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EDITORIAL

Worse Than War.

The evils said to be worse than war are the natural results of war. War is a poor way to avert them.

S. D.



Bryan's Adherence to Principle.

Mr. Bryan's letter to the American people makes clear his reasons for his resignation. As an advocate of the many Wilson-Bryan arbitration treaties he saw that he could not consistently refrain from offering arbitration in an international dispute, even though the dispute was with a nation with which no arbitration treaty exists. Holding principle to be more important than popular applause, he has given it the preference. The act required courage. He bravely faced the storm of reproach which he knew would follow and surely sweep along even some who had hitherto been numbered among his friends and admirers. An unpopular move by a statesman during a time when the air is filled with rumors of war is not judged on its merits. It is useless to ask for a fair judgment at the present time. That will some day be granted but not until the passion due to the war and its incidents will have had time to subside. His vindication may then be considered certain.

S. D.



The Resignation of Secretary Bryan.

With dueling forbidden, insurrections out of date, and even plain fisticuffs barred, the American is compelled to express his political feelings toward an opponent in mere words. Hence, the quintessence of invective poured upon the head of the former Secretary of State. Few men have had the honor of drawing so much fire from the enemy. Not even Mr. Roosevelt has provoked so much sharp criticism from opponents. Yet, in a way, these two men, contemporaries in politics, serve to illustrate two phases in our political

growth during the past generation. Conceding their equal sincerity and their desire to serve their fellow men; their differences in temperament and in methods have not saved them from the bitterest of attacks.



The explanation of this bitterness lies in the fact that the political careers of both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Bryan have been involved in the age-old struggle between the House of Want and the House of Have. Mr. Roosevelt in his earlier years saw this issue, and his youthful ardour led him into attempts at social betterment that have been repeated in maturer years. At no time, however, does he seem to have seen the truth; and his erratic political career has consisted of a series of sporadic actions, in which his intense energy has been expended, first upon one object, and then upon another, according to public opinion has shifted. At the beginning of his administration he was roundly abused by Privileged Interests for threatening business; and when his blustering had come to naught, he was abused as hard by the people for not carrying out his threats.



Mr. Bryan, on the other hand, has boldly taken up the cause of the people; and in season and out of season he has preached democracy. When Mr. Bryan assumed leadership, the Democratic party was merely a discredited imitation of the Republican party. He breathed into it the breath of life, and it became an active political force in American politics. Such a political regeneration, however, was not to be had for nothing. The tory Democrats resisted the change. Some left the party; but more remained, and tried to put out the disturber. They retained just enough power to keep the party from winning an election, but not enough to dominate the policy of the party. So the struggle continued. Had Mr. Bryan been willing to compromise, even to a small degree, he could have had the support of all factions, and could have won elections. But he chose rather to stand by his principles; and he seemed almost to exult in the opposition he provoked from the Privileged Interests. When, after years of educational campaigning, and discouraging defeats, he had popularized a radical idea, it was only to see it put into practice by Mr. Roosevelt, whose sensitive ear told him when the political ground-swell was rising.



This strange process might have continued indefinitely, with Mr. Bryan reaping odium as a

disturber of established customs, and Mr. Roosevelt enjoying the popularity of the new ideas, had it not been for Mr. Wilson's advent. Mr. Wilson held the same political philosophy as Mr. Bryan, and had at the same time greater executive ability even than Mr. Roosevelt. Besides, and this is most important, he was so unknown to the politicians that each thought he could be bent his way, and so new to the public that he had escaped the unpopularity of the innovator. From the day he appeared in the political arena, and the people saw this rare combination of idealism with the practical, their hearts went out to the new champion; and Mr. Roosevelt's prestige began to wane. Without Mr. Bryan's teaching Roosevelt's career as a friend of the people would have been impossible; with Mr. Wilson's action Mr. Roosevelt is a man out of a job.



Men may differ as they will regarding Mr. Bryan's resignation. They may criticize his weaknesses, and point to his mistakes; but they must, when all has been said, recognize him as a great democrat who, in spite of all has retained from first to last the spirit of democracy. He may not have grasped it in all its details, nor comprehended it in its fullness; but he has held firmly to its ideal. There is no reason to suppose that he will not be as zealous in the cause of the people out of office, as he has been in office; and so long as his mind retains its vigor, and his tongue its eloquence, his voice will be lifted in behalf of liberty and justice.

S. C.



Democratizing the Navy.

Wholesale cribbing by the young men at Annapolis calls attention once more to the artificiality of the personal equation in the navy. By setting aside from the beginning one class of young men as seamen, and another class as officers; and by leaving the selection of the official class to individual Congressmen, who are subject to the various political influences of the district, and who, no matter what their intentions or ability, would be unable to choose from the boys of their districts one fitted for this peculiar life; and then by setting up rules of promotion that make it practically impossible for a man in the ranks to rise to distinction, we have set up all the machinery for the creation of social castes, and the deterioration of the service. The blunt old admiral who said that every man who goes to sea should come aboard through the hawsehole was right. Let every boy begin with actual service on board, where all are admitted who

can qualify. Let instruction accompany practical service, with promotions for merit. Those who prove themselves most efficient can then be given special instruction at Annapolis. Such young men will get their point of view from the sea; they will be men picked by naval officers because of their fitness; and, best of all, having enlisted as common seamen, and risen by merit they will feel that the men under them are of the same order of beings; and the men will know that the officers are fellow citizens. Boys who enter Annapolis through the hawsehole of a man-o'-war will have minds less occupied by skylarking and cribbing; and they will have a better appreciation of their opportunities. The criticism of Admiral Winslow that officers in the navy are promoted because of social attainments, rather than seamanship, and the dry rot that has manifested itself in high places, are merely expressions of the class system that has sprung from the arbitrary selection of the officers. More democracy in the navy will be better for the men and better for the navy.

S. C.



Whither Preparedness Leads.

A list of questions sent out by the National Security League asks recipients to say whether they believe that the United States should be prepared to repel foreign invasion; whether there should be a budget system for military and naval expenditures limiting "The right of Congress to direct expenditure as may best suit them from the point of view of political expediency"; whether the general staffs of the Army and Navy are better fitted than Congress to direct expenditures; whether a policy of national preparedness is nonpartisan in its nature; and whether there should be enough expended to make the United States Navy second among the world's navies. A moderate reply from Charles H. Ingersoll was sent the League as follows:

Answering first question, yes.

Second. Am not advised, nor do I clearly understand your question.

Third. This sounds reasonable, and in fact necessary; the detail of the army should be absolutely in the army's control; its general policies in Congress and the Cabinet.

Fourth. Of course, national preparedness is nonpartisan in its nature, and so is every public question, but this does not mean that in a democracy politics can be dissociated from it any more than it can from the tariff or the judiciary. The party in power, and especially the President, will always be held responsible for existing conditions, although they may be in nowise responsible for them.

Last Question. I believe the annual expenditures have been quite sufficient to give us all the defense we need, and therefore that they should not be in-

creased, but rather that methods be adopted which will keep grafters and inefficient from giving "quid pro quo" for the expenditures.

And, finally, I would not "rock the boat" too much at the present time, nor disturb the people's confidence in the wisdom of the President and the Administration.



It is much to be feared that Mr. Ingersoll's reply to the last question will destroy whatever comfort the League may have derived from his affirmative answers to preceding ones. The proposition to make the United States Navy second, means that we must rival any expenditure for naval purposes made by any nation having a navy below the rank of first. Our naval budget would thus be practically subject to the control of any or all foreign nations equally or more panicky about "national security." Such a policy would suit the "war trust," whose methods in creating war panics Congressman Tavenner ably exposed. But it would be contrary to every useful public interest.

S. D.



Soldiers and Policemen.

One of the fallacies of militarism is likening the functions of a standing army to that of a local police force. The police force consists of men who are no less free than other citizens. The army consists of men deprived of personal freedom, who must obey all commands of superior officers, however disagreeable they may be, and who are denied the right to leave the service in preference to obedience. The difference between a policeman and a regular soldier is the difference between a natural human being and one made into an automaton.

S. D.



Practical Use for the Navy.

In noting the vast sums of money expended in the building of warships for the protection of our country, it is pleasant to see one item that has gone for constructive, rather than destructive purposes. Among the names of battleships, dreadnaughts, and superdreadnaughts, appears the name Androscoggin, which is borne by a modest little coast guard cutter. But this little vessel, which would have as much chance in a contest with a battleship as a canary with an eagle, may be destined to mark the future development of the American navy, as did the monitor during the Civil War. The Androscoggin has been fitted up as a hospital ship, and her field of service will be among the fishing fleet that frequent the fishing banks of the North Atlantic. One has but to read the inscrip-

tion on the monument in Marblehead cemetery—bearing upon one side the names of those who died on land, and upon the other, those who died at sea—to realize the hazardous venture of the six or seven thousand men engaged in these deep-sea fisheries. The lack of accommodation for the sick, or provision for the injured on these small fishing boats adds to the suffering and loss in this dangerous occupation.



The work of caring for the unfortunate fishermen in this region has been done heretofore by the French hospital ship, St. Francois d'Assise, which each summer crossed the Atlantic to care for French fishermen on the Grand Banks, and which generously treated any others who needed attention, regardless of the flag under which they sailed. But this year the European war detained the French ship, and her mission of mercy will be assumed by the American hospital ship, Androscoggin: May she be the first of a fleet carrying succor to all in need!

S. C.



Foreign Markets.

