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EDITORIAL

Bryan's Resignation.

Secretary Bryan's resignation is a national misfortune, emphasized by the fact that it results from an administrative policy which he could not conscientiously endorse. Possibly his sacrifice will halt any tendency away from peace principles. If so, it will add materially to his many great services to the people. Further proof is also given—which no fair-minded person needed—of the slanderous nature of attacks on him by those partisans of foreign belligerents who charged him with unneutrality.

S. D.



The One Thing Needful.

Peace can always be maintained with honor whenever a nation has any honor to maintain.

S. D.



Support Based on Prejudice Worthless.

The Chicago Tribune approves of President Wilson's protest in the Lusitania case. This approval might have had some moral value had the Tribune not carried at the head of its editorial column the words, "Our country right or wrong." That is equivalent to saying that, if the position of Germany and the United States were reversed and a torpedo from an American submarine had caused the death of inoffensive German non-combatants, the Tribune would have upheld the act. Fortunately there are many papers supporting the President which are not influenced as is the Tribune, and their support is evidence that President Wilson's course has the approval of those who consider it on its merits, not on nationalist prejudices. The citizen whose support of his country is most valuable is the one who declares himself as ready to condemn it when wrong as he is to condemn a foreign nation.

S. D.



Organizing for Peace Propaganda.

A systematic effort to intensify the work for peace will have its inception at the World Peace

Conference at Cornell University, June 15 to 30, for the training of students who hope to become leaders in the movement looking to the development of a more rational system of international relations in the future. The success of the conference is assured by the fact that Norman Angell, the great English pacifist, is coming to America to conduct it. G. Lowes Dickinson, of Cambridge University, also will lecture before the conference. This is an attempt of the World Peace Foundation, under the direction of Dr. George W. Nasmyth, to develop an international conscience by preparing a number of bright young men to present pacifism to the people in an attractive form; and to be able to meet the arguments of the militarists. It is to be hoped that the subjects treated at the conference will include, in addition to the various altruistic phases of international morals, the substantial aspects of trade. The greed, ignorance, and stupidity that lurk behind a protective tariff are a constant menace to the peace of the world. For, it will be in vain to expect nations that seek to take advantage of others in trade to stop always at peaceful measures. Absolute free trade between nations and free production within nations are the only things that will lead to permanent peace.

s. c.



Peace-Bred Heroes.

It has been the contention of the militarists that were it not for wars, and the drilling and preparation for wars, manhood would lose its virility, and the race would degenerate into weaklings, sissies, and mollicoddles. But no one thing has been made plainer in the present war than the fact that men bred in an atmosphere of peace measure up in every respect with those bred to war. The British clerks, artizans, and professional men, without the slightest previous military experience were whipped into shape by a few months' training to meet the best troops of Europe. And even more striking has been the behavior of the Canadian troops. Bred in a country that has been at peace for three generations, and in which conscription is unknown, their action at the second battle of Ypres won them world renown. Describing the battle in the *New York Tribune*, Will Irwin says:

While they were still ranked as raw troops the fortunes of war brought them a supreme test of valor. The poisonous cloud of obnoxious gas had driven back the French to their left. The line was "dangling in the air." They were bombarded in front, they were enfladed, they were bombarded from the rear. They were shrouded in poisonous fumes. They held on. They even advanced. They

did the impossible by rescuing their guns. And they stuck, until ordered back to join the new line. Similar stories are told of the New Zealanders and the Australians in their campaign against the Turks. Nor have the troops from India shown less intrepidity.



When will militarists get over slandering the race? When will they look facts in the face, and recognize them as they are, instead of treating as realities figments of the imagination? Tyranny and oppression breed weaklings and cowards, both in peace and in war; but liberty and justice beget real men, men so broad-minded that they keep the peace, and so stout-hearted that, when all other means fail, they will die for a principle. Barrack life and long service will make soldiers who will fight for any cause, good or bad; but peace, with liberty and justice, will breed men who will give their lives for truth. It was of such men that the Duke of Wellington said: "Give me an army of cowards. The man who will turn pale at the sight of the enemy, is the man who will stand to the death." It is the man of moral conviction who appreciates the price of principle; but having appraised it, he is willing to make the payment.

s. c.



The War Trust's Scare Stories.

The cry that the American navy is unfit for war need cause no alarm. As long as it is unfit there is that much less danger that we will get into a war. But aside from this view it may well be questioned, whether the cry of "unpreparedness" is entirely due to unselfish patriotism. In his speech in the House on February 15 on the World Wide War Trust, Congressman Clyde H. Tavenner of Illinois showed how similar cries have been constantly raised in European countries, regardless of fact, in order to frighten parliaments into authorizing large appropriations for the benefit of contractors. Says Mr. Tavenner:

Although scarcely believable, it is the proven fact that British and German war trusts many years ago actually set about to represent to their respective home governments that their rivals were planning to build and building great armadas of giant fighting craft, which have since been proven absolutely to have been figments of the imagination pure and simple. The same character of campaigns has been going on between France and Germany, between the countries in the triple alliance and the triple entente, and it is yet to be established whether the United States of America has not also been the victims of a similar brand of commercialism, in which patriotism is the means and profit the end.

It is well to remember, while alarmists are spreading stories here, how the following bunco

game, which Mr. Tavenner describes, was worked in England:

As a result of the "tip" furnished by the managing director of the war munition firm, the British government foretold that Germany would have 17 dreadnaught battleships by March, 1912, and Leader Bal-four, still more impressed by the fake "scare," declared Germany would have 25, or, in any case, 21 dreadnaughts in March, 1912. On almost the same day the predicting was going on in England, the German Admiral, Von Tirpitz, told the budget committee of the German Reichstag that the German navy would have only 13 dreadnaughts in the autumn of 1912. German had, in fact, according to the British Naval Annual, only 9 dreadnaught battleships and cruisers on March 31, 1912, and only 14 on March 31, 1913.

And as to the United States Mr. Tavenner declares:

Another trick in the trade of the war traders which is obviously profitable, otherwise it would not be continued, is the hiring of retired army and navy officials and ex-members of Congress by the powder, armor and shipbuilding concerns. These ex-officials know the inner workings of the military branches of the Government, know the personnel in an intimate way, and by private conversation, by correspondence, and in various ways are in a position to obtain much useful information. They know how to go about things for results. Through these ex-officials the War Trust has become thoroughly at home in Washington.

When jingo papers quote scare stories attributed to persons with high sounding titles it would be wise to bear in mind Congressman Tavenner's long array of facts which show that such stories should be taken with a grain of salt.

S. D.



A Turn in Mexican Affairs.

President Wilson's note to the leaders of the various factions in Mexico, advising them to settle their differences and restore order, lest further action on the part of this country be necessary, is of the gravest import. It marks a change in our policy toward that country, and is fraught with grave possibilities. The new policy can be continued in the same spirit as the old; but there will be a strong temptation—once the country begins meddling with Mexico's internal affairs—to go too far. Watchful waiting has not been a failure in spite of the fact that not all that was hoped of it has come to pass. If it has not accomplished all that was desired, it has prevented most that was feared. Had intervention occurred when it was so strongly urged by many well-meaning persons in this country, it would have met with such unanimous opposition on the part of Mexico as to have led to a long and bloody war; and would in

the end have resulted in settling up a government that would have maintained the laws and institutions that caused the revolution. The whole struggle would have been repeated at the earliest opportunity. Without intervention, however, Americans have realized the disadvantages of war as a method of establishing social and economic justice, and the Mexicans have come to recognize their own impotency. It is to be hoped that there is among their leaders enough unselfishness and real patriotism to draw the leaders together in some kind of a working organization. Failing that, our Government may be led to give its moral support to the most promising faction, accompanied by passive resistance to the others. But whatever pressure is brought to bear upon Mexico should have the fullest sanction and co-operation of the Latin American countries. Argentina, Brazil, and Chili have already shown a grasp of affairs that has proven them to be worthy of the closest fellowship in all things pertaining to the international interests of the Western Hemisphere. So long as we have the co-operation of these countries we will not be suspected of selfish purposes by the Mexicans.

S. C.



Why Men Fight.

Rarely has there been brought before the public a more exalted cause than that advocated by the pacifists; and seldom has any cause had the support of nobler-hearted men and women. In season and out of season, subjected to ridicule, abuse, and suspicion, they have labored to bring mankind into a state of mind where differences of opinion may be settled by reason, rather than by force. But it must be apparent to those who have analyzed the problem in its deeper aspects, that most of the peace advocates are dealing with surface effects, rather than with fundamental causes. It is not enough to separate man from his environment, and lay before him a course that is best to follow. Man is part of his environment. He cannot be separated from it. Hence, to ignore that environment is to vitiate the whole argument. It would be unreasonable to expect a slave to respond to the same appeal that stirred his master; and it is equally unreasonable to expect a victim of unjust social conditions to be influenced by the same logic that moves the beneficiary of those conditions. Granted an arbitrary and unjust social condition as natural and inevitable, and the glorification of war by the militarists is perfectly legitimate.



