

The Public

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

Vol. XVIII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1915.

No. 913.

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Published by STANLEY BOWMAR, Manager
Bilsworth Building, 837 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Canadian and Foreign, \$1.50
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at Chicago,
Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

Not Subject to the Same Law.....	945
Still the Benevolent Despot.....	945
Unemployment.....	946
Shall the State Care for the Child.....	946
Use and Abuse of Injunctions.....	947
Frightened Into Justice.....	947
Leaders and the War.....	947
James Keir Hardie.....	948
Britain's New Budget.....	948
European War Levies on America.....	949
A Predatory Proposition.....	949
Prices and Production.....	949
Anthony Comstock.....	949

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

In California—Edward P. E. Troy and Waldo Wer- nicke.....	950
John Howard Springer—John F. White.....	951

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:

If Thine Enemy Hunger, Starve Him—Christine Ross Barker.....	952
Proposed Reactionary Taxation Clause—W. W. Young.....	952
Some Lurid Lessons From the Frank Case—Rem- bert G. Smith, D. D.....	952
Expecting the Old Grind Over Again—William Wal- lace Childs.....	953

NEWS NARRATIVE:

The Labor War.....	953
Chicago School Affairs.....	954
Students to Act on Nearing Case.....	954
Reactionary Challenged to Debate.....	954
Taxation in Pueblo, Colo.....	956
Mexico.....	956
China.....	956
European War.....	957
News Notes.....	957
Press Opinions.....	958

RELATED THINGS:

The Altgeld Monument—Geo. Whiteley Taylor.....	959
Where Congressmen Stand.....	959

BOOKS:

A Treatise on Immortality.....	961
A Story With a Purpose.....	961
Books Received.....	961
Periodicals.....	962
Pamphlets.....	962

EDITORIAL

Not Subject to the Same Law.

Young Mr. Rockefeller evaded a direct answer to the clearcut question put to him in Denver by Mrs. Lee Champion: "If John R. Lawson is guilty of murder through conspiracy are you not equally guilty?" Did modesty prevent Mr. Rockefeller from informing Mrs. Champion that "the King can do no wrong?"

S. D.

Still the Benevolent Despot.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is giving another demonstration of the truth of Tolstoy's pathetic words: "The rich are willing to do anything for the poor except to get off their backs." The sincerity of Mr. Rockefeller's intentions is evident from the painstaking investigation he is making among the miners in Colorado. And his goodheartedness is seen in the way he mingles with the people in the camps. But his lack of wisdom is equally clear from his failure to grasp the fundamental distinction between helping the people and letting the people help themselves. He is trying to set up social machinery that will adjust the differences between employer and employe. The employes are to elect by secret ballot, in meetings where no paid agent of the company is present, representatives who will attend to their complaints. Should the complainant be dissatisfied with their decision, he may appeal to a higher official in the company. And if still unsatisfied he may take his complaint to the highest officials in the company. Assurances are given that such appeals will be encouraged.

Is it not passing strange that an intelligent American who knows the history of the struggle against tyranny should attempt to re-establish it in this country? Will it be any more tolerable when accompanied by largesses? Will the chains be less galling, though covered with velvet? The new social machinery that Mr. Rockefeller is setting up may work well enough at first.

There may follow an era of good feeling, after he has returned to his home two thousand miles distant. But that whole machinery will be in the hands of men who have the arbitrary power to say "yes" and "no," without appeal. Living conditions in the camp may be bettered. There may be shorter hours and better pay; and so long as the mass of the men are fresh from Europe, where only tyranny is known, there may be peace and contentment. But free men are self-willed. They grow impatient at dictation. And those accustomed to bow to another's will in Europe become restless in freer America. So long as any man with a grievance knows that the dispute between himself and his fellow can be decided by his fellow, he will be dissatisfied, even though he know the decision to be just. He will never rest until he has reached the plane of equality.



