principles of its creation.

How can such sentiment be allowed to pass unrebuked if institutions are to be saved that enable a few to appropriate the wealth that others earn? Besides, what time will Congress have for pork barrel appropriations, for log-rolling, for partisan squabbles, for army and navy business, for finding salaried positions for political followers and other matters of equal importance if it must devote serious attention to so trivial a subject as removing the cause of poverty? And this is what Frank P. Walsh holds to be the duty of Congress! He thinks that before that body adjourns it should actually have so acted as to have put the people on the road to better industrial conditions. He would hold Congress to the duty of making the country a better place for all useful workers to live in. Is it any wonder that there should be in process a campaign to discredit so dangerous a man?

S. D.



Progressive Farmers.

The State Grange of Washington is evidently composed of farmers who have made an intelligent study of public questions. It has been instrumental in securing a referendum on seven bills passed by the reactionary legislature, in spite of public protests. It has endorsed proportional representation, commission government, conservation of natural resources and other measures for the public good. On the question of taxation it has taken the same sensible position as have the farmers' organizations of Western Canada. The resolution adopted on this subject declares:

That we go on record as favoring the adoption of a system of taxation whereby personal property and all improvements would be exempt from taxation and the burden be borne entirely by land values.



It is no wonder that so progressive a farmers' organization should be made the object of assault by the monopolistic interests of the state. For-

tunately, the members are alert and easily checked a plan to prevent the re-election as state master of C. B. Kegley, who has done much to build up the organization. Farmers of other states would do well to imitate the example of their wide-awake brethren of Washington.

S. D.



Fisher's Unfair Reflection on the Courts.

Walter L. Fisher informs the Chicago City Council that he doubts whether the Illinois courts would construe a plainly worded contract to mean what it says. This uncomplimentary opinion of the judges was not expressed in these words, but that is what it amounts to. The matter in question was the city's contract with the company holding an automatic telephone franchise. The company had agreed that if given the franchise it would bind itself to forfeit its plant to the city should it fail at any time to serve 20,000 subscribers. This was a number of years ago, and it has never served that number. There is no reason why the city, having performed its part of the contract, should not insist on the company making its word good. But Mr. Fisher questions whether the courts will allow it. He fears that, being personally prejudiced against forfeitures, the judges will read their prejudices into the contract. If the courts are in fact as bad as he thinks, then there is additional reason why no further franchises should be given and all favors should be withheld from franchise-holding corporations. Their promises of favors in return can not be relied upon. Experience has already proven that. And the courts cannot be relied upon to enforce contracts unfavorable to corporations. Walter L. Fisher is authority for that. But the City Council should insist on the telephone forfeiture just the same. Perhaps the courts are not so bad as Mr. Fisher fears. They are at least entitled to a chance to prove that they are not.

S. D.



Playing with Fire.

The press-announced intention of the Administration at Washington to censor the Red Cross reports from Mexico before they are given to the public is a very questionable proceeding. It might be urged that the relations between the two countries are so near to that of a war basis that suppression of reports calculated to inflame the populace would be excused as a war measure. But this country is not on a war basis; and it is extremely doubtful if any reports could come from Mexico that would create as much uneasiness in this country as the knowledge that the Adminis-

tration had suppressed something. During actual warfare it is a legitimate proceeding for the Government to suppress all news that might be of use to the enemy; but so long as civil government prevails it is the right of the people to discuss freely their own affairs. If Red Cross officials send false reports, they should be disciplined for it. If the reports are true, the people should know it. To suppress a report because it is exaggerated, or unwise, is to discredit alike the false and the true. American institutions will thrive best on less, not more, censoring.

S. C.



The Best Censorship Is the Least.

Governor Dunne did well in vetoing the bill passed by the Illinois Legislature for a state censorship of moving pictures. There is already too much censorship. If tolerated in the case of moving pictures there is danger that it will not stop there, but will be used as a precedent to justify censorship of speech and of the press. Moreover, an official censorship is unnecessary not only because the unofficial national board is sufficient for every justifiable purpose, but because owners of moving picture theaters are not so deficient in business judgment as to deliberately offend the public taste. All that a state censorship can do is to prevent presentation of pictures not in accord with the personal likes or prejudices of the censors. The local official censorship in Chicago is bad enough, and Governor Dunne deserves credit for preventing a further spread of the vicious institution.

S. D.



Porfirio Diaz.

The death in exile of ex-President Porfirio Diaz of Mexico marks with fitting close the career of a dictator. Porfirio Diaz was a man of exceptional ability, who discharged with striking success his duty as he saw it. But the critic who measures his achievements by contrasting the order that prevailed in Mexico during his long incumbency of the presidential office, with the disorder that has followed his exile has failed to grasp the meaning of government. The essence of true government lies not merely in keeping order, in the sense of preventing personal violence, or the forcible destruction of property; for these may obtain under the worst of despots. The ideal of government consists in the harmonizing through political means of the social forces that tend toward the development of the character of the individual citizen. And the real test of any gov-

ernment is not to be found in the national wealth of the country, the number of its people, or the perfection of its military organization, but in the development of its individual citizens.



Put to such a test, the long administration of Porfirio Díaz has been one of the completest failures in all history. He did maintain order in a disorderly country; he did invite foreign capital to develop some of the natural resources of Mexico; he even made a pretense at doing something for the people of Mexico. But this was pretense; it lacked substance. In spite of his protestations, and the specious arguments of his apologists, he had no use for the mass of Mexican people, except as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Those persons who are sometimes tempted to excuse tyranny—and such critics are to be found even in this country—on the ground that an efficient tyrant at the head of the government means freedom for the people themselves, mistake the facts of human experience. The tyrant-in-chief must be supported by smaller tyrants, and these by lesser tyrants, down to the least government official; and all are supported by corruption.



Porfirio Diaz was a typical tyrant; and his government from top to bottom was based upon corruption. He ruled by force and bribery. Whoever dared to oppose him was destroyed, bought, or driven into exile. He shared his plunder with the minimum number of politicians that were necessary to keep the mass of Mexicans in subjection. This is not to say that he was excessively immoral. If he honestly believed his countrymen should be ruled, and not rule, the rest followed as an inevitable consequence. It has been the fate of most tyrants to be succeeded by men of lesser ability, who have kept alive the arbitrary order long enough to carry the critical mind across the gulf of failure; but it was the fate of Porfirio Diaz to see his order collapse utterly; and the absolute disintegration of social order in Mexico marks in completeness the full fruition of his life's work. It is not so much that he destroyed the liberties the people already had—for Mexico has known many tyrants and adventurers; but he, the ablest of them all, ignored the many opportunities that came to him to establish free institutions and set his people in the way of enjoying the heritage of the ages. Seldom has it been the fate of any man within a single lifetime so utterly to ruin the political and social character of a people.

S. C.

Oliver Otis.