Albert J. Nock, in the *May Atlantic*, attempts

to explain to the pacifists why they make so little progress in converting the world to their way of thinking. He pictures the average man as the victim of mal-conditions, as the prey of legal privilege, as a man struggling helplessly in a contest where he has almost no chance of success. If all goes well he passes an uneventful life, in which unremitting toil and wise frugality supply him with food and shelter to the end; but in which he is threatened with all manner of hardships should there be the least accident or miscalculation. Art, science, literature, religion, all proclaim him as one having dominion over the world, and call upon him to enter into his inheritance; yet does he remain as a slave, bound to the wheel. So long as he accepts the social order that has been established before his time, he is but an impotent unit keeping step with those before and behind, and upon either side; but if the order be interrupted, if confusion fall upon established conditions, and rules, customs, and conventions be set aside, and each man be privileged to do his will, many things may come to pass. It is with this thought in mind that Mr. Nock says:

Nowhere, speaking broadly, does the common man enlist because he loves war, but because he hates peace.

And assuming the position of the unfortunate mass who look up helplessly at the great social structure towering above them, Mr. Nock exclaims:

To us whom peace disinherits, war offers equality; to us whom peace compels to live aimlessly, war offers a clear and moving purpose; and to the finer sensibilities that peace disregards and benumbs, war offers gratification and refreshment.

And he calls upon the peace advocates to take steps toward making peace as attractive to the mass of mankind as war.

Here is the core of the problem. Peace is conducive to the solution of the problems at hand; but peace will never be permanent, until the solution has been found. Whether or not the present war will be the last will depend upon whether or not the great social and economic injustices that oppress society will be removed before it is time for another military upheaval. Establish justice; give to all equality of opportunity, and there will be little occasion for war. So long, however, as the average man is waging a losing fight in the industrial struggle, just so long will he respond to the call to arms. Let us continue to talk peace, let us praise peace, let us honor peace—for peace is worthy of all these, and more—but let us not forget that peace and injustice can never dwell together in harmony.

s. c.

An Upsidedown Labor Problem.

The all but universal cry of labor for higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions, has been so constant of late years that it seems almost like finding the non-existent to discover a place on the face of the earth where labor is content. British East Africa, with its area of 189,838 square miles, and a population of a little over 4,000,000, presents this unique condition. Says the *Melbourne Progress* of April first:

Notwithstanding that the natives are without trade unions, labor members, labor bureaux, or unemployment insurance, they are able to defy all the efforts of the white employers to exploit their labor, and can, and do, refuse to work for them. Naturally the white men are concerned about what they are pleased to call the laziness of the niggers, and a Commission was appointed to inquire into the reasons for the shortage of labor, obtaining information from employers and employees.



Thus the Labor Commission of this East African Protectorate has undertaken to find not how labor can get jobs, but how employers can get labor. The Commission has taken testimony of the more important of the 3,200 European inhabitants, and has found a most remarkable agreement in the minds of the white men. Lord Delamere, owner of 150,000 acres, said:

"If the policy was to be continued that every native was to be a landholder of a sufficient area on which to establish himself, then the question of obtaining a satisfactory labor supply would never be settled. He considered the soundest policy would be to curtail the Reserves. And, although it might take a few years before the effect on the labor supply was apparent, the results would be permanent."

This was the gist of the testimony given before the Commission by the white men who complained that they could get no labor. The Reserves mentioned correspond to our Indian Reservations, and embrace the lands upon which the 4,000,000 natives reside under tribal conditions. Upon these lands they are able to make a living now, as they were before the white men came to their country; and being able thus to support themselves by a little labor on their own land, they decline to work for the white man on his land.



Some of the white land owners declared themselves in favor of forcing the natives to come out of their Reserves and work for them. But this would amount to slavery; and slavery, as every one knows, would not do in this day and age. The wiser men asked merely that the Reserves be closed, or restricted, or that their location be changed to poorer land; they asked, in a word,

that conditions be made so uncomfortable for the natives in their free conditions that they will willingly work upon the lands of the white men. Among the reasons given by the Commission for the shortage of labor was:

The wealth of certain tribes arising from the large quantity of land at their disposal.

And the Commissioners add:

It is clearly recognized that there are practically no natives who need to work for wages in order to live.



Here is the essence of the labor problem, the world over. Everywhere man is a land animal. Where he has access to his native element he is independent. Where he is arbitrarily shut out from his element he must make terms with those who shut him out. Has not this a lesson for our own labor people? If the free tribal lands in Africa make the Negroes independent, would not free land in this country do the same for all men? Unions, closed shops, minimum wage laws, an eight-hour day, and various other arbitrary enactments may protect labor a little; but it will be free, and will enjoy its natural rights only when it has free land to go upon. Out of Darkest Africa comes light.

S. C.



Employing Convict Labor.

The Coast Seamen's Journal apprehensively notes that despite the protests of organized labor throughout California, Governor Johnson has signed the Owens-Meek convict labor bill, authorizing the employment of convict labor in the construction of State highways. The Journal fears that,

It means that the so-called migratory, or unskilled workers in our state, who have had more than the normal difficulty in finding employment during recent years, will soon be deprived altogether of the opportunity to earn a living in the construction of State highways.

Is this a wise position for labor unions and their journals to assume? What has come over the great State of California, the Golden State, to make jobs so scarce that it is hazardous to permit a convict to engage in constructive employment, lest he deprive an honest man of a livelihood? Has the soil lost its fertility, or the climate its salubrity? People lived in California in the far away days of misty tradition, with only the simple tools of the savage. Yet, now, with all the advantages of science and invention in the laborer's hands the making of a scant living is so hazardous that well-meaning people would keep convicts

in idleness, for fear their labor might deprive honest men of a chance to toil. Does not labor employ labor? Does not the contribution of each to the wealth of the world benefit all? How, then, is it that California, with its rapidly increasing wealth finds it so hard for a man to make a living? If three-fifths of the State should sink beneath the sea, and its people be driven from its most fertile lands, it is easy to see how there would be greater difficulty in making a living on the remainder. Yet, is not this, in a way, what has occurred as a consequence of law? In 1890, 57.0 per cent of California's farm lands were improved. In 1910 only 40.8 per cent of her farm lands were improved.



The people of California have been driven off its lands as effectively by an unwise land system as though the State had been invaded by the sea; and to emphasize it they have been driven from its most valuable, not its waste, lands. Let organized labor give its attention to California's land system, and see that all its citizens have equal opportunity to labor, and there will be no occasion for solicitude over the employment of convict labor.

S. C.



The Steel Trust Decision.

Of little significance from an economic viewpoint is the Steel Trust's victory of last week in the New Jersey Federal Court. Had the Court decided the other way there would have been no relief from trust exactions. Neither under the Sherman law nor under the anti-trust laws of the recent Congress can trusts be deprived of the privileges, on which their predatory power is based. A judicial decision against the Steel Trust would not disturb its monopoly of the natural resources from which the raw material must be drawn for manufacture of steel. It would still have been left free to control transportation, and to derive unfair advantages from tariff laws. No relief whatever from industrial oppression would have been obtained. The loss and inconvenience caused the trust by an unfavorable decision would have brought no benefit to consumers or independent manufacturers. So, from an economic viewpoint, there is nothing to regret in the Government's defeat.



But a fact that is to be regretted is made clear by the Court's decision. For 25 years there has been on the federal statute books a law ostensibly aimed at trusts under which a great privileged mo-

nopoly is immune from prosecution, while victims of privilege who combine in a labor organization may be penalized. It shows how inexcusably tardy was Congress in delaying until a few months ago the exemption of labor organizations from prosecution as trusts.



Twenty-five years would seem to be ample to test any policy. So when after twenty-five years of superficial anti-trust legislation we find the trusts stronger and more vigorous than ever, the uselessness of such legislation should be clear enough to all. Those who object to monopolistic control of industry should be willing to abandon the superficial method and join forces with those who are trying to secure fundamental measures. It will require no twenty-five years of tinkering and experiment to prove or disprove the efficacy of the abolition of privilege as a solution of the trust problem. With land monopoly abolished, industry and trade relieved of taxation, public highways freed from private control, and other unjust legal restrictions on business removed, the trust problem and the labor problem would be satisfactorily solved in much less than twenty-five years or even twenty-five months. It would not be necessary to depend on the result of long drawn out litigation to accomplish that end. Given a thorough test, advocates of the freedom of industry would surely not insist on further efforts in that direction, if after twenty-five years of trial no better results could be shown than under the anti-trust law. Why should not the restrictionists who have had their twenty-five years of opportunity admit the fallacy of their methods?

S. D.



Interfering With a Public Convenience.