Granted, however, that Mr. Rockefeller's new plan does work as between himself and his employes. Granted that he doubles their wages, and confers upon the men all manner of kindnesses. He still will have left untouched the problem confronting him. As the owner of great mineral wealth in Colorado he enjoys a privilege conferred upon him by society. If he were to divide the advantages of that privilege with his employes; or even if he should give all the benefit of the privilege to them, he would not have solved the problem between labor and capital. The value of that privilege belongs to all men, and until he grasps that fact, and stands ready to restore that value to the public, all his generosity, no matter how lavish, no matter how thoughtful, nor how kindly, will be wasted. As an individual citizen and neighbor Mr. Rockefeller's kindness of heart is most praiseworthy; but, as a holder of special privileges, his offer of benevolence in place of justice will be futile. "Association in equality is the law of progress." There is no substitute. s. c.



Unemployment.

Says the Chicago Tribune in its issue of September 24:

It does not take hard times to make idleness these days. There were 29,073,233 wage earners (persons of 10 years or over) in 1900. Every fifth person, or 22.3 per cent, of these were idle for a period of from one month to twelve months. In 1910, another good year, the wage earners totaled 38,756,223, and the advance estimates predict that about one-fourth were idle. The mean for six months from January to June in 232 labor organizations in New York State for the past sixteen years was 20.9.

Then all times must be hard times for at least

one-fifth of the people of the United States, and when one-fifth are unemployed, the wages of those must suffer whose places they are able and willing to fill. Unemployment for some means low wages for the rest. The Tribune states a fact which has been mentioned over and over again for many years past—but only by papers and individuals with radical inclinations. Now we have an admission from a conservative protectionist organ that these radicals have told the truth and that all the prosperity claims put forth since the days of the McKinley administration were merely false pretense.



The unemployment which the Tribune mentions is what the Walsh report of the Commission on Industrial Relations classes as the cause of industrial unrest. But Walsh and his three progressive colleagues offer a practical and logical remedy for this state of affairs. They see the connection between unemployment and such conditions as the following, described in the Tribune of August 25:

A quarter of a billion acres of land lie idle and undeveloped in the South alone, two-thirds of it being tillable. And hardly a day's ride away are the great centers of New York, Chicago, Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, and other manufacturing cities, where people are crowded together in tenements. This contributes to the high cost of living.

And the Tribune might have added that within the limits of the cities mentioned there is land idle and undeveloped, of even greater potential productivity than the quarter of a billion acres in the South. With such resources unused, what excuse is there for unemployment, other than that existing laws keep idle men from the idle land? The Walsh report recognizes that fact and urges a change in taxation to force this idle land into use. If that should be done there would be an end of unemployment for all who want to work.

S. D.



Shall the State Care for the Child?

The tragic slaying of the father of six small children by a panicky weapon-carrier in Chicago who mistook him for a footpad turns public thought to the Mothers' Pension Law. The young mother who finds herself suddenly confronted with the problem of providing for six small children is a challenge to society. Whether the removal of the breadwinner of the family be due to disease or to accident, the question of providing for the helpless children remains the same. The Mothers' Pension Law of Illinois had its inception in the moral impulse to keep the mother at home caring for the child, instead of obliging her

to work out, with the child in an asylum. But, like many other things sound in morals, the mother's pension was discovered to be sound financially; for it costs less to keep the child at home in the care of its mother than in an asylum in the care of the State.

Many vexatious details have yet to be met in applying this pension, such as when the benefits should be extended to the children of newly arrived foreigners, or citizens of other States, to children of divorced parents, and to children of unmarried mothers. When the pension was granted to deserted mothers, cases were discovered where parents voluntarily lived apart in order that the mother might draw the pension for the children. But these are matters of administration. The main question still turns about the State's responsibility to the child.

In assuming police duty the State undertakes to protect the citizen against violence to person and property; and to that end imprisons, or even destroys, offenders. Experience has proven that education is a wise policy on the part of the State. It tends to decrease criminals and to increase general efficiency. Does not this logic apply to the full development of the child? It is not a question of the origin of the child, whether legitimate or illegitimate, but the fact of its existence that must be considered. If neglected, if deprived of its natural protector, and no other be supplied, the child may become a future burden to the State; if properly cared for it may become an agent for good. Whatever may be contributed by the State, therefore, toward maintaining the child in the normal condition of the home may well be considered a legitimate expenditure of public revenue. Children are the seed of the State, and are indispensable to the harvest. Since the common values from which the revenues may be, and should be, drawn depend upon the number and the quality of these children, simple justice demands that they be given the fullest opportunity for growth and development.