One of the results of the present war is likely to be a new estimate of the value of foreign trade. Heretofore, it has been one of the cardinal principles of state craft that a nation must have foreign markets. And to such extremes has the idea been carried in some instances that nations have warred upon one another for the possession of colonies, not as a source of military strength, but as offering markets for goods from the mother country. It must be apparent, however, upon a little reflection, that the importance of trade with distant countries is of comparatively little value as compared with local trade. Trade is the greatest single device for adding to man's power over nature, and since domestic trade is many times greater than foreign trade, it is a mistake to give attention to trade abroad, to the neglect of trade at home.



Strenuous efforts are being made at this time to promote trade between the United States and the Latin American countries, to take the place of the former trade between those countries and Europe. A considerable part of this trade doubtless would naturally fall to the United States, if placed upon the same footing as European countries. But it would be a mistake to suppose that all that trade should come to this country, or that we would be justified in making sacrifices sufficient to obtain it. Latin Americans, if assured of better trade condi-

tions, would doubtless consume more American goods; but we should not lose sight of the fact that under better conditions in this country Americans would consume more American goods. The great mass of Americans today are underfed, poorly clothed, and badly housed; that is to say, if their incomes were increased, they would buy more food, more clothing, and more shelter. Here is a field worthy of the best endeavor of the greatest statesmen. The largest undeveloped market for American goods is in America.

S. C.



Arbitration and Consistency.

Some jingo papers in Chicago, which insist that certain international questions cannot be arbitrated, are severely denouncing street railway strikers who have insisted that certain industrial questions cannot be arbitrated. In other words, arbitration must be insisted upon when it will save money and frowned upon when it will save lives.

S. D.



A Clear Case of Confiscation.

In Danbury, Connecticut, there is openly taking place confiscation of the homes and lifetime savings of many workers. Against this there should be some protest, and one would naturally look for it from those who express horror of confiscation, and concern lest propositions for the general good should deprive small home owners of their homes. Such horror and concern has been expressed by mouthpieces of certain interests when it was proposed in Chicago to hold a telephone company to the terms of its voluntary agreement; when it has been proposed in Washington to reduce tariff duties; when purchase of railroads at physical value is suggested; when revocation of stolen franchises is urged, and when in Missouri, Colorado and elsewhere it has been proposed to lessen or stop robbery of wealth producers involved in taxation of labor products and private appropriation of socially created values. But these interests, which profess abhorrence of alleged confiscation from which predatory Privilege is to be the loser, approve and applaud the genuine case of confiscation now taking place in Danbury.



Through an interpretation of the Sherman law, upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States, 150 members of the Danbury Hatters' Union have been legally robbed of the savings of a lifetime, amounting to \$50,000. And this is only a beginning. Their savings have been taken in part pay-

ment of a judgment of \$300,000 awarded to a firm on the absurd ground that the union was legally a trust. It was not claimed that the union had injured the firm to the extent of \$300,000. The law allows triple damages, so that the award consists of \$100,000 compensation for alleged injury and \$200,000 for—of course not graft, since the Supreme Court has approved it. Since the bank deposits of the workers are insufficient to satisfy the judgment, those who own their own homes are now to be dispossessed. And this is being looked upon as a just and righteous proceeding by those who, when occasion offers, fight against adoption of measures tending toward the singletax, on the absurdly false pleas that it means unjust confiscation, and will deprive small owners of their homes. The interests that poured out money—"to defeat confiscation and protect the small home owner"—in Colorado, Missouri, California and elsewhere, seem to feel very differently about confiscation and the small home owner in Danbury, Connecticut.

S. D.

Pennsylvania's Wise Governor.

An innovation in Pennsylvania is a Governor who desires to serve public interests in preference to the party machine. Martin Brumbaugh turns out to be that kind of a Governor, the first that Pennsylvania has had for two decades at least. Since his inauguration he has insisted on keeping all platform pledges to the great disgust of the party leaders. These same leaders forced through the Legislature a bill to repeal the law passed two years ago providing for gradual exemption of buildings from taxation in Pittsburgh and Scranton, until these shall be taxed at but half the rate on land values. The repealer was forced through, in spite of protests, to oblige the big landed interests of Pittsburgh. But landed interests and political bosses reckoned without their host. Governor Brumbaugh has very properly vetoed the repealer and, in doing so, suggested that a study of the existing law be made by those who had presented against it the same arguments based on ignorance or prejudice as were presented against proposed legislation of a similar kind in Oregon, California, Missouri, Seattle and Denver. The good results following the presence of a real statesman in the Governor's chair should encourage Pennsylvania to repeat the experiment.

S. D.

Zeal With Moderation.

One of the obstacles in the way of effective propaganda in behalf of a truth is the overzealousness

of some of its advocates. There are natures so intense that they spurn moderation. It matters not how long they themselves may have been in grasping the truth; they no sooner have mastered it than they set out with the determination that all others must forthwith admit it willy nilly. Men and women who have labored long in the cause are pronounced "conservatives," "old fogies," and "backnumbers." And those citizens who fail to capitulate at once to the new order are accused of cowardice, stupidity, viciousness, theft, and even murder. As a matter of fact the only difference between the zealot and the "murderer" lies in the fact that the latter is merely a few months behind the former in point of economic comprehension.



The Singletax movement has not been without these super-zealous advocates who, by their lack of consideration for the feelings of their former fellow conservatives, have sometimes hindered the cause more than they have helped. It was with these in mind that William T. Croasdale, that eminently practical Singletaxer who died in the early days of the movement, said he would be glad when the movement had gotten out of the shouting dervish stage. True, the madness soon passes; for the victims either leave the movement in disgust, or come to see that those who have kept up the fight through the long years are not altogether without judgment. While they remain, however, and before they have learned to temper their zeal with discretion, they not infrequently furnish their opponents with damaging material to bolster an unrighteous cause.



There is nothing strange or mysterious about the Singletax propaganda. It is merely a question of convincing a majority of the people that its adoption is advisable; and it was long ago recognized that the major part of mankind is more easily persuaded to a given course by reason than by abuse. The strength of Privilege lies not in the number of its beneficiaries, but in the ability of these beneficiaries to persuade the victims that they are best off as they are. To this end they call the victims' attention to the fact of the multitude of reforms, and the variety of reformers. It is patent that these reforms cannot all be true, for they are contradictory; and the reformers must be insincere, for they substitute abuse for reason. They betray their charlatanism, say these defenders of things as they are, by their rantings, by their egocentric conduct, and by their extravagant statements. Would you turn against us, your neighbors and companions, to follow such leaders?

The average citizen, finding his attention claimed in so many quarters, and being unable to examine in detail the claims of all social reformers, instinctively turns his back upon the advocate who is first immoderate and then abusive, and considers the words of the fairly spoken. It adds nothing to the truth of the Singletax to denounce landlords as "murderers of women and children"; but it may seriously prejudice one who otherwise might have been led by moderate statement to consider the question. Murder is defined as the killing of a human being with malice aforethought. Landlords are guilty of no such act as this. That women and children do die because of our present system is true enough; but the landlords are no more responsible for this than the tenants, and the public at large. This condition is the result of laws that have been enacted, and are now maintained by the votes of the people at large. The only persons responsible for the good or the mischief of such laws are those citizens who are politically responsible for them. The average voter, though he may not reason the matter out in detail, knows very well that a land owner is no different, so far as moral responsibility is concerned, from a house owner, or a machine owner; and when he hears this land owner accused of murder, of brutality, or of robbery, he is apt to think the accuser unbalanced, and to give small attention to his claims. The Singletax movement has no organization that can read out any one who prejudices the work through indiscreet zeal; but the general public should be warned so far as possible against taking too seriously the words of the intemperate zealot, and consider the question on its merits, in spite of its indiscreet friends.

S. C.



The Baby's Right to Live.

Says the Chicago Department of Health in a recent official bulletin:

The baby that is born has the right to live. It has the right to have clean, pure milk, plenty of fresh air and to be kept clean every day. In other words, these are its natural rights and to deprive the little ones of these rights is a crime against a common humanity.

That is radical talk and implies much more than is expressed. If the baby has the right to live then its parents are entitled to the opportunity to earn enough to furnish it with all the things mentioned by the Department, and other things besides. But opportunities to earn are not open to all. Through monopolization of the earth opportunities are so restricted that a considerable number of would-be workers are denied a chance to earn anything, and

most of those at work do not get enough to give their babies all that they should have. If these conditions are right then it cannot be true that "the baby that is born has the right to live." If the baby has the right to live, then to allow land monopoly to continue is "a crime against a common humanity."

S. D.



Governor Slaton's Opportunity.

In the case of Leo Frank the Supreme Court of Georgia, a majority of the Supreme Court of the United States and two of the three members of the State Board of Pardons all dodged the essential issue—that of the fairness of his trial. All based their refusal to act on technicalities that have no bearing on the merits of the case. In substance all have said that technicalities constitute the important thing to consider when a man's life is at stake, not whether he was properly tried. Governor Slaton has the opportunity to squarely face the issue which others in authority seemed unwilling to meet.

S. D.



Undiscriminating Voters.

Justice, with her eyes bandaged, and balancing the scales that weigh the great and the small would ill serve as an emblem of the voters when they weigh the candidates for office. Too often sinister interests back their candidates by clever speakers and a powerful press. And it not infrequently happens that in determining the fitness of a man seeking office an ounce of "glad hand" outweighs a pound of brains. This was conspicuously shown in the Chicago judicial election, in which one of the worthiest judges who has sat upon the American bench failed of reelection. The defeat of Judge Edward Osgood Brown is spoken of with regret by all the papers of the city, and by the public men and women who know anything of his service. The Chicago Herald, in an editorial on his defeat, expresses the conviction that it was a mistake that the voters if they had an opportunity would be glad to correct; and closes with the observation that, "the main consolation of the public for the substitution of a less experienced man on the bench, must lie in the fact that the unfortunate accident will at least serve to render such accidents less likely in the future."