In forbidding the operation of jitney busses on streets occupied by trolleys, and in making itself the arbiter as to whether they may or may not run elsewhere, the Illinois Public Utilities Commission seems to have put itself in an indefensible position. Whether or not the jitney is a public necessity is a matter that the Commission can not properly decide. Should enough persons patronize them to make their operation profitable, that will show that they do supply a public demand. Should not enough persons patronize them, the owners will voluntarily stop their operation. The fact that their operation interferes with the profits of street railways is not a matter of public concern. The street railway corporations are entitled to no more consideration than any other business concern called upon to meet a new form of competition.

All these facts are so obvious that the apparent inability of the Commission to realize them is amazing.

S. D.



Trying to Discredit a Good Law.

It is an old saying that there are other ways of killing a dog than choking him with butter. And there are now indications that the long and persistent opposition to the Seamen's Bill did not cease with its enactment into law. It may be recalled that among other provisions of the law is one requiring a higher class of seamen. Against this the ship owners urged that it would be impossible to find the necessary number of men with these requirements. And since this requirement was retained in the law, there is danger that this prediction may be made good. The ease with which the beneficiaries of the protective tariff have been able to "prove" that a lowering of the rates meant a reduction in wages by reducing wages, should be a warning to us against taking too seriously the prediction of the ship owners that the new law has imposed impossible conditions in the employment of seamen. Congress gave to the ship owners eight months in which they might prepare to meet the requirements of the new law; and that far-sighted and indefatigable sailor, Andrew Furuseth, who, more than any other one man is responsible for the law, warned the ship owners on his own account of what was coming, and asked them to help prepare for it last October. He suggested to the ship owners that there were plenty of men along the Atlantic coast even then who, in knowledge of language and seamanship were fully up to the standard set by the bill; and all they had to do was to employ those men, and attach them to the companies. But the answer of the owners was that they would think it over. A subsequent inquiry met with the answer, We have not yet decided what we will do.



Mr. Furuseth is sounding the warning that the new seamen's law is likely to be subjected to the same ordeal that is imposed upon a lower tariff. Employment, it is charged, has been withheld from the better class of seamen; and as they drift into other occupations the vessels are manned by men below the standard set by the new law. Hence, when the law goes into force, the owners can tell the Government that these are all the men they are able to obtain, and that the law must be modified to the extent of making it workable. This charge may well be true. The ship owning interests, which for years have begged subsidies for

themselves, and resisted all concessions to the men, will bear watching a little longer. The opposition to this law is the less excusable because of the fact that it applies to all ships entering American ports, so that it is not a question of meeting cheaper labor abroad. No matter what wages necessity may have compelled a man to ship for in a foreign country, the new law gives him the right to quit when he reaches an American port; and it may well be imagined that the seamen's unions will see that he demands the standard wage before re-shipping. Since all ship owners will be on an equal footing the new law gives them an opportunity of raising the standard of seamanship; and by dignifying the sailor's calling, bring back to the sea those splendid men who in earlier days made American sailors and American ships honored throughout the world.

S. C.



An Appropriation That Should be Made.

It may be taken for granted that, should there be any chance of defeating an appropriation for printing the entire proceedings of the Commission on Industrial Relations, every Congressman controlled by predatory interests will vote against it. Publication of these proceedings will make accessible much information which these interests prefer to keep concealed. There will also be evidence at hand to show the baselessness of the "persecution" cry, raised by Rockefeller to divert attention from facts brought out only after a grilling of the kind that is absolutely necessary to get the whole truth out of an unwilling witness. It is none too soon for constituents to let their representatives know that the appropriation should be made.

S. D.



Plutocratic Impudence.

A glaring example of plutocratic impudence is the demand sent to President Wilson by the Seattle Employers' Association for removal of Chairman Frank P. Walsh from the Commission on Industrial Relations. The demand signed by one Earl Constantine as secretary is based on the current newspaper misrepresentations regarding the treatment of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the fact is cited that some witnesses were very properly allowed to testify, whose views on political and industrial matters do not meet with the approval of the Employers' Association. However, Mr. Constantine has an even greater objection to Mr. Walsh which, for some mysterious reason, he failed to include in his protest. While investigating conditions in lumber camps near Seattle on Mr. Con-

stantine's invitation, Mr. Walsh discovered that a barefaced attempt to deceive the Commission was being made and had the details of his discovery put into the Commission's records. There he committed an unpardonable crime—according to Mr. Constantine's view of the fitness of things. It is safe to say that this is not the view of President Wilson, and that the impudent demand will receive no more attention from him than it deserves.

S. D.



History Repeating Itself.

The newspaper abuse heaped on Frank P. Walsh is like that which 20 years ago honored John P. Altgeld. And there is the same cause back of it. Walsh, like Altgeld, has exposed the methods and plans of predatory privilege. This makes him a dangerous man—to predatory interests. And these interests have called in a servile press to try to discredit him.

S. D.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

AN OHIO COURT STRIKES PRIVILEGE.

Cincinnati, O., June 3, 1915.

A decision that will mark an epoch in judicial history was rendered June 1 by the Court of Appeals sitting at Cincinnati. It holds unconstitutional the law which provides that in order to extend a street railroad on any street it is necessary to get the consent of a majority of the abutting land owners.

Ohio in common with a number of other States has such a law.

It is a striking example of the "dog in the manger" type of laws, said law being a variety of special privilege.

This law has perhaps done more than any other to entrench monopoly in urban transportation facilities. It was used with frequent and great effect in the fight Tom L. Johnson waged in Cleveland and there is scarcely a city where it has not hurt.

Consents have been bought and sold over night time and again and huge profit realized by the owners of land.

Just consider such a law!

All governments have the right to construct highways. The land for that highway can be acquired by purchase or condemnation. After the land is acquired the government can pave the highway with any kind of material save one it may desire. When it decides, for instance, to pave with granite, it not only does not have to get or buy the consent of abutting land owners, but the government, be it city or what not, can compel the abutting landowners to pay a part of the cost of the paving.

But under this law if the government decides to pave the highway partly with granite and partly with steel the land owners not only are not assessed, but they can absolutely block the mixed pavement or else demand a price for their consent for it to be laid, so far as the steel part is concerned.

In other words, while governments had the power when highways were only made of stone to assess part of the cost on abutting land owners, they cannot, now that progress and invention make it possible to pave with steel rails, assess any of the cost, but must in fact get the consent of abutting land owners, for which they may charge.

Not all street railway extensions pay off the jump, and if the owners of the street railway's stock do not also own the land to which the extension is sought, the company will avoid making the extension by buying up the "consents." Thus thousands of people may be without street railroad accommodation, thus a competing municipal line may be blocked.

Well, the Court of Appeals in Cincinnati brushed all this injustice and tomfoolery aside.

It said that a grant in a municipality can only be made by the city council or other legislative authority by ordinance and that to require the consent of a majority of the abutting land owners was to make them a part of the legislature of the city. This power of legislation cannot be delegated.

The court also said the alleged right to consent or not to consent is not a property right, but a mere personal privilege conferred on the majority of front foot land owners and denied to the minority. The court said: "The law affords an opportunity to selfish and non-public spirited land owners on a street to prevent needed transportation facilities to an entire municipality; to inconvenience the public; to check the development of the city. It affords an opportunity to barter and sell the privilege given by the legislature. It works a great injustice to the public, who are entitled to use the highways in as full and complete a manner as the development of modern modes of travel will permit."

Of course the attorneys for the land owners will take the case to the Supreme Court of the State, but whether it is sustained or reversed, it will not be without its educational effect, and should the Supreme Court fail to sustain, good arguments are furnished by the decision for the legislature to repeal the law.

It is well for the "forward looking man" to know the names of the judges of "today" and not of "yesterday," who rendered this privilege-smashing decision. They are Judges Frank M. Gorman, Oliver Jones and Ed H. Jones.

ALFRED H. HENDERSON.



POLITICS IN MAINE.

Lubec, Me., June 1, 1915.

The Republicans in Maine had, until 1910, one of the most perfect political organizations in the world. The team-work of the various members was something marvelous. It was built upon a system as far-reaching as that of the Germans. And, like the Teutonic mechanism, this organization worked wonders. It secured results. To begin with, the G. O. P. overlooked nothing which could be of material (the word is used advisedly) assistance to party success. Not only was there an open alliance with Big Business, whose leaders have their summer homes at Bar Harbor, but the local bosses in city, town and village dominated even the educational and religious

life of the community. Supervisors and teachers, as well as ministers of congregations, held their places, or lost them, according to their subserviency, or lack of it, to these petty political dictators. The schools were made the basis of political trades as much as the post offices throughout the nation have been. The cause of education was subordinated to party success. The salvation of souls took second place to the polling of a big majority for the dominant political organization.

The insurgent movement which culminated in the campaign of Roosevelt, and Wilson's election in 1912, smashed the G. O. P. machine, not only in other States, but in Maine as well. Ministers, professors, teachers and mechanics tore off a yoke that had long been galling to sensitive souls and boldly declared their independence of their former task-masters. And there were many who gleefully said that the Republican machine had been relegated to the scrap heap.