S. C.

Use and Abuse of Injunctions.

Referring to the temporary injunction secured by the Teachers' Federation against the local Board of Education, the Chicago Herald says that it "ought to do something to relieve the prejudice which many union leaders have against this particular writ." Perhaps it would if such prejudice existed. But all objections that have been offered against government by injunction have

been directed not against the writ itself, but against tyrannical abuse thereof. Examples of this abuse are numerous since the days when Ex-President Taft and Judge Woods resorted to it to suppress a strike, until the present time. The fact that a proper use of it is frequently made does not excuse abuse. But no one asks that the writ be abolished. What is asked, and what should be granted, is the right to a jury trial of anyone accused of violation of an injunction. That will not interfere with the issuing of injunctions but will be a safeguard against improper use of the writ. There is nothing in the proceedings against the Chicago School Board to justify a change of attitude on the part of those opposed to the abuse of injunctions. But if the Board of Education and its Big Business supporters feel that they have not received fair treatment, they ought to realize that they made a mistake in successfully opposing the passage by the last legislature of the bill providing for jury trials in cases of indirect contempt.

S. D.

Frightened into Justice.

Opposition to the preparedness hysteria is having good results, in addition to the curbing of a national tendency toward militarism. It is frightening panicky preparationists, fooled by their own bogeys, into approval of belated justice to the Philippines. Thus the Chicago Evening Post of September 21 begs Republicans in Congress to refrain from opposition to the Jones bill, "which would give qualified liberty to the Filipinos at once, and unqualified liberty later." And on September 24, the Chicago Tribune added its approval to this request. Let the fight against preparationist hysteria continue. It will prove as useful in helping the campaign for justice at home as it already is helping the struggle for justice to the Philippines.

S. D.

Leaders and the War.

Whatever may be said of the limitations of labor leaders, and of their inability to grasp the great opportunities that lie before them, it must be admitted that the sanest counsel on the European war has come from the ranks of Labor. Though themselves not above national bias, and for the moment under the influence of local patriotism, they nevertheless have been the first to grasp the fact that the burden of the war, both during its prosecution and its financing when peace returns, will be borne by Labor. The German Socialists have repeatedly called upon the government for

the enunciation of a policy that will lead to peace, English labor organizations have done the same. The French General Confederation of Labor has adopted resolutions calling upon the international proletariat to see that, the peace obtained at the price of so many sacrifices, and so many horrors, shall be the triumph of right over force. And that from these guarantees accepted by all countries recourse to compulsory arbitration, the suppression of secret diplomacy, and the end of competitive armaments, there may arise the possibility of the formation of a federation of nations assuring to all peoples the right to dispose freely of themselves and safeguarding the independence of all nationalities. The conference, in order to affirm with force and effectiveness the above point of view, urgently calls upon all organized proletariats to accept the proposal of the American Federation of Labor to hold an international congress at the same place and date that the conference of diplomatists to fix the conditions of peace is held.

It is to be hoped that both the labor of the world and the women will hold conferences at the same time and place as the conference of nations, in order that the men who make war may feel the restraining influence of those who have to prosecute it and bear its burdens.

s. c.

James Keir Hardie.

The death of James Keir Hardie deprives Great Britain of a fighter for democracy, who was not deterred from standing by his principles regardless of the clamor of the mob dressed in purple and fine linen, or the mob dressed in rags. He realized that England has a worse enemy to fight in monopolistic institutions at home than on any foreign battlefield. Feeling thus, he would not let excitement over a foreign war carry him off his feet, but insisted that the enemy at home should be dealt with first. For this he was vilified and denounced not only by tory jingoes, quick to seize an opportunity to discredit an enemy of privilege, but by many democrats who should have known better. The British people have better cause to cherish the memory of Keir Hardie than that of any military leader with nothing more important to his credit than a victory on the battlefield.

s. d.

Britain's New Budget.