The judicial vote was the lightest in years—being only 35 per cent of the voters registered—which offered a field for the machinations of the politicians and religious bigots. That Judge Brown

should have been the victim of such an unholy combination admonishes anew the men and women of progressive minds that they must take nothing for granted when candidates of their opinion are up for election. The breaking up of the non-partisan ticket, and the substitution of party candidates failed to draw out the independent vote, and so left the decision in the hands of the less worthy voters. In submitting to this temporary retirement of Judge Brown—and it is most earnestly to be hoped that it is only temporary—the people should be made aware of the fact that they have not only lost the services of an able and upright judge, but that they have been deprived of the services of a man who seeks to interpret the law along democratic, rather than plutocratic lines. And in these days of struggle between democracy and privilege we can ill spare any judge who ably and fearlessly stands for the rights of the many, as against the privileges of the few.

s. c.



Misdirected Zeal.

The press dispatch announcing that Anthony Comstock, the self-constituted censor of morals, has ceased to be a United States post office inspector, will be received with gladness by normal minded persons. After more than forty years in a place that he made for himself, the dispatch says, he loses his credentials and his salary because the post office department has become convinced that his zeal has made him undesirable as an official. Forty years! Forty minutes would seem to have been sufficient to measure his qualifications as a censor of public morals. He has as a censor been as much out of place in this day and age as a Salem witch-hanging judge would be in a modern juvenile court. If Congress will now perform one of the plainest duties before it, and take from post office officials the power to deprive citizens of the use of the mails, for offenses that should be tried and punished by courts of law, we shall feel that we are making practical progress toward real democracy.

s. c.



BONDS.

Whenever a war occurs (which is quite often) two things, among others, generally happen.

Living men and dead dollars are at once called into play, and you will notice that one or both parties to the contest start off with an issue of bonds, if they are financially solvent.

The "powers that be" always run the "future" into debt (or think they do) as to money, but not as to men. Why? Because they cannot borrow

and use men in war who are not yet born. *They have to use the men of the living present.*

Now the question arises, why do they not do the same thing with the wealth of the present, as well as the men; why this difference?

You will also observe, if you look closely, that the clothing and food that the soldiers consume, and the munitions of war which they use up in the field of battle and the warships and all of the naval paraphernalia are made in the present and not in the future. They have to exist now in order to be destroyed and consumed now. Future rifles and cannon are as useless as future men, in the warfare of today.

If this is true, and it manifestly is, what is it that the nations borrow when they run in debt for war?

Why? Simpleton—it is the same thing that they borrow when they run into debt for peace; every town and city in the land, as a rule, is mortgaged up to the limit; they mortgage their taxing powers.

New York City alone is a billion dollars in debt and going steadily deeper.

Nearly every State and every municipality is in debt and going deeper.

Chicago is bonded almost up to the limit of its borrowing capacity under the law, and the United States government owes hundreds of millions; it has not even paid off all of the debt contracted during the Civil War, to say nothing of the Spanish War, and what is more, the gentlemen who contracted these debts have *funded* them so that they shall never be paid off, if the same style of patriots have a voice and vote in the matter.

Now if the query is pushed still further, who owns these debts? Do we owe them to other nations? No! Then to whom? The answer is simple.

When a City, a Country, a State or the Federal Government wants money, and they always do (they are generally broke, or nearly so), they borrow it from the people who have it to lend, and pay interest upon it. This is the "interesting" part of it; it is the universal practice to keep one part of the population (the majority) in debt to the other part (the minority) through the borrowing function of government, and the whole vicious system is founded upon our present system of taxation, which taxes industry for the benefit of monopoly; it is part and parcel of the unholy system which taxes the poor by taxing consumption; that is, by taking wealth, things made and purchased by labor.

If government, when war is declared, were to

take the wealth of the rich with as little compunction as it takes the bodies and lives of the poor, there would be no wars, for it will be noted that it is always the rich man's war, and the poor man's fight.

It is false education, false ideals and a false system of taxation, more than anything else, that is responsible for war. For if the privileged classes who foment the wars and own the bonds were once confronted with interest payments on their own bonds, as they would be if privilege were taxed instead of labor, it would put an end forever to the bond issuing business, and nothing short of this simple and heroic measure will destroy the inordinate appetite for bonds which grows by what it feeds on.

Government supports the privileged classes; this being true, why should not Privilege support Government, when it is supported so generously by it and by laws made in favor of its privileges?

Indeed! In all the history of magnanimity, there is nothing which can approach our present system of taxation in its relation to the privileges of the rich.

A Government bond is but a conventional, ingenious and cunning name for the taxing power of government, operating under the mantle of public good and public need.

Even private bonds, which involve bankruptcies, receiverships and court proceedings, in case of non-payment of interest, have, in the last analysis, the very same thing back of them, and governments live on taxes wrung from the slender purses of the poor, and it is ever heaping up a higher, heavier and more monstrous burden to place upon the bent back of labor.

The future generations will not and cannot pay for a war that is waged in the present, because every drop of blood that is wasted and every cent's worth of wealth that is destroyed by war is paid for out of the torn bodies and toil of the living, not of the dead, or the unborn. The pretense that it is otherwise is a mere bit of fiscal sophistry, a sort of economic legerdemain. Any public improvement like the Chicago Drainage Canal or the Ashokan Dam of New York is built by living men, not dead ones, and they live now, not in the distant future, and the board and clothes which they receive (that is all they get) while performing these colossal and indispensable tasks *are furnished by other living men who dig these things out of the soil now.*

The coming generation should not, will not and cannot do these things now. They are not born yet, and any attempt to make them pay for public

improvements by bond issues or any other device is only one more way of robbing the wealth producers of the present day and pretending that the "foreigner" or some one else pays the tax in the future.

This whole rotten system of bonding the workers (the real bondsmen) is but part and parcel of a vast and immeasurable swindle masquerading as statesmanship.

It belongs to a quality of statecraft that has a perfect parallel in the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, but it is much more injurious.

It is archaic, moss-covered and blood stained; it belongs to the middle ages. It is as crude, as rude and unscientific as alchemy.

This nation in its totality is materially the richest thing on earth, and it is one of the poorest in spirit, measured by its public policies, for it is always in debt.

Our federal government, like those of Europe, is sustained by a system of taxation that no living man could utilize for revenue purposes and retain his self-respect. A system that noses around among the dirty linen of travelers and the under-clothing of women; a system that involves lying, perjury, evasion, sneaking, stealing, hypocrisy, cant and invented "law made crimes," called smuggling, etc. It is a national disgrace, and its utter ignominy is only hidden from the public gaze by centuries of false thinking and teaching. It is a colossal fraud.

Every solvent concern pays its debts promptly and keeps out of debt; this is the mark and test of solvency. It levies direct taxes for the service it renders, and it renders good service; it has to, in order to keep solvent, unless it has a legal monopoly.

Government should do the same. It should pay its bills, get out of debt, stay out and establish itself on par with any other respectable business, and it should levy its taxes direct; just as does the merchant and manufacturer, and in the exact ratio for services rendered, and it is quite as simple and practical as any business on the earth, because the whole substantial net advantage of civil government, national, State and municipal, is reflected in the value of land, and in no other values.

A single tax upon the unearned income of land is the only income tax that will stand the "acid test"; it is the only just and defensible tax, and it will exempt all earned incomes.

The very fact that the *unearned* increment of land is not earned by those who now get it is palpable of evidence that *they should not get it because they do not earn it.* If this is not true, then

every law against theft of every kind should be repealed.

We have outlawed petty larceny and we have left grand larceny intact; more than that; we have respectabilized it, stableized it, socialized it, capitalized it, commercialized it and almost deified it.

The dictum, "Thou shalt not steal," has no force whatever in modern society, save in relation to the petty peccadillos of little thieves, who are not sufficiently adroit to hide their thefts under respectable aliases; it is all a question of method.

The future should not pay for the things we make now, for our own convenience; it is not fair even if practicable. We did not dig the drainage canal of Chicago for our grandchildren; we dug it for ourselves, and so it is with every public improvement in the land. The future generations will have all of the public improvements to pay for that they care to undertake without paying for ours, even if such a thing were possible.

Any attempt to make the future pay for the present improvements will prove abortive. This also holds true of war.

The notion that we can do so by means of bonds or any other device is a vast illusion. It is economically and arithmetically impossible. *The desire to do so is mean, the attempt to do so ridiculous. The possibility of doing so nil.*

We should be willing to pay our way as we go. We are, as a people, at all times able to do so. It takes but one thing to make a public improvement and that thing is *energy*. We do not have to borrow the materials; they are all around us, furnished by nature, gratis, in unlimited abundance; locked up in the clutches of land monopolists and speculators, who, as a class, operate in the capacity of social blackmailers, and like all other blackmailers, give nothing in return for what they get.

This whole bonding system is an unspeakably, huge, despicable, inhuman and monstrous graft, and it is custom alone that sustains it, ignorance that defends it and education alone that can abolish it. Let us then get busy with our schools.

HENRY H. HARDINGE.