However, there are signs of activity about the pile of scrap, which would lead one to conclude that skillful artisans are gathering all the parts up, fitting them again to their places, preparatory to starting in business once more at the same old stand. This work has been done silently. Nevertheless, it has been done efficiently. Obstructions, such as Progressive agitators, have been effectively squelched or won over to the old and established house of Blaine et al. Where teachers and preachers have persisted in their allegiance to the more modern institution, dismissal has sent them away and trusty men have supplanted them.

Nowhere is the G. O. P. system seen to such good (or ill) advantage as in its control of G. A. R. observance of Memorial Day. As very many of the Posts of the Grand Army of the Republic have been so sadly decimated by deaths as to make it imperative for some other organization to take active charge of arrangements for this great celebration in honor of the soldier dead, the leaders of the G. O. P. in many towns of Maine have very obligingly assumed this office. With the masterly cunning worthy of a better cause they have turned a solemn memorial into a political propaganda. In May, 1914, when the Mexican crisis was most acute, Maine Memorial Day orators openly assailed the policy of President Wilson in refusing recognition to the servile tool, Huerta. This year, the delicate situation with respect to Germany and the European war was made the occasion for similar assaults, although not so open and vicious as some of the preceding year. In the town where the writer resides, a prominent politician of a nearby city was the Memorial Day orator. He was introduced by another leader of the Republican party, who asserted that the United States must prepare to send its army and navy either to Germany or into Mexico. This open declaration of hostilities, however, failed to elicit even a single round of applause. Nor was the speaker who followed able to stampede the large audience by similar appeals to the war spirit. Not even the waving of the old, wornout, "bloody shirt" of sectional strife produced any marked enthusiasm. For evidently the great mass of citizens in Maine, as elsewhere, are sobered by the fearful havoc which war is making in the world, and believe that Presi-

dent Wilson's peaceful policy of "watchful waiting" is wisest and best.

R. LEE BUSSABARGER.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE.

New York, June 5, 1915.

In reading the extremely interesting letter from Mrs. Post in the issue of May 28, I noted with particular interest the paragraph on page 518 dealing with the difficulties, confusion and delays occasioned by the language complication. It is the same old story, so eloquently testified to by Dr. Anna Shaw on the occasion of the International Woman's Congress a year or two ago, and by many others, who have had occasion to attend international gatherings.

Having found by personal experience that the statements of Mrs. Post and others on this subject are not exaggerated in the slightest degree, I am filled with amazement at the comparative indifference of so many otherwise progressive men and women to the one method offering a complete and satisfactory solution of the difficulty, as well as presenting many other advantages to mankind of even greater consequence. Let me give a word of testimony.

In the year 1911, it was my privilege to visit the city of Antwerp as a delegate to the largest congress of any kind which had ever taken place in that city. No less than 1,800 delegates, besides many casual visitors, were in attendance. They came from all parts of the world, no one country contributing more than a quarter of the entire number. At this gathering, not five minutes were lost on account of a difference in the language. There was no confusion or delay, no need for translation, no misunderstandings arising from lack of mutual comprehension. The parliamentary discussions proceeded without a hitch; theatrical and operatic entertainments were enjoyed on equal terms by all; social affairs were not marred by language difficulties; all speeches were readily understood by those present. Of course, to bring about these desirable results, it was necessary that all should understand and speak the same language. They did. The occasion was the seventh annual Esperanto Congress, and the language, of course, was Esperanto.

The use of a common international auxiliary language, compared to the fuss, waste of time and confusion of two or more congress languages and cross translations, is as the electric light compared to the tallow candle. It is too late in the day to sneer at the "visionaries" who are seeking to facilitate human intercourse, and to break down the barriers erected by lack of a common understanding. They are really the practical ones, who have solved a problem of the vastest importance to mankind. Esperanto is no longer a joke or a fad, but has made good, and has proved its case beyond a cavil. It is simple, logical, easy to learn, and at the same time by its marvelous ingenuity of construction capable of expressing the widest range of thoughts and feelings and the finest shades and gradations of meaning. Being neutral, it promotes good will, instead of increasing jealousies and suspicions. The friends of

progress owe it to themselves and their cause to ally themselves to the movement for the more extended use of this greatest of "modern improvements."

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.



THE PRESENT CRISIS.

Boston, Mass., June 1, 1915.

A year ago war with Mexico was imminent. "Had we engaged in war," said Gen. Wood, "it would have involved fifteen years of guerilla warfare and have sent to the front 600,000 American soldiers." Had that war not been averted by the mediation of the A. B. C. powers, thousands of American youth might have perished in the jungles of Mexico; the suspicion of our carrying on a war of conquest would have greatly alienated Latin America and our politics would have been affected for a generation.

The problem of Mexico is still unsolved, though we have learned that if intervention ever is needed it should be by joint intervention of American republics, and that prevention of importation of munitions of war may suppress anarchy and perhaps without any bloodshed. We are profoundly thankful that counsels of wisdom prevailed twelve months ago.

A year hence, as we look back at the present crisis when all Americans are incensed at the cruel destruction of innocent countrymen in this European war, we shall be equally thankful if we have refused to make a terrible situation worse and if we have helped create public sentiment that furthers the adoption of a sane policy.

Thirty-four neutral nations are suffering more or less directly from this disarrangement of all civilization. The conference which formulated the principles of the Woman's Peace Party made this opening declaration: "We urge our government to call a conference of representative delegates from the neutral nations to discuss possible measures to lessen their own disabilities, to hasten the cessation of hostilities and to prevent warfare in the future." The National Peace Conference held in Chicago in February urged the government to call a conference of neutral nations to mediate with armistice if possible, without armistice if necessary, and so as to avoid endangering the neutrality of any neutral nation. This was to constitute a continuous court of mediation until the war should end. "It must not involve compromise which might result in a renewing of the war."

Had such a conference been called early in the war, Turkey might have been kept out of it and Italy not have mobilized. It seems to be the consensus of opinion of most of those who are working for peace through justice that the neutral nations should now call a conference to consider those matters which our Peace Party urged last January for its consideration. There is a good possibility that the neutral nations may introduce into the deadlock an entering wedge which shall lead toward a more rational settlement that will otherwise be achieved.

No neutral conference could ask for peace without the restoration of Belgium. There is no certainty that this would be refused by the time this mediation was proffered. Even if no terms of ultimate peace will be stated at present by either side, a con-

ference of neutrals may lessen the injuries to neutral nations. Concerted non-intercourse is the most powerful weapon that can be applied to any nation that defies civilization and refuses reasonable terms. It would cost something, but it would cost less than war and be far more effective in the long run.

Let us support our President in every effort to maintain peace with justice, and to this end let us renew our appeal for a convention of the neutral nations.

LUCIA AMES MEAD,
General Secretary Woman's Peace Party.

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 8, 1915.

Secretary Bryan Resigns.

William J. Bryan resigned as Secretary of State on June 8. His letter of resignation shows that his action was due to differences of opinion over the note about to be sent to Germany. It further shows that there is the best of feeling between Mr. Bryan and President Wilson.



Steel Trust Wins.

The United States Steel Corporation won a victory over the United States Government in the Federal District Court of New Jersey on June 3. The court refused to dissolve the corporation holding that it had not violated the Sherman Anti-trust act. Injunctions asked by the Department of Justice were refused. In its decision the court said: "The real test of monopoly is not the size of that which is acquired but the trade power of that which is not acquired." It said further: "If mere size were the test of monopoly and trade restraint we have not one but half a dozen unlawful monopolies in the large department stores of a single city." It found nothing unlawful in the acquirement of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company during Roosevelt's administration. The suit was begun by the Government on October 26, 1911, and was based on the allegation that of the corporation's capitalization of \$1,402,846,000 at least \$600,000,000 was water and that it controlled between 64 and 82 per cent of the country's total production. The judges who sat on the case were Buffington, McPherson, Hunt and Woolley. The decision was unanimous. No announcement has yet been made as to whether the Government will appeal. [See vol. xiv, pp. 629, 845, 1121; vol. xvii, pp. 850.]



New York Constitutional Convention.

The Committee on Suffrage of the New York

Constitutional convention in session at Albany, gave a hearing on June 2 to advocates of proportional representation. An amendment providing for the Swiss system of electing state and municipal legislators has been introduced by Seth Low at the request of the American Proportional Representation League. Those who spoke in favor of the amendment were C. G. Hoag, secretary of the league, Henry B. Hammond of the New York State League, John J. Murphy, Tenement House Commissioner of New York City; Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks of Cornell University; Robert H. Elder, John E. Eastmond and J. E. Shane. Professor Jenks declared that the system would destroy temptation for vote buying, would produce a better type of public men, would strengthen party government, and give stability to party leadership. Asked if it would not result in election of cranks he answered: "There could be no more cranks elected than there are cranks in proportion to population."



