

The Public

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

Vol. XVIII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1915.

No. 896.

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

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

ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

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

EDITORIAL

One Guarantee of Peace.

One fairly good guarantee against the plunging of this country into a foreign war is the smallness of the standing army. Were the army smaller the guarantee of peace would be even stronger.

S. D.



Mexico's Problems for Mexicans to Settle.

If through friendly and peaceable advice peace can be restored in Mexico, it will be well for the Washington administration to give it. But should the advice be rejected that would not justify intervention. Under no circumstances could a valid excuse be offered for repetition of such an act as the attack on Vera Cruz. Conditions in Mexico are undoubtedly bad, but they must remain in that condition until the Mexicans themselves correct them; just as bad conditions in the United States must remain bad until Americans learn how to make them good.

S. D.



Pan-American Opportunities.

One of the inevitable results of the A. B. C. mediation experience has been the development of the wholesome relations between the delegates to the Pan-American Congress called by Secretary of the Treasury W. G. McAdoo. The formal politeness that marks the relations between diplomats has always been observed in the meetings of representatives from Latin American countries and our own; but in this conference there was the honest cordiality of friends. Our relations heretofore with these countries may be likened to those of a man who has assumed the office of protecting a number of children from outward harm. The children, realizing the necessity for the protection, are grateful for it, even though it be given in a rude manner. As they approach maturity, however, they begin to suspect ulterior motives on the part of their protector; and because he fails to appreciate the changed conditions, their suspicions

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:	
One Guarantee of Peace.....	537
Mexico's Problems for Mexicans to Settle.....	537
Pan-American Opportunities.....	537
Making the Enemies' Way Easy.....	538
Why Should the Poor Enlist?.....	538
Man's Inhumanity to Man.....	539
The German Reply.....	539
Two Parallel Cases.....	539
Walsh's Good Work.....	539
Rockefeller's Power.....	540
Curing Business Depression.....	540
The Truth About Vancouver.....	541
Conserving Legislators.....	541
Representative Government Made a Sham.....	542
Safety First.....	542
Building Better Than They Knew.....	542
EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:	
Tax Reform in Connecticut—Christopher M. Gallup.....	543
British Labor Sentiment Toward the War—L. Welsh.....	543
INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:	
Princeton Not a Theological Institution—Everett A. Cutler.....	545
Judge Gary and Billy Sunday—Grace Isabel Colbron.....	545
To Exempt Militia From Strike Duty—Veteran.....	545
NEWS NARRATIVE:	
Commission on Industrial Relations.....	545
Trade Congress.....	547
Physicians Ask Freedom of Birth Control.....	547
Taxation Information Wanted.....	547
Lakes to Gulf Waterway.....	547
Mexico.....	547
Portugal.....	547
China and Japan.....	547
European War.....	548
News Notes.....	549
Press Opinions.....	549
RELATED THINGS:	
Brotherhood—J. K. Rudyard.....	550
The Beatitudes Modernized—Alvin Waggoner.....	550
Increased Land Values and the Cost of Living—Scott Nearing.....	550
He Has Wheels in His Head—Henry Slade Goff.....	552
BOOKS:	
Finding the Foot of the Rainbow.....	553
Proportional Representation.....	553
Books Received.....	554
Periodicals.....	554
Pamphlets.....	554

are increased. But when he declares explicitly that he will never encroach upon their rights, they feel encouraged. And when he shows his appreciation of their growth by inviting the older ones into friendly conference on a plane of equality, their whole feeling toward their protector assumes a normal and healthy aspect.



It has been thus with our relations with the Latin American countries. They have always appreciated the merits of the Monroe Doctrine; but they have sometimes objected to our cavalier manner of expressing it, and have looked with forebodings to the time when we should find it expedient to prey upon these weaker countries ourselves. They have found much in our speech and in our actions to confirm this fear; but when President Wilson declared so emphatically in his Mobile speech that this country never again would take territory by force, they felt somewhat reassured; and when in the same spirit he accepted the mediation of the A. B. C. powers, they were convinced of our sincerity. The response has been in kind. The way is now open for healthy political and commercial relations; not between a benevolent big country and a lot of helpless little countries, but between equals. Should this event be considered from no higher motive than that of selfishness, it is apparent that nothing has been done so conducive to sound commercial relations. It remains now for our business men to follow up the advantage gained by our statesmen. There is every reason to believe that the present conference at Washington will lead to mutual advantages for the countries of this hemisphere.

s. c.



Making the Enemies' Way Easy.

That interesting magazine, *Bodenreform* of Berlin, presents in its issue of May 5 an illustration of how the best national defense against a foreign enemy is economic justice. It also shows how in neglecting economic justice a government gives advantage to a foreign enemy. It tells how entering Galicia the Russians appointed a Count Bobrinski as governor of the province. Then it tells further:

In every community which the Russians occupied he promptly had the peasants assembled and proclaimed to them the assumption of sovereignty of the Russian Czar, who, however, loved the common people more than the great folks. Therefore all the property of big Polish and Jewish land owners was declared forfeited. In accordance with his gracious will the land would now belong to all of his children

who would cultivate it and would be apportioned among families in proportion to the number of members. The land was accordingly divided among the wage workers' families, boundaries were erected and the laborers were at once told to proceed with cultivation of "their" land. Seed was furnished them also.

When on April 22 the Czar paid a visit to Lemberg, he was greeted by the people with an enthusiasm that could only be partly explained as due to fear of the military and the secret police. The correspondent who furnished *Bodenreform* with this news shows how this Russian land policy puts the Austrian government in an embarrassing position. It is now hoping to drive the Russians from Galicia. In that event will it enter the province, declaring itself the liberator of the people, and, at the same time, render the peasants again landless? Probably that question is agitating the minds of the peasants. Had the Austrian government established a just land policy before the war began it would not have made so easy a way for the Russian invaders. s. d.



Why Should the Poor Enlist?

Why are Englishmen slow to enlist? Those who wish an answer to that question would do well to consider a warning issued as long ago as the year 1650 by Gerrard Winstanley, leader of the "Digger" movement, in a letter to Oliver Cromwell, urging that the poor of England should have the right to the use of uncultivated land. His warning portrays a state of affairs, startlingly like that faced by England of today. In a recent letter to the *Philadelphia Record* by Samuel Milliken, Winstanley's words were quoted as follows:

Now the poor see if they fight and should conquer the enemy, yet either they or their children are likely to be slaves still, for the gentry will have all. And this is the cause why many run away and fail our armies in time of need. And so through the gentry's hardness of heart against the poor the land may be left to a foreign enemy for want of the poor's love sticking to them. For, say they, we can as well live under a foreign enemy, working for day wages, as under our own brethren, with whom we ought to have equal freedom by the law of righteousness.

Winstanley's warning was disregarded. Later fundamental reformers had little better success. It was not until the vigorous agitation of recent years, for taxation of land values, forced the concessions contained in the famous budget of 1909 that even a slight attack was made on English landlordism. And even this attack met with such resistance and was so impeded and hampered that when the war started, practically very

little had been accomplished. Even in the matter of raising war revenue the landed interests have been treated gently, while heavy taxes have been loaded on industry, and an enormous burden of debt needlessly fastened on the country. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that there are not more enlistments among the poor. What is surprising is that there have been so many enlistments in spite of discouraging social conditions. Were it not for compulsory conscription in the other belligerent countries, there would probably be the same complaints there regarding enlistments as in England.

S. D.



Man's Inhumanity to Man.

The persecution of the nationals of other countries residing in the several belligerent nations finds an echo in this country, where German servant maids have been persecuted by their companion servants of other nationalities, on account of the dastardly sinking of the Lusitania. Such actions seem to be a first and natural impulse; but it is to be hoped that all thoughtful persons will strive to bring about better feeling among the various nationalities. To accuse a German servant girl in this country for an act committed by the military regime in Germany is as unjust as to ostracise an illegitimate child because of the sin of its parents. A little more charity and fellow feeling at this time will not come amiss in any of us.

S. C.



The German Reply.

The German reply to President Wilson's note might have been boiled down to one sentence professing utter indifference to principles of humanity when these may conflict with the necessities of war. In round about and diplomatic language that is the idea conveyed in answer to the protest against slaughter of innocent persons on the sea. Thus does militarism make the most civilized condone barbarism. There is a vague suggestion added which can be construed as an arbitration proposal and, should this be its correct meaning, would be some palliation of the callous nature of the rest of the reply. That an arbitration offer should be accepted is a matter of course. Before an impartial tribunal concerned only in determining guilt or innocence from a moral viewpoint, the German government could not hope to escape condemnation should it present no better defense than what it offers to President Wilson. Such a tribunal would certainly put aside as irrelevant

all complaints and charges against Great Britain. Crimes committed by the British government do not excuse a crime committed by the German government. Self defense can not be pleaded in extenuation of slaughter of unoffending persons. If the Lusitania did carry ammunition, the act constituted an inexcusable crime on the part of the Cunard company and of the British government. But that would not in the slightest degree excuse the firing of a torpedo into it under the circumstances that prevailed on the Lusitania. It does not lessen the barbarity of the act to plead that through the deliberate act of the Cunard company the lives of non-combatants on board the Lusitania had already been endangered, and their escape in case of accident made difficult. Such a fact only makes the crime a worse one. The German government has lost an opportunity to gain the credit of frankly admitting itself at fault.

S. D.



Two Parallel Crimes.

The writer of the German reply to President Wilson's note has perhaps made a study of the excuses that have been and still are being offered in extenuation of the Ludlow massacre. If he believed these acceptable to the American people, it need occasion no surprise that he thought he was offering a valid excuse for the slaughter of Lusitania innocents.

S. D.



Walsh's Great Work.

"Well done," is the verdict which the Commission on Industrial Relations deserves to have passed on its work. There have been many previous official investigations of industrial matters, but none that investigated so thoroughly. The usual practice has hitherto been that when the investigation had gotten on the trail of something tangible it would abruptly cease. When it seemed that there were about to be disclosed some inside facts about a whited sepulchre, when there was about to be traced the connection between an acknowledged evil and an eminently respectable institution, the investigators would adjourn. Later, a report would appear telling nothing that had not been generally admitted before. But this investigation has been different. Under the able and energetic guidance of Chairman Frank P. Walsh, no trail was abandoned until it was followed to its end. Witnesses, who did not like to disclose all that the public should know, were not gently allowed to keep such matters to themselves. Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has found that not even

the angry protests of a press, anxious to serve the wealthy, could save him from the treatment that an ordinary witness in court draws on himself when he withholds facts that he ought to tell. It required extraordinary courage on Chairman Walsh's part to brave the storm of abuse into which even some honest papers and individuals were drawn.



The newspaper outcry arose when it became clear that Walsh wanted explained evidence he had obtained which indicated that Rockefeller had been less ignorant than he claimed concerning Colorado; that some moves had been made to control avenues of publicity; that legislation framed by corporation lawyers to head off laws in the interest of labor, had been without difficulty enacted into law; that the machinery of government in certain localities seemed controlled by Rockefeller subordinates; that the conviction of John R. Lawson looked like an ordered-in-advance affair; and that there was light needed on other matters that might not make a good showing for pretensions of piety, philanthropy and good citizenship. The investigation was getting dangerous. It was leading to possible consequences; and an investigation that takes such a direction must, according to the plutocratic view, be headed off. But Walsh was not to be headed off. Had Rockefeller been frank from the start he would surely have been spared the humiliation that he brought on himself, and would not have been reluctantly exposed by his own employe, Mackenzie King, in the admission that the pretense of a free hand for the latter was false, and that he was compelled to prepare the kind of labor organization that the Rockefellers could control.



All the specific evidence produced by the Commission would have been superfluous had the people been accustomed to tracing economic causes and effects. No investigation is necessary to prove that a man must be badly injured who falls from the roof of a skyscraper to the street. So no investigation is really necessary to prove that plutocracy and industrial slavery must exist in a nation which adopts a land system that grants to some the power to give or withhold permission to use its natural resources. Reasoning from cause to effect, together with a knowledge of natural economic laws, will as accurately show the result as any long drawn out investigation. But the Commission has presented the concrete proof of the conclusions of abstract economic logic. It has made the proof of the existence of an industrial

despotism so clear that Mackenzie King after much squirming was at last driven to defiantly admit it. The forcing of this defiant admission was alone an achievement for which the thanks of the American people are due Frank P. Walsh. S. D.