We are building our democracy on men and are developing our cities on a human rather than a property basis. This has been a temporary burden. It has probably delayed efficiency. But it involves self-government and a sense of responsibility on the part of the voters. And the achievement of this in itself is even more to be desired than efficiency. For once municipal democracy is trained and organized it will realize itself, probably on a higher plane than in any of the cities of Europe.—Frederic C. Howe.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

CONDITIONS IN SEWARD.

Knik Anchorage, Alaska, May 23, 1915.

I believe that the Government will adopt a leasing system for the Town of Seward, one that depends on consistent use of the land within sixty days after it has been leased. At least that is the recommendation of the railroad end of it, although the actual authority is vested in the Land Department.

The town already has a population of well over a thousand and there are from fifty to two hundred people coming in on every boat. With the town site unplatted and no security of possession one can easily imagine what kind of a place this is. The Engineering Commission, having no authority, merely issued a statement that squatters would not be disturbed so long as they did not interfere with the construction of the line. Of course, as soon as the Land Department plats the site they will have to move. The raising of tents and the construction of temporary log cabins all over the place was the matter of a few weeks. This was done without regard to lines of any kind, the main idea of those engaged in business being to secure a site that would command the way to the wharf and the government buildings. Merchants with a stock consisting of a pair of boots, a saddle and a monkey wrench (this is actually the case) opened for business. One fellow, with nothing but nerve, opened a restaurant, bought a stove on credit, and a few staples, caught a few fish, and now, two weeks later, values his business at \$1,000. He is making money, too. We have everything here except a church. The influx of population has caught the Commission unprepared. They did not expect to open the work until the first of July, but with a large body of unemployed men on their hands had to start immediately, as otherwise there would have been trouble. We also built a jail, but thus far it has lacked an inmate. I have been around the West a great deal, and have seen lots of boom towns, but this one is the queerest in my experience. One thousand men and about fifty women, no real estate men, no booze, no minister, and even the lawyers are working if they eat.

I am sorry that I will not be able to see the future development of the town, particularly if the Commission's recommendation as to leasing are adopted. I understand that this same system was in use in Panama and worked well. Unfortunately, though, I am to go into the interior on the Susitna River, and will not see the town until late in the Fall.

DONALD MACDONALD.



PROPOSED CONSTITUTION FOR NEW YORK.

Buffalo, N. Y., May 15.

The Referendum League of Erie County, New York, of which Lewis Stockton is president, has sent to each member of the New York Constitutional Convention a pamphlet containing a proposed short

form of State constitution. By this instrument all governmental power would be vested in one chamber, consisting of fifty-one members—the size of the present Senate—elected by districts, but subject as to legislative functions to the control of the voters through the Initiative and Referendum. All other restrictions upon this legislature are removed, except one, which provides that no irrepealable special privilege shall be granted. This is to prevent special privileges becoming permanent property under the contract clause of the Federal Constitution. The qualifications of voters are prescribed. Provision is made for a delegation of power to municipalities and other political subdivisions of the State, and for easy amendment of the Constitution, either through the Initiative or the submission of amendments to the voters by the legislature.

This instrument was planned and drafted by Albert H. Jackson, legal adviser of the league, who drafted the commission charter which the league submitted to the voters of Buffalo in 1909, and which was enacted in a modified form by the legislature last year.

The chief object in preparing this simplified form of State constitution is to make the legislature the supreme law-making power in the State and to substitute for the more or less rigid and inflexible control of constitutional restrictions only such control as the voters may from time to time deem necessary.

Incidentally the courts are deprived of the power of declaring statutes unconstitutional. In an article included in the pamphlet Mr. Jackson has attempted to prove that this power was not usurped by the courts and that the only logical and practicable method of depriving them of it is not through the recall of judges or of judicial decisions, but by abolishing constitutional restrictions. He also tells why he thinks the bill of rights should be omitted from the constitution, especially that clause providing that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law.

Supplemental to the arguments contained in the pamphlet, Mr. Stockton made this statement:

"An important part of this plan is the combination of legislative and executive functions. This is not such a radical innovation as might at first appear. For there is now no sharp line of demarcation between the executive, legislative and judicial functions, but these powers overlap each other to a considerable extent. For example, the judges have been given the common-law power, by constitution and statutes, of controlling the ministerial acts of administrative officers. This is accomplished by the action of injunction, by the writs of mandamus, habeas corpus, certiorari, and so on. Since the courts must determine for public officials what is lawful and unlawful, they must interpret not only the statutes, but the constitution as well, for that is a part of the law. Any one can declare a statute unconstitutional, but only upon the courts has been conferred the power of preventing administrative officers from enforcing unconstitutional statutes. This is what makes the courts' opinions important.

"Since some of the constitutional restrictions, like the 'due process of law' clause, are vague and indefinite, the courts exercise considerable discretion in the annulment of statutes and in controlling legislation.

"On the other hand, because the judicial offices,

except local inferior offices, are created by the constitution, and because most of their jurisdiction and the salaries of the justices of the Supreme Court are fixed by that instrument, the judges are to a large extent independent of the other departments. But not wholly so. For the legislature can determine the method of their nomination and election, and can remove them for cause, and the governor can fill vacancies, can designate those justices of the Supreme Court who shall constitute the Appellate Division, and can appoint a justice to another Appellate Division in which a larger salary may be paid.

"Not only are the powers of the legislature limited by the constitution as interpreted by the courts, but they are further restricted by the veto power of the governor, who can prevent the enactment of laws unless two-thirds of the members of each house agree to over-ride his veto. While he has no legal authority to initiate legislation, yet the judicious use of patronage and his ability to arouse public opinion give him an enormous leverage to force through the legislature bills which he favors.

"On the other hand, the legislature, by its power to create or abolish many administrative offices and to control salaries and appropriations, by the power given to the Senate to confirm or reject many nominations made by the governor, and by the power to impeach the governor, is enabled to exercise considerable control over the administration of the laws. The quarrel between Governor Sulzer and the Tammany legislature originated over patronage and resulted in his impeachment and removal from office.

"Hence it is apparent that the powers of the three branches of government are interwoven to a large extent. The relations of the governor and the legislature, through their joint control over legislative and executive functions, are especially close, and very little can be done by either without the cooperation of the other. There is a tendency in many States to bring them still closer together, and various proposals to this end have been made, but all aiming to increase the power of the governor, such as to give him a seat in the legislature, and to give him the power to initiate legislation.

"The complete union of executive and legislative functions is the logical outcome of this tendency. They never should have been separated, and those European countries which copied the American plan soon discarded it in the interest of efficiency. Senator Root, in his opening address before the Constitutional Convention, said: 'Grants of power should be clear and definite, and the responsibility should be open, public, ascertained and unmistakable, so that praise and blame, reward and punishment may be assigned by the people themselves with justice and certainty.'

"How can the executive and legislative branches be held responsible when their grants of power are not exclusive but overlap to such an extent? The only solution is the combination of legislative and executive powers in one responsible body. Obviously, one man is unequal to so great a burden. But that body should be as small as is consistent with the amount of labor involved, and the members should be selected from districts as large as practicable, preferably several members from each of a few large districts by proportional representation, in order to weaken that sense of local responsibility

which is so prevalent, and to increase their sense of responsibility to the whole State.

"It is not necessary at this time to suggest how this body should work out the problems of executing the laws. Whether a modification of the British plan of a responsible ministry be taken as a model, or whether some new plan more in harmony with American practice be devised, does not concern us now. The Referendum League is merely proposing a constitution, not a code of laws."

THE REFERENDUM LEAGUE.

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 15, 1915.

Secretary Bryan's Resignation.

Mr. Bryan resigned as Secretary of State on the 8th, giving as his reason that although agreeing with the President in seeking a peaceful issue in the controversy with Germany, he differed with him as to the methods that should be employed, and therefore could not consistently sign the note to Germany agreed by the President and remainder of the cabinet. The President accepted the resignation on the same date, and the two men parted on the friendliest terms. [See current volume, page 561.]



In a statement to the press the next day Mr. Bryan stated that in the two points of difference with the President he wished to have an international commission inquire into the question at issue, and to warn Americans against traveling on belligerent vessels, or with cargoes of ammunition. Treaties, he said, had been made with thirty countries, providing investigation of all disputes of every character and nature. Germany had accepted the principle, but no treaty had been made. On the 12th, Mr. Bryan issued an appeal to the "German-Americans" to uphold the President in his efforts to protect American citizens, and at the same time to maintain absolute neutrality. He held it the duty of loyal Americans of German birth to exercise their influence with friends in Germany to maintain friendly relations between the two countries.



America's Reply to Germany.

The second American note to Germany, regarding the sinking of merchant vessels and the killing of American citizens, was made public on the 11th. [See current volume, page 548.] The note is friendly, even conciliatory, in tone, but insists upon the American contention that merchant vessels shall not be destroyed without provision for

the safety of passengers and crew. It denies the German plea that an attempt of a merchant vessel to escape justifies its destruction, it denies also that the *Lusitania* was armed, or that it carried any ammunition forbidden passenger vessels by American shipping laws; and that even were the German contention true it would not warrant such an act as the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Continuing the note says:

Whatever may be the contentions of the imperial German government regarding the carriage of contraband of war on board the *Lusitania* or regarding the explosion of that material by the torpedo, it need only be said that in the view of this government these contentions are irrelevant to the question of the legality of the methods used by the German naval authorities in sinking the vessel.