A hearing was given by the committee on taxation on June 2 to advocates and opponents of the abolition of exemption from taxation of church property. In favor of the abolition appeared James F. Morton, Jr., of the American Secular Union, John W. Slacer representing the Men's Clubs of the Protestant churches of Buffalo, and T. J. Bolger of Elmira. Against abolition appeared Charles Thaddeus Terry representing a Presbyterian organization. The arguments advanced in favor of taxation were that the State should maintain neutrality toward religion. In New York City a quarter of a billion dollars' worth of church property is exempt from taxation, thus laying a heavier burden on taxpayers. The exemption is not only an injustice to non-church members who are thus indirectly compelled to contribute toward church support, but is unjust between churches. Taxpayers who are members of the smaller and poorer church must pay more in increased individual taxes than they would be called upon to pay in taxes on their church property. The exemption is a benefit to none but the large and wealthy church organizations. Instances were cited where sectarian institutions were used for manufacturing purposes in competition with individual concerns which are taxed. Cases were also cited of untaxed property held for years by church organizations and then sold at an advance. In opposition to abolition the argument was advanced by Mr. Terry that churches do much charitable and social work which would be crippled were they subjected to taxation, and which the state could not do. Asked by one of the committee members if religious institutions would want the state to contribute to their work Mr. Terry said that "it would be an indignity that would take the heart out of the work." He was then asked whether exemption

from taxation was not equivalent to a contribution. In reply he admitted that there was no difference in principle, "but one of pride, dignity and sentiment."



The committee on labor heard protests against minimum wage provisions for men. John Mitchell, former head of the United Mine Workers and State Labor Commissioner James M. Lynch of the Typographical Union, appeared in opposition. Mr. Mitchell said that organized labor does not want minimum wage legislation for men. If the Legislature were to fix a minimum wage for bricklayers at \$4.00 a day it would be hard for the organized bricklayers to convince the public that they should get \$5.50. Compulsory arbitration was also opposed by them. Commissioner Lynch referred to the Canadian Compulsory Arbitration act as an example to be avoided. Messrs. Mitchell and Lynch declared they did not object to minimum wage legislation for women and minors since their competition interfered with other workers.



National Singletax Conference.

Singletax organizations are urged to send representatives to the national singletax conference called to meet at San Francisco in the exposition grounds on August 23, 24, and 25. The object is to make it as far as possible representative of singletax sentiment throughout the United States. James H. Barry of the San Francisco Star is chairman of the conference committee which has charge of all local arrangements.



Houston's Prosperity Declining.

The result of compliance with Judge Read's decision ordering the city of Houston, Texas, to return to taxation of all kinds of property has been described by Tax Commissioner J. J. Pastoriza in an address before the Southern Commercial Congress as follows:

In complying literally with this order of the court, the city has increased its assessment upon all the lands, buildings and other improvements upon land at a price which represents its true and full value in money. Some people call it 100 cents on the dollar of its value. We are also assessing forms of property which we never assessed under the Houston Plan, and are assessing them at their full and true value in money. These forms of personal property consist of household furniture, diamonds, jewelry, musical instruments, horses and buggies, cash, credits, notes, mortgages and stock in unincorporated companies.

The very men who fled this suit immediately commenced to complain about the hardship of constitutional taxation, which was the new plan of taxation which they themselves had brought upon the people, by filing their suit. The banks reported that the attempt to tax cash and notes had caused people

much anxiety, and they had received many letters about it. Specific cases have been cited where two men, who had deposited with a bank for collection notes amounting to three hundred thousand dollars, have notified the banks to collect the money when due and send the money East, as they did not want to leave it in a city where an effort was being made to tax money.

Many brokers, whose business it was to lend other people's money, have reported that their business has been killed over night. Monied men have refused to lend money, unless the tax rate was added to the interest which they had agreed to take, from which you will see that if a city taxes money or other products of labor the result will be to cause money to go into hiding and will either reduce the production of wealth or increase the cost of products to the consumer.

If the City of Houston can not find some way to return to the principles of the Houston Plan of taxation, which exempted certain forms of personal property from taxation, her progress will certainly be retarded, and instead of being a city, as it is now, toward which the people of the United States are looking, and about which many people of the various States are talking favorably, you will have a city which will cease to attract as much attention, and it remains to be seen whether or not this lack of attention and admiration is desirable.

If finally we return to the Houston Plan of Taxation, there is no doubt but what Houston will again take on new life and acquire a growth that will be substantial and real.

Bank deposits in Houston have fallen this year to \$35,546,365, as against \$38,325,167 for a year ago. [See current volume, page 525.]



Prizes for Texans

Prizes of \$25.00, \$15.00, and \$10.00 are offered by the Texas League for Taxation of Land Values with headquarters at 211 Fifth street, San Antonio. The prize is for the best solution of the following problem and is open to Texans only:

A farmer with wife and four children owns a farm valued at \$6,000, and which yields an annual "net" income of \$1,000. The land is worth \$4,000, unimproved, the improvements are valued at \$2,000. Now arises this question: Upon the death of the parents, is it best for the children that the bare-land value has increased, or decreased, even to no selling value at all?

During the farmer's life, it is obvious that his income would remain about the same with the same application of labor, whether the value of the land rose or declined, since he would harvest no more grain, the cows give no more milk, the pigs no more hams and bacon, the chickens lay no more eggs, and the horses do no more work. Now, if upon the death of the parents the value of the farm still remained \$6,000, each child naturally would inherit \$1,500, and to have as good a farm as the father's, each of them would be obliged to borrow \$4,500.

If, however, the bare-land value rose to \$8,000, and the improvements remained \$2,000, each child would inherit \$2,500, but must borrow \$7,500, while

the income would remain about the same as before. And if the bare-land value declined to \$2,000, plus the \$2,000 for improvements, each child would inherit only \$1,000, but need borrow only \$3,000, income remaining about the same, \$1,000. And lastly, if the bare-land value disappeared altogether, each child would inherit only \$500, but need borrow no more than \$1,500, to obtain as good a farm as the father left, while with the same application of labor, the "net" income would remain \$1,000 as before.

What is best for the farmer's children, an increasing or decreasing bare-land value, even to the extinction of all the bare-land value?

Manuscripts must not exceed 500 words, must be written on but one side of the paper and should be typewritten. Name and address must not be signed but enclosed in a separate sealed envelope. The contest will close on August 1.



Women Disown Militancy.

Military tactics were disowned by the conference of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at Chicago on June 7. The action was taken after a discussion over the heckling of President Wilson by members of The Congressional Union. Finally the conference adopted a resolution introduced by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton of Ohio, the essential part of which was as follows:

It is the sense of this conference that the policy of opposing the Democratic party because of the non-passage of the federal suffrage amendment is ineffectual in the suffrage states and redounds with deadly effect in the non-suffrage states.

Another resolution adopted declared opposition to action interfering with the campaigns in separate states. [See current volume pages 57, 478.]



Extension of Suffrage in Denmark.

The Danish Parliament on the 5th, the anniversary of the signing of the first constitution by Frederick VII, in 1849, passed unanimously the new constitution, which confers the suffrage on women, and abolishes the electoral privileges enjoyed by the wealthier classes under the former constitution. The king signed the new constitution the same day. [See vol. xvii, p. 687.]



European War.

The chief events of the week have taken place in Galicia, where the Russian defense suddenly collapsed, due, it is reported to lack of ammunition. Permysl, which the Russians lacked the time and material to refortify, was abandoned to the Austro-German forces on the 3d. The Teutons have continued their victorious advance, taking Tarnow to the northwest and Stry to the southeast of Permysl, and have begun a movement to envelope Lemberg. Present indications are

that the Russians will be forced back still further before being able to recover their battle line. The Germans are reported again on the offensive in the Baltic provinces; and are said to be showing renewed activity before Warsaw. Heavy fighting continues in Belgium and Northern France in the Ypres-Arras regions, and in the Soissons region; but no decisive actions have occurred. Small gains are claimed by the Allies, with severe losses of men on both sides. Italy continues her advances up the Adige Valley toward Trent, and across the Isonzo toward Trieste. A great battle is predicted near the Isonzo River. The campaign in the Dardanelles offers no decisive changes. The land forces are advancing up the Gallipoli peninsula, trench by trench, while the fleet bombards the forts. The latest addition to the belligerent nations is the ancient republic of San Marino, which has declared war on Austria. This miniature republic of 38 square miles, and 11,041 population, with 39 officers and 950 men, is wholly surrounded by Italian soil. Italy has not as yet declared war on Germany or Turkey. [See current volume, page 548.]



German submarines continue their activities in the war zone, picking off an increasing number of vessels, most of them however of small tonnage, and the greater number of them fishing boats. Sixteen were torpedoed in forty-eight hours. No damage is reported to the warships. Germany is reported to be completing a submarine a week, many of them from the yards at Antwerp. Zeppelins continue to visit England, but always at night. Bombs are dropped apparently with a view to determining their routes; but the British government suppresses these reports, so that they may not serve as guides to the Zeppelin crews. Little damage is reported from these raids, beyond the killing of a few non-combatants. A Zeppelin is reported to have been destroyed near Ghent by bombs from an aeroplane in charge of Canadian sublieutenant, R. J. Wanreford.