Rockefeller's Power.

W. L. Mackenzie King, head of Rockefeller's Industrial Board, is enough of an economist to realize that control of natural resources gives to his chief despotic power over labor. He made this clear when he advised the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations that it would do better to plead with Rockefeller to do the right thing rather than attempt to raise a demand that he do so. John D. Rockefeller could do more for the men, he said, than all of the public opinion that might be stirred up. The worst thing about Mr. King's declaration is that it is true. Unless public opinion is ready to demand, and enforce the demand, that monopoly of natural resources by Rockefeller, or by any other man or group of men, be destroyed, he will continue to wield more power over his men than public authorities can control. S. D.



Curing Business Depression.

A contributor to the daily press speaks of two bills before the Illinois Legislature providing for good roads, and for a deep waterway from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River, as real unemployment measures, and urges their passage because needed improvements will be the means of giving needed employment. He further says:

The local and general government should plan work ahead, then whenever business depression and unemployment becomes serious, bonds should be issued if necessary, and enough public improvements made at least to prevent destitution until business recovers.

Whatever virtues there may be in combining the construction of useful public improvements with the question of unemployment, it is to be feared that it would not aid in business recovery. There is, indeed, every reason to believe that such action would retard business recovery.



Business depression is due to a certain and definite cause, that is, to the advance in speculative land values. Growing business and increasing population mean a higher price for land. Speculators, realizing this, withhold land from use, and ask today a price that the land will attain in the future; and this price is advanced from time

to time as the real value approaches the speculative price. Sooner or later the price reaches a point that legitimate business cannot pay and leave a profit. When this point is reached, the weaker or less profitable businesses stop. The stoppage of these cripples those that are a little stronger; and so on, until the effect is felt along the whole line, compelling retrenchment by reducing the number of employes, and the cutting of wages. Unemployed men and lower wages mean less consumption, which in turn leads to still lower prices, and still further curtailment. During this process of liquidation, speculative land values begin to fall. Prices continue to drop until they reach a point where legitimate business can pay the rent and leave a profit. Then there is a resumption of business, or a business revival, and we have a season of so-called prosperity.



If, when business first feels the pressure from land speculation and begins laying off hands, and reducing wages, the public should issue bonds, and begin public work with a view to preventing business stagnation and unemployment, it would defeat its own purpose. For such an act would continue the so-called prosperity on a credit basis, and speculative land values would continue to advance. There would be a contest between public credit and land speculation, which sooner or later would result in a crisis all the more severe because intensified by postponement. The suspension of business, and fall of speculative land values, is nature's way of correcting an economic wrong; and it would be as foolish to feed land values by means of credit-inflated prices as to attempt to heal a boil when the blood is impure. Business depression, and the consequent unemployment, can be prevented only by stopping speculation in land values; and the most effective way of stopping speculation in land values is to cover them into the public treasury annually by means of taxation.

s. c.



The Truth About Vancouver.

Misinformation about Vancouver is being spread by plunderbund papers. This consists usually of reports that public opinion in the city has turned against the policy of exempting improvements from local taxation. These statements are made in disregard of the fact that L. D. Taylor was elected the second time Mayor of the city in January, after an interval of two years, on the issue of retaining the present system. Of four candidates at the time Taylor and then Mayor

Baxter, upheld the exemption policy. The other two candidates opposed. Taylor and Baxter together received two-thirds of the total vote. After election Taylor was found to be disqualified to serve, the election was annulled, and another one ordered. He had the disqualification removed, became a candidate again, and easily won at the second election in March. These facts are easily enough ascertainable by the plunderbund papers. But, for all that, it is not probable that they will present them to their readers.



The real trouble with Vancouver is not its local taxation method, but the fact that its tax rate is exceedingly low. The rate is said to be but 22 mills, with property assessed at about half its true value. Under such circumstances land speculation must continue. What the city needs is a better assessment system and a sufficiently great increase in its tax rate to make unprofitable the withholding of valuable land from use. If that were done, Vancouver would escape sharing the industrial depression that exists throughout Canada and the United States.

s. d.



Conserving Legislators.

After a century of waste our country has turned to a policy of conservation. Laws have been enacted to conserve our forests, our water power, our minerals, the various kind of animals, and many kinds of birds, to say nothing of the special laws protecting women, children and the helpless; but it has remained for the Lower House of the Illinois Legislature to strike the high note of conservation. That remarkable body of near-Solons has passed a bill making it unlawful for a legislator to give a written pledge with respect to future legislative action, or for an association to demand such a pledge. The penalty for so doing is a fine of \$200 to \$1,000 for each offense. Since the legislator's salary is but two thousand dollars, such a law would limit his written pledges to two, or at most, to ten.



It will be noted that the offense consists of giving a written pledge. By implication, a spoken pledge will still be lawful. This fact may serve as a clew to the motive underlying the legislative action. The insistent public demand for legislation preventing the exploitation of women and children evidently has awakened the legislators to the overwork of their private secretaries. In the course of an ordinary campaign the number of pledges made by the candidate in exchange for

votes assumes such enormous proportions that either the private secretary will have to have an assistant, or work overtime. Verbal promises, however, may still be made by the candidate ad libitum. And as these promises have no bearing upon the candidate's course of action after he has been elected, there is no necessity for placing them on record.



It is possible also that in addition to this humanitarian impulse on the part of the legislator, he may have a desire to differentiate between the man whose word is as good as his bond and the man who keeps faith only under compulsion. But whatever the motive, it is quite clear that the public has received a well merited rebuke for presuming to know before voting for a candidate what he stands for. If a politician is to have principles, if he is to believe in something, and must make his belief known in advance of election, how can he expect ever to be elected to the legislature? There have been citizens who have presumed to criticise the Illinois Legislature for neglecting to do various things that the members had, as candidates, promised to do. But a promise made under duress is not binding; and since the member could not have been elected unless he had given the promise, it is quite clear—to the members of the Lower House—that his promise was made under compulsion, and for that reason he was not bound to redeem his pledge after election.



It is to stop the mouths of these critics doubtless that the present law has been passed; for while the legislator has considered himself bound in no way by his pledges, he has sometimes felt himself embarrassed by the persistent criticism of these old-fashioned moralists. There are legislative districts in Illinois polling as high as 30,000 votes; and while it is possible for a proficient politician to make that number of separate and distinct verbal pledges to that number of voters, it is unreasonable to expect him to make that number of written pledges. Hence, the bill making it illegal to embarrass a candidate seeking election to that body, or binding himself after he has been elected. That the legislators really have a proper appreciation of their own worth is apparent from their action in advancing to a third reading a bill raising their salary from two thousand dollars to thirty-five hundred dollars, and making it payable in full at the beginning of the first session. And yet critics have lamented the decay of American humor!

s. c.

Representative Government Made a Sham.

A bill has passed the Illinois House of Representatives making it a criminal offense for a candidate to give a written promise concerning his course if elected, or for a citizen to ask or accept such a promise. If enacted into law a voter would have little opportunity to ascertain by lawful means, whether or not a candidate represented his views. There would be an end of whatever basis there may be for the claim that the existing form of representative government in Illinois actually represents. Positively ridiculous would then be the advice to elect representatives pledged to reform in order to secure repeal of bad laws or enactment of good ones. The House has disgraced itself in passing such a bill. It makes clear the mental and moral caliber of those in control of it. To assume that there is any possibility of its passage through the Senate would be an insult to that body.

s. d.



Safety First.

Just what relation there may be between the length of railroad trains and accidents would seem to be a matter for experts to determine; and when determined, a subject for executive regulation. A State commission, or whatever executive head may have charge of rail transportation, should be able to discover the most practical length of trains better than the legislature. To fix by act of law the maximum number of cars in a train at fifty would seem to be a clumsy way of accomplishing the desired end. Fifty cars with air brakes can be handled easier than twenty with hand brakes; and continually changing physical and commercial conditions require re-adaptation of management to these conditions. Whether two trains of thirty cars each have less accidents than one train of sixty cars, experience alone will determine; and it should be possible for the executive authority to fix the fact and to act upon it. The public is entitled to the cheapest legitimate transportation compatible with safety, and as longer trains are more economical, the question should be considered in the interests of the public no less than of the trainmen. But no amount of commercial gain will compensate for increased danger, either to the public or to the trainmen.

s. c.



Building Better Than They Knew.

There has been a disposition in some quarters to twit the Democratic Congress for inefficiency

because of its insertion in the present tariff of a rebate of 5 per cent on goods imported in American ships. This was done for the avowed purpose of encouraging the building of an American merchant marine; but importers have claimed that this provision applies also to the countries that have in their treaties with this country the most favored nation clause. The Court of Customs Appeal has upheld this opinion, and even goes so far as to say that the 5 per cent applies to imports from Cuba, which already enjoy a reduction of 20 per cent. This may be a blunder, but if so, it is a providential blunder, like that of the hunter, whose bullet not only killed the turkey at which he had shot, but brought down a deer that happened to be in the line of fire. There is nothing but evil in the tariff, and any act, whether intentional or unintentional that tends to reduce it, is commendable. This country has had an experience extending over a century and a quarter proving that tariffs, whether for protection or for revenue, are evil. During all that time we have had absolute free trade from one end of the country to the other—a territory nearly as large as Europe—and it has worked so well that no serious attempt has ever been made to change the Constitution that prohibits tariffs between the States. No, no, let there be no blame attaching to Congress on this account. That body was guilty of sins of omission and commission, but reducing the tariff was not one of them. The act would have been still better had it contained a proviso at the close reading: No duties of any kind whatsoever mentioned in this act shall be collected on imports until the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall have forgotten his grouch. s. c.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

TAX REFORM IN CONNECTICUT.

Hartford, Conn., May 21.

Two measures passed by the Legislature that adjourned this week represent considerable progress in the right direction for this conservative old State. The first provides for a commission of three persons appointed by the Governor, to consider the subject of taxation, codify the laws relating thereto, and report to the next Legislature with such recommendations as they shall deem advisable. The second measure abolishes the present system of apportioning State and County taxes on the basis of the grand lists of the various cities and towns. Future levies of such taxes will be based upon average municipal expenditures for a period of three years preceding. This will eliminate outside interest in the assessment of property by any city or town, and at the same time take away what has been a very effective argument for under assessment. In the past, sys-

tematic effort on the part of local assessors to keep down the amount of State and County taxes paid by their constituencies, has been the means of obscuring the enormous land values in our centers of population. Interesting data regarding these should gradually come to light from now on.

CHRISTOPHER M. GALLUP.



BRITISH LABOR SENTIMENT TOWARDS WAR.

London, May 3.

The attitude of Labor in this country to the war is by no means unanimous. Though on the whole the position of Great Britain is approved and the desirability of aiding the Government in every possible way is urged by many working-class associations, there nevertheless exists in certain quarters a strong feeling that British participation in the war was unjustified, and that the conduct of this country is little better than that of Germany.

So far as the expression of democratic "intellectuality" is concerned, it is necessary to consider the Fabian Society (with their paper the "New Statesman") and the "New Age." The Fabian position with regard to the diplomatic and political events surrounding the war has, with characteristic Fabian caution, not been defined; that is to say, the Fabian Society issued no manifesto or other expression of opinion on the subject, probably for the reason that the divergence of views existing amongst the members made a representative dictum impossible. The New Statesman, however, under the editorship of Mr. Clifford Sharp, took the normal or orthodox view of the war, regarding British interference as right and the whole German position as wrong; it gave rather too ready credence to the exaggerated accounts of German "atrocities," but otherwise maintained its usual standard of dignified if unimaginative impartiality on each individual issue. The only unorthodox note that was heard was the series of articles by Mr. Bernard Shaw, who poured contempt on the sentimental notion that England went into the war to save Belgium for Belgium's sake, and urged that this country was actuated in her action by motives of self-interest. In his opinion Sir Edward Grey could have prevented the war by letting Germany know unequivocally that England would fight if France were attacked. Both of these views have been violently combated in the press, but as Mr. Shaw's views are not accepted by any large section of the democracy, this controversy has little reference to our subject.