Oliver Otis, one of Maine's ablest and most active fighters for democracy, died on July 1 at his home in Rockland. Mr. Otis was publisher and editor of the Rockland Opinion, one of the steadily increasing number of daily papers that stand for sound fundamental principles. Through this paper he conducted a campaign that has done much to clear the way for progress in Maine. Naturally he was a supporter of the Initiative and Referendum, which was partially adopted in Maine in 1908. He was furthermore a stanch advocate of the Singletax, the movement for which his work has done much to advance.

S. D.



TAXATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY

The question of the Taxation of Church Property has come up in the New York Constitutional Convention. The proposition will not be accepted by this convention, but it will continue to be presented in conventions until it is accepted. The same principle, or nearly the same principle, applies to private educational institutions, whether it be in the way of exemption from taxation or in the way of appropriations. Exemption from taxation is essentially the same as a donation from public funds. The whole idea of State contribution to religious denominations or private institutions is vicious, and must fall as soon as the people are educated to the point of seeing its inconsistency in a democratic commonwealth.

On Jefferson's tomb at Monticello the visitor sees engraved the three acts for which he expected to deserve the gratitude of posterity. He wrote the Declaration of Independence; he founded the University of Virginia, to be the capstone of a system of public schools; and he was the author of the Virginia statute for religious liberty. This religious liberty for which he stood implied an absolute divorce between the State and religious institutions. His principle has been only two-thirds accepted. No one is directly persecuted today for being a Baptist, but so long as the Baptist is taxed to aid in supporting a Presbyterian church or school or hospital, it cannot be said that his religious liberty is completely accomplished.

Before complete religious liberty can be attained, by the complete separation of Church and State, a hard fight must be made, a fight imbued with the same spirit of freedom which was in the heart of Jefferson. The powerful forces of church interests and of the many private institutions now enjoying special privileges must be overcome. And how? Simply by the steady growth of public senti-

ment and public education. It is something, it is much, that in conventions such as the present one in Albany, the question is at least brought forward and the principle of separation proclaimed as just. It is in this way that the attention of the public mind will be invoked. And when the people are once convinced and aroused, the end of the vicious system will not be in doubt. Meantime, does it not behoove all who believe in freeing the State from religious contributions and from other private alliances, to take a brave, outspoken position in behalf of a principle which is an essential part of our theory of government?

J. H. DILLARD.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

SUPPRESSING THE CAUSES OF WAR

New York City, July 9.

Those who insist upon a strict limitation of army and navy in the interests of peace are logically bound, I think, to attack also the economic causes of international friction. Foremost among these is undoubtedly the tariff. For a tariff tends to isolate each nation commercially, and, therefore, to promote jealousy, suspicion and hatred. On the contrary, absolute free trade the world over would constitute the strongest imaginable guarantee of peace. This is abundantly proved by the results of our own constitutional prohibition of all internal tolls and tariffs. It is the free trade of each state with every other which more than any other thing binds fifty commonwealths into one nation.

It may be untimely, at the present moment, to speak of government ownership of war materials—of government control of their manufacture and sale. Yet it seems clear that, had this step been taken in the past, our Department of State might now be spared much perplexity and embarrassment. Naturally, the United States would officially retain the right to sell munitions of war to whomsoever she chose. But the responsibility for that sale would then rest where it most assuredly belongs—upon the whole people. No longer would an important issue of foreign policy hinge upon mere mercantile calculations of profit and loss.

Finally, the civilized nations of the world ought to find some way to place squarely upon the capitalist the responsibility for an investment in semi-civilized regions. The destruction of life is, of course, a question entirely apart; but there should henceforth be no indemnities for the destruction of property. Whoever buys a coffee plantation in Guatemala, buys at his own risk. If Guatemala is subject to earthquakes, that is no fault of the United States—it is merely the investor's misfortune. If Guatemala is liable to violent political revolutions, this, too, may reasonably be regarded simply as one of the risks of the investment.

In brief, when we shall resolutely suppress all the moneyed interests which reap rich gains from warfare or from international strife, we shall have made a long stride toward permanent peace.

MALCOLM C. BURKE.

TEACHING HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Chicago, July 6, 1915.

Over 20,000 students attend the Chicago public high schools and probably 10,000 more are enrolled in parochial high schools, business colleges, universities, etc. In these institutions are to be found the future leaders in science, literature, business and politics. Before they become leaders or find their places in the world, their minds are open to new ideas and they readily grasp those great principles of equity and justice that underlie the philosophy of Henry George; but rarely do people materially change their opinions in advanced life. "As the twig is bent, so the tree is inclined."

The Chicago Singletax Club for eighteen months has endeavored to arouse the Chicago high school students to an interest in the Singletax philosophy by holding monthly public speaking contests. Five students compete in ten-minute talks and the speakers, who deliver the best three arguments for the Singletax are the winners of \$5.00, \$3.00, and \$2.00 cash prizes, but hereafter the Club contemplates giving a fine set of cloth-bound books of Henry George to each winner as an additional prize.

The writer is personally of the opinion that books should entirely take the place of money prizes for the reason that they will be kept and exhibited to friends; thus advertising the works of Henry George and providing the student with a storehouse of information for future contests and debates on the same subject.

During the last school season eight contests (one a grand contest of former prize winners), were held, and thirty-four students participated, but the number of competitors does not begin to indicate the actual results. Many studied the subject with the intention of contesting, but press of work or other reason caused them to drop out. Nevertheless they thereby familiarized themselves with the Singletax. As each contestant usually brings his schoolmates, friends, parents, and other relatives to hear him speak, an interest is aroused and a knowledge of the subject is circulated out of all comparison with the few who actually take part. Herein is seen the great advantage of a speaking contest over a written contest. The writing of essays does not bring the friends of competitors within the influence of the Singletax movement as does a meeting at which several take part.

If sufficient funds were available, 150 or more contests could be carried on during the year—preliminary contests in the neighborhood of the schools, the winners being entitled to take part in secondary contests at the Club's regular meeting place, and lastly, grand contests for the championship of all the schools.

A carefully prepared circular letter should be sent to every high school student, advertisements should be placed in the school papers and every possible method of arousing interest should be used. The present work of the Club, supplemented by an efficient campaign among both high school students and the students of other educational institutions in Chicago, would require \$1,000 a month to get results such as successful business houses achieve in the sale of goods. This sum, however, would yield

amazing results in the spread of Singletax sentiment, and if other cities would carry on a similar propaganda on a proportionately large scale, the country in a few years would be on a Singletax basis. New York City ought to take the lead with a monthly fund of \$2,000.

The method of the Chicago Singletax Club in determining the winners is interesting. It is purely democratic, reminding one of the ancient Grecian cities where court decisions were made by the body of its citizens. As at Athenian judicial trials, the crowd acted as judges and jurors, so does the crowd select the winners in our high school contests, the difference being that the democracy of Athens failed to include all the people, whilst the democracy of the Chicago Singletax Club knows neither age, sex, nationality, nor even membership in the Club, everyone present at the beginning of a contest having the right to vote.

In an audience which does not contain a considerable number of Singletaxers a decision by three Singletax judges might be preferable, although a popular vote for the winners has the advantage of creating a greater interest among the friends of the contestants.