David Lloyd-George, the new Minister of Munitions, declared before a Manchester audience of masters and men that the decision of the war depended upon the amount of ammunition sent into the field; that Germany was successful in her Galician campaign because of her supply of ammunition. Two hundred thousand shells, he declared, were hurled upon the Russians in one hour. Every effort is being made to increase the output of British factories.



Peace talk is heard more and more among the laboring classes in the belligerent countries. The Socialists of Germany, France and England are increasing their protests against the continuation

of the war. German Socialists have posted placards denouncing the war, and demanding peace. These have been torn down by the police, but not before many people have read them. The Socialist press has attempted the discussion of peace, but has been suppressed by the military. Peace rumors also are heard in connection with the directing heads of the governments, but nothing has been given out as official.



Ambassador Bernstorff, German Ambassador at Washington, dispatched a special emissary to Berlin to convey more complete information of the American view of the controversy between the United States and Germany. The American reply to the German answer to our protest against the killing of American citizens in the submarine warfare has been prepared, but has not yet been made public. It is understood that President Wilson and his Cabinet insist upon the American contention that merchant ships shall not be destroyed without warning, and provision for the safety of passengers and crew.



China.

A treaty determining the status of Mongolia has been signed by representatives of China, Russia, and Mongolia, who have been in conference at Kiakhtha, Siberia, for nearly a year. Mongolia declared its independence during the Chinese revolution of 1912, and was immediately recognized by Russia as an autonomous state. It was at this time that Japan extended her influence over inner Mongolia. China, by the terms of the new treaty, will retain a nominal suzerainty over Mongolia, but neither Russia nor China will interfere with her internal affairs. [See current volume, page 547.]



Mexico.

President Wilson sent a note on the 2d to the several Mexican leaders calling upon them to settle their differences and set up a government. The note recites that while the revolution that has now lasted for two years was successful in overthrowing the men who disregarded the constitution, the "leaders of the revolution, in the very hour of their success, have disagreed and turned their arms against one another." Mexico, he says, is apparently no nearer the end of her troubles than when the revolution began. Business has been suspended, crops have failed, and the people are starving. The United States cannot be indifferent to the suffering of her neighbors. We want nothing of Mexico, not even to settle her internal troubles; but we cannot as friends and neighbors see ruin come upon her. Continuing, the note says:

It is time, therefore, that the government of the United States should frankly state the policy which,

in these extraordinary circumstances, it becomes its duty to adopt. It must presently do what it has not hitherto done or felt at liberty to do, lend its active moral support to some man or group of men, if such may be found, who can rally the suffering people of Mexico to their support in an effort to ignore, if they cannot unite, the warring factions of the country, return to the constitution of the republic, so long in abeyance, and set up a government at Mexico City which the great powers of the world can recognize and deal with, a government with whom the program of the revolution will be a business and not merely a platform. I, therefore, publicly and very solemnly call upon the leaders of the factions in Mexico to act, to act together, and to act promptly for the relief and redemption of their prostrate country. I feel it to be my duty to tell them that, if they cannot accommodate their differences and unite for this great purpose within a very short time, this government will be constrained to decide what means should be employed by the United States in order to help Mexico save herself and serve her people."



Continued fighting in the vicinity of Leon is now reported to have resulted in a victory for the Carranza forces under General Obregon; but no reliable details are at hand. There is an evident desire on the part of all the leaders to make a brave showing, in order to impress the American Government. Meantime frequent reference is made to the movement headed by Iturbide, who is supposed to be looked upon as a possible leader to restore order.

NEWS NOTES

—The Supreme Court of the United States on June 1 upheld the Nebraska statute prohibiting non-resident aliens from inheriting land.

—Charles E. Sebastian was elected mayor of Los Angeles on June 2 by 5,000 majority over Frederick J. Whiffen. [See current volume, page 478.]

—A one cent street railway fare was instituted in Cleveland on June 7 for a distance of one mile between the public square and the new municipal docks.

—At the judicial election in Chicago on June 7, fourteen Republican and six Democratic judges were elected. Judge Edward Osgood Brown failed of re-election by a few hundred votes owing principally to confusion resulting from the placing of partisan tickets in the field. [See current volume, page 516.]

—Nine deputy sheriffs convicted of manslaughter in connection with shooting of strikers at Roosevelt, N. J., in January were sentenced on June 7 at New Brunswick to serve not less than two years nor more than ten in the penitentiary. Sixteen other deputies are awaiting trial. [See current volume, pages 107, 156.]

—The Public Utilities Commission of Illinois decided on June 2 that jitneys may not operate along streets where they may create parallel competi-

tion to a street railway. It further held that before operating at all the owners must incorporate and seek permission from the Commission, in which case they must show that there exists a public necessity for them.

—Loewe and Company of Danbury, Connecticut, who obtained judgment for \$300,000 under the anti-trust law against the Danbury Hatters' Union, have attached the savings accounts of 150 union members and obtained \$50,000 of the judgment thereby. Walter G. Merritt, attorney for Loewe and Company, has announced that about \$40,000 more will be secured in the same way. Attachment proceedings against homes owned by the members have also been begun. [See current volume, pages 59, 76.]

—A marked increase in the rate of pay in the iron and steel industry was made in 1913, according to a report (Bulletin 168) of the United States Department of Labor. In three departments, blast furnaces, Bessemer converters, and bar mills, full time weekly earnings in 1913 exceeded those of any of the preceding six years by 6.6 to 26.4 per cent. There was a slight decrease in the hours of labor. The weekly earnings ranged from \$12.43 for laborers in blast furnaces to \$60.71 for rollers in bar mills.

PRESS OPINIONS

How an English Audience Received Jane Addams.

The Herald (London), May 22.—And now Jane Addams. It was too thoughtful and too determined an audience to be wildly demonstrative, yet Miss Addams would have badly misread the tokens if she had not realized what that rising to the feet and clapping meant. A woman of long experience, of unexhausted idealism, of that great evenness of spirit which proclaims the inward victory, middle-aged and very young, with her qualities stamped upon her face—such is Jane Addams, and of such was her speech. The Hague Conference was "the most remarkable meeting she ever took part in." It proved that "international bonds are, after all, real and valid, and will reassert themselves." She spoke of her long experience of internationalism among the emigrants in Chicago, nor was the witty story lacking from her marshalled arguments. Not the witty nor, for that matter, the sinister. A Greek whom she had long known as a humane and tender-hearted man returned from the last Balkan war with his instincts frozen into a contemptuous callousness. He brought many photographs, one of which showed a trench from which protruded the naked bodies and limbs of a tangle of dead men. Asked for an explanation, he said, "We can't afford to bury their clothes!" Their mere bodies might be wasted but their clothes were worth the saving! And then the story of the young member of a sect more than Quaker-like in its attitude towards war. He, like his brethren, refused to serve his compulsory term in the army. He was brought before an ignorant but kind-hearted judge, who pooh-poohed his defence in these terms: "Yes, yes, but the time has not yet come for the proper practice of Christianity." To which the boy replied, "The time may not have come for you, your honor, but it has come for us." The time, Miss

Addams argued, has come for women—perhaps earlier than for men, but come it has. Their Congress and that meeting showed it. They had issued a programme which she did not claim to be all-wise, but which she did claim to possess the elements of justice. The true and moderate and tender movement of her speech was finely shown in her concluding passages, in which she praised the unselfishness and the heroism produced by the war. That spirit of sacrifice and courage is not worth war, but it is worth a great deal. If, then, people are willing to do and sacrifice so much for a national end, how much more should they be willing for an international. All the narrow passions and the blindness must be made to melt and merge and give way ultimately to the true and to the eternal.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE MONOPOLIST'S PRAYER.

For The Public.

Our Father in Heaven, we thank Thee for great
And wonderful blessings bestowed on us,
Thy work is good and as Thy stewards we
Have striven hard to use those gifts Thy hands
Have put in ours. We reap a harvest rich—

(Harvest of curses dire,
Harvest of lonely soul,
Harvest where greed doth toll
The passing of a spirit's fire.)

We've given work to many men, our aim
Has been to form such industries as make
Our country rich and prosperous, while men
Would gladly see the fruit of all our toil;
Unworthy servants we may be in Thy sight
As is all sinful man, but we have only
Used our talents, and we've done no wrong
Save such as every man who strives to reach
A goal. If we have sinned—

(Sin of the greedy hand,
Sin of the selfish heart,
Sin of the modern mart,
Blight of the pleasant land.)

Our sins we do

Most heartily repent. We've given of
Our store to feed the poor—

(Alms of the bitter bread,
Alms of the poisoned meat,
Alms to the cretan dead,
Whose greed your life did cheat.)