The New Age is a weekly paper devoted in its editorial column to the propagation of the ideas of Guild Socialism—a sort of cross between ordinary Collectivism, and Syndicalism—and in the greater part of its pages left entirely free of editorial control. It therefore contains a large variety of opinions, almost all "patriotic," but differing largely in respect to minor issues and larger questions of human good. In this paper probably alone of all labor periodicals there is often to be found glorification of war on the vague grounds of Bernhardi—biological, ethical, or what not, always obscurely expressed and undeveloped. On the whole, however, the position of the New Age is "sane" in the sense

that it regards war as a national calamity to be carefully avoided at almost any cost, but, when it comes, to be carried out with the maximum of energy and effort. The editorial articles during the war have been devoted to pointing out the disproportion between the sacrifices made by the proletariat and the wealthy classes, respectively, to the discredit of the latter. The writers urge that the workers have sacrificed their lives, their material prospects and their homes without adequate guarantee that their dependents would be cared for; the employing classes have used most of their energies in crying "Business as Usual," and endeavoring to increase their profits.

The enormous increase in food and other prices has nowhere been entirely met by increased wages, and all sections of the labor movement have dwelt on this fact. There was at the start an almost universal feeling that no section of the community ought to urge its particular claims while the interests of the nation were seriously imperilled, and there is no doubt that this sentiment on the part of labor was exploited by the capitalist press and the employing classes. It is probable that labor has now awakened from its dream of national unity and realized that all the economic sacrifices were on their side and that the employers were taking advantage of the circumstances of the time to extract more "surplus" value than ever. This awakening has shown itself in the widespread unrest amongst the organized sections of the working classes. Strikes have threatened and some have even taken place, and increased wages have been granted in a few instances. In the case of certain engineers in the Clyde district, who had been working inhumanly long hours on Government contracts, the Government attempted to coerce the men and "ordered" them to return to work. The order was neglected and a compromise arranged between men and masters. There is no doubt on the whole that labor has realized the fact that, though sacrifices must be made by all classes in the national cause, there must be no lowering of the standard of life amongst the workers who are the mainstay of our national existence, and that economic sacrifices should now be made by those best able to make them.

The Trade Unions have taken no definite view of the war as a whole, but confined themselves to meeting each issue as it confronted them. Many Union branches, of course, have passed resolutions relating to the general questions of the war and to particular issues of domestic policy, but even the two large associative bodies of the Unions—the General Federation of Trade Unions, and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress—have done little but issue one vague manifesto each on the subject. The G. F. T. U. in their paper *The Federationist*, have dealt with such questions as food prices, pensions and allowances for soldiers' dependents from the point of view of the working classes, and also published more or less "radical" articles on foreign affairs, but no really distinctive note has been struck.

The British Socialist Party—the large advanced socialist body in this country—has recently held a series of conferences to consider the policy of the party in regard to war. These conferences expressed themselves as opposed to the participation of the

party in recruiting for the army (the Unions and the labor party helped in recruiting) and reaffirmed their belief that war was essentially a product of capitalism. In common with almost every variety of opinion in England, they expressed their belief in the value of nationality and they denied that Socialism was anti-national or that it involved non-resistance to foreign aggression. They protested against the unpatriotic action of the wealthier classes in maintaining normal wage-rates when prices have risen by 25 per cent and urged the Unions to resist this attack on the working-class standard of life. It is significant that the only resolution passed without a dissentient was one protesting against the past and present conduct of the Russian Government. The Independent Labor Party—the largest socialist organization in England—from the beginning opposed the participation of its members in recruiting and has now, by the publication of a recent tract, definitely stated its belief that the German cause at the beginning of the war, at least, was superior to that of the Allies. There is no doubt, however, that a great deal of internal dissension exists within the party, and the only issue on which all agree is that of securing a permanent peace based on popular consent.

The two labor daily papers have taken very different views of the war. The *Daily Citizen* is the official organ of the parliamentary labor party and the trade unions (from the point of view of the officials who take a more conservative view of politics than the rank and file). This paper has adopted a frankly "patriotic" position—in the more blatant sense of the word, and shown more concern for military and naval success for our country than for the spiritual values beneath. The *Herald*, on the other hand, driven by financial stress to become a weekly during the war, has opposed war all the time, has inveighed against the action of Governments in dragging democracy into war without its consent, and objected to our Russian Ally on the grounds of her past treatment of subject peoples and classes.

Various isolated Socialist writers have published views on the war; H. G. Wells and Arnold Bennett have called for a more intelligent appreciation of the issues of international relationships; Robert Blatchford has outshrieked the yellow press in his indiscriminate attacks on the German national character and conduct; Messrs. Clifford Allen & C. H. Norman have taken a more or less pro-German attitude and decried our alliance with Russia; and a group of parliamentary and other labor men—Ramsay MacDonald, E. D. Morel, C. P. Trevelyan, etc.—have formed a League of Democratic Control, with the object of improving the relations between countries by democratising foreign policy in each nation. Mr. MacDonald, who was chairman of the Parliamentary Labor Party, resigned the place when the party declared its approbation of the Government's action in declaring war.

There have arisen many efforts to educate the working classes on the international problems—notably the study circles formed under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association—and it may not be too much to say that the most remarkable feature of labor's position is its newborn interest in foreign affairs. If that interest is encouraged and strengthened, a useful and genuine democratization

of foreign policy may become possible, and the chances of war in the future correspondingly diminished.

L. WELSH.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

PRINCETON NOT A THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION.

Milwaukee, Wis., May 29, 1915.

A press opinion from the New York Call reproduced on page 526 says: "Dr. John Grier Hibben is president of Princeton University, and Princeton University is, as every one knows, a theological seminary." Princeton Theological Seminary has no organic connection with Princeton University. Except for its location at Princeton, where the University is, it is entirely separate. Dr. J. Ross Stevenson is President of the Theological Seminary, not Dr. Hibben. I thought it best to call attention to this distinction in order that there be one less reason for the criticism of formal Christianity in connection with the overwhelming conflict.

EVERETT A. CUTLER.



JUDGE GARY AND BILLY SUNDAY

New York, May 5.

Judge Gary dines with Billy Sunday, a neat and fitting tribute from a chief beneficiary of privilege to an effective worker in the noble task of buttressing privilege by diverting the attention of labor from vital issues.

Judge Gary, in scholarly, dignified terms, talks philanthropy and efficiency and the duty of the State to "see that each deserving worker has a job"; Billy Sunday, in cheaply sensational rantings, mouths "Hell fire and eternal damnation." Possibly the intention . . . and surely the result, are the same. Both methods throw dust in the eyes of the great mass of workers and of many well-meaning people of education, too, as to the real problems of modern society and modern industrial production.

Many beneficiaries of privilege have sent, more or less sub rosa, substantial financial tributes to the ranting "evangelist" in gratitude for the way in which he plays into their hands. But few have as yet dared to openly take the former ball player by the hand and bow to the footlights with him by their side. All honor to Judge Gary for fearless frankness.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.



TO EXEMPT MILITIA FROM STRIKE DUTY.

Hartford, Conn., May 11, 1915.

The Spanish War veterans, of Hartford, submitted a petition to the Connecticut State Senate, on May 10, and because the petition consisted merely of a request for a public hearing on a matter which appears, at least to the veterans, as of importance, and on whose account no change in the law was expected, nor particularly desired, at the present ses-

sion the organization and many others are decidedly irritated at the relegation of the petition to the scrap heap with entire lack of courtesy and with perfect promptitude.

The National Guard in Connecticut, as also in all other States, is weak in numbers because, the veterans believe, of the prejudice of workmen who fear possible orders to take part in troubles growing out of labor disputes and who refuse to enlist because of that possibility.

Experience has shown the petitioners that trained workmen make the best soldiers in time of war, and soldiers are certainly glad to have tailors, cobblers, carpenters, electricians, all men of all trades available in the field, while officers find such men easy to train because, already, they are disciplined and trained to system and application, and the veterans hoped a public hearing might bring out substitutes for the present foolish, and trouble-inviting, liability that men being trained to fight foreign foes shall be called upon to perform police duty.

Senator Cheney, an ex-mayor of Hartford, was asked to handle the petition and he hesitatingly promised to present it after he had secured permission of the Senate leader, Mr. Isbell.

When the petition was read, with Senator Isbell presiding over the Senate in the absence of the Lieutenant Governor, a motion was promptly offered by Senator Klett, the efficient lieutenant of the said Senator Isbell, that the petitioners be given leave to withdraw.

Senator Purcell, Democrat, and a member of the hopeless minority of the assembly, asked the courtesy of referring the petition to the Committee on Military Affairs to decide whether or not a public hearing should be accorded, while Senator Cheney said nothing in defense of the petition for which he was sponsor, but Senator Klett insisted on his motion and the well-tamed sheep of his grand old party voted in accordance with his demand. Senator Purcell is a major in the National Guard and he appears naturally desirous of securing strength for that possible nucleus of an army should war occur, but Senator Isbell, also a major in the same National Guard, appears still to labor under the tory belief in the necessity of employing armed men to defend sacred property.

The Spanish war veterans are quite certain to continue their efforts to secure a change in the militia law in accordance with their belief that preparedness for war can best be attained by the removal from the National Guard of a foolish obligation to perform strike duty.

VETERAN.

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, June 1, 1915.

Commission on Industrial Relations.

In further testimony before the Commission on Industrial Relations on May 25, W. L. Macken-

zie King declared public opinion to be less powerful than Rockefeller influence, and added:

The will and conscience of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is more powerful in Colorado than any other force that can be brought to bear at this time.

He said, further, that the commission and other public authorities should try to persuade Rockefeller to do the right thing and not attempt to create a demand that he do it, and that miners and other workers would be much better off if a few people of the right kind had absolute control over them. Ivy Lee, publicity agent of Rockefeller and member of his personal staff, testified next. He flatly contradicted Mackenzie King, who had claimed that the work of the Rockefeller foundation is free from Rockefeller influence. On the contrary, he declared it to be absolutely under Rockefeller's control. In answer to questions Lee said that as a director of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company he would favor a conference with employes before allowing another strike to take place. When asked by Commissioner Weinstock whether such a conference had not actually taken place in the Governor's office during the progress of the recent strike, Lee said that the committee of workingmen did not represent the strikers. [See current volume, page 523.]



On May 26 Santiago Iglesias and P. Riveria Martinez, representatives of Porto Rico labor organizations, appeared before the Commission. Martinez said that under American occupation Porto Ricans had learned that no man has a right to live on the labor of another human being, and so learned to rebel against the manner in which they had been treated in the past. The island, he said, has enjoyed wonderful prosperity through American initiative, but this does not benefit the workers, who only sow for others to reap. Workingmen in Porto Rico, he said, have been thrown into jail on the slightest pretext. The government has tried to prevent strikes and has suppressed free speech. Star chamber practices prevail in the courts. In the factories women and children have displaced men. Children of six and seven are at work in the coffee fields. The island is governed by reactionaries, not all of whom are Americans. The selfgovernment that exists is but for the privileged class of Porto Ricans, not for the workers. The Governor had given no satisfaction in reply to complaints. Martinez advocated a complete investigation of Porto Rican affairs by Congress, an increase of public school facilities, turning over the land to the people to whom it rightfully belongs, government loans to the people, giving out of no more franchises except such as would benefit all of the people, and abolition of the use of armed forces in labor disputes. Santiago Iglesias told about instances of official disregard of the workers' constitutional rights. He

told how he himself had been pulled down from a stand in a public square where he was making an address, thrown into jail with other officials of the American Federation of Labor, held incommunicado for a day with no charge made against him. Both he and Martinez are now out on bail. He told of many instances of strikers beaten and killed by the police or thrown into jail. He charged that incendiary fires had been started and charged to the strikers. He declared that hundreds of laborers had been railroaded to jail by magistrates or fined heavy fines without the constitutional right of securing counsel or summoning witnesses. When the first bloodshed of the strike occurred through breaking up by the police of a peaceful gathering at Vieques, appeal after appeal was sent to Governor Yager, but without avail. [See current volume, pages 309, 370, 422.]