The order of speaking is determined by lot and in this order the names of the contestants, prefaced by a letter of the alphabet, are posted on a blackboard. For voting purposes the competitors are known by their respective letters. Further information can be obtained from the writer, who is secretary of the Chicago Singletax Club.

E. J. BATTEN.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, July 13, 1915.

European War.

The Austro-German advance in southern Poland in the apparent effort to flank Ivangorod and Warsaw from the southeast, met with a reverse north of Krasnik. The Austrian forces, while still several miles southeast of Lublin, were defeated by the Russians, and forced to retreat. The full extent of this reverse is not known, but in spite of some activity on the Bzura front before Warsaw, and in northern Poland, there appears to be a lull in the campaign in the East. In the West there has been a continuation of severe fighting, with heavy casualties. The French claim substantial advantages from their persistent hammering of the Germans between Arras and Bethune. They claim to have mastered the heights for a distance of ten miles, with the exception of long contested Souchez. This gain, it is reported, will enable them to use their artillery to advantage. The British have extended the field of their operations nine miles, which is taken to mean the presence of the later recruits to the British army at the front.

No decisive action has yet occurred in the Italian campaign. A small advance is reported toward Trieste, but the main action is still about the fortified Austrian town of Goritz. Fighting continues in the Alps, with reported small gains to the Italians. Continued but slow progress is reported of the Allies on the Gallipoli Peninsula. The action has been reduced to trench warfare similar to that of Belgium and northern France; and enormous losses mark the engagements. The Allies are reported to be within six miles of the Narrows, but the intervening ground is rough and well fortified. The silencing of the forts at the Narrows of the Dardanelles would lead to a speedy termination of Turkish resistance. The net result of the week's struggle appears to be a lull in the German advance in Poland, and small gains for the Allies in northern France and the Dardanelles. [See current volume, page 666.]



General Botha, premier of the Union of South Africa, and commander of the British forces in the campaign against German South-West Africa, announces the surrender of the last organized force in that colony. No further announcements have been made regarding the campaign in German East Africa.



The usual submarine toll of merchant shipping continues, but no passenger vessels are reported among those sunk. An Italian cruiser was sunk by an Austrian submarine; and Constantinople reports damage to a British battleship. The British Admiralty announce the destruction of the German cruiser Koenigsberg by British monitors in the Rufiji River in German East Africa, where it took refuge last fall. Aerial operations have been confined for the most part to scouting.



The German reply to the American protest against the sinking of merchant vessels without making provision for the safety of passengers and crew was made public on the 10th. The German note professes warm friendship for America, an appreciation of its kindly offices, and a desire to mitigate the severities of necessary warfare; but it avoids the responsibility for torpedoing of the Lusitania, and declines to waive its right to sink merchant vessels in the war zone without visit and search. Instead, Germany proposes to recognize a specified number of American ships, which, sailing under the American flag, and carrying no contraband, will be unmolested by submarines. The safety of Americans on merchant vessels of belligerent nations, as well as neutrals, remains as before. The note is deemed evasive and unsatisfactory by the American press, and such public men as have expressed opinions.

Mexico.

Mexico City was taken by the Carranza forces on the 10th. General Zapata's forces are said to have suffered severely in their retreat from the city, but details of the action are lacking. No disorder among the populace is reported. General de Lara, who has been appointed governor of the federal district, has announced that all persons caught molesting property will be shot. General Villa announces to the American government that he was victorious over General Obregon, south of Aguascalientes, and that he has dispatched a strong force to engage the Carranza forces that have entered Mexico City, as well as to cut off General Obregon from his base of supplies. [See current volume, page 665.]

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Reports from American consuls and Red Cross officials indicate famine conditions in many parts of Mexico. Stephen Bonsal, employed by the Red Cross to make a general investigation of conditions, says:

After six days' journey of about 500 miles through northern Mexico, including large portions of states of Nuevo Leon and Tamaulipas, I am compelled to state that famine conditions existing have been understated rather than exaggerated. In districts visited where famine is not raging today there it is impending; where land is not already famine-stricken, there starvation ever draws nearer. The meager corn crop in sight will not feed half the people and the amount of it has been or will be taken by military authorities whose needs are only slightly less pressing than those of the civilian population.

Large quantities of food from America are going into Mexico City and other places of greatest distress, and are distributed under the direction of the American consuls and the Red Cross.

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General Huerta, who was arrested on the charge of conspiring to violate American neutrality laws, waived preliminary hearing, and in default of bond to appear before the Federal grand jury at San Antonio, December 20, was taken to Ft. Bliss, where he will be held under guard.

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Lawson Sentenced.

John R. Lawson was sentenced to the penitentiary for life by Judge Granby Hillyer at Trinidad, Colorado, on July 12. Proceedings were to come before the Supreme Court on the following day in an application for an injunction to prevent Judge Hillyer from passing on the matter. In a statement to the court before sentence was passed, Lawson said in part:

In the name of the courts of my country, which I respect, I protest against your right to pass any judgment on me. It is undenied in this case that you were appointed to the bench this spring for the trial of myself and my associates,

Fresh from the employment of the coal operators of Colorado, including the Rockefellers, who have engineered these prosecutions, yourself a coal company attorney, you were so prejudiced against me that my case in this court was a travesty on justice.

Today the Supreme Court of Colorado in Denver is reviewing your conduct and yet you refuse to wait another twenty-four hours for the guidance of that court's decision. Such unseemng haste in the exercise of such a jurisdiction to thrust me into prison should not be passed without protest.

Solemnly facing iron bars and prison walls, I assert my love for justice and my faith in its ultimate triumph, not a justice of theory, but of reality extending to men, women and children whose proper equality of opportunity it embraces.

[See current volume, page 443.]

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Strike Ended.

The carpenter's strike in Chicago which has been in force since opening of the building season was formally ended by a compromise on July 10. The men were granted an increase from 65 cents an hour to 70 cents on condition of acceptance of a three year agreement to prevent any further strike or lockout. This agreement terminates on May 31, 1918. The strikers had asked 70 cents an hour for the first year, 72½ cents for the second and 75 cents for the third.

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Tax Reform News.

The Central Labor Council of Portland, Oregon, will submit through the Initiative a constitutional amendment to be entitled "Peoples Land and Loan Measure." It begins with a declaration of rights including a re-affirmation of "The self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence." "In pursuance of these rights," it further declares, "all citizens of Oregon are equally entitled to the exclusive possession for their personal use of as much land as may be necessary for their homes and from which to produce a living by their individual labor without paying any person for leave to live and labor on the land." It next declares that "Public ownership of ground rent is right" and that "all ground rent shall be collected by public taxation, and equally, whether the land is actually rented or used, or not." It further declares:

It is the public policy of Oregon to abolish all forms of land monopoly and leave no chance for any person to get a profit by owning land without using it; to begin the abolition of involuntary unemployment and poverty in this state by enacting such laws as shall insure opportunity to all citizens for the exclusive possession and use of enough land to employ themselves and make their home, so long as there is idle land; to protect all persons in the absolute ownership of the value of their land improvements and the rents or other payments for the use of such land improvements.