Always our hand

Has open been to calls for charity—

(Charity of full purse,
Charity of proud scorn,
Charity as seed corn
To bear the blighting curse.)

We've scattered wide our wealth to build great
schools

And to endow fine churches in Thy name,

Homes for the needy and the sick we've built
 And much we've done to lift the fallen of the race—
 (Bullt of children's souls,
 Bullt of women's tears,
 Bullt of famine years
 Which money-lust controls.)

If we could but retrace our steps in life
 More mercy and more justice would we show,
 But we pray with comfortable conscience
 That thou shouldst now establish all our work—
 (Save some few things we'd not confess)
 (Work full of petty lies,
 Work full of cruel deed,
 Work full of grasping greed
 In which the pure soul dies.)

MARY MCKINNON McSWAIN.



HYGIENE AND POVERTY.

Address of Bolton Hall at New York City Conference
 of Charities and Correction on May 27 at Pleasant-
 ville, N. Y.

I have here an address delivered before the Health Conference of the City Club by a distinguished surgeon of the United States Public Service. I do not refer to it in order to try to make this Conference responsible for it; but it is so characteristic of popular methods, that I think it better to call attention to it rather than to attack any particular Conference.

After showing that in the United States infant mortality, which means dying before the end of the first year of life, reaches a quarter of a million each year—that out of every thousand who die under one year, one-third die of intestinal diseases, nearly a third from weakness and diseases of the lungs, he says: "A large number of babies die a short time after birth because they are too weak to survive. One of the most important causes of this is the dire necessity which forces prospective mothers to engage in industrial pursuits. Other great causes are the under-nutrition of mothers. . . . Poverty and ignorance go hand in hand with infant mortality."

"Another man-made condition," he continues, "overcrowding, is powerfully operative in bringing about the deaths of infants."

Now, for his remedy. "In the first place, we must have local knowledge of the situation, so that we may know at all times, (1) how many babies are being born, and (2) how many die (as if quarter of a million were not enough to call for action) and (3) what they are dying of. In the next place, we must have efficient death registration."

"Our next point of attack is housing," he says. The next thing is proper supervision of the milk supply, and "there remain for discussion the other two great causes for undue prevalence of infant mortality—poverty and ignorance." For these he prescribes proper, intelligent care of infants, to

see that the mother is instructed, and that "means shall be provided to furnish her with"—with what? With money or work? Not at all. "With supervision and advice as she needs it."

That is characteristic of all charity. To get a few little footy subjects and causes, either too unimportant or too general to be objectionable to anybody. Social service, municipal needs, public health, delinquency, families, and to neglect the weightier matters of the law, justice and mercy.

Poverty and ignorance! What have we in this program that has any tendency—what have we in any of our programs that has any tendency to eradicate the needless poverty of which ignorance is the daughter? You social workers know that when dire poverty prevents even proper nutrition, when sufficient means can not be provided either by the mother or by you, to teach that mother what the baby ought to have is a mockery.

Now, I have here also the report of the United Hebrew Charities. On page 34 there is a table showing the causes of distress among applicants. "Lack of work and insufficient earnings" account for 32 per cent; "sickness" for about 33 per cent; "intemperance" comes in for the startling total of about one-fifth of 1 per cent of all causes, and "immorality" about the same. All the rest, "accidents," "defects," "widowhood," "separation," are nothing in the world but mere results of lack of work and insufficient earnings. Most of us here when we get old or get hurt or get sick or get a divorce, do not suffer from poverty or go to the charities. We have other resources. These people have no resources but work, and as that work is scarce and manifestly gives them insufficient earnings, they come to the charities.

It was with great difficulty, as most of you who are active in this work know, that we got the subject of unemployment considered here at all, and the spirit that made the difficulty is what will not let me rest.

What should you think of a doctor who would say, I am aware that the sputum is the main cause of tuberculosis infection—but until we can eradicate infection there will always be tuberculosis, and my supporters are interested in handkerchief making so we must say nothing about destroying the germ.

Nobody accuses Huxley of having been a radical. Listen to what he said. "Anyone who is acquainted with the state of the population in this (Birmingham) or any other of our great cities, is aware that among a large and increasing proportion of the population that condition prevails which the French call 'La Misers'—a condition in which the food and warmth and shelter necessary for the proper functions of the body can not be obtained."

Does anyone claim that we are nearer to changing that state of affairs than we were forty years ago when that was written? Prof. Scott Nearing

of the University of Pennsylvania writes in his "Wages in Organized Industries": "The wage rate of four-fifths of the males (employed in these seven of our most progressive states) falls below \$750; a third below \$500. Among female wage-earners the scale is much lower. Three-quarters or four-fifths are paid less than \$500 per year. These statements make no allowance for unemployment, which is a constant irreducible factor." And yet we know that man is a land animal, that the Pilgrim Fathers, like Adam, had nothing, not even charities, for their support except the land, but that the earth as was prophesied brought forth abundantly "to satisfy the desire of every living thing."

And yet, with all our Conferences we charity people say never a word about the hundred and ninety-three thousand idle and vacant "lots," many of them covering dozens of acres right in the City of New York, lots that might be furnishing employment and producing wealth. Why is that? Oh, don't let us go to the root; we might alienate support by radicalism of that sort.



A PLEA FOR ESPERANTO.

From an address delivered in the All Souls' Church,
Washington, D. C., May 30, 1915, by Hyman Levine.

The world today is divided into a larger number of groups of people each speaking a different tongue. The people of one group find it difficult, often impossible, to understand the people of another group, and, knowing nothing about them, having no relations with them, follow the example of the ancient Greeks and call all those who do not speak their own language barbarians.

The natural animosity to that or those which we do not understand and do not come in daily contact with is played upon and exaggerated by the big Interests in each country in the name of patriotism. The Germans are taught that the English are their natural enemies, that they wish to destroy their homes, overthrow their government, and abolish their "kultur"; likewise, the French are taught that the barbarian Teutons have no respect for Liberty, know not the meaning of Freedom, and that, headed by the fiend Bernhardt, are about to destroy all that is near and dear to them. Many of the quarrels in this world may be traced to a misunderstanding, so also may civil strife and international discord. As yet, a difference in language tends neither to do away with ill will nor to remove the causes for dissension.

People naturally sympathize with those they know most and understand best. It is quite natural for the German American to sympathize with the land of his birth, even if he has no relatives there, for he knows more about that than about any other of the contending nations. A universal language, a language that all could speak and un-

derstand, would widen the circle of our acquaintances, would increase our knowledge of people beyond the mere locality of our birth, would give us a better understanding of other countries, and would make it more and more difficult for the Krupps and Hearsts to incite one nation against another. Without in any way forgetting or minimizing the economic causes of war, it is safe to say that an international language, such as Esperanto, would be one of the greatest forces that make for peace, for the Brotherhood of Man, for the coming of that day so ably described by Tennyson, when

The war drums throb'd no longer and the battle flags were furled

In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.



THE INTERNATIONAL PANACEA.

For The Public.

Behold the man! almost divine—
The Great I AM who knows it all,
The sage whose wisdom can define
All things on this terrestrial ball;
He whom no terror can appall,
Who fears nor man, nor angry mob,
Who'd settle soon this world-wide brawl,
If HE were only on the job!

In rhetoric's sphere none brighter shine,
In statesmanship he's got the call,
With precept he lays line on line,
And rams 'em home with mighty maul;
His verbal shots reach far atoll,
And countless hearts with rapture throb—
All pain would be ephemeral
If HE were only on the job.

Oh, would we might transplant that spine
In this dark hour to Senate hall,
How quickly then from o'er the Rhine,
From Russ and Briton and from Gaul
From Turk—ye gods, how great a bawl
Would come, beseeching with a sob
To lift the all encircling caul—
If HE were only on the job.

If only some one had the gall
(There's only one that might, begob!)
To ask the President's withdraw'l,
And get the Colonel back his job!

CON LEE.



We come from where we know not, we go—who shall say? Impenetrable darkness behind, and gathering shades before. What, when our time comes, does it matter whether we have fared daintily or not, whether we have worn soft raiment or not, whether we leave a great fortune or nothing at all, whether we shall have reaped honors or been despised, have been counted learned or ignorant—as compared with how we may have used that talent which has been intrusted to us for the Master's service?—Henry George.

BOOKS

THE LAW OF THE JUNGLE.

Essays in Social Justice. By Thomas Nixon Carver. Published by the Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. . 1915. Price, \$2.00 net.

Economists are now so close to admitting the existence of an ethics of economics that one of their number who talks about it is no longer read out of the circle of science into the limbo of sociology. Professor Carver of Harvard may define social justice as he likes and test certain economic formulæ thereby if he please, and still be an economist. And this very thing he proceeds to do in his latest book. His definition of justice, sad to say, is not now since our new, war-enforced knowledge, so startling in content as surprising in its American source.