On May 27 Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, appeared. He lauded the Clayton act, saying that under it such a prosecution as that of the Danbury hatters would be impossible. He said, further: "It has been said by interests against labor that I have defied the courts. I have no desire to defy them, but I have a desire to exercise my guaranteed constitutional rights of those of my fellow-men." Theodore Schroeder of the American Free Speech League made the following statement

We have more varieties of penalized opinions, opinions which are punishable by law, than any other country I know of. We have here and now less conceded freedom of speech than in any other part of the world or at any time in the history of the world. I attribute this to the absolute incapacity of any judge to understand what the freedom of speech means. For instance, you are breaking the letter of the law if you merely advocate the repeal of the law, as is the case in the State of Washington, for instance. In the State of New Jersey they have a very interesting kind of treason. A man was indicted there for having in one of his windows a picture showing a man in the uniform of the Italian army as ridiculing the King of Italy. He was charged with possibly being instrumental in bringing about a war between the United States and Italy. Laboring men have been punished for asking important questions of legislators, such as "How much are you getting paid for calling us bums?" Our postal laws prohibiting obscenity are often used against laboring men when they make statements against objectionable labor conditions. A man was given five years in the guardhouse for shaking hands with and smiling at Emma Goldman at a meeting.

Another instance, mentioned by Mr. Schroeder, was the arrest of Upton Sinclair for quietly preaching before Rockefeller's office. He said, further, concerning dissemination of information on birth control:

We now make it a crime under both state and federal laws to disseminate such information. I con-

tend that the poor should have access to it as well as the rich. They stand in far greater need of such information. I believe the Board of Health should disseminate it.

He said that the Commission in its probing had not yet reached the fundamental of the problem of industrial unrest which he declared to be "to direct legislation up to a closer ideal of a proper standard of wages for labor, in order that he might get the full product of his labor."



The Commission adjourned to meet again in Chicago during the first week of June, to frame its report to Congress.



Trade Congress.

The Pan-American conference ended its six-day session at Washington on the 29th. No definite program was laid out for future action, but all questions relating to trade were discussed with a view to obtaining data for the guidance of statesmen and financiers, and to promote good feeling. Secretary McAdoo, chairman of the conference, will prepare a report on shipping for Congress. Secretary Bryan appeared before the conference to explain the understanding between Nicaragua and the United States, regarding the latter's naval base in Nicaragua waters. He assured the delegates that the American Government would be happy to confer on the same terms with any and all the Central American states. [See current volume, page 525.]



Physicians Ask Freedom of Birth Control.

A meeting of New York physicians that filled the Academy of Medicine on May 27 asked for repeal of the law that forbid giving of information on birth control. Dr. Abraham Jacobi presided and stated in his address:

Health departments and many clergymen exert themselves to prevent the marriage of persons diseased. Nobody finds fault with that. Doctors forbid persons with tuberculosis to get married, and correctly so. One of the great social drawbacks is poverty. It includes overwork for men and women, improper, insufficient or irregular feeding; coarse or insufficient clothing, tenement dwellings cold or overheated; congestion, want of air, many children, much disease, many deaths. Would it be wise on the part of the children not to be born? Surely; but born they are, and United States or State laws see to it that whoever advises that they must not be born, to prevent them being born without any danger or harm to father or mother, is branded a criminal. The prohibition of unnecessary and not-wanted accessions of human beings is considered criminal.

Other speakers were Dr. Emily Dunning Bar-
ringer, Dr. Louis E. Bisch, Dr. Lydia Allen D.
Vilbiss, Dr. William J. Robinson, Dr. S. Adolphus

Knopf and Dr. Ira S. Wile. The organization of a Committee on Birth Control resulted.



Taxation Information Wanted.

A correspondent of the Rural New Yorker, in the issue of May 15, says that the Committee on Taxation of the Constitutional Convention of New York, in session at Albany, has asked him to give publicity to the fact that it will be glad to receive suggestions on the question of taxation from granges and other agricultural societies, or to hear from any persons interested in the subject. The chairman of the committee should be addressed.



Lakes to Gulf Waterway.

An eight-foot waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf was assured on passage by the Illinois State Senate on May 29 of the bill providing for it, championed by Governor Dunne. It has already passed the House and only needs the Governor's signature. A commission to build the waterway is to be appointed by the Governor.



Mexico.

No new military moves of importance have occurred since the battle in the Valley Rio de Leon, six miles east of Leon, on the 22d. This battle, according to Villista reports, was a complete rout for the Carranzistas. [See current volume, page 525.]



General Villa, in a public speech at Leon, declared religion to be as necessary to a state as a motor to a machine. He said the army of the division of the north was fighting for religious freedom.



Tales of distress and starvation continue to come from nearly all parts of Mexico. The American Red Cross Society and the American consuls are distributing such relief as has been contributed by the people of the United States.



Portugal.

President Manuel de Arriaga resigned on the 28th and was succeeded by Theophile Braga, provisional president of Portugal following the revolution, was elected president of the Republic by the National Assembly on the 29th. President Braga received 98 out of 99 votes. [See current volume, page 526.]



China and Japan.

Two treaties between China and Japan were signed on the 25th, covering the points in dispute

between the two countries since the fall of German Kaio-Chau last January. This formality recognizes the claims made in the recent Japanese ultimatum. Attempts were made by the Japanese representative in China to broaden the claims made on China by including all Manchuria, all Mongolia, and all the Liao-Tung peninsula, but the Chinese would not yield these claims. [See current volume, page 476.]

The budget committee of the House of the Imperial Japanese Diet approved the measures providing for the addition of 24,600 men to the army, and the construction of three submarines and eight torpedo boat destroyers to the navy. The previous Diet was dissolved in December for refusing to uphold the military program of the ministry.

European War.

No decisive action has taken place during the week, notwithstanding increased activity at all points. In the East the Germans maintain their stand in the Baltic provinces of Courland and Kovno, but are unable to advance. The same is true in Galicia, where the Austro-German forces have almost enveloped Permsyl, but appear to have lost the power to take advantage of past gains. In the West there has been continuous fighting in the Ypres region and between La Bassee and Arras, resulting in enormous losses of men, but with small material gains. The Italian campaign is still in the preliminary stages. The forces of Italy have advanced into Austrian territory north of Lake Garda along three lines converging on Trient. Another army has crossed the Isonzo in its advance into Austrian territory on the East. As yet they have met with little opposition. The campaign in the Dardanelles region continues with increasing vigor. The losses on land are said to be very heavy, particularly to the Turks. The toll of warships continues. The British battleships *Triumph* and *Majestic* were sunk by German submarines, the former in the Dardanelles, the latter in the Gulf of Saros. It is believed that a force of German submarines is operating from Smyrna. [See current volume, page 525.]

Sea activities are assuming greater proportions. In addition to the loss of the two British battleships in the Dardanelles campaign, the Steamship *Princess Irene*, in the service of the British government, was mysteriously blown up while undergoing repairs at Sheerness, near the mouth of the Thames, with a heavy loss of life. Several merchant vessels, some British and some neutral, have been sunk by submarines. The American ship *Nebraskan* was torpedoed off the Irish coast, but succeeded in making land. The admiralty report

gives the loss of British shipping since the war as: 56 merchant ships sunk by cruisers, 12 by mines, and 62 by submarines. Eighty-three fishing craft have been sunk, 24 of which were wrecked on mines. Since January 27, 59 ships and 31 fishing craft have been sunk. The loss in tonnage was 458,006 merchant, and 13,585 fishing craft.

The chief item of news from an American point of view is Germany's reply to the American protest against submarine warfare upon merchant ships, and the killing of American citizens. The German answer was received in Washington on the 30th. It professes a desire to clear up all misunderstandings, but makes no definite answer to any of the points raised by President Wilson. It repeats its assurance that it has no intention of attacking neutral ships in the war zone, if guilty of no hostile acts. In cases where an injured neutral ship has been found upon investigation to have been damaged by German submarines or aviators the government "has expressed regret over the unfortunate accident, and, if justified by conditions, has offered indemnification." The same treatment is promised for the American ships *Cushing* and *Gulflight*. The sinking of the *Falaba*, on which an American lost his life, was justified because of its alleged attempt to escape. Regarding the sinking of the *Lusitania* it is claimed that she was an auxiliary of the British navy, that she carried contraband of war, that she was armed, and that she had Canadian troops on board. Great Britain is blamed for using neutrals as a blind for a warship, and the American Government is held responsible for permitting an armed ship to leave an American port. The American Government has already certified that the ship was not armed, and that the explosives in her cargo were not such as are prohibited by shipping regulations. The whole note is but preliminary, and the German government's final answer can be given only after the points regarding the *Lusitania* have been determined. The note is not considered satisfactory by the leading Americans who have commented upon it.

A German fleet of Zeppelins visited England the night of the 31st, and dropped bombs on outlying parts of London. Details of the result are not given by censored reports.

The British coalition cabinet is announced as follows:

Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, H. H. Asquith; Minister without portfolio, Lord Lansdowne; Lord High Chancellor, Sir Stanley O. Buckmaster; Lord President of the Council, Lord Crewe; Lord Privy Seal, Lord Curzon of Kedleston; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Reginald Mc-

Kenna; Secretary of State for Home Affairs, Sir John A. Simon; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey; Secretary for the Colonies, Andrew Bonar Law; Secretary for India, J. Austin Chamberlain; Secretary of State for War, Lord Kitchener; Minister of Munitions, David Lloyd-George; First Lord of the Admiralty, Arthur J. Balfour; President of the Board of Trade, Walter Runciman; President Local Government Board, Walter Hume Long; Chancellor Duchy of Lancaster, Winston Churchill; Chief Secretary for Ireland, Augustine Birrell; Secretary for Scotland, Thomas McKinnon Wood; President of the Board of Agriculture, Lord Selborne; First Commissioner of Works, Lewis Harcourt; President of the Board of Education, Arthur Henderson; Attorney General, Sir Edward Carson.

The new cabinet contains 12 Liberals, 8 Conservatives, 1 Laborite (Arthur Henderson), and 1 non-partisan (Lord Kitchener).

NEWS NOTES

—The federal grand jury at Chicago on May 28 indicted Swift & Company on the charge of receiving rebates in violation of the Interstate Commerce law.

—Judge Turner of the Wisconsin State Circuit Court at Milwaukee denied on May 29 the petition of Samuel Pearson for an injunction to restrain the Allis-Chalmers Co., Otto H. Falk and others from manufacturing war supplies for the Allies. The case was ordered dismissed. [See current volume, page 454.]

—Federal Judges Hook, Garland and Trieber at St. Paul on May 29 enjoined the Arkansas State Railway Commission from putting into effect a two cent a mile passenger rate on railways more than 85 miles long. This restores the prevailing rates of three cents a mile, and even of five cents a mile on some lines.

—The hanging of five Mexicans at Florence, Arizona, set for May 28, was stayed by the Pardon Board at the last moment. A stay for nine weeks was granted on a plea for mercy from Secretary of State William J. Bryan, who warned against possible bad results the execution might have on American interests in Mexico.

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see current volume, page 407) for the nine months ending March, 1915, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for March, 1915, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance exports.
Merchandise	\$1,933,475,580	\$1,213,671,843	\$719,803,737
Gold	141,310,900	71,887,676	69,423,224
Silver	37,860,995	20,532,652	17,328,343
	\$2,112,647,475	\$1,306,092,171	\$806,555,304

The exports of merchandise for March, 1915, the eighth month of the European war, were \$299,009,563, as compared with \$187,499,234 for March, 1914, and \$187,426,711 in 1913. The imports for March, 1915, were \$158,040,216, as compared with \$182,555,304 for

March, 1914, and \$155,445,498 in 1913. Imports for March exceed those for any month since the beginning of the war, and were \$43,383,671 larger than for December, which was the lowest month. The March exports exceeded by \$188,642,069 those of August, the lowest month of the war.