But the sinking of passenger ships involves principles of humanity which throw into the background any special circumstances of detail that may be thought to affect the case, principles which lift it, as the imperial German government will no doubt be quick to recognize and acknowledge, out of the class of ordinary subjects of diplomatic discussion or of international controversy. Whatever be the other facts regarding the *Lusitania*, the principal fact is that a great steamer, primarily and chiefly a conveyance for passengers and carrying more than a thousand souls who had no part or lot in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without so much as a challenge or a warning, and that men, women and children were sent to their death in circumstances unparalleled in modern warfare.

The fact that more than one hundred American citizens were among those who perished made it the duty of the government of the United States to speak of these things and once more, with solemn emphasis, to call the attention of the imperial German government to the grave responsibility which the government of the United States conceives that it has incurred in this tragic occurrence, and to the indisputable principle upon which that responsibility rests.

The government of the United States is contending for something much greater than mere rights of property or privileges of commerce. It is contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity, which every government honors itself in respecting and which no government is justified in resigning on behalf of those under its care and authority. Only her actual resistance to capture or refusal to stop when ordered to do so for the purpose of visit could have afforded the commander of the submarine any justification for so much as putting the lives of those on board the ship in jeopardy.

This principle the government of the United States understands the explicit instructions issued on Aug. 3, 1914, by the imperial German admiralty to its commanders at sea to have recognized and embodied, as do the naval codes of all other nations, and upon it every traveler and seaman had a right to depend. It is upon this principle of humanity as well as upon the law founded upon this principle that the United States must stand.

The government of the United States is happy to observe that your excellency's note closes with intimation that the imperial German government is will-

ing, now as before, to accept the good offices of the United States in an attempt to come to an understanding with the government of Great Britain by which the character and conditions of the war upon the sea may be changed. The government of the United States would consider it a privilege thus to serve its friends and the world. It stands ready at any time to convey to either government any intimation or suggestion the other may be willing to have it convey, and cordially invites the imperial German government to make use of its services in this way at its convenience. The whole world is concerned in anything that may bring about even a partial accommodation of interests or in any way mitigate the terrors of the present distressing conflict.

In the meantime, whatever arrangement may happily be made between the parties to the war, and whatever may be in the opinion of the imperial German government have been the provocation of the circumstantial justification for the past acts of its commanders at sea, the government of the United States confidently looks to see the justice and humanity of the government of Germany vindicated in all cases where Americans have been wronged or their rights as neutrals invaded.

The government of the United States therefore very earnestly and very solemnly renews the representations of its note transmitted to the imperial German government on the 15th of May, and relies in these representations upon the principles of humanity, the universally recognized understandings of international law and the ancient friendship of the German nation.

The government of the United States cannot admit that the proclamation of a war zone from which neutral ships have been warned to keep away may be made to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights either of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality. It does not understand the imperial German government to question those rights. It understands it, also, to accept as established beyond question the principle that the lives of non-combatants cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unresisting merchantman, and to recognize the obligation to take sufficient precaution to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag.

The government of the United States therefore deems it reasonable to expect that the imperial German government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships, and asks for assurances that this will be done.

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State ad Interim.



European War.

Little change is to be noted in the general situation. The Austro-German forces in Galicia are meeting with increasing resistance from the Russians, and it is thought the drive has nearly spent its force. No German advances are reported in Poland or the Baltic provinces. Material changes

are not apparent in Belgium or the north of France, although severe fighting has occurred in both fields. The Italians continue to advance toward Trieste, and to strengthen their position on the eastern side of the Isonzo River. The Dardanelles present no new features. The Allies' land forces are reported ready to take the town of Gallipoli, through which the Turkish forts at the narrows maintain land communication with Constantinople. It is reported that the British battleship Agamemnon was torpedoed early in May. This makes six battleships lost by Great Britain at the Dardanelles, and one by the French. [See current volume, page 572.]



The parliamentary elections in Greece on the 13th indicate the defeat of the government ministry, and the success of ex-minister Venizelos, who stands for war on the side of the Allies. The war party appears, from early election returns, to have a large majority. Roumania is reported to have received the assurances from the quadruple entente of all that she has sought, and is ready now to enter the war upon a favorable opportunity. Greece and Serbia have refused to cede the territory in Macedonia demanded by Bulgaria, which leaves the action of that country still in doubt.



Premier Asquith's estimate that Great Britain's losses to date have amounted to 258,069, has been made a basis by experts to estimate the losses of all countries. The total loss is placed at 7,600,000, of whom probably 1,500,000 have been killed, 4,500,000 wounded, and the rest missing. The losses by countries are, Germany and Austria, 3,000,000; Russia, 2,300,000; France, 1,500,000; Great Britain, 250,000; Serbia, 250,000; Belgium, 200,000; Turks, South Africans, East Africans, and Italians, 100,000. At this rate of loss—750,000 a month—it is estimated that there are sufficient unorganized reserves to continue the war for three years.



Mexico.

President Wilson's warning to the warring factions to get together and set up a stable government is apparently having some effect upon the leaders. General Carranza has issued a proclamation, in which he claims to control 20 out of 27 states, and to control all the seaports except Guaymas, on the Pacific, and all ports of entry on the American border except Piedras Negras, Juarez, and Nogales. He claims that 13,000,000 out of 15,000,000 population are subject to his authority. Guaranty of rights to foreigners is assured, indemnity for property damages, "on a just and fair basis," and the restoration of peace and order are promised. Government lands shall be equitably distributed; but nothing is said of the great landed

estates. As an evidence of good faith he promises to surrender executive authority to whomsoever shall be selected. General Villa has sent to Washington Manuel Bonillo to acquaint the Administration with his position and to make known the fact that he has made a formal offer to General Carranza for a conference with a view to a union of the factions. [See current volume, page 573.]



American reports of the fighting at Leon say the battle was a draw, with both sides too exhausted to renew the struggle at present. The Yaquis Indians are said to have renewed their attack upon the Americans near Guaymas. Five hundred foreigners—one-third of them Americans—arrived in Vera Cruz from Mexico City on the 10th.



Tax Reform News.

Governor Brumbaugh of Pennsylvania on June 10 vetoed the bill repealing the law of 1913 under which the assessment for taxation of buildings in Pittsburgh and Scranton is to be reduced 10 per cent every three years until they shall finally be taxed at half the rate of land values. The repealer was urged by a few large landed interests in Pittsburgh, assisted by Mayor Joseph Armstrong. It was opposed by many civic organizations and by smaller real estate interests and some of the papers, especially the Post. A delegation headed by W. D. George and former Mayor Magee protested against the repeal before the legislature. In vetoing the bill the Governor said:

This bill is a repealer. It applies only to cities of the second class. It repeals the graded tax law in these cities. The present tax law, passed in 1913, makes a separation of land and of buildings for taxable purposes, and reduces triennially by 10 per centum the tax on buildings until the minimum of 50 per centum is reached.

The act of 1913 was urged by all parties in interest. This repealer is opposed by the largest group of protestants that have been heard on any bill. It is advocated by those now in charge of the fiscal policy of one of the two cities concerned.

Inasmuch as there is such a conflict of opinion, and inasmuch as the law has scarcely yet been tried it is well to allow it to operate until a commanding judgment decrees its fate. Let the people concerned study freely and fairly the operations of the present law and, if found after two years to be inadequate to the needs of the cities or unfair in its provisions, it can be repealed. To disturb it now when a preponderance of opinion favors it is unwise. For these reasons the bill is not approved.

In endorsing Governor Brumbaugh's action the Pittsburgh Post says in its issue of June 11:

Governor Brumbaugh's vetoing of the bill repealing the graded tax law for second-class cities, represents an important victory for the people. It ended a fight between the taxpayers and the municipal revenue hunters which began early in February, was

carried on through the session of the Legislature and continued before the governor up to the last minute. The enactment of the repealer was one of the most brazen acts in defiance of the popular will that has been recorded in years. It was demanded by only a few city officers seeking to make up for a deficit due to extravagance, whereas the advocates of letting the present law stand sent many representatives to argue before committees and thousands of letters. The advocates of repeal sent only a few politicians to arrange for "log-rolling." The governor says that the repealer was opposed by the largest group of protestants heard on any bill. Yet this sentiment was almost completely ignored by the legislators, one of the leaders shamelessly admitting that he was controlled in his voting by "my boss." . . .

Governor Brumbaugh may be assured that he has made no mistake in interpreting the will of the citizens of Pittsburgh and their gratitude goes out to him accordingly. As for the revenue hunters and the legislators, it has been brought home to them emphatically that they did not represent their constituents. The present law is desired by the people to discourage the unjust holding of idle land to profit by the improvements of adjoining property. It encourages the builder. It encourages those who add to the wealth of the city instead of those who would hold their land only to profit by the toil and enterprise of others.

[See current volume, pages 452, 521.]



Governor Brumbaugh signed on June 7 a bill legalizing the practice that has been followed for years in Philadelphia of exempting machinery from taxation. Pittsburgh and Scranton under special laws have long had similar legal authority and Philadelphia, without legal authority, has done the same. The bill was passed largely as the result of the activity of Samuel Milliken of Philadelphia, who brought suit as a taxpayer, to compel assessment of machinery. The authorities were thus forced to secure the exemption act. [See current volume, page 104.]



The New York Congestion Committee, of which Mr. Allan Dawson is chairman, has just created a Committee on Taxation composed of the following members: Chas. H. Ingersoll, chairman; Messrs. Wallace Benedict; Hon. Robert W. Heberd, Secretary State Board of Charities; Hon. Frederic C. Howe, Immigration Commissioner; Sam A. Lewisohn, Prof. E. O. Perry, Eustace Seligman, Dr. Walter E. Weyl. The committee is making a general study of the methods followed to distribute population and prevent undue concentration in large cities. During the present year, the Committee on Taxation will make investigation of the following subjects:

Distribution of farm land ownership in the United States.