The new British budget may indeed be the greatest ever known in point of magnitude, but it lacks the fundamental basis of the 1909 budget; and because of that omission it will escape most if not all the opposition that met the proposal of the land tax. The present budget contains two points that are of special interest to the American critic. In resorting to the tariff for a part of the increased revenue sharp advances have been made in many

rates, while some things heretofore on the free list will be required to pay duty. Rates of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent are spoken of as enormous increases, to be borne only while the country is in such dire straits. This shows the difference between the English and the American state of mind. This country is half a generation from the last war, and more than half a century from the Civil War; yet, in a time of profound peace, and when there are no calls for unusual national expenditure, we submit to a tariff in which 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent looks quite moderate. Chinaware coming to the United States is taxed 50 to 55 per cent; knives, razors, etc., 35 to 55 per cent; stockings, 30 to 50 per cent; clothing, 30 to 40 per cent; carpets and rugs, 40 to 50 per cent; silks, 40 to 50 per cent; and many articles are much higher. Yet our present tariff is so low that its opponents attribute to it most of the present economic ills that have befallen the country.

The point of greatest interest to the student of sociology in the new budget, however, lies in the fact that it ignores a fundamental principle enunciated in the budget of 1909. It plainly seeks to take from all who have, regardless of their ability to pay, or of whether what they have is earned or unearned. The budget of 1909 sought to establish the principle that the state should lay taxes upon the citizen in proportion to the pecuniary benefits enjoyed by the citizen from the state. Owing to the fact that the principle was new in national finance, the initial application was made very moderate, yet sufficient to establish beyond question the principle. A tax of a half penny in the pound on land values was of itself a trifling thing; but it contained the germ of a new political economy. It was necessary only to increase the rate from time to time to bring about an economic change, under which the state would derive all its revenue from citizens who drew from tenants a corresponding amount because of the service of the government. A continuation of the policy embraced in the budget of 1909 meant in time the elimination of landlordism. Hence, the long and bitter opposition with which it had to contend.

Now that the country is in the throes of a military cataclysm, this great principle of government is ignored; and the war taxes are laid upon the citizens regardless of whether their incomes be earned or unearned. But the escape of privilege will not be so easy. The taxes that Chancellor McKenna is laying upon the people may be borne through the war, but not much longer.

These enormous burdens laid upon industry will be added to the price of the goods, and fall upon the consumer; and the great mass of labor that has lived upon the bare necessities of life will feel the pinch so sharply that they will resist. The landlords may escape now, but the hand of justice will be all the heavier when it does fall.

S. C.

European War Levies on America.

The City of New York is to contribute at least \$1,250,000 to the war chest of Great Britain this year. That is the amount of the income tax which William Waldorf Astor will be required to pay. Mr. Astor's income consists mainly of ground rents paid to him by New Yorkers for the privilege of living and working on Manhattan Island. The neglect of New York State to properly tax land values makes it possible for the British government to take for its own use what rightfully belongs to the treasuries of New York City and State. If among Mr. Astor's tenants are any American citizens opposed to extending aid to a foreign belligerent they ought to see that it is their duty to protest. The citizens and newspapers which are so pained at the exportation of war material, might now reflect that had they long ago used their citizenship in behalf of the movement to appropriate American land values for public use in America there would now be no private ground rent incomes for foreign governments to levy upon.

While the Astor case is the most conspicuous it is by no means the only one. All of the principal belligerent nations have citizens deriving incomes from ownership of American natural resources. Wherever these incomes are taxed, users of American land must contribute to European war expenses. Economically there is not the slightest difference between these levies and those imposed on Belgium by the invading Germans. The Belgians have at least the consolation of the reflection that their contributions are taken from them by force. But the American communities are enduring these levies simply because they have neglected to use their political power to save themselves.

S. D.

A Predatory Proposition.

The Chicago Daily News urges reduction of the income tax exemption to \$2,000. If this implied abolition of the tariff and all other indirect taxes, the suggestion would be at least tolerable, even if

it went so far as to do away with the exemption entirely. But no such relief is contemplated. What the News proposes is simply an extension of the harmful and unjust features of the income tax without any compensating benefit to the victims.