—The federal customs court at Washington decided on May 26 that the five per cent rebate on imports in American bottoms must be extended to all imports in ships of nations which have "most favored nation" treaties. This will extend it to the ships of every maritime nation excepting France, and practically reduce all duties five per cent. The Treasury Department will appeal from the decision to the Supreme Court.

PRESS OPINIONS

Not the Least of Many Services.

Chicago Tribune, May 26.—It is Mr. Bryan's misfortune to cause us to forget occasionally the greatest service he did his country. It is his good fortune that Mr. Champ Clark occasionally recalls it. Thus is a fair and equitable balance maintained. Whenever Mr. Clark reminds the country that he has not forgiven Mr. Bryan for what happened at Baltimore in 1912 he also reminds it that he might have been President of the United States. The bitter enmity which Mr. Clark holds constantly and cherishes towards our amiably parochial Secretary of State is evidence of the service done in preventing the nomination, and thereby most likely the election, of a gentleman who in the White House in these days of wrath might have been a national catastrophe. Our fate, embodied in this instance in Mr. Bryan, averted the disaster, and every time Mr. Clark makes his abiding resentment known he revives the recollection of Mr. Bryan's most valuable and patriotic work.



Significance of the Denver Vote.

Denver (Colo.) Highland Chief, May 22: "While the majorities were decisive in every case, the real sensation of the day was the unexpected strength developed by the Singletax amendment. A new issue, never before publicly argued or presented, yet in the short campaign it developed a following of 7,988 voters, while the land speculators, backed by a richly financed campaign fund and the strongest force against all social, religious and political advancement, namely, custom, could muster only 27,125 supporters—or 3½ to 1. Hence, while the adherents to the old slavish custom which doles out charity with one hand while with the other robs those whom it pauperizes, are congratulating themselves on their great victory over the Singletax advocates, their leader might well exclaim: "One more such victory and my army will be annihilated!"

The significance of this vote, the first attempt to move in the direction of a just and equitable system of taxation, is indeed surprising and gratifying. It portends the adoption of this or some similar measure within a few years. The handwriting is on the wall, for when one-fourth of the voters deter-

mine to cast aside an ancient, unjust and iniquitous method of taxation, it demonstrates that the leaven is working, and a little time only is necessary to complete success. For example, the first attempt to secure the Initiative and Referendum in Colorado was made in Legislature of 1892-93, following the election of Governor Waite in November, 1892. Of course, all that was asked for was that the question be submitted to the voters of the State, but even that then extremely radical Legislature refused to permit the voters to express their desires. However, the fight was kept up with a persistence remarkable, for it was introduced in every succeeding Legislature for eighteen years, and not until the special session in 1910 could sufficient support be secured to submit it to the people, when it carried by a big majority. It is the same road which all reforms travel. The struggle for the postal savings and the parcels post continued more than thirty years before they could overcome the interests which fought against them.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

BROTHERHOOD.

For the Public.

Comrade, give us your hand,
 We care not in what land
 You first saw light.
 Join us; we do not heed
 Your language, race nor creed;
 Let us united plead
 For human right.

If we degrade our quest,
 Seeking class interest
 Or private gain;
 If with misguided zeal
 For our own nation's weal
 We lose this high ideal,
 Our work is vain.

From History's earliest page,
 E'en in this present age
 Millions have bled.
 No fratricidal strife
 Urged on by drum and fife
 Brings man his right to life
 Or to earn bread.

Freedom to use of land
 Is and must ever stand
 Foremost of rights.
 Till this has been secured
 Men by false hopes are lured,
 Peace can not be assured;
 Injustice blights.

J. K. RUDYARD.



Self-government is the foundation of all our social institutions. Seek not to enforce upon your brother, by legislative enactment, the virtue that he can possess only by the dictates of his own conscience and the energy of his own will.—John Quincy Adams.

THE BEATITUDES MODERNIZED.

For The Public.

Blessed are the arrogant in spirit: for theirs are the kingdoms of this earth.

Blessed are they that make mourners: for they shall be decorated with the iron cross, yea, even with the cross of the peace-loving Victoria.

Blessed are they that make ready to whip their neighbors: for they shall certainly have the chance.

Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after more markets and more territory: for they shall get their fill of the fight.

Blessed are the unmerciful: for they shall obtain the merciful cloak of a rigid censorship, hiding their own misdeeds, but allowing the other fellow's wickedness to leak through.

Blessed are the pure in heart, who first fix the blame for starting trouble on someone else: for they shall have a large advantage when the territory is divided after the war.

Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called "Copperheads," "physical cowards," and many other things by the brave Hero of San Juan Hill.

Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake: for the other fellow shall certainly publish it in the newspapers that he is also waging a righteous war.

Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for the sake of your Zeppelins and dreadnaughts.

ALVIN WAGGONER.



INCREASING LAND VALUES AND THE COST OF LIVING.

For The Public.

The latest facts on the cost of living (published in 1912 by the United States Government) show pretty clearly that the notable advances between 1890 and 1911 have been in the prices of a few minerals (tin, lead and zinc) in timber products and in farm products. Manufactured products have risen only slightly or have, in a minority of cases, actually declined in price. As some explanation of so striking a circumstance must ultimately be made, this one is suggested—That prices have risen fastest of those commodities which are most directly dependent on land for their production. This contention leads at once into the question of increasing land values.

Unfortunately, there is no information regarding the increase in the value of mineral lands. Indeed prominent engineers write that mineral deposits are in their nature so uncertain, that an accurate valuation of mineral lands is practically

impossible. Timber land values and farm land values may, however, be readily determined.

The report on the lumber industry, recently issued by the Federal Bureau of Corporations, concludes an exhaustive survey of the increase in timber values with the statement that, though the increase in the value of individual pieces of timber land varies greatly, the general rise in values "has been nothing less than enormous." Taking a piece of southern pine at random, the increase during the decade ending in 1907 or 1908 is likely to have been "in any ratio from three-fold to ten-fold." In the Pacific Northwest where the development of the lumber industry has been quite recent, the increase is likewise "from three-fold to ten-fold during the ten years ending in 1907 or 1908." Letters from private lumbering companies and from state officials confirm the estimates of the Federal Report in all particulars. The value of timber lands in the great lumbering regions increased from 300 to 1,000 per cent in ten years. Small wonder that the price of timber products rose, between 1890 and 1911 anywhere from 30 to 400 per cent. Rapidly increasing timber land values spell rapidly increasing timber product prices.

The prices of farm products have also been advancing rapidly. Wheat and flour, eggs and butter, meat and cheese have led the procession of rising food prices. In this case, too, there has been a corresponding rise in land values.

During the decade between 1900 and 1910 (for which alone the census gives a statement of the value of farm lands separate from improvements) the value of all farm lands in the United States increases from \$13,058,000,000 to \$28,476,000,000—an equivalent of almost 120 per cent. Not one of the nine geographical divisions of the United States shows any decrease in farm land values. The increases, however, vary extremely. The least increase (19 per cent) is in the Middle Atlantic States; the greatest increase (313 per cent) is in the Mountain States. The largest total increase (slightly more than six billions of dollars) occurred in the North Central States, which gave a percentage increase of one hundred and fifty-eight.

There is a partial explanation of these great land value increases in the increased amount of farming. Still this fact can explain away but a small fraction of the increase in farm land values. Between 1900 and 1910 the rural population of the United States increased 11 per cent; the number of farms increased 11 per cent; the improved land in farms increased 15 per cent; while the value of farm lands increased 118 per cent. The increase in land value is, therefore, eight times as great as the increase in the number of acres of improved land.

The figures showing the increase in the value of farm lands per acre for individual states are

even more striking, because from the East, where the population is going largely into cities, farm land values are increasing slowly, while in Western States upon which the East depends for its food supply, the increase in farm values has been stupendous.

The percentage of increase per acre (1900-1910) for all farm land in the United States was 108 per cent. In the New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, and East South Central States, this increase in value per acre was less than 100 per cent. For the other groups of States, namely, for those lying west of the Mississippi, the increase ranged from 146 per cent for the Pacific States, to 222 per cent for the mountain States. An examination of the figures for individual States shows that among the 14 New England, Middle Atlantic, and East North Central States (lying east of the Mississippi and north of the Mason and Dixon Line), only one state (Illinois, 105 per cent) shows an increase of over 100 per cent in the value of farm lands per acre. Among the 22 West North Central, West South Central, Mountain, and Pacific States, only two States, Minnesota (73 per cent) and Louisiana (85 per cent), show increases of less than 100 per cent in farm values per acre; while nine States show increases in the value per acre of between 200 and 300 per cent, and one State (Arizona) shows an increase of 476 per cent. Among the Eastern States the increases in farm land value per acre are therefore comparatively small—less than 100 per cent in all but two instances. Among the States west of the Mississippi, on the other hand, the increase in value per acre has been immense—more than one hundred per cent in 20 out of 22 cases, more than 150 per cent in 15 out of 22 cases, and more than 200 per cent in ten out of 22 cases.

Though the actual figures are not available, those relating to the value of land and buildings combined (the buildings being valued at one-sixth of the farm land) indicate that similar increases in farm land value have been going on since 1850, reaching a high-speed point during the ten years ending 1910. Nowhere has this increase equalled the ten-fold increase reported for timber land, but it has reached up menacingly toward the six-fold mark.

Another argument is advanced, however, to the effect that even though the per acre value of western farm land has risen rapidly, this is due primarily to the increased productivity of the land. The statement sounds plausible, but an appeal to the facts shows that the value of western land has increased out of all proportion to its increased productivity. Take the North Central States, (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas) as an illustration. In these states is produced from two-thirds to

three-quarters of the grain, hay, and forage grown in the United States. They are also immense producers of live stock and of dairy products. Between 1900 and 1910 the rural population of these states increased 3 per cent; the numbers of acres of improved farm land increased 15 per cent, and the total land values increased 120 per cent. Was there a corresponding increase in the amount of crops grown on this land? By no means! The number of bushels of cereals produced was 5 per cent greater in 1910 than in 1900; the number of tons of hay and forage increased 25 per cent; the number of pounds of butter rose 7 per cent; the number of cattle, swine, sheep and goats on the farms decreased slightly; the number of horses and mules and of fowls increased slightly. To offset the increase of over one hundred per cent in land values, there is no appreciable increase in any of the main crops which the Great North Central States produce.

Much has been said and written regarding the increase in city land values. It is insignificant when compared with some of the increases in farm land values. Compare for example, the increase in the land values of New York City with the increasing land values of some of the grain states of the West North Central group. The population of New York City is just under five million; of Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas the total rural population is almost exactly the same as the population of New York City. During the years for which figures are available (1906-1912) the land values of New York rose from \$3,367,000,000 to \$4,563,000,000—an increase of almost exactly one-third in six and one-half years. The total value of the farm lands (irrespective of improvements) in the States named was, in 1910, seven and a half billions of dollars. In 1900 this same land had been valued at two and a half billions. In the interval of ten years it had increased almost exactly five billions of dollars (about 200 per cent). The total value of farm lands in these five states is now one and a half times the total value of land in New York City, and the rate of increase in the value of the land is four times the rate of increase in New York City.

Furthermore, New York represents the exception. The land values in most Eastern cities do not increase so rapidly. In Boston, where land and improvements have been separately assessed since 1887, the land has increased a bare one hundred per cent in 25 years. Two other Eastern cities which have separate assessments of land and improvements, report increases of (Trenton 1906-1912) 8 per cent, and Newark (1907-1912) 15 per cent. Even the rapidly growing Western cities like Seattle, Houston and Galveston, report increases in the assessment of land values of not over two or three-fold per decade.

Whatever the influence of land values on the

prices of products derived directly from the land,—and it seems incontrovertible that some such relation exists,—the past few years have witnessed an increase in land values of the most stupendous proportions,—an increase that may well be a noteworthy explanation of the increasing cost of living.