Land is defined as "The earth, including soil,

water, water powers, minerals, stone, natural oils, gases, timber of national growth, and all other natural resources before being severed, removed, or withdrawn from their natural position." Ground rent is "the highest price that is or can be obtained in the open market for the use of any lot, tract or parcel of land, for a definite time, exclusive of improvements, plus the total tax on the ground rent and plus the tax on the lease." After defining "land improvements," there follows:

A continuing annual tax is hereby levied of 90 cents in each dollar of ground rent on land in Oregon not now exempt by law from taxation. The ground rent tax shall be collected in like manner as taxes on land are now collected until otherwise provided by law, or the rules made by the State Land Board; but no other tax shall be levied on ground rent, land, or land value. An additional one-tenth of this ground rent tax may be levied, either by general law or by local taxing authorities.

The value of any tract, lot or parcel of land, for assessment is the amount for which, if it were by law forever free and exempt from all taxes and public charges, it would sell, at a voluntary sale, made in the ordinary course of business, and in which the value of the improvements, if any, would be appraised and stated separately from the value of the land. On that valuation of the land the yearly ground rent tax shall be levied, in all cases where the land is not actually rented. If the land is rented, the amount of yearly ground rent agreed upon shall be taken into consideration, but the assessed value shall in every such case be at least twenty times the amount of the ground rent for the year of assessment. No land shall be valued hereafter for assessment at less than the amount for which it was assessed for the tax year beginning on the first day of March, 1915.

Provisions follow for enforcement in case of delinquency, ground rent is declared to be not less than five per cent of the assessed value of the land exclusive of improvements, and then the following declaration:

This section does not limit, change or abolish any person's right of private property or of private ownership and exclusive possession of his land and land leases, so long as he pays the ground rent tax.

Standing timber is to be "assessed and taxed as a part and parcel of the land." Home rule in taxation for local purposes is to be allowed every county, municipality and taxing district. The Governor is empowered to enforce all provisions of the proposed amendment. A "Home-makers' Loan Fund" is then to be provided from "one-third of all revenue obtained in the State from ground rent tax, and all revenue hereafter obtained from the present inheritance tax rate." This is to be loaned to home-makers by the State Land Board (consisting of Governor, Secretary of State and State Treasurer). Loans are to be limited to two-thirds of the actual value of improvements, and no more than \$1,500 in any event is to be loaned to one person. For the first five years the loans are to bear no interest, after that six per cent per

annum is to be charged, but no loan may run longer than 20 years. The measure is to be self-executing. [See vol. xvii, p. 1211; current volume, page 308.]



The State Grange of Washington in session at Centralia on June 4 adopted the following report of its committee on taxation:

Whereas, The tax laws of the state penalize thrift and energy by overtaxing land improvements and offer a premium to speculation by undertaxing unemployed lands, and

Whereas, Such a policy tends to retard the highest development of the country and is unjust and unfair to those who are "making the wilderness to blossom as a rose"; therefore, be it

- Resolved, That we recommend to the State Grange and all members of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry in the state, that they advocate and support a tax measure patterned after the law now in force in British Columbia, and we further recommend to the State Grange that it appoint a committee to examine the tax laws of said province and inspect their operations, and if deemed desirable, to prepare a measure to present to the voters of Washington embodying the features of said laws bearing the matters outlined above.

Later the following was adopted:

Resolved, By the Washington State Grange, that we go on record as favoring the adoption of a system of taxation whereby personal property and all improvements would be exempt from taxation and the burden be borne entirely by land values.

Resolved, That the Worthy Master appoint a committee to conduct a campaign of education in the Agricultural Grange News during the coming year and that this committee be instructed to investigate all reform taxation and report result of investigation in the Grange paper.

[See vol. xvii, p. 628.]



County Auditor John A. Zangerle of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, offers to the Cleveland Tax Commission the following suggestion:

I herewith submit a progressive tax rate for adoption in the city of Cleveland in lieu of the present fixed and general tax rate. This schedule of rates would apply to land values only, according to their worth per foot frontage of standard depth of 100 feet, lots of a different depth being valued more or less on a fixed and published standard.

Proposed Progressive Tax Rates for Cuyahoga County.

Value per front ft.	Rate per \$100.
\$ 25 or less.....	\$1.40
25 to \$ 50.....	1.45
50 to 100.....	1.50
100 to 250.....	1.55
250 to 500.....	1.60
500 to 1,000.....	1.65
1,000 to 2,000.....	1.70
2,000 to 3,000.....	1.75
3,000 to 4,000.....	1.80
4,000 to 5,000.....	1.85
5,000 to 6,000.....	1.90
6,000 to 7,000.....	1.95
7,000 to 8,000.....	2.00

The advantages of the above rates may briefly be stated as follows:

1st. Under the above tax rate scheme, residence property is taxed at a lower rate than business property.

2nd. The tax rate is elastic. As the property goes up, the tax rate increases. As it goes down, it decreases. If the tax rate is higher than the present value of the property would justify, the tax rate will be decreased to maintain the equilibrium. If the value of the property grows faster than the tax rate, the rate increases concurrently with the resulting increased capitalization value. An increase of rate thereupon will reduce its capitalization to its former amount.

3rd. The present values are retained to the present owners. No so-called confiscation of values is threatened. On the other hand, no land would be held for a rise. All increases would be absorbed. Speculation would cease.

4th. The above rates are based on the value per foot front for a unit foot and would involve no difficulty in administration. All property in the city is now valued on said basis.

5th. In absorbing the increment, it is far simpler than any increment tax thus far adopted. The sole criterion of the rate is the value and not, as in England or Germany, its use, which latter necessitates separate consideration of each individual parcel.

6th. It is more equitable than the Australian system which values property owned by residents and non-residents at different rates which progress with the value of the estate, irrespective of its size or location. In other words, a \$25,000 farm would receive, under the Australian system, the same tax rate as three feet on Euclid avenue, or similar value.

7th. The many and complex exceptions of the English system, so difficult of administration, are eliminated.

8th. It eliminates consideration of the purchase price and the selling price and the intermediate profits of the land and building, so complicated in the German system and undoubtedly fruitful in perjury and virulent discussion.

Nine-tenths of the properties of Cleveland come under the first two classifications, i. e., under the \$50.00 per foot front, which would enjoy a rate of \$1.40 or \$1.45 per \$100 instead of the present rate of \$1.51 per \$100 value. The other one-tenth of the properties of Cleveland, representing probably two-thirds of the land values of this city, would pay a variable rate of \$1.50 to \$2 per \$100 of value according to the value thereof. These rates would probably increase the taxes realized 15 to 20 per cent.

To those who appreciate that 50 per cent of the residence lots of Cleveland are not advancing in price, while sites enjoying advantages of location are growing often by leaps and bounds, the impropriety of a fixed and uniform tax rate must be self-evident. To charge a rate of \$1.50 against lands depreciating in value while charging \$1.50 against land values doubling and trebling annually in value, is immoral on the face of things. No community has any right to tax lands depreciating so long as other lands are appreciating. In the latter case, it is clear that the neighborhood advantages have grown faster than the tax rate, the residue only being capitalized and representing the site value.