Relative value of land, improvements, personal property, crops, etc., on the average farm; and the

result of shifting taxes, now levied on improvements and personal property, to land values.

Methods of taxation used to break up farm monopoly in this and other countries, and to bring land into use; an extent to which land banks help small farmers under our present tax system.

Effectiveness and limitation of methods usually followed to develop small cities.

Reasons for increase in farm tenancy and effects of farm tenancy.

Would heavy taxation of land values make farming profitable and encourage the distribution of population?



Preparations for circulation of an initiative petition for a measure permitting local governmental units to place all taxation on land values are being made by the Ohio Site Value Taxation League whose headquarters are at 404 Williamson Building, Cleveland, and of which H. P. Boynton is president. The measure was prepared by the political committee of the League and endorsed by a referendum mail vote of the members.



Fairhope Wins.

The Supreme Court of Alabama on June 10 rendered a decision in the suit brought to dissolve the Fairhope Singletax Corporation, reversing the adverse opinion of the lower court and fully sustaining the corporation. [See current volume, pages 238, 457.]



Chicago Street Railway Strike.

A general strike on the surface and elevated street railway lines of Chicago took place at midnight of June 13. It was preceded by several weeks of fruitless negotiations between the companies and the men. An increase of wages and changes in working conditions are the matters in dispute. Arbitration proposals by the companies were rejected as unsatisfactory by the men. The companies suggested that each side select an arbitrator and these two select a third, the three to pass on all questions. The men held that under a similar arbitration agreement two years ago their claims had not received fair consideration. Mayor Thompson then got in touch with both sides in an effort to bring them together. Finally the men offered to accept arbitration on the matter of wages, and all points in dispute except the following demands which they held should be conceded at once.

(a) Runs arranged so that fifty per cent (50%) be straight runs and fifty per cent (50%) be completed within fourteen (14) consecutive hours.

(b) Graded wage scale limited so as not to exceed two (2) years, maximum wage paid at expiration of that time.

(c) Night platform service completed within eight (8) consecutive hours.

(d) Period of contract two (2) years, ending May 31, 1917, and findings effective as of June first (1st) 1915.

(e) No runs shall be less than nine (9) hours or over eleven (11) hours, and no run shall pay less than nine (9) hours' pay, except Sunday.

The Chicago city council on June 14 passed, by a vote of 57 to 10, an ordinance introduced by Alderman Kennedy forbidding employment of motormen who have had less than 21 days instruction under an instructor who has served at least three years as motorman in Chicago and has been in service at least twelve months preceding his services as instructor. Fourteen days instruction is required for conductors under experienced instructors. If signed by the Mayor this ordinance will prevent the use of strikebreakers.



The plan of arbitration, the men further held, should be that the arbitrators selected by the parties to the dispute should select as third anyone of the following: Governor Edward F. Dunne, Judge Marcus Kavanagh, ex-Mayor Carter H. Harrison, Judge William E. Dever or Judge John P. McGoorty. The companies refused to accept this offer and insisted on arbitration of all questions under the method they had suggested. The strike followed. [See vol. xvi, p. 321.]



On June 16 after an all night conference the strike ended by agreement on Mayor Thompson as referee.



Peonage in Texas.

A case of peonage was exposed in the Federal Court at Sherman, Texas, on June 8 before Judge Gordon Russell. D. D. Eastham, owner of a plantation in Houston County, together with his overseer and three of his tenants were fined for the offense. The proceedings resulted from disclosures made by a Negro named Bob Batts, who escaped from the farm and walked 100 miles to Tyler, Texas, where he appeared before the Federal grand jury and told his story. His wife and little son had attempted to escape with him, but had been captured and brought back. The trial disclosed that about 200 Negroes work on the plantation who are continually in debt for supplies.

NEWS NOTES

—Norway has lost 29 vessels of all kinds, through mines and torpedoes, since the beginning of the war. The aggregate value is \$7,500,000.

—Because he refused to betray the confidence placed in him by a twelve-year-old boy by disclosing a story told him, Judge Ben Lindsey of the Denver Juvenile Court was arrested for contempt of Judge

John Perry's court on June 12. He was immediately released on his own recognizance.

—The Massachusetts Singletax League will have permanent headquarters at room 529 Walker Building, 120 Boylston street, Boston. Mr. Alex. Mackendrick will be in charge.

—Josiah Wedgwood, the Singletax member of Parliament, wounded on May 10 during battle in the Dardanelles, is reported convalescent at Malta. [See current volume, page 502.]

—The State Prison Commission of Georgia on June 9 by a two to one vote, refused to recommend commutation of the death sentence of Leo Frank. [See current volume, page 9.]

—The United States has instructed its diplomats abroad to ask for the annulment of those paragraphs of commercial treaties that conflict with the new Seaman's law. [See current volume, page 225.]

—Figures made public by the Belgian Relief Commission show that 66 ships have sailed from United States ports with 414,866 tons of food and clothing for the destitute Belgians. This does not take into account 16 ships from South America and three from Europe. The total value of the cargoes was over \$66,000,000. The daily cost of the war is estimated to be \$54,000,000.

—The amendment granting home rule to cities before the New York Constitutional Convention was made almost worthless by the act of Seth Low, chairman of the Committee on Cities, on June 9, who had stricken out of it all provisions empowering cities to adopt their own laws relating to the "government and regulation of the conduct of all persons therein and the protection of their property and their lives, safety, health, comfort and general welfare." [See current volume, page 570.]

PRESS OPINIONS

How War Causes Mental Aberration.

Cincinnati Times-Star, May 26:—The peaceful editor of this peaceful newspaper was surprised, not to say abashed, the other day when one mail brought the following interesting and even exciting pair of letters. The first evidently was from an Italian. This is how it ran:

To the Editor of the "Times-Star."

In reply to your cartoon "Looking for trouble" a picture Bersagliero. Italian soldier War lust blood and iron publish on Times-Star a Newspaper famed infamy against Italy. The Times-Star liar, stupid and imbecility ignorant Editor of the TimesStar. Ho! poor editor of the Times-Star your friends are Germans and Austrian Turks. Kiss, Kiss your friends Wilhelm Kaiser, Franz Josef, and Moormet—this are your friendship. You print your paper against Italy and Italians, Dear imbecile editor of the Times-Star. READER.

The other letter was from a supporter of Germany:

Editor Times-Star:—Your Editorial justifying Italy shows what kind you are. Don't overlook to get your headline artists busy tonight to fix up a great Dago Victory where they killed 30,000 Germans. Just keep it up. Mental notations are being made and when it does start you will know that this is Clint., and not Downing St. M'CULLEN.

This business of being neutral when most of the world is at war undoubtedly has its drawbacks.

"Give Him Thy Cloak Also."

William L. Chenery in Chicago Herald, June 12.—A gang of boys of 18 to 22 apparently had been playing the role of burglars for some distance down the shore. In other ways they had become neighborhood pests, so much so that the town fathers were debating a curfew law. The lawyers took down the statute books and found that if the boys were convicted penitentiary sentences of from ten to twenty years were inescapable. Accordingly a family gathering was arranged; the charges were changed, and the judge and state's attorney were won over to the plan. When the case came up a village meeting, as warm emotionally as an old-fashioned revival service, was held. The boys were sentenced to a year at a reform school, but the punishment was suspended during their good behavior. The parents wished to be stern and offered to prevent the boys going to the beach. The lawyers had a better way. "Let the boys go to the lake as much as they wish," it was proposed. "Encourage them to build a shack of their own. We will get the free use of land for them. Plenty of drift wood can be found for a small house. Persuade them to fit out their own shack and to have an interest in it. If they have property rights of their own they will respect what belongs to others." The scheme was accepted, and tomorrow the boys are expected to be the guests of honor at a dinner given at the cabin at which their troubles started. Was there a better way out?

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE INVADERS IN EUROPE.

For The Public.

This—the civilization thought secure,
Its peace and ordered progress nigh undone.

Wrenched by the primal lusts, the olden lure
Of fertile fields beneath a kindly sun.

"Thou shalt not covet," but by pride made blind
They drew such weapons as would shed their blood.

Back from the front their tortured bodies wind,
Their dead lie on the fields their eyes saw good.

When will men learn that murder is no gain
Whatever be the claims or means employed?

Are humans beasts of prey to die in pain
Lacking the food and shelter Hate destroyed?

GEORGE W. PRIEST.



THE CRY OF THE UNBORN.

For The Public.

Fathers and mothers, we demand the right to be born. We are stifled by the pain racked thoughts of our mothers; the spark of intelligence within us is growing dim through the anguish of those who carry us; every cell in us is being stamped with a

consuming fear and dread that is shaking the very foundations of the body that surrounds us.

Fathers and mothers see how you curse us; we the helpless and fearsome progeny you are sending forth into the coming time, to bear the burden of your colossal greed and your infernal war.

We the unborn are calling to you.

A. GORDON.

GOVERNOR BRUMBAUGH'S CHURCH.

For the Public

Honorable Martin G. Brumbaugh, Governor of the great State of Pennsylvania, is the compound product of two distinct sets of environment so different as to be almost antagonistic. The direct descendant of generations of Tunkers, his spiritual and social ideals are in thorough sympathy with the traditional ideals of his church, and yet his course of life is so remarkably divergent from the ancient policy of the Tunkers that it partakes of the nature of an independent growth, drawing its sustenance largely from sources aside from the influences of his early environment.