SCOTT NEARING.



HE HAS WHEELS IN HIS HEAD.

By Henry Slade Goff.

Written in praise of those on the firing line in the never-ending battle for civic betterments.

He has wheels in his head; and the journals purr,
And the wheels in his head go round.
And the pinions clatter and whiz and whirr,
And the wheels in his head go round.
And he says that the color of blood is red,
In the toiler, or in the gentry bred,
And he won't let a dead wrong bury its dead,
And the wheels in his head go round and round.

He has wheels in his head; he's a radiant crank,
And the wheels in his head go round.
And he looks at humanity, stricken and blank,
And the wheels in his head go round.
And he says that a dead sure wrong is a wrong,
Though backed by endorsement and hailed by the strong,
And he'll fight it wherever it goes along,
And the wheels in his head go round and round.

He has wheels in his head; he's a pioneer,
And the wheels in his head go round.
And the triumphant parties are far in the rear,
And the wheels in his head go round.
But his voice is a "voice in the wilderness,"
As he glorifies truth and denounces duress,
And he struggles for fairness and righteousness,
And the wheels in his head go round and round.

He has wheels in his head; leading liberty's van,
As the wheels in his head go round,
He battles for justice to suffering man,
As the wheels in his head go round.
And soon shall the forces of righteousness stand
Where he is now tolling in lonesomeness of hand,
And his thought shall take fixture in all the land,
As the wheels of the Nation go round and round.

But the wheels shall be stopped in his poor weary head,
Never more to go round and round.
And the man that led out toward the light shall be dead,
Ere the wheels of the Nation go round.
Crank, idiot, anarchist, witling no more,
His name all too late Freedom's hosts shall adore,
While others are still leading out, as of yore,
And the wheels of the nations go round and round.



United we stand, hyphenated we fall.—Toledo Blade.

BOOKS

FINDING THE FOOT OF THE RAINBOW.

Getting a Wrong Start. A Truthful Autobiography. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

No doubt if we were all to write out our personal experiences with the delightful abandon which characterizes this story by an unknown (?) author we might make up a literature that would drive the fictionists out of business. And quite possibly some of us might say with the unknown: "The worst start I had was when I was born," for as he later adds: "A handicap in heredity is the most fearful handicap with which any man can start." And yet, this victim of heredity confesses to resolution enough to overcome the morbid nervous temperament which plunged him often in deepest melancholy. Therefore he proves that he unconsciously chose the heredity that developed in him the mental strength and power of resistance that led to his ultimate success not only in character-building but in the use of talents that would have lain buried without the struggle with difficulties so frankly recorded.

If space permitted it would be a pleasure to run over the adventures of youth and manhood in this fascinating story of mistakes and triumphs. But this would cheat the reader of the author's wise and witty comments on customs and conventions by which the social and business world seeks to cast its budding life all in one stupid leaden mold. It must suffice to say that after his rejection of the legal profession to which our hero was parentally directed, he drifted into journalism with a succession of failures and changes of location while he sought the foot of the fabled ladder to success. "But I could not find the ladder," he confessed.

None the less the passion for writing abided with him and his first attempt at book-making is recorded with the gentle humor with which the successful author may look back on his early venture in "them long, slim books," for which he is assured "there ain't no call." Still it was the first round of the ladder. And though he was forty-five years old before he wrote, in the long hours of the night, his first "best seller," we would not have missed a single step in his record of the failures that led up to the final success. Every writer and every lover of writers will follow the literary ventures of this incognito, who more than once propounds the riddle of a personality that the curious reader will love to guess.

The genuine, realistic love story that has its modest part in the later pages of the book is by no means the least fascinating portion of it. The

nameless young woman who became a wife appears to have been a very important factor in the success that came after forty-five.

Whatever may have been the tenor of the fortunate "best seller," it is certain that "Getting a Wrong Start" is altruistic in its aim and purpose. As the author says of the book, "It is not romance but truth, I do not want it to interest you, or amuse you, or even to instruct you—I want it to help you. It is, after all, the story of the one great adventure which all of us must undertake." And in the one great adventure which we are undertaking we do well to heed the wise philosophy that runs like a golden thread through the texture of this "story of an average human life." A. L. M.



PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

Proportional Representation and British Politics. By J. Fischer Williams. Published by Duffield & Co., New York. 1914. Price, paper, 50 cents, net.

It is to electoral and political conditions in the British Isles that the author of this very fine handbook of Proportional Representation refers. But Americans, too, will find it most useful. For of the many who have tried, very few have succeeded in giving so persuasive an argument for Proportional Representation, much less so clear and concrete an explanation of its working. In the last chapter is a survey of the movement outside the United Kingdom. Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland and Tasmania all have in use some system of Proportional Representation; and Belgium and Finland—woe is the world!—*did* have each a very complete and successful plan in operation.

The author charges against our actual electoral system that, "It does not secure the consent of the majority of the governed; it disfranchises minorities; it deadens political life; it does not set free those new forces and stimuli which, in whatever class of society they arise, are the real hope of the future." "The single transferable vote" has the author's decided preference over the various continental "list" systems; but he has this to say about the question of differences: "Such matters can wait. The great matter is to destroy the idea that local majorities alone are entitled to the elementary privileges of citizenship. Establish the idea that the just representation of 70,000 electors, of whom 40,000 are Whites, 20,000 are Reds, and 10,000 are Greens, is not by seven White members of Parliament, but by four White, two Red, and one Green member of Parliament, and the rest will follow."

One view of the franchise—no less important for being often overlooked and seldom expressed—is fully recognized by Mr. Williams: "Representative machinery is not merely a method of getting things done more or less efficiently. It

reacts on individual character. It may depress the individual by treating him as an insignificant unit in a drilled army whose business is to vote at the word of command in a fever of temporary excitement following a long period of torpor. It may elevate and stimulate his interests by giving him a real choice as to the person who is to represent him, by securing to him, as far as may be, the privilege of having his own representative. And as the machinery produces one or other of these effects, so must it be judged as an efficient instrument of popular government. For the ultimate justification of popular government is not so much its efficiency for doing certain definite tasks—education, national defense, the care of streets and roads: these things may be and perhaps are done as well by an autocracy or bureaucracy. The ultimate value of popular government is that no other system offers the same possibilities of individual development. A governed man is *pro tanto* a poorer thing than a governing man.”

A. L. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Income. By Scott Nearing. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1915. Price, \$1.25 net.

—Whither? Anonymous. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1915. Price, 50 cents net.

—The Crimson Fist. By O. H. Neland. Published by Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press, Boston, 1913. Price, \$1.00 net.

—The Socialists and the War. Edited by William English Walling. Published by Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1915. Price, \$1.50, net.

—The New American Government and Its Work. By James T. Young. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1915. Price \$2.25 net.

—The Poet in the Desert. By Charles Erskine Scott Wood. Published by the Author, 419 Chamber of Commerce Bldg., Portland, Ore. 1915. Price, \$1.00.

—Annual Magazine Subject-Index, 1914. Part II, The Dramatic Index, 1914. Edited by Frederick Winthrop Faxon. Published by the Boston Book Co., Boston, 1915.

—Bankrupting a Great City; the Story of New York. By Henry H. Klein. Published by the Author, Tribune Bldg., New York. Price, paper, 40 cents; cloth, 75 cents, postpaid.

—Ten Years of Secret Diplomacy: An Unheeded Warning. Reprint of "Morocco in Diplomacy." By E. D. Morel. Published by the National Labour Press, London. 1915. Price, paper, one shilling.

PERIODICALS

Vocational Education.

Two contributions to the Vocational Education controversy are printed in the *New Republic* (New York) of May 15. David Snedden of Boston assails

John Dewey's educational ideals as expressed previously in *The New Republic*, and John Dewey replies with a very clear statement of his position on Education versus Trade-Training, closing with the following characterization of the real disagreement—the very heart of the dispute between his fellow-advocates of the unit as against his opponents' support of the dual system of industrial education: "Apart from light on such specific questions, I am regretfully forced to the conclusion that the difference between us is not so much narrowly educational as it is profoundly political and social. The kind of vocational education in which I am interested is not one which will 'adapt' workers to the existing industrial regime; I am not sufficiently in love with the regime for that. It seems to me that the business of all who would not be educational time-servers is to resist every move in this direction, and to strive for a kind of vocational education which will first alter the existing industrial system, and ultimately transform it."

A. L. G.



Belgian Races.

The *Open Court* (Chicago) for May contains a very interesting article by the editor, Mr. Carus, on the People of Belgium, from which one gains a clearer idea of the racial and linguistic differences between the Flemish Provinces of the Teutonic north and the Walloon Provinces of the pre-Celtic South.

A. L. G.

PAMPHLETS

"The Spirit of Youth."

"Play is for childhood the shining gate that opens wide to life, to sociability, endurance, co-operation, natural growth and the subordination of one's own desires to common ends. It leads out the youthful spirit through mysterious instinctive regions where no formal education can be its guide, and may indeed light up the meaning of government, and the moral order. For maturity, the shining gate swings backward, restoring joyous memories and the early freshness of boyhood's mornings, recreating body and soul, warding off nervous exhaustion, maintaining balance and proportion in life, making work tolerable for the oppressed, and releasing the worker to increased efficiency. It is well to believe in play, for morality and play grow up together like joyous children when play is spontaneous, unbought and clean." Into the modest space of an Extension Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin (General Series, 513, Extension Division, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Price, \$1.00) Richard Henry Edwards has condensed volumes of study and years of practical wisdom about public recreation. The little book is planned for a study outline of the subject of American amusements. Its scheme of presentation, thoroughness of classified bibliographies and wealth of suggestion for local investigation are admirably fitted to the purpose announced. But this part of Mr. Edwards' work, however perfectly done, is merely its obvious and superficial aspect. More fundamental and more rare are its other qualities. The author's

human kindness, true philosophy and all-pervading spirituality shine through every page. Edward A. Ross says with truth that "it has much in common with masterpieces of moral inspiration."

A. L. G.



A certain little girl was discovered by her mother engaged in a spirited encounter with a small friend who had got considerably worsted in the engagement.

"Don't you know, dear," said the mother, "that it is very wicked to behave so? It was Satan that put it into your head to pull Elsie's hair."

"Well, perhaps it was" the child admitted, "but kicking her shins was entirely my own idea."—Tit-Bits.



Teacher—"Why did the Allies and Germans fight at Arras?"

Pupil—"Because that's where they met."—San Francisco Star.



Bill—"I read as 'ow that 'ere 'Indenburg 'as got an English wife."

Alf—"Ah, that accounts for 'is fightin' like 'e does."—London Saturday Night.

Every True Internationalist
should know

THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE, ESPERANTO

A Subscription to

AMERIKA ESPERANTISTO (\$1.00 per year)

enables you to keep in touch with
the movement throughout the world.

Send 10c for sample copy, and receive
a "Glimpse of Esperanto" FREE.

The American Esperantist Co., Inc.
Robinson Bldg. - West Newton, Mass.

WINKS AND SQUINTS AT ECONOMIC FACTS

By JUDSON GRENELL

Ask your local newspaper to use "Winks and Squints at Economic Facts." Daily service of two a day (12 a week) for \$2.00. Passing events for texts. Entertaining, instructive, easy economic reading. Exclusive territory. Samples furnished.
JUDSON GRENELL, Waterford, Mich.

A School on a Farm

where boys learn by doing. Actual contact—under competent instruction—with the tilling of the soil, growing and harvesting of crops on a 670 acre farm. Put the whole boy to work where he will get the "how" as well as the "why." Shops, work with tools and animals, deep woods, a beautiful lake, tramps, boating, bathing, sports, right associates, with an exceptional school and camp equipment—just the thing the city boy most needs—vigorous, healthful, out-of-door life in the sunshine.

Substantial buildings, beautiful grounds. No other school like it. The Summer Camp Session opens June 22nd. Get catalog and particulars from
THE INTERLAKEN SCHOOL
Edward A. Rumely, President Rolling Prairie, Ind.