Work of the Massachusetts Singletax League.

Secretary Alex Mackendrick of the Massachusetts Singletax League reports the work accomplished during the year ending May 25 by the League in part as follows:

The legislative work of the league has been carried on under the supervision of the chairman of the Legislative Committee, Mr. Henry D. Nunn. The program, however, was conceived and very largely worked out in advance by Mr. Charles H. Porter, who had the assistance of Mr. Francis G. Goodale in preparing the measures which were introduced in the name of the league. These measures were, a bill for the abolition of the poll tax, a bill to reduce the tax on savings bank deposits from one-half of one per cent to one-tenth of one per cent, and a resolution for an amendment to the constitution, striking out the word "proportional" from the taxation clause. The proportional amendment was favorably reported and has passed both branches of the legislature by overwhelming majorities. It will have to be again voted upon by the legislature at its next session. The other two bills which we introduced were killed. However, they were the means of our getting into touch with labor unions, chambers of commerce, boards of trade, savings banks and trust companies of the state, which was excellent propaganda work.

The League has at present 350 members. [See current volume, page 524.]



Musicians for Single Tax.

The Musicians' Mutual Benefit Association of St. Louis, affiliated with the American Federation of Musicians, passed unanimously at its June meeting the following resolutions introduced by Harry Sycamore:

Whereas, There is a condition of industrial depression placing the great mass of the workers in a helpless condition, and,

Whereas, This inexhaustible earth is our only source of subsistence, and by labor applied to it all our needs are supplied, and it follows if man cannot make a living there are barriers to this workshop and storehouse that yields so abundantly to his labor; our laws have superseded man's natural right to use the earth. Therefore, be it

Resolved, By Local No. 2, A. F. of M., That the remedy is to destroy the profit in the ownership of the earth. We therefore indorse the single tax as the means to remove the cause of this involuntary idleness.

We further resolve, That this be printed in our Synopsis, and a copy with request to print be sent to their Journal the A. F. of M., and a copy sent to Mr. H. E. Read, President Single Tax League of Missouri.



Prospective Municipal Ownership in Detroit.

The Detroit United Railway, operating trolley lines in the city, announced on July 7 that the

stockholders favor turning the lines over to the city. The Circuit Court will fix the price that the city must pay. The company has been compelled since 1913 to sell seven tickets for 25 cents and to pay rent for the use of city streets. The resulting loss of dividends has made it willing to sell.

NEWS NOTES

—Governor Dunne of Illinois vetoed on July 6 a bill for state censorship of moving pictures.

—Samuel Alschuler was appointed by Governor Dunne of Illinois on July 12 chairman of the new State Waterway Commission.

—Mrs. Meta Berger, wife of former congressman Victor L. Berger, was elected president of the Milwaukee school board on July 6.

—The New York State Public Service Commission refused, on July 7, to permit the Ulster and Delaware Railroad to increase the price of mileage books from two cents to three cents a mile.

—At San Francisco on October 10, 11 and 12, will be held the International Peace Congress under the auspices of the Church Peace Union, The American Peace Society and the San Francisco Federated Peace Committee.

—J. P. Morgan's assailant, who called himself Frank Holt, committed suicide in jail at Mineola, N. Y., on July 6. Holt was said to be, in fact, a Professor Erich Muenter, formerly of Cornell, for some years a fugitive from justice. [See current volume, page 667.]

—Archbishop James Edward Quigley, of Chicago diocese, died at the home of his brother in Rochester, N. Y., on the 10th. The Archbishop was born at Oshawa, Canada, October 15, 1854, ordained a priest 1879; was bishop of Buffalo 1897 to 1903, and archbishop of Chicago 1903 to the time of his death.

—The committee of the Chicago City Council having in charge the forfeiture ordinance of the automatic telephone decided on July 12 to postpone action thereon until fall. A legal opinion, rendered by Walter L. Fisher, former Secretary of the Interior, on July 7, was to the effect that it was questionable whether the courts would uphold a forfeiture, although the agreement had been made voluntarily by the company and a franchise had been given it in return. [See current volume, page 667.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Fighting for Their Country.

The Standard (Sydney), May 15.—The people of Australia are just beginning to realize some of the grim realities of war. Early casualties are being published. They include well known names. But whether well known or not the loss of every man leaves a gap in the family and social circles of Australian life. Most of the men at the war are landless. Whether they return or their heirs have to carry on the struggle for existence it must be on

land. What is the landless man fighting for? Not for the land of his country since he does not own a foot of it. Should he return whether wounded or not the land which he fought to safeguard will still belong to the landlord who will charge him the highest possible rent before allowing him a chance to earn a living. This is a phase of the land question which requires immediate attention. What has been the experience in previous wars and in other countries? In England when the Napoleonic wars were over the men returned to find a large part of the Commons filched by the landowners. In Scotland the families of many who fought for their country were evicted. A great many British soldiers for centuries after surviving all the horrors and dangers of war have died in the poorhouse. The Government should take steps at once to see that returned soldiers will be able to get land easily and cheaply on their return.



Bryan Is Helping the Administration.

Harper's Weekly, July 5.—Mr. Bryan left the cabinet for high conscientious reasons. Those who continue to speak harshly of him, after the first burst of hysteria is over, accusing him of politics or imbecility, are playing a successful game if their object is to hurt the administration. Largely, however, it is merely a cult. Every eastern editor thinks he has to take a shot at Mr. Bryan about twice a week. Otherwise he would not be a real editor. Mr. Bryan has a whole-hearted desire to help the President, at the same time that he preserves his own point of view and carries out what he conceives to be his own mission. Now it is possible that he elaborates his views in the present crisis more than is necessary. Harper's Weekly happens to believe he does. But that is a mere difference of opinion about practical procedure. It is no excuse for assault on motives . . . If he is permitted to do so, Mr. Bryan will continue in the future, as in the past, to be the most effective and sympathetic interpreter of the President's policies to the great mass of Mr. Bryan's devoted followers.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE DREAMER AND THE WAR.

For The Public.

He dreamed that Man, on wings of thought that soar,
Was fit to meet with saints with high salute;
He woke and, deafened by the cannons' roar,
He found that Man was brute.

Lo! it was well to see the nations drift
From savagery's drear shoals by visions drawn;
To see the youths their eager faces lift,
Glad-hearted 'fore the altars of the dawn.

To see the kindly nations reaching out
To other stricken countries helping hands,
It seemed that angels might exultant shout
At coming fruitage of Divine commands.

How swift the cycle downward rolls again!
Stark savagery usurps the place of right;
Up from bleak ages, fields of blood to scan,
Returns the troglodyte.

By light of burning towns in lands gone mad,
The human hunters stalk their human prey;
Different in arms and cunning, different clad,
But swayed by lusts that ruled Attila's day.