The Governor has been an apostle of education.

The fathers of his church were opposed to anything more than an *elementary* education.

In their opinion the universities and seminaries wrought heresy against the simple spiritual democracy of the Christian life, and weakened its moral emphasis.

The Governor has gone into politics, and, so far as anyone knows to the contrary, is the first Tunker for 200 years to hold an important official position in the Government, or indeed any official position of any character, great or small.

His church, in all its traditions and its announced attitude, is unalterably opposed to mingling with the political life of the world around it. I can easily recall the time when any of its members would have been severely disciplined, if not actually expelled from its communion, for permitting himself to be elected Governor of any State in the Union, or even to be elected President, no matter how well qualified he might be for that high office. It remains to be seen how much of this stern spirit of anti-worldliness still exists among the Tunkers of the present day, or how much they have modified their ancient traditions as a concession to that modernism which they have always regarded with suspicion, or encountered with a determined hostility.

A society thus immune from any regard for the honors of the world, and yet possessing a virility capable of producing as strong a man as Governor Brumbaugh, should make an interesting study, and that study may reveal side lights illuminating the character and probable political attitude of a man already regarded as good "presidential tim-

ber." Despite his later academical environment, the early environment of Tunkerism will undoubtedly turn the strong and vital stream of his ideals and his policy into channels that are new to the prevailing politics of our day. If he proves to be the man of primitive strength indicated by his career so far, it is more than likely that we are to witness in his political course a new revelation or rather a new edition, of democracy, a distinct advance toward an actual equality beyond the more or less theoretical equality with which the leaders of both political parties have so long sought to "heal the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying peace, peace, when there is no peace."

To arrive at a clear conception of this possibility a short resume of Tunker history, and of the essential Tunker spirit, is necessary. The sect originated in Germany just 208 years ago, among the middle lower classes, and was a protest, first, against the social gulf existing between the aristocracy and the lower classes even in the churches; second, against the apostasy of the church from the teachings of the Master especially on the subject of war, as well as other varieties of worldly conformity based upon self-indulgence,

These were the fundamental principles of the new sect, to which their peculiar doctrinal forms were secondary and external. Expelled from Germany by the militarism of the despotic governments of that day, the Tunkers emigrated to America in 1729 and settled near Philadelphia. From this center they have in the two centuries following extended their propaganda to a dozen or more middle eastern and middle western states, a result due almost entirely to individual effort without organization and without compensation.

They have been, and are today, more exclusive than any other religious body, more prosperous in temporal things, possess more wealth pro rata, are on a more equal footing between themselves in the distribution of this wealth, are more democratic in their mutual social relations, have less class consciousness, have more red blood virility among their youth, a firmer moral stamina, and less of the contamination of the world's vices than any other single religious society in the western hemisphere.

This summary of definite characteristics is the outgrowth of the two fundamental principles noted above.

Concerning the first mentioned, the social democracy prevailing among them is not exhibited simply or solely in their church relations, or in their peculiar church ritual, but extends fully and freely into their inter-family life. Unless a difference is appearing in very recent years, or is now in its germinal stages, the spirit, the inward feeling and impulse of social equality and brotherly fellowship prevails among them, and class distinctions are extinct.

They have no aristocracy, no middle class, no proletariat. It is a brotherhood almost as heartily thorough, as sincere, as sympathetic and spiritual, as free from formality and constraint as the earliest monastic communities which sought spiritual ideals by physical separation from the world. The monastic asceticism of the Tunker brotherhood for the first 150 or 175 years of its history could scarcely have been strengthened by any number of high walls, nor could their social separation from the world around them have been more definite and complete.

How to defend this pure Nazarene democracy from the inroads of the spirit of the times is right now one of the most anxious problems of the leaders of the church. It is assailed from two directions. First, under the influence of Governor Brumbaugh himself, more than any other dozen men among them, they have reversed their early policy concerning education, and in recent years have built numerous colleges of their own, conducted as much as possible in harmony with church traditions and ideals, but nevertheless creating among them the natural cleavage between the educated and the uneducated.

Secondly, the constantly increasing wealth of the church is producing among them its easily recognized fruits of indulgence, and of a consequent cleavage between the rich and the poor.

This is a very, very old tree, of an exceedingly rank growth, and the traditional policy of Governor Brumbaugh's church to cut off its branches seems to be returning rather discouraging results. Their methods may be unscientific, irrational, unscriptural, or even absurd, but the instincts of the church in this particular are historically and ethically sound. Class cleavage is today the nightmare of all denominations, and for the Tunkers to admit into their brotherhood even the first wedge of this cleavage would be the beginning of the end of that church democracy which is the pulsation of the very heart of spiritual fellowship.

Concerning the other fundamental principle mentioned, lying at the base of the original organization, namely, the apostasy of the state churches on the question of war, the ground of discussion is not so much littered with obstacles. Peace at any price, because the price of peace can never be so high as the price of war, because also no ideal of national honor can be preserved by national murder; these convictions present a well nigh unbroken front along what is left of the boundary lines of a real Christian civilization, so that the Tunkers are now having plenty of vindication from all quarters.

Now out of the very center of this unique society comes forth a man better equipped intellectually and morally than most men for high office in the republic. It will be interesting to witness the smashing contact between the big Governor and

every form of graft heretofore finding refuge and rich pickings in many political centers.

Beelzebub and Bacchus are wearing wry faces in Pennsylvania today.

It will also be interesting to observe his attitude toward the ceaseless struggle between privilege on the one hand and the people on the other hand.

If in all these exigencies he does not speak in word and deed so that "the common people will hear him gladly," there will be little to be said concerning the inevitable direction given to a man's ideals by the allied forces of inheritance, tradition, and controlling environment.

BENJAMIN C. MOOMAW.



THE LITTLE MOUND.

By George C. Guthrie.

Only some withered flowers,
Where the earth is new and bare;
And a white and shining headstone
For the dear one lying there;
Sad sere leaves and grasses
To mourn through the sombre night
For the little one that sleepeth
In robes of purest white.

Only the tear drops falling
On the gold of the fading year,
And a mother bending o'er them—
With God alone to hear!
While memory's silent voices
Bring back the lisp and tone
Of the truant soul that vanished
To the dim and vast unknown.

Only a saddened stillness
In the home where the little feet
Pattered their tender music
In joyful tone and sweet;
Where the gleaming ringlets nestled
O'er the heart that loved them so,
When the guileless life was beckoned
To cross the turbid flow.

But, Oh! that the tears of sorrow
Could wash our grief away!
And Oh! that our eyes tear-laden
Would look to a brighter day!
But all in vain we stifle
The sobbing prayer so wild,
For the eyes behold forever
The form of our little child.

BOOKS

SOCIALISTS AND INTERNATIONALISM.

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

What are the Socialists doing about the war? Precisely what all other thinking men and women

are doing—reviewing, revising and testing their ideals, national and international. Socialists differed from other men at the outbreak of the war chiefly in their more general possession of some international ideals to test. That is why we all instinctively expected some remarkable reaction on their part, and when they were borne down with the rest of Europe by the overwhelming flood of militarism and falsehood, some of us actually had the effrontery to cry shame upon them in particular.

The hundreds of pages of documentary statements from all sources and all countries about the position of Socialists toward the war and a future peace, which Mr. Walling has edited into a most readable volume, create a profound impression—not of Socialists' failure but of Socialists' courage. Through all the practical disagreements, national dissensions, and untold obstacles of war-laws, there is still to be discerned an uncrushed energy, a consciousness of power somehow to determine a better future for mankind.

Mr. Walling's method of presenting his material is most satisfactory. Chronological "Parts" are divided into geographically arranged chapters containing the manifestos, speeches and press editorials, these being welded into a connected narrative by the very brief and clear summaries and explanations of the editor, whose stated purpose one feels to be accomplished, "strict accuracy and non-partisanship."

A. L. G.



THE MIRROR OF LIFE.

The Social Significance of the Modern Drama. By Emma Goldman. Published by Richard G. Badger, Boston, 1914. Price, \$1.00; postage, 15 cents.

In reviewing the work of Ibsen, Strindberg, Hauptman, Tolstoy, Shaw, Galsworthy, and other modern dramatists, Emma Goldman says: "They represent the social iconoclasts of our time. They know that society has gone beyond the stage of patching up and that man must throw off the dead weight of the past with all its ghosts and spooks if he is to go foot free to meet the future."

And she remarks truly enough—"Both radical and conservative have to learn that any mode of creative work, which with true perception portrays social wrongs earnestly and boldly, may be a greater menace to our social fabric and a more powerful inspiration than the wildest harangue of the soap-box orator."

A. L. M.

PERIODICALS

"The Price of Liberty."