FINE QUALITY CUT GLASS



For Wedding Gifts

Buy from us, the manufacturers, at factory prices. Send for catalogue.

NEWARK CUT GLASS CO., 61 Arlington St., Newark, N. J.



A Beautiful Picture of HENRY GEORGE Suitable for Framing

His last and best Photograph with Signature. Artistically reproduced in Duo-tint on Cameo Board, ready for framing.

Size, 14 x 18.

By Mail, Postpaid,
50 cents.

The Public, Book Department,
Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago

THE POET IN THE DESERT

A series of poems with the atmosphere of "The Great American Desert." The thought is pantheistic and revolutionary. For sale: In New York—The Masses Book Store, 87 Greenwich Street; Mother Earth, 20 East 125th Street; and Brentanos. Chicago—Walter Hill, Marshall Field Bldg. San Francisco—The White House. Price \$1.00.

At the Front?

Millions of the most splendid people of Europe, Canada and the Antipodes are making enormous sacrifices—fighting for the right as they see it.

Is everyone in the United States who understands the world-wide blighting economic forces adequately sacrificing time and money—fighting for the right as he sees it? For instance, *You?*

"If The Public had a million circulation, the people's cause would win." \$2 pays for three subscriptions; \$100 for 150.

THE PUBLIC'S SELECTED LIST

OF BOOKS ON

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

The Singletax, Direct Legislation, City Administration, Proportional Representation and Other Social Science Subjects.

Order from The Public Book Department. We make no extra charge for postage. Any book reviewed in our columns can be ordered through us.

SINGLETAX

Progress and Poverty. By Henry George. Cloth, \$1; paper30c
 Social Problems. By Henry George. Cloth, \$1; paper, 30c
 Protection or Free Trade. By Henry George. Cloth, \$1; paper30c
 The Land Question. By Henry George. Cloth, \$1; paper30c
 A Perplexed Philosopher. By Henry George. Cloth, \$1; paper30c
 Our Land and Land Policy. By Henry George. Cloth,\$2.50
 The Science of Political Economy. By Henry George. Cloth\$2.50
 Complete Works, 10 volumes, handsomely bound in buckram, gilt tops. Portraits.....\$12
 The Prophet of San Francisco. By Louis F. Post. Paper20c
 Ethics of Democracy. By Louis F. Post. Cloth.....\$1.25
 Taxation of Land Values. By Louis F. Post. Paper..30c
 Social Service. By Louis F. Post. Cloth, 75c; paper..40c
 Life of Henry George. By Henry George, Jr. Two volumes, illustrated. The set.....\$2
 Natural Taxation. By Thomas G. Shearman. Cloth, \$1; paper30c
 A B C of Taxation. By C. B. Fillebrown. Linen covers30c
 The Single Tax Handbook. By C. B. Fillebrown. Linen covers25c
 Taxation. By C. B. Fillebrown. Cloth.....55c
 The Theory of Human Progression. By Patrick Edw. Dove. Abridged by Julia A. Kellogg. Cloth, \$1; paper30c
 Bisocialism: The Reign of the Man at the Margin. By Oliver R. Trowbridge. Cloth.....60c
 Common Honesty. By O. M. Donaldson. Cloth, 60c; paper25c

Hard Times: The Cause and the Cure. By James Pollock Kohler. Paper15c
 My Neighbor's Landmark. By Frederick Verinder. Short Studies in Bible Land Laws. Cloth, 85c; paper....40c
 Land, Industry and Taxation. By Frederick Verinder. Green cloth25c
 Toward the Light. By Lewis H. Berens. Cloth.....80c
 A Theory of Interest. By C. G. Hoag. Cloth.....\$1.50
 Cost and Price, or the Product and the Market. By Isalah Skeels\$2.00
 The Good Ship Earth. By Herbert Quick.....\$1.25
 The State. By Franz Oppenheimer. Cloth.....\$1.25
 Instead of Socialism. By Charles Daniels. Cloth....35c
 The Road to Freedom. By Josiah and Ethel Wedgwood. Cloth50c
 Trusts Good and Bad. By Louis F. Post.....15c
 The Prophet of San Francisco. By Louis F. Post....20c
 The Crime of Poverty. By Henry George.....10c
 The A B C of the Land Question. By James Dundas White, LL. D.....10c
 Foundation of Freedom. A Series of Essays by Experts on "Progress and Poverty".....10c
 Battles for Land Reform in Rome. By Adolph Damashke. Translated by Joseph Danziger.....10c
 The Shovelcrats. A Satire on the Monopolistic Theory of Land Ownership. By Craig Ralston10c
 The Initiative and Referendum. By Lewis Jerome Johnson10c
 Moses. By Henry George. 2c; per dozen20c
 "Thy Kingdom Come." By Henry George2c
 Per dozen20c
 "Thou Shalt Not Steal." By Henry George.....5c
 Per dozen50c
 The Story of My Dictatorship. By Lewis H. Berens and Ignatius Singer, 5c; per dozen.....50c

Continued on next page

The Case Plainly Stated. By H. F. Ring 5c
 Per dozen 50c

Smaller Profits, Reduced Salaries and Lower Wages; The Condition, the Cause, the Cure. By George L. Rusby, 5c; per dozen 30c

The Single Tax and the Farmer, and the Single Tax Applied to Cities and Towns. By Thomas G. Shearman, 5c; per dozen 50c

Not a Single Tax. By Charles T. Root, 5c; per dozen 50c

Single Tax Catechism. By C. B. Fillebrown 5c

Thirty Years of Henry George. By C. B. Fillebrown.. 5c

The Open Shop and the Closed Shop. By Louis F. Post, 5c; per dozen 50c

How to Get Rich Without Working. By Edward Homer Bailey, 5c; per dozen 50c

A Primer of Direct Legislation. By Professor Frank Parsons, W. S. U'Ren and others, 5c; per dozen... 50c

Franklin and Freedom. By Joseph Fels, 5c; per dozen. 50c

The Shortest Road to the Single Tax. An abridgment of Henry George's "The Condition of Labor," a part of Thomas G. Shearman's "Natural Taxation." Price, postpaid 10c

Philosophy of the Single Tax. By James F. Morton, Jr. 5c

Better Than Socialism. By James F. Morton, Jr. 5c

A Non-Ecclesiastical Confession of Religious Faith. By Louis F. Post, 5c; per dozen 40c

How to Destroy the Rum Power. By Henry George.. 2c
 Per dozen 20c

Taxation Made Interesting. By W. I. Swanton 5c

Woonsocket Taxpayers. By John Z. White 5c
 Per dozen 50c

The New Capitalism. By John Moody, 5c; per dozen. 50c

Can We Eliminate the Capitalist? By Stoughton Cooley 3c
 Per dozen 25c

Taxation Blunders and Their Remedy. By Lewis Jerome Johnson, 3c; per dozen 25c

National Decay Caused by Political Corruption and the Remedy. By Wm. Preston Hill, M. D., Ph. D. 5c

The Mission of a Liberal Church. By Herbert S. Bigelow, 5c; per dozen 50c

Marriage as a Present Day Problem. By Alice Thacher Post, 5c; per dozen 50c

The Taxation of Land Values. By Frederic C. Howe. 5c
 Per dozen 50c

The Lost Island. By Edw. J. Austen and Louise Vescellius Sheldon. Illustrated 10c

German Efficiency and British Liberty. By Frederick Verinder 5c

The Single Tax, What It Is and Why We Urge It. By Henry George. Six copies 12c

Unearned Increments. By Joseph Fels. Six copies. 12c

The Land of Your Children. By Emil Felden. Translated from the German by Mrs. Daniel Kiefer. Six copies 12c

The Disease of Charity. By Bolton Hall. Six copies. 12c

Institutional Causes of Crime. By Louis F. Post. Six copies 12c

Farmers Would Like It. By Tom L. Johnson. Twelve copies 12c

The Single Tax and the Farmer. By Joseph Fels. Twelve copies 12c

Thou Shalt Not Steal. By Louis F. Post. Twelve copies 10c

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Proportional Representation and British Politics. By J. Fischer Williams 50c

Proportional Representation. By J. H. Humphreys. \$1.60

Effective Voting. By C. G. Hoag (pamphlet)..... 5c

Representative Council Plan of City Government. By C. G. Hoag (pamphlet) 5c

INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL

Initiative, Referendum and Recall. By W. B. Munro. \$1.50

The Initiative and Referendum. By Lewis Jerome Johnson 16c

Public Opinion and Popular Government. By A. Lawrence Lowell \$2.25

Direct Elections and Law Making by Popular Vote. By E. M. Bacon and Morrill Wyman..... \$1.00

CITY PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION

The Modern City and Its Problems. By Frederic C. Howe \$1.50

European Cities at Work. By Frederic C. Howe \$1.75

Confessions of a Monopoliat. By Frederick C. Howe.. 60c

Wisconsin: An Experiment in Democracy. By Frederic C. Howe \$1.25

The City, the Hope of Democracy. By Frederic C. Howe \$1.00

Privilege and Democracy in America. By Frederic C. Howe \$1.50

The British City. By Frederic C. Howe \$1.50

Municipal Life and Government in Germany. By Wm. Harbutt Dawson \$3.75

The Government of European Cities. By W. B. Munro \$2.00

The Government of American Cities. By W. B. Munro \$2.00

The City Manager, the New Profession. By Harry A. Toulmin \$1.50

City Government by Commission. By C. R. Woodruff. \$1.50

Regulation of Municipal Utilities. By Clyde L. King. \$1.50

The Social Center. By E. J. Ward \$1.50

Lower Living Costs for Cities. By Clyde L. King. \$1.50

Satellite Cities. By Graham Taylor \$1.50

Replanning Small Cities. By John Nolan \$2.50

New City Government. By Bruere \$1.50

The Shame of the Cities. By Lincoln Steffens \$1.20

Commission Government in American Cities. By Ernest S. Bradford \$1.25

Essays in Municipal Administration. By J. A. Fairlie. \$2.50

Municipal Administration. By J. A. Fairlie \$3.00

Town Planning. By George Cadbury, Jr. \$2.25

TARIFF

The Tariff in Our Times. By Ida M. Tarbell \$1.50

The Tariff, What It Is, How It Works, Whom it Benefits. By Lee Frances Lybarger..... \$1.50

Protection or Free Trade. By Henry George. Paper. 30c
 Cloth \$1.00

TRUSTS

Trusts Good and Bad. By Louis F. Post 15c

The Tariff and the Trusts. By Franklin Pierce..... 50c

The History of Standard Oil. 2 vols. By Ida M. Tarbell \$5.00

Wealth Against Commonwealth. By H. D. Lloyd.. \$1.00

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Women in Modern Society. By Earl Barnes..... \$1.25

Woman's Share in Social Culture. By Anna Garlin Spencer \$2.00

Woman and Social Progress. By Scott Nearing.... \$1.50

What Women Want. By Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale \$1.25

The Subjection of Women. By John Stuart Mill 50c

Continued on next page

- Woman and Economics. By Charlotte Perkins Gilman\$1.00
 Woman and Labor. By Olive Schreiner\$1.25
 Woman's Work in Municipalities. By Mary Ritter Beard\$1.50

SOCIALISM

- Truth About Socialism. Allan Benson25c
 Socialism: Menace or Promise. By Hillquit-Ryan..\$1.25
 Social Revolution. By Kautsky50c
 Socialism; Utopian and Scientific. By Engels50c
 Socialist Congressional Campaign Book, 1914.....50c
 Socialists at Work. By Hunter50c
 A History of Socialism. By Thos. Kirkup\$1.50
 The Larger Aspects of Socialism. By Wm. English Walling\$1.50
 Socialism as It Is. A Survey of the World-Wide Revolutionary Movement. By John Spargo\$1.50
 Socialism. By John Spargo50c
 New Worlds for Old. By H. G. Wells50c
 Mankind in the Making. By H. G. Wells\$1.50
 Socialism and the Great State. By H. G. Wells\$2.00