Across fair peace and culture drive they scars,
Praying to ancient gods of fear and hate:
Like short-lived ants beneath the marching stars,
Oh, God compassionate!

GEORGE W. PRIEST.



A CAVE DWELLER'S REFLECTIONS

Letter in Bodenreform (Berlin) of May 20, from a Lieutenant in the German army, stationed between the Maas and the Moselle.

Our mutual interest in our cause, begun in times of peace, has continued into the rough life of the war conditions of the present. Since September 30, 1914, I have been the possessor of a little "home" of my own of exceedingly small dimensions. My "home" is entirely unmortgaged, and the only rent I must pay for my perpetual lease is the satisfying of the claim of my visiting friends to a cigar or a bite out of my larder.

The architecture is the simplest possible. A hole two yards in extent is made, over this is placed beams of wood and earth. The walls and floor are made of boards. In a corner is an iron stove. The furniture consists of a table, three chairs and a sack of straw, which is used for a bed at night, and in the daytime hangs on the wall. The walls are decorated with sword, revolver, dagger, field glasses, saddle bags, etc. A door with a pane of glass opens onto a passage which gradually inclining upwards, leads to the outer world. I am supplied with all conveniences such as telephone, ventilators in the shape of cracks in the wall (I myself am the dust consumer), illumination is supplied by a coal oil lamp, i. e., only the bowl, burner, wick and chimney; this reposes in an exploded French shell. My "home" serves as office for our battalion, reception and dining room for my major and myself, kitchen and bedroom.

West of my estate are the hills of Cote Lorraine, north the plains of Woëvre, to the east lie the forests which extend to the Moselle, and to the south about 200 meters are the trenches of our battalion, about 80 to 200 meters farther are the trenches of the French.

The protection of several plum trees and a small thorn hedge whose leaves are just beginning to sprout, permits of unhindered exercise within a radius of about 30 meters. Whoever dares to go beyond this circle in the daytime is informed by the melodious whistle of bullets that his further movements are not desired by the enemy. A lack of

courtesy shown by the most courteous nation in the world, which in a moment of obvious repentance, however, is abolished for special peaceful days:

At the same time the strength of our building is tested by shells of every calibre, to which our batteries at once make reply in friendly manner. The life we lead here is that of a man who has retired and lives on a small income. We enjoy our meals and from time to time we pass the hours away with a game of skat. Nor are we without domestic annoyances. The home owner is frequently drawn into the struggle for territory, for every foot of which there is the same contention as existed between the Teltow Canal and the Spree. Here, too, the one who possesses the strongest nerve, greatest energy, and most munition conquers. . . .

For the first time in 45 years people of every strata of society in our nation, living under the same conditions, in circumstances and situations which daily bring them face to face with death, intermingle freely. In such times they are again united in a mutual understanding and recognition of each others worth to which in the social struggle they were blinded. Those among our people who are the cultured ones, and the leaders, find themselves facing the gigantic problem of finding the way of securing the continuance of this relationship, for generations to come. If this task is to be successfully finished, it behooves the leading spirits of our nation to throw prejudice overboard. Those who have remained at home and later those who return home, must actually do as we are daily doing here. We must make plain to those men whom we have learned to appreciate and understand, during this campaign, that we will do all in our power to make possible that they may get a livelihood under the very best conditions, for themselves and their families, in the land which they have so ably defended. This necessitates that their working conditions should be freed from the effects of a mistaken land policy, and that they may see their children grow up in a real home that is light and airy.

Out here millions of men who came from the big cities and manufacturing towns, their hands begrimed with grease and soot, have learned the blessing of sun and fresh air. Their pale faces have become tanned. Their hands are covered with clay, and as a result of this work in constructing the shelter for themselves from which they may defy the rigors of winter. Their eyes and hearts are delighted at the first appearance of the young green in the growth about their huts, and at the blossoming of simple flowers, which in spite of the shower of shells, persist in coming out about the trenches.

The result of this will be to develop in the hearts of these men a desire for sun and fresh air,

for work in the open, and a desire for the possession of a piece of land of their own.

I hope to God that the time of land speculation and tenement houses, which in 1871 trampled everything beneath it, will after this time of bloody sacrifice for our native soil, be forever separated from the time of home owning in the largest sense of the word.

Our object should be to gather from the battlefields those blossoms of exalted thinking of our people, and transplant them in our native soil. Whoever comes to this understanding and works in the spirit of this truth, will be doing the best for the future of his people. . . .

I am certain that the solution of, or at least the modification of, social difficulties can only be secured through the reformation of our right to the land. In this spirit, which the experiences of this great war has strengthened, I call to you and your friends from my cave, a hearty "good luck."



THE GOVERNORS' OPINIONS.

The Public recently sent to the Governor of every State and Territory the following list of questions:

1—A. To what extent does public opinion in your State favor the Short Ballot, Preferential Voting and Proportional Representation?

B. To what extent do you think these should be applied?

2. Should there be any further extension of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall beyond that to which it may be already applied in your State?

3. What measure, in your opinion, is needed for final and proper solution of transportation problems in your State?

4—A. What reforms, if any, would you consider desirable in your taxation system

B. Has your present system worked so as to justify such comment as was made by Governor Byrne of South Dakota in his recent message, in which he said that the general property tax "stands in the way of a uniformly equitable distribution of the burden of taxation," and that "it is both inherently inequitable and impossible of enforcement"?

C. To what extent would you consider Governor Byrne's argument sound in the following:

Some classes of property should not be taxed on the same basis as others. A person should not be penalized by extreme tax exactions for improving his town or neighborhood. The farmer should not be penalized because he improves the acres he holds. Per contra we should not offer reward in the way of tax immunity to him who gives nothing of value but only holds unused land for the increased value which the thrift and industry of the community will surely add to it.

D. Would you consider as a proper step toward solution of tax problems everywhere Governor Byrne's recommendation of a constitutional provision that will "leave the people free to adopt such intelligent system of taxation as they may see fit"?

Thirty-one governors acknowledged receipt. Some gave definite and specific answers to all

questions. Others returned partial answers. Others promised to answer at a later date, and a few refused to answer at all. It is still possible that some of those not heard from may yet reply. Some of the replies received follow, and others will appear in later issues.—Editors of The Public.



Governor of Alaska.

(1) The short ballot is now used in Alaska. Public opinion is not crystallized as to preferential voting and proportional representation, due, perhaps, to the sparseness of population and the vast extent of our Territory.

(2) We have no Initiative, Referendum and Recall Law in Alaska, but I am inclined to think that public sentiment favors the initiative and referendum, but possibly not the recall. The referendum principle has been recognized by the Territorial Legislature in submitting a law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in Alaska to the voters.

(3) The final and proper solution of transportation problems in this Territory opens a wide field for discussion. The need of increased transportation facilities, namely, railroads, roads and trails, is a vital one and these facilities can only be obtained by the expenditure of large sums of money. Until more railroads are built but little railroad regulation will be needed, and as for water transportation, the steamship companies, in my opinion, should be made subject to strict regulation.