While Europeans fight, Chinamen, unnoticed by the western world, lose their hard-won liberties. And the blow is struck not by Japan, but by China's

own ambitious, wicked Yuan Shih Kai. J. O. P. Bland tells the story in the June Atlantic, of the two "Presidential Mandates," issued last December. The first makes the Presidential term ten years with eligibility for re-election and gives the President himself the right to nominate—secretly for future disclosure—three men, one of whom must be elected his successor. The second mandate is even more startling and yet very simple. Henceforth, it is decreed, "no member of any political party shall be eligible for membership in Parliament"! It seems strange that no American has thought of this quick, sure method of avoiding our political distresses. Mr. Bland's ironic comments are gleams of light on a dark horizon as he explains what are the facts behind these remarkable decrees. "Yuan has now done for China," he writes, "what Porfirio Diaz did for Mexico: he has established, and is now in a position to proclaim, a benevolent despotism."—There are several other very important essays in the same journal. For democracy is engaged in a life and death struggle the world over and the June Atlantic points to more than one scene of conflict. Henry W. Nevinson of England, the great war correspondent and true liberty-lover, closes his essay, "Arms and Man," with these words: "And if it is true that this war, which looks like devilish insanity, is really fought for ideals of humanity and freedom, and if for their sake all these thousands of young and hopeful men are being killed, all these thousands of women are being driven from their burning or devastated homes, starved, destitute, ravished, made mothers by violent and unknown enemies, compelled to inhabit caves and hedges with their children huddled round them in filthy and indecent barbarism; then it is for us to see that those ideals of humanity and freedom are not encroached upon by any government, even by our own, but that in war-time we maintain them and advance their realization even more vigilantly than during that never-ending conflict on their behalf which is the warfare of peace." Furthermore, not only belligerents at home, but neutrals at home need to be wide awake for democracy. Owen Wister, in a somewhat exaggerated indictment of our "quack" democracy, L. Ames Brown, in a good summary of the Prohibition movement, and William Jewett Tucker in a fine article on the "Ethical Challenge of Our Times," call our attention to our own domestic duties and dangers. "It may have required," writes Mr. Tucker, "such an illustration of the outworking of the theory—the state is power—as is afforded by the present exhibition of militarism, to enable some minds to understand the real significance of the contrasted theory of the state expressed in the cardinal maxim of democracy—the state is freedom. . . . The war has brought us back to a revaluation of political freedom. . . . What does it really mean to live under the conception of the state as freedom rather than as power? What does loyalty to that conception require? How shall we maintain and defend the ethical life of a democracy? Apart from the clear understanding of its ethical life, I assume that the two great requisites are self-control and moral courage; self-control to guard the nation against the wrong uses of patriotism, and moral courage to enable it to make such genuine sacrifices as may be

necessary for the advancement of international morality and international peace."

A. L. G.

PAMPHLETS

A Constitution for a Free People.

The political principles which he thinks should be considered in framing the New York State Constitution are stated by Frederic C. Howe in his essay, "The Constitution and Public Opinion," reprinted in pamphlet form by the Academy of Political Science, New York City. "These," he writes, "are the principles I would apply to government affairs. Politics should be simple, rather than confused. Officials should be responsive, not irresponsible. There should be an end of checks and balances. There should be a direct vision between the citizen and his servant, and easy means for the community to achieve its will, and an equally easy means to change its decisions when it finds itself in error. In fine, I believe that government should be responsive to public opinion and free to reflect that opinion in legislation when expressed." In harmony with these principles Mr. Howe enumerates eight suggestions for the New York State Constitutional Convention:

First, the constitution should be as short as possible, following the model of the Federal Constitution, which is little more than an enumeration of the powers of the various branches of the government, to which was added the bill of rights. State constitutions departed from this model. They have been enlarged to indefensible lengths, and by reason of their enlargement and the inclusion of many legislative provisions, the underlying idea of a constitution as a framework of government has been lost sight of.

Second, the constitution should be an evolving instrument, not an inflexible, finished thing. . . . It should provide that a two-thirds majority of any general assembly or a mere majority of two successive assemblies may submit an amending resolution. Further than this, provision should be made for amendment by the direct action of the people themselves, acting through petitions submitted for this purpose. . . .

Third, in keeping with the above suggestions, amendments to the constitution, involving radical departures like woman suffrage, prohibition, the initiative, referendum and recall, should be submitted as separate proposals for the discriminating action of the voter. Alterations in the fundamental laws such as these should not be incorporated into the body of the constitution when submitted but should at all times and under all circumstances be open to unincumbered action by the electorate. . . .

Fourth, in keeping with the idea of simplicity and efficiency, the commission form of government should be substituted for that which now prevails. The legislature should consist of a single chamber of a relatively small size. . . . A legislative body composed of one representative from each congressional district would be adequate for all purposes. It should be in continued session all the year, as is the Congress of the United States. . . .

Fifth, the short ballot. The commission form of government would lead to the short ballot. It would reduce the number of elective officials to the governor and the member of the State assembly. This would simplify elections and automatically make it possible to select a higher type of man than those who now go to the assembly. Further than this, it would lure better men into politics, for the opportunities of real

service offered would prove attractive to the best-equipped men in the community.

Sixth, I have never believed that the Federal constitution contemplated the power of judicial review of congressional or executive acts. The constitutional provisions seized on by the courts to justify their interposition are entirely inadequate to sanction such assumption.

Seventh, complete home rule should be accorded municipalities.

Eighth, adequate responsiveness to public opinion, involves provision for direct legislative action by the people themselves, through the Initiative and Referendum; and of these two devices the Initiative is by far the more important.

A. L. G.



Pamphlets Received.

Voting Machines in Wisconsin. University of Wisconsin Extension Bulletin, Serial No. 719, Madison, Wis. Price, 5 cents.

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

The Black Art of Our Land Tenure, by Lona Ingham Robinson, Hermosa Beach, Calif. Reprinted from *Everyman*, Los Angeles, 1914.

The Salvation Army Today: An Exposure. By S. B. Williams. Printed by the Church Press, Box 676, Lincoln, Nebraska. Price, 25 cents.

Wages and Salaries in Organized Industry. By Scott Nearing, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. Reprinted from the *Popular Science Monthly* of May, 1915.

Report on the Survey of the Business Administration of the Minneapolis Public Schools, made by the Bureau of Municipal Research of the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association at the request of the Board of Education. F. S. Staley, Director.

Report of the Michigan State Commission of Inquiry into Wages and the Conditions of Labor for Women and the Advisability of Establishing a Minimum Wage. Judson Grenell, Chairman. Published by Authority, Wynkoop, Hallenbeck Crawford Co., State Printers, Lansing, Mich. 1915.



Teacher: Now, Johnny, can you tell me what became of Noah and the ark?

Johnny: The baby sucked all the paint off'n Noah and pa stepped on the ark and smashed it.—The Truthseeker.



A newly enrolled volunteer was rather alarmed during his first experience of a sham battle, especially as he heard the colonel in command say that everything was to be done as in actual warfare. No sooner was the first blank cartridge fired than the frightened soldier dropped his gun and took to his heels.

"Hey! Where are you running to?" shouted the captain as the soldier fled past him.

"Oh," said the man, "it is all right, sir. I am just doing the same as I would do in actual war."—Sacred Heart Review.



Beggar—"I haven't tasted food for a month."
Dyspeptic—"You ain't missed much. It's the same old taste."—San Francisco Star.

A Record Summer Subscription Campaign

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Is everyone with us to win—to get these 1000 new yearly subscribers in July? In April of last year, the Public's circulation department set out to give *The Land Song*, which won Lloyd George's famous budget, one million circulation in sixty days. So many workers co-operated by distributing slips or by sending the song to papers that published it, that its circulation exceeded a million in thirty days! And—this is a piece of news—that same song will be given another two million circulation this very week. The second

largest press association in the country, which serves ninety-three daily papers, is syndicating the overlooked little fact that the land was made for the people! Workers (the only folk who take an interest in this kind of thing) will also remember the campaign to get 5000 short-term subscriptions last October. Before that campaign closed, we had put on 6247 and distributed 12,494 booklets to these beginners.

The present campaign to put on 1000 new subscriptions each for *one year*, in mid-summer, will be a little harder. But this announcement gives everyone two weeks in which to prepare. Begin now by jotting down names and addresses of people to whom *The Public* would probably mean something. Then, on July 1, when war is declared in your territory—

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STANLEY BOWMAR,
Manager.

P. S.—While this campaign is on, no sample copies will be mailed by us to prospects, but we will send to any worker as many copies as he can use.

Army Posts of the Future

By Herbert Quick

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

¶ Can universal disarmament be brought about while this condition persists? It seems to me very doubtful. . . . The question is likely to be: What sort of militarism? All institutions must sooner or later be transformed so as to accord with the principles of democracy—or they must be abolished.

¶ The great objection to standing armies is their conflict with democracy. They are essentially aristocratic in their traditions. . . . But the army need not be undemocratic. . . .

¶ Democracy requires that the army be democratized. This implies no slackening of discipline, but calls for a revolution in ideals. The army of a democracy should offer a service in which the best men should be glad to enter. . . . Membership in the army of a democracy should be made so useful to the soldier, and so beneficial to society as a whole, as to be looked upon as a thing to be desired by all young men. . . . The whole organization should be based on the idea of educating the soldier in citizenship and developing him as a producer and a man. . . .

¶ The armies of democracies should be the greatest educational institutions of the nation. Instead of wasting their years in time-killing, soul-killing routine, the soldiers should be also students. Every course of study now given by universities might be mastered by the citizen soldiery. There is no branch of learning that should not be successfully taught in the army posts of the future.

¶ Reprinted from "On Board the Good Ship Earth." Copyright by Bobbs-Merrill Company.

¶ **Partial Contents:** How Did We Come Aboard? The Riddle of the Raw Material of Man, The Iron Age—And Then?, "Multiply and Replenish the Earth," The Kind of Passengers that Multiply, Seven Perils of Humanity, Patriotism—Vice or Virtue?, The Evils of Good Government, The United States of the World, The Nightmare of Militarism, The Social Crystal—\$1.25 postpaid from The Public's Book Department. Order your books from The Public.

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Land Values, edited by John Paul. Published monthly, 50c per year. Address, 11 Tothill St., London, S. W.

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