THE COLOR LINE

- In Black and White. An Interpretation of Southern Life. By L. H. Hammond\$1.25
 Souls of Black Folk. By W. E. B. Dubois\$1.20
 The Negro: His History. By W. E. B. Dubois.....50c

PENOLOGY

- Within Prison Walls. By Thos. Mott Osborne.....\$1.50
 My Life in Prison. By Donald Lowrie\$1.25

PEACE BOOKS

- Arms and Industry. By Norman Angell.....\$1.25
 In the Vanguard. By Katrina Trask.....50c
 The International Mind. By Nicholas Murray Butler..75c
 In the Vanguard. By Katrina Trask50c
 The Moral Damage of War. By Walter Walsh90c
 The Peace Problem. By Frederick Lynch75c
 The Human Harvest. By David Starr Jordan\$1.00
 The Federation of the World. By Benj. F. Trueblood.75c
 The Wine Press. Poem. By Alfred Noyes60c
 Discourses on War. By Channing65c
 Addresses on War. By Sumner65c
 War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ. By Dodge65c
 Christian Non-Resistance. By Ballou50c
 The Future of War. By Jean de Bloch65c

PEACE FICTION

- Pride of War. By Gustav Jansen\$1.30
 Patriotism of Denys Mahon. By Mrs. Frances S. Hallows\$1.15
 The Last Shot. By Frederick Palmer\$1.35
 Lay Down Your Arms. By Baroness Von Suttner ...75c

WAR BOOKS

- The New Map of Europe. By Herbert Adams Gibbons\$2.00
 Pan-Germanism; A Critical Study of the German Schemes for the Conquest of the World. By Roland G. Usher\$1.75

- The Confessions of Frederick the Great and Treitschke's "Life of Frederick." By Douglas Sladen\$1.25
 Treitschke. By Adolf Hausrath\$1.50
 The Evidence in the Case. By James M. Beck\$1.00

FICTION

- New Men for Old. By Howard Vincent O'Brien\$1.25
 The Promised Land. By Mary Antin\$1.75
 The Clarion. By Samuel H. Adams\$1.35
 The Story of a Ploughboy. By James Bryce\$1.25
 Clark's Field. By Robert Herrick\$1.40
 The Servant in the House. By Charles Rand Kennedy\$1.00
 The Harbor. By Ernest Poole\$1.40

MISCELLANEOUS

- The Spirit of America. By Henry Van Dyke50c
 The Spirit of American Government. By J. Allen Smith50c
 Happiness of Nations; A Beginning in Political Engineering. By J. McKaye\$1.25
 The New Democracy. By W. E. Weyl50c
 American Political Theories. By C. E. Merriam\$1.50
 The Wisconsin Idea. By Chas. McCarthy\$1.50
 Promise of American Life. By Herbert Croly50c
 Progressive Democracy. By Herbert Croly\$2.00
 Stories of the Great Railways. By Charles Edward Russell\$1.00
 The Fight for Conservation. By Gifford Pinchot ...60c
 Select Chapters and Passages from the "Wealth of Nations." By Adam Smith75c
 The American Commonwealth. By James Bryce..\$4.00
 Abridged\$1.75
 The Origin and Growth of the American Constitution. By Hannis Taylor\$4.00
 Economic Interpretation of History. By J. E. T. Rogers\$1.50
 Six Centuries of Work and Wages. By J. E. T. Rogers\$1.50
 Physics and Politics. By Walter Bagehot\$1.50
 History of the English People. By John Richard Green\$10.00
 History of English Literature. By H. Taine (2 vols.)\$5.00
 Essays on Taxation. 8th edition. (Has one chapter opposed to single tax). By E. R. A. Seligman..\$4.00
 The Man with the Hoe and Other Poems. By Edwin Markham\$1.00
 Adventures in Contentment. By David Grayson...\$1.35
 The Friendly Road. By David Grayson\$1.35
 Adventures in Friendship. By David Grayson\$1.35
 A Certain Rich Man. By Bouck White75c
 The Call of the Carpenter. By Bouck White\$1.20
 The Carpenter and the Rich Man. By Bouck White.\$1.25
 Discovery of the Future. By H. G. Wells60c
 The Great Society. By H. G. Wells\$2.00
 Human Nature in Politics. By Graham Wallas.....\$1.50
 The Beast. By Ben B. Lindsey\$1.50
 La Follette's Autobiography\$1.50
 My Story. By Tom L. Johnson\$1.00
 Forty Years of It. By Brand Whitlock\$1.50
 The Religion of a Democrat. By Charles Zueblin...\$1.00
 Democracy and the Overman. By Charles Zueblin..\$1.00
 Drift and Mastery. By Walter Lippmann\$1.50
 A Preface to Politics. By Walter Lippmann50c
 The New Politics. By William Garrott Brown.....\$1.75
 Short Ballot Principles. By R. S. Childs.....\$1.00

Continued on next page

The Theory of Social Revolutions. By Brooks Adams.....\$1.25	What It Is to Be Educated. By C. Hanford Hender- son\$1.50
Inspired Millionaires. By Gerald Stanley Lee.....\$1.25	Education and the Larger Life. By C. Hanford Hender- son\$1.30
The Voice of the Machines. By Gerald Stanley Lee.....\$1.25	Making Money in Free America. By Bolton Hall....\$1.00
Crowds. By Gerald Stanley Lee\$1.35	Things As They Are. By Bolton Hall.....\$1.00
Government for the People. By T. H. Reed\$1.50	What Tolstoy Taught. By Bolton Hall.....\$1.50
The Grand Assize. By Hugh Carton\$1.35	Life and Love and Peace. By Bolton Hall.....\$1.00
The New World. By Allen Upward\$1.50	The Game of Life. By Bolton Hall.....\$1.00
The Instinct of Workmanship and the State of the In- dustrial Arts. By Thorstein Veblen\$1.50	The Mastery of Grief. By Bolton Hall.....\$1.00
The Future in America. By H. G. Wells\$2.00	Three Acres and Liberty. By Bolton Hall.....\$1.75
American Political Ideas. By John Fiske.....\$1.50	The Gift of Sleep. By Bolton Hall.....\$1.25
Civil Government of the United States. By John Fiske\$1.00	The Art of Living Long. By Luigi Cornaro\$2.00
American Citizenship. By C. A. Beard\$1.00	Social Environment and Moral Progress. By Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace\$1.25
American Government and Politics. By C. A. Beard.....\$2.10	Loves Coming of Age. By Edward Carpenter\$1.00
Legal Doctrine and Social Progress. By Frank Par- sons\$1.50	Towards Democracy. By Edward Carpenter\$2.00
Our Judicial Oligarchy. By Gilbert E. Roe.....\$1.00	The Cause and Cure of Civilization. By Edward Carpen- ter\$1.00
Wages in the United States. By Scott Nearing50c	Edward Carpenter; The Man and His Message. By Tom Swan30c
The Super Race. By Scott Nearing50c	Justice and Liberty. By G. Lowes Dickinson.....\$1.20
Solution of Child Labor Problems. By Scott Nearing.....\$1.00	A Modern Symposium. By G. Lowes Dickinson.....\$1.00
Social Adjustment. By Scott Nearing\$1.50	The Greek View of Life. By G. Lowes Dickinson....\$1.00
Social Religion. By Scott Nearing\$1.00	Letters From a Chinese Official. By G. Lowes Dickin- son50c
Christianizing the Social Order. By Walter Rauschen- busch50c	The Small Family System. By C. V. Drysdale.....\$1.00
Christianity and the Social Crisis. By Walter Rauschen- busch50c	The New Industrial Day. By Wm. C. Redfield....\$1.25
Sociological Study of the Bible. By Louis Wallis....\$1.50	Scientific Management. By Louis D. Brandeis\$1.00
Poverty. By Robert Hunter50c	Business—A Profession. By Louis D. Brandeis....\$2.00
Twenty Years at Hull House. By Jane Addams\$1.50	The New Freedom. By Woodrow Wilson\$1.00
The Battle with the Slums. By J. A. Riis\$2.00	When a Man Comes to Himself. By Woodrow Wilson.....50c
The People of the Abyss. By Jack London.....75c	Where and Why Public Ownership Failed. By Y. Guyot\$1.50
Financing the Wage-Earner's Family. By Scott Near- ing\$1.25	Reflections on Violence. By George Sorel, translated by T. E. Hulme\$2.25
The Burden of Poverty. By C. F. Dole50c	Social Welfare in New Zealand. By Hugh H. Lusk..\$1.50
The Bitter Cry of the Children. By John Spargo...\$1.50	Government in Switzerland. By J. M. Vincent\$1.25
Concerning Children. By Charlotte Perkins Gilman.....\$1.00	The Mexican People; Their Struggle for Freedom. By Guterrez De Lara and Edgumb Pinchon\$1.50
Natural Education. By Winifred S. Stoner\$1.00	Immigration and Labor. By Hourwich\$2.50
Interest and Effort in Education. By John Dewey.....60c	The Melting Pot. By Israel Zangwill\$1.25
The Montessori Method. By Maria Montessori.....\$1.75	Changing America. By E. A. Ross\$1.20
A Montessori Mother. By Dorothy Canfield Fisher..\$1.25	In Peril of Change. By C. F. G. Masterman\$1.50

ORDER FROM

THE BOOK DEPARTMENT

THE PUBLIC - Ellsworth Building - CHICAGO

WE PAY THE POSTAGE

CHICAGO SINGLE TAX CLUB

SCHILLER BUILDING

June 4—Dinner at the Stock Exchange Res-
taurant, Cor. Washington & La Salle.
Speakers: Hon. Frank P. Walsh and
Vernon J. Rose (of Kansas City).
50c per plate. Telephone reservations
—Central 6083.

June 11—Competitive Talks by High School
Students. John Z. White, "The
Single Tax."

Otto Cullman, President. E. J. Batten,
Business Secretary.

Wise Preparation

Carry a supply of Public subscription cards in your
pocket, ready to sell. Each 25c card is good for 13 weeks
subscription and three booklets. Send \$1 for four cards.

"Sexual Philosophy" - - - 12 cts.

Clearer, best, most instructive sex manual published. Actually
teaches, not merely argues. Price only 12c. Write today. Satis-
faction guaranteed. "HEALTH-WEALTH" Pub. House, 57 Ben-
nington St., Lawrence, Mass.

Advertise in The Public

Multiply Your Power to Con- vince and Inspire Others

Oratory

Its Requirements and Rewards

By JOHN P. ALTGELD

is a little master-
piece, which no
one who desires to
increase his in-
fluence can afford
to ignore.

Order a copy today.

50c postpaid

From Louis F. Post:

This is one of the best books for the promotion of good citizenship—effective good citizenship, I mean—that I know of. It fills one full to overflowing with civic spirit and shows him how to inspire others.

From Daniel Kiefer:

John P. Altgeld's "Oratory" should never have been allowed to go out of print. Let me know when it is ready. I want several copies.

From Dr. Frederic C. Howe:

I am delighted that you are going to reprint Altgeld's "Oratory." To my mind it is the most brilliant short treatise of the subject that has ever appeared. No other treatise that I know of lays the foundations of true oratory on conviction as does this; and none identifies it so completely with moral and economic propaganda. The book should be in the possession of every public speaker.

Contents:

Oratory the Greatest Art.

General Knowledge an Orator Must Have.
How to Develop Elegance of Language.

Arrangement.

Gesture.

Voice.

Tone.

Articulation.

Should Speeches be Written.

Message to Audience.

Newspapers and the Breakfast-Table Audience.

Literary Excellence.

Demosthenes.

Utilitarian Talk not Oratory.

Abstemiousness.

Hospitality and Handshaking.

What a Lawyer Should Do to Maintain, in Spite of the Matter-in-fact Proceedings in the Courts, a High Standard of Oratory.

Pettifogging.

Justice, Not Expediency.

Rewards.

Is Oratory Dying?

Oratory the Child of Democracy.

Repetition.

Pericles.

What This Age Offers to the Orator.

The Public

Book Department
Ellsworth Building

Chicago