(4) Our taxation system was adopted at the recent session of the Territorial Legislature, and, of course, it is too soon to venture an opinion as to how it will work. Generally speaking, the system will raise revenues, not by a tax upon property, but by license and occupation taxes.

I endorse the argument of Governor Byrne of South Dakota as eminently sound in the following: That "the general property tax stands in the way of a uniformly equitable distribution of the burden of taxation, and that it is both inherently inequitable and impossible of enforcement."

I also consider Governor Byrne's recommendation of a constitutional provision that will "leave the people free to adopt such intelligent system of taxation as they may see fit," as embodying a fundamental principle of democracy.

J. A. STRONG, Governor.



Governor of Arizona.

1. The questions involved in the short ballot, preferential voting and proportional representation have received so little public attention in Arizona as to make it impossible to venture an estimate regarding the nature of the general sentiment prevalent in relation to these three subjects. In the years 1912 and 1913 I recommended the adoption of the short ballot in my messages to the State Legislature. No legislation, however, has as yet been obtained on this subject.

2. It is my opinion that the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, as provided for in the Constitution

of Arizona, are in serviceable form, and could not, advantageously, be either limited or extended.

3. In view of the magnitude of the transportation problem in the different States of the Union where regulation has been attempted, I believe that for the time being a properly organized and empowered public utilities commission is the best solution readily obtainable. In connection with such a commission, however, it would, undoubtedly, be highly desirable for the State to have a well organized and directed Legislative Reference Bureau, with authority and funds necessary for placing before the public at intervals accurate information concerning the operation of transportation companies, and of their dealings with the Corporation Commission. Necessarily, the effectiveness of a Public Utilities Commission depends almost wholly upon the efficiency and fairness of its members.

4a. Arizona has a fairly satisfactory system of taxation, including a State Tax Commission of three members, empowered to execute a general scheme for the levy and collection of taxes. General laws governing the levying of taxes could, undoubtedly, be advantageously drafted to encourage individual citizens to improve their estates.

It is quite possible that certain classes of property should not be taxed on the same basis as others. While I favor such constitutional provisions as will confer upon the people the privilege of devising and applying their own system of taxation, I do not believe that such a provision should be so broad as to cause the whole subject of taxation to be raised, and made an important issue at every session of the Legislature. Unfortunately, legislatures are not always directly responsive to the will of the general public, and, therefore, no law aiming to put in force a new plan of taxation should ever become effective without first being submitted to the electors for ratification.

It may be permissible to add in conclusion, and in support of the foregoing statement, that the desire of a small group of capitalists to secure a special tax law applicable to mines, resulted, during the last session of the Arizona Legislature, in a series of impediments and reprisals which led to the defeat of many important measures, including the general appropriation bill for the maintenance of State department. This experience confirms me in the belief that no general scheme of taxation should be formulated and placed in effect without first being voted upon by the people of the State.

While the statements contained in this letter are necessarily so limited by time and space as to be in no sense comprehensive, I trust that the information furnished will serve to convey a general impression of the sentiment existing in Arizona relative to governmental reforms and taxation legislation.

GEO. W. P. HUNT, Governor.



Governor of Hawaii.

Answering your questions:

No. 1. Our citizens are not disturbing themselves to any marked degree.

No. 2. Not in force here and to date little necessity for same exists.

No. 3. Our transportation is largely water and our railways skirt the ocean and are few in number. We have a Public Utilities Commission to hear complaints and that has control of some railway mileage. Our position differs from the mainland situation.

No. 4. Our taxation is largely based on valuations of business, mostly great agricultural corporations, as enterprises for profit, so valuations assessed vary according to ability to pay.

I see no connection of our condition and that described by Gov. Byrne's message.

L. E. PINKHAM,
Governor of Hawaii.



Governor of Connecticut.

Governor Holcomb directed me to say that any adequate answer to the questions which you propound would require him to write many pages and to give to the matters of which you speak a great deal more time than he has any right to give at present, in view of his duties as Governor.

WM. M. MALTBIE,
Executive Secretary.



Governor of Delaware.

I have been directed by the Governor to inform you that it has been his rule not to appear in public press upon such questions as referred to in your favor of the 27th ultimo.

F. S. HERRINGTON, Secretary.



Governor of Kansas.

I have your inquiry, and in reply thereto desire to say:

1. (a) I believe that public opinion is not yet prepared for the short ballot. A thorough educational campaign in its behalf is essential. There is doubtless a growing sentiment in favor of the short ballot. It will strengthen the power of the people rather than weaken it. I am inclined to think, however, that this is not yet the common opinion. The older type of politician is opposed to the short ballot, and so far he has had considerable success in making many voters believe that it will work against "government by the people."

(b) Elective offices should be fewer in both state and city and the responsibilities and powers of executive officers should be increased. It is certain that the responsibilities of a governor extend no further than his powers. The people are coming to see that there is little danger to a democracy from placing large powers in executive officers whom the people elect. It is increasingly evident that the danger rather lies in inadequate executive power. It is apparent, for example, that the President of the United States is often confronted with very powerful opposition in an attempt to serve the people. As the representative of all the people he must have power adequate to cope with this opposition. Reactionary influences in this country are almost

universally opposed to placing large powers in the hands of executive officers in city, state and nation.

2. I believe the Initiative, Referendum and Recall should be extended in Kansas to state and federal officers; that is, to all officers whom the people elect. They apply now only to municipal officers in cities having the commission form of government.

3. I am not sure that there can be any "final" solution of the transportation problem. There is doubtless a growing sentiment in favor of public ownership of transportation and other public utilities. I am not yet fully convinced of the wisdom of government ownership of railways, but I believe heartily in municipal ownership of utilities. Transportation problems in Kansas, I believe, are in a fair way to proper and continuous adjustment. We have a strong Public Utilities Commission, with large powers. Former Senator Bristow is Chairman of this commission.

4. (a) In my judgment one of the greatest needs in Kansas is for a classification of property for purposes of taxation. Fortunately in this state property is taxed to its full value. This reform has had very beneficial effects. I do not claim that the full valuation is always equitably applied.

(b) The statement of Governor Byrne, in my opinion, has adequate justification. See my comment in the preceding paragraph.

(3) I have given some study to the single tax theory. I have not seen my way clear to accept it. Still, Governor Byrne's contention is essentially sound. I favor such a classification of taxation as to obviate the injustice complained of by him. These ideas are being worked out in England, British Columbia and in other parts of the world. We shall all watch their development with hopeful interest.

(d) I unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative.

ARTHUR CAPPER.



THE TOILER'S PROTEST.

Julian A. Du Bois, in Unity.

Our clever and patient hand, my lords, our cunning
and our skill,
In the old, old time—your time, my lords—wrought
well your wish and will;
And marvels in pyramid, sphinx, and fame, tri-
umphal arch up-reared,
Exploited our art, our labor, our lives, for the
power on earth we feared.
We quarried our hearts in the rough-faced stone,
we hewed from the mountain side;
We chiseled our souls in the polished shaft that rose
to exalt your pride.