The lower the exemption from income tax, the more heavily will the tax fall on honestly earned incomes. Such incomes should not be taxed at all, regardless of whether they be large or small. When the recipient of an income gives service of equal value in return then society has no further claim upon him. What it takes from him is robbery even though the law may sanction it. The lowering of the exemption means an increase in such robbery. When the recipient does not give service in return then he must be depriving some one of an income who has earned it. This usually occurs with the aid and sanction of the law. It is society's duty to withdraw this aid. An income tax, which fails to discriminate between sources of income, must inflict injustice and harm more frequently than it does the reverse.

There is no need of robbing individuals to secure public income. An ample amount of revenue can be obtained from the source on which the government is justly entitled to draw. That source is land values. These values are created by society. Taking them for public use would be taking by society of its own. While there remains within this source any possible revenue unappropriated by the government, there is no excuse for so unjust a suggestion as is offered by The Daily News.

S. D.

Prices and Production.

The Dallas, Texas, News has a writer who states, in apparent seriousness, in its issue of September 20 that to put all taxes on land values—which would force into use land now withheld—would increase the price of food. In other words an increase in the production of food would increase its price. According to the same logic, to restrict food production would lower its price, while to stop food production altogether would make food more plentiful than ever. That sort of logic surely bears its own comment.

S. D.

Anthony Comstock.

The death of Anthony Comstock, which marks the close of a long and exceptionally active life,

offers an opportunity for appraising the idea of morality by force. Mr. Comstock's motives are not to be questioned; nor is there any quarrel with him as an individual regarding his taste and judgment. It is only as he is clothed with political power that he becomes a legitimate object of criticism. The fundamental error in Anthony Comstock's philosophy lies in his failure to distinguish between social rights and individual rights; and in assuming that men acting together may do what they as individuals may not do. The citizen may criticise his neighbor's conduct, and try to persuade him to a different course, but he has no right to compel him to adopt that course. Neither has he, if joined by a number of citizens in their political capacity, any right to interfere with his neighbor's private conduct. Nor is such political action necessary. The great mass of the people are clean and wholesome-minded; but beyond the cruder expressions of vulgarity and obscenity, they are not agreed upon matters of deportment and expression. Any attempt, therefore, to employ the police power to regulate personal conduct brings protests from all lovers of liberty. Had Mr. Comstock been content to preach his own ideas of morality, and organized socially all those who held to like opinions, he would have been within his rights; but when he invoked the power of the state to compel acquiescence in his ideas he opened the way to tyranny and provoked rebellion.



And, as if to make this tyranny doubly dangerous, there was at hand a power greater and more far-reaching than that of Imperial Rome or the Spanish Inquisition, the United States post office. In order to protect innocent persons from having obscene publications thrust upon them through the mail, the postal authorities were given power to exclude such matter. And when this power was tested in the courts it was ruled that the Postal Department, like the Department of War, was not amenable in its judgments to the civil courts. Hence, since the law could not specify what was or was not obscene, it remained for the postal authorities to pass judgment. And when a picture, book or other publication was forbidden the mails, the courts refused to interfere, and the author or publisher had no redress. When there was added the power to exclude fraudulent matter there was set up an irresponsible, all-powerful tribunal that could sit in judgment upon any man's affairs, try him without appeal, and destroy his business by barring him from the use of the mails. It may be conceded that no one should be permitted to

send fraudulent matter or obscene matter through the mails; he should not be allowed to emit it at all. But the place to restrain him is in the courts of law established for that purpose, and not in a government department charged with other duties.



Inquiry among Congressmen as to why the Postal Department was ever given this arbitrary authority, which in many cases has worked grievous injustice, elicited the answer that fraudulent business practices and obscenity had become so associated in the public mind that any Congressman who should question the right of the Postal Department to pass upon the legitimacy of a commercial enterprise would be accused by the Comstock people of seeking to take from the Department the power to exclude obscene matter from the mails. Few men in public life have had the temerity to brave the charge. It may be said, therefore, that in a sense the tyrannical powers of the Postal Department rest upon the activities of Anthony Comstock. He acted according to his light; and it would be a pity to suppose that so much energy had been expended altogether in vain. But candor compels the conclusion that by appealing to the police power to regulate social customs, instead of relying more upon public opinion, he awakened a train of evils greater than those he cured.

S. C.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

IN CALIFORNIA.

Los Angeles, Calif., Sept. 24.