"The chief purpose of the nation is essentially that of every living being, namely, to keep on living. . . . If its existence is threatened, either directly or remotely, it can be counted on to exercise all its power, and to scruple at nothing in its own defense. . . . The individual . . . would, if he were wise, keep himself in the best possible condition. So must the nation. . . . The first duty of the state is to be strong in order that it may live. . . . Justice may be defined as such an adjustment of the conflicting interests of the citizens of a nation as will interfere least with, and contribute most to, the strength of the nation. . . . The purpose of this work is, . . . therefore, . . . to find out what political and social acts will facilitate our adjustment to the material universe in which we find ourselves, and make our society a strong rather than a weak society." More nakedly presented: "Self-preservation has become the first law of nature for the state rather than for the individual. Justice is an essential part of the program of self-preservation. But we must not delude ourselves into thinking that the state which does that which creates the sensation of approval within us will, in some inscrutable way, be preserved. Rather must we labor to discover what will preserve the state and then train our consciences to approve that."

There follows after this definition an examination into the sources of conflict within the nation which are found to be "first, scarcity of desirable things; second, self-interest or self-centered appreciation." The forms of conflict, good and bad, are shown in a diagram covering everything from "militant" and politically "persuasive," to dramatically "recreational" and economically "competitive." In the field of conflict known as economic competition—which, by the way, the author regards as a beneficent, not a destructive form—It

is the duty of the state to make each man's acquisition equal to his production. That is justice."

A long chapter on the distribution of wealth, followed by analysis of Interest and a depreciation of Socialism, brings the reader to Mr. Carver's "program for constructive democracy"—democracy meaning to the author, consistently with his definition of justice, not the ascertainment and carrying out of the will of the people, but the ascertainment and carrying out of what the people *ought*—for national strength's sake—to will. "The great question is not how may we ascertain the popular will. It is rather, how may we ascertain what the popular will ought to be." Who is meant by Mr. Carver's "we" seems to be a sacred secret.

But to the program, "legislative" and "non-legislative"—the latter as definite in tabulated statement but not elaborated. The "legislative" program for constructive democracy would redistribute unearned wealth by means of the "increased tax of land values," a "graduated inheritance tax," and the "control of monopoly prices"; would "redistribute human talent" by means of vocational education, elimination of the idle rich, and certain restrictions on marriage, and on immigration.

The succeeding chapter on The Single Tax is as interesting as it is characteristic of the whole big volume. All income, according to Professor Carver, is comprised in three forms: Earnings, Stealings, and Findings. For example, "wages paid for productive labor" and "interest on one's own accumulation" are "earnings"; burglary and monopoly assets are "stealings"; "mineral, or inherited wealth" and "*the rise in the site value of land*" are "findings." And Professor Carver—to anticipate somewhat—believes now more and now less in the doctrine of "finders, keepers." "The single taxers certainly go too far," he writes; "first in assuming that the wealth which goes to one individual in this way is necessarily taken from somebody else, or that it in some way deprives somebody else of what he has earned, and [second] in the belief that by taxing away land values we should eliminate poverty and many other social ills." He speaks of the single taxer's "contention that land is unproductive" and after a lengthy discussion remarks that, "Possibly a refined form of the single tax could be devised which would tax only site value and not soil or anything else which could possibly be exhausted or destroyed." And he comes back to the principle of "finders, keepers," with the observation that "what the aggressive single taxer wants is not *land*, but a share in the value of the land which somebody else has." The rights of the "finder," that is to say, the prior occupant of the land, in his continued though lessened advantages of possession, the author rests wholly upon the basis of "social utility." "In no case," he asserts, "can the question, by any

process of mental contortion, be made a moral question." "Social utility," however,—that is "expediency" with the strength of the nation in view, which is "justice" as defined by the author—does really dictate "a considerable extension of the land tax" because it "would tend to force into productive use a certain amount of land which is now held out of use for speculative purposes; because it would tend to relieve active production from the repressive burdens of taxation, and because it would tend to cut off the incomes which now support capable men in idleness thus forcing a certain amount of talent into action." "However," he concludes, "one cannot be called a single taxer who believes also in the inheritance tax." "The inheritance tax has made more headway than the land tax," he points out, although arguments "for one seem to be about as strong as for the other." because the inheritance tax "has stood on its merit" and has not been "handicapped" by being "championed as an engine of social reform."

Thomas Nixon Carver's economics may be sound and it may not. That is for economists and the many interested, conventional and radical to decide.

But his philosophy, deny it though he might, is too thoroughly utilitarian, too certainly a "philosophy of power" to be acceptable—one says it with profoundest joy—in America to-day.

Read what he says about the Great State on page 318—one could almost expect it to be expressed in German instead of English words. Then recover, and recollect—all supernatural materialists to the contrary notwithstanding—that nations are just the creatures of men, mere divisions of mankind; finally, remember once more a sentence pronounced nineteen hundred years ago in another language—a sentence as everlastingly true of a group of men as of the individual: "Whoever will save his life shall lose it." A. L. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Ralph Waldo Emerson. By O. W. Firkins. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.75 net.

—Oratory. By John P. Altgeld. Published by The Public, Ellsworth Building, Chicago. 1915. Price, 50 cents, net.

—Mothercraft. By Sarah Comstock. Published by Hearst's International Library Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

—"The American Books" Series: The American College. By Isaac Sharpless. The Indian To-day. By Charles A. Eastman. Municipal Freedom. By Oswald Ryan. The American Navy. By French E. Chadwick. American Literature. By Leon Kellner, translated by Julia Franklin. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1915. Price, each, 60 cents net.

PERIODICALS

International Congress of Women.

The Survey of June 5 prints a very good article by Mary Chamberlin on The Women at The Hague, illustrated with several excellent group photographs of the delegates and supplemented by a copy of the resolutions adopted by the Congress.

A. L. G.



Colleges and Democracy.

James H. Dillard writes a characteristic essay for "School and Society" of May 15 (The Science Press, Substation 84, New York City). His theme is that the lack of education toward democracy in colleges is fundamentally due to their autocratic form of government. Is there anything in what Mr. Dillard—himself a former college president—has to say about the "servile" position of the college professor that can not with equal force be applied to the public school teacher? Mr. Dillard himself would be the first to say No.

"When the time comes for calling to account the forces and influences of our day will the American college be ranged on the side of the forces and influences that make for the democratic spirit, or on the side of the forces and influences that make for the aristocratic spirit? . . . To many who are giving thought to this subject it appears lamentably true that the preponderating influences about our colleges are anti-democratic. Little fault, if any, can be found with the actual work of the lecture room, for there each student is likely to stand on his proper basis, and in the main it is a fair field and no special privilege. But unfortunately the actual work of the colleges is becoming less and less the prevailing feature of college life. . . . Hardly more than one-fourth of the men in college, outside of the professional courses, are there for serious work in their studies. . . . Social clubs, fraternities and other exclusive organizations have taken precedence over the classroom, and have honeycombed the college life with a spirit which is far from democratic. . . . A change in the direction of rigidity of standard would tend to restore intellectual work to its proper place of precedence, and would go far in doing away with influences that are aristocratic in their tendency.

"But what I had first in mind to speak of is a fact which lies back of and perhaps influences all features of college life. I refer to the method of organization in the American college. . . . Nothing, as has so often been said, could be more undemocratic than the government of our American colleges, and the effect of this autocratic government upon the teaching force of the colleges is extremely harmful. . . . The central and deadly defect of the organization lies in the fact of the absolute power of the college president. . . . Not only are professors dependent for the security of their position upon the will of one man, but they are practically shut out of any real power in the policy and management of the institution. They are not only not it, they are not even in it. . . ."

"Can democratic influences flow from sources

which are so radically undemocratic in their constitution? . . . The members of a faculty should have a voice in the selection of a president, either by way of recommendation or by way of election. Furthermore, the faculty, either individually or collectively, should have the power and duty of making regular reports to the board. . . . No matter how good the men at the head may be, the system of government in American colleges must be changed if the colleges are to be in harmony with, and are to promote, the democratic mind."

"If the nature of a government does not tend to promote and nurture throughout all its parts the spirit of liberty and of independent thought and of free scope for development, then such government, however materially prosperous and progressive, must be in its ultimate result destructive to the spread of that spirit of democracy which values prosperity not so much in terms of economy and statistics as in terms of independent manhood."

A. L. G.



The most celebrated soprano of the day was engaged in singing to the accompaniment of a famous orchestra when Robbie and family arrived.

The small boy at once became interested in the gesticulations of the conductor.

"Mother, why is that man shaking his stick at the lady?" he asked.

"Hush, dear; he is not shaking his stick at her."

But Robbie was not convinced.

"Then what is she screaming for?"—Sacred Heart Review.



A boy was recently asked to give a description of water, and this is what he wrote: "Water is a white liquid which turns completely black the moment you put your hands in it."—Sacred Heart Review.

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