We blazoned on your marbled walls
The deeds—our deeds—that gave you fame;
With battle courage slew our kind
Till you should bear a conqueror's name.

We laid you in your costly tombs,
We wrapped you well with linen bands;
And then we dragged our bones to lie
And whiten on the desert sands.

And what did you give in exchange, my lords, was
there no recompense due?

The gifts that the gods had granted to us, we yielded
in turn to you;
To our leanness of life what boon, what return did
you make that was meet
For the service supreme we rendered, the sacrifice
full and complete?

You wrecked the faith by which we lived,
The faith content in which we died;
You made our gods a mockery,
The truths that we had deified.

Now, in unpeopled solitudes
They dig amidst the swirling sands,
And trace the ruined tasks that fell
From out our nerveless, hopeless hands.

O rulers of earth, doth the story repeat in these days
—your days as then—
To make ye repute, do you drive upon death the
bodies and souls of men?
Have you throned the Christ—our simple Christ—
on high in your gilded domes,
Yea, given us Mars of the bloody blade for the gen-
tle Christ of our homes.
Though Civilization should lag in her path, with the
work of our hands despoiled,
By the God of the masses who toil, 'tis writ your
selfish schemes shall be foiled.

BOOKS

WOMAN'S NEW SPHERE.

Woman's Work in Municipalities. By Mary Ritter Beard. Published by D. Appleton & Company, New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

This is one of the National Municipal League series, which aims to treat in a simple and practical way of the various municipal interests in their relation to the men, women and children of the community. The present volume deals with woman's part in municipal life, and embraces a wealth of material that will surprise even those who think themselves up to date. It is no longer a question of whether woman shall participate in political life, or what she will do when the door has been opened to her. She is already in political life; and she has taken her part in the various public activities as though she were to the manor born. As Clinton Rogers Woodruff says of Mrs. Beard's work: "The story she tells is a striking one, and will serve to enhearten the increasing groups of women who are coming into the field of civic endeavor through the inspiration of organizations like those identified with the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the lengthening list of associations for specialized effort."

Scarcely a civic activity can be named that Mrs. Beard has not presented in actual working order, under the charge of a woman; and whether it be as mayor of a city, superintendent of schools, policewoman or poundmaster, she is making good.

It would seem, indeed, as though her long training as a housekeeper had qualified her to look after the minutiae of civic life, the little things that men have thought beneath their dignity to recognize. Nor does this seem to have prevented her from taking the broad view of complicated questions; for she seems to have shirked none—not even the social evil problem. A few far-seeing individuals believed that these things would come to pass if woman were given the opportunity; now that they have come to pass where the opportunities have been opened, the friends of the woman movement will welcome the rich store of evidence that has been placed at their disposal by Mrs. Beard.

S. C.



AN EXPLANATION OF SOCIAL UNREST.

Drift and Mastery. An attempt to diagnose the current unrest. By Walter Lippmann. Published by Mitchell Kennerley, New York City. 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.

The Commission on Industrial Relations is said to be preparing its report, telling all that it has learned about prevailing social unrest in the course of a long investigation. While it is probable that this report will cover much ground, it must necessarily leave many matters untouched upon and many pertinent things unsaid. So those interested in the subject of industrial unrest will do well, while awaiting the Commission's report, to read an unofficial discussion of the matter which Mr. Lippmann presents in *Drift and Mastery*. Probably few will agree with all that he says, but nearly everyone, outside of the ranks of hidebound conservatives, will find much therein worthy of approval, including criticisms of certain methods and tendencies of different schools of radicalism.

Whether the author's views are right or wrong, he certainly presents them in a frank and fair manner. There is no sign of class prejudice. He lays bare the unfair spirit underlying much of the popular sentiment against beneficiaries of legalized wrong. He discourses on the faults and failings of democracy as freely as on those of plutocracy.

His severe criticism of such superficial measures as the Sherman anti-trust law seems to be entirely justified. Yet he is himself open to criticism in that he fails to give a correct diagnosis of the trust problem. There is nothing in his criticism or discussion to show a realization of the fact that those big combinations should be left alone which receive no assistance from government but are held together solely by ability to offer better service without adventitious aid than competitors. There is nothing in what he presents to show a realization of the fact that the let-alone policy should be accompanied by abolition of all privileges. Combinations which cannot prosper without such aid will then die without the taking

of such direct action against them as the Sherman law prescribes, while those which can live without government aid will have proven their right to survive free from official interference. Because these facts are not presented it is much to be feared that the ordinary anti-trust advocate, however convinced he may be of the failure of the Sherman law, will fail to see what better policy can be pursued.

To the man in search of a remedy for industrial evils the book may be somewhat of a disappointment. He will find nothing of a very definite nature proposed. Perhaps that has been reserved for a later work, for which *Drift and Mastery* clears the way. At any rate the book is one that can help the seeker for an industrial solution, in that it shows how many popular proposed cures are but examples of how not to do it. It thus prepares the way for the teacher who definitely points out the proper way to deal with social problems.

S. D.

PAMPHLETS

Case of Billy Sunday.

A charge of inelegant language is not a new one to bring against Billy Sunday. But if he indulges in that style to the extent indicated by some quotations in a pamphlet issued by The Truth Seeker Company, 62 Vesey street, New York, entitled *The Case of Billy Sunday*, one must wonder what objection those who indorse him can have to sacrilegious utterances by less orthodox publicists. It is bad enough that Sunday should show himself to be illiberal and bigoted, but it is worse that he should try to shove on God the responsibility for his entertainment of such sentiments, and should charge him with being equally bigoted. Having so little respect for God, it is not surprising that Sunday should fail to respect men—especially when they happen to be dead. In parallel columns the pamphlet presents extracts from a recent address by Sunday, and one by Robert G. Ingersoll delivered in 1882. The evidence of plagiarism seems irrefutable. That might be pardoned were the fault frankly acknowledged in a respectful manner. But, if correctly quoted, Sunday seems to have responded with abuse and vilification when his attention was called to the matter. That is not a good way to help either his cause or himself. It seems a pity that no friend of his should be sufficiently interested to remind him that such conduct is not in accordance with moral principles.

S. D.



Citizens of the World. By Yervant H. Iskender, Tomna-Monachan, Pitlochry, Scotland.

Equality in Assessments for Public Taxation. By Samuel Russell, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1915.

Must We Arm? Hillquit-Gardner Debate. Published by the Rand School of Social Science, 140 East 19th St., New York. 1915.

Studies in Farm Tenancy in Texas. Bulletin of the University of Texas, Number 21. Published by the University, Austin, Tex. 1915.

School Lunches in Philadelphia. Fourth Annual Report of the Home and School League, 1913-14, 1505 Land Title Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa. 1915.

Industrial Output and Social Efficiency. By Charles Ervin Reitzel. Reprinted from the Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, Philadelphia. 1915.

“How can you tell a bad egg?” the candidate was asked.

The candidate waited until the laughter died away. Then he replied:

“If I had anything to tell a bad egg, I think I should break it gently.”—Sacred Heart Review.

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