After leaving Modesto, Mrs. Joseph Fels and her party journeyed to Turlock, fourteen miles south in Stanislaus county, the city where the irrigation district of that name has its office. The Turlock Board of Trade gave the party a royal welcome. Mr. Weber, the Secretary, and Mr. Hultberg, a leading banker and real estate man of the town, as well as a staunch Singletaxer, took the entire party in autos about the 175,000 acres of that district.

The Turlock Irrigation District is one of the California irrigation districts organized under the old law, which compelled the taxation of improvements, besides land value. When the law was amended in 1909, the new districts were compelled to exempt improvements and personal property from the irrigation tax, and collect all of their revenue from the value of the land. The five old districts were permitted to adopt the new system by a vote of the owners of the land who lived in the district. Modesto was the first old district to adopt this system in 1911.

Immediately upon the law being amended, Mr. Hultberg and a few others began to agitate for the Singletax. The newspapers published in the Turlock district of that year are full of articles from

Mr. Hultberg's pen advocating the change. In May of 1914 it was my privilege to address the farmers of the district on the Singletax. The editor of the Ceres Courier favored Mrs. Fels with copies of his editorials published last year in which he quotes from Tom Johnson's My Story, and preaches pure Singletax in advocating the change. The election was held February 19, of this year, and the Singletax carried by more than a four to one vote in its favor.

The Board of Trade provided a meeting that night in front of the office of the Irrigation District. Mr. H. C. Hoskins, a Singletaxer, and business man of the town presided. A large crowd listened to Mrs. Fels, Dr. Slaughter and Professor Barnes. After the meeting many of those present expressed their approval of what had been said by the speakers.

The next stop was made at Madera, the county seat of the county of that name, about sixty miles south of Turlock. Madera is one of the land-monopoly ridden counties of California. Miller & Lux own about 147,000 acres, or one-third of the valley area of this county, using it solely as a cattle and sheep range. Having but little improvements and returning few cattle in proportion to acreage, the total tax paid by that firm for land, improvements and personal property to that county amounts to but 25 cents per acre.

Farmers will sometimes have more improvements and personal property on twenty-five acres than that firm will have on 25,000 acres, causing their taxes to range from five to ten dollars per acre. A number of other large owners have in this county ranches ranging from 5,000 to 25,000 acres in area. The oppression of this land monopoly caused the people of Madera County to give a large majority vote in favor of our Home Rule in Taxation constitutional amendment last year.

An audience of about five hundred people gathered in the beautiful county park, to listen to the talking from the fine auditorium erected. Mr. John R. Richardson, president of the local Singletax league, presided. Mrs. Fels spoke briefly, after which Dr. Slaughter talked most eloquently and powerfully, receiving enthusiastic applause at the end. Professor Barnes then closed with a brief and earnest presentation of the religious aspects of the Singletax.

EDWARD P. E. TROY.



San Francisco, Calif., Sept. 22, 1915.

The directors of the Turlock Irrigation District, California, have fixed the tax rate for the year 1915 at \$3.70 on the \$100. This is a tax levy on land values alone as the district at a special election, held last February, voted to exempt improvements from taxation. Last year's rate levied against both land and improvements was \$3.65. During the campaign that preceded the special election it was stated that the exemption of improvements would necessitate a rate of about \$3.95 on realty valuations in order to produce the same amount of revenue that had been raised by the \$3.65 rate on improvements and land. Just why the rate this year is \$3.70 instead of \$3.95 may be explained by stating that although the assessment roll loses \$780,795 in valuations of improvements, land values have been raised about \$400,000; hence the net loss is

only about one-half what had been figured when the estimate of \$3.95 was made last spring.

Furthermore, the 15 per cent for delinquency, which was not added last year, was added this year, producing additional revenue amounting to \$14,805. The total realty (land) valuation in the district's assessment roll this year is \$9,879,965. Last year's valuation, which included both land and improvements, was \$10,183,210. This year's valuation, with a tax rate of \$3.70 plus delinquencies, will produce a total revenue of \$365,327, of which \$235,900 will be apportioned to the general fund and \$129,427 to the bond and interest fund. The directors, Messrs. S. A. Hultman, John Sisk, J. A. Orr, J. R. Chance and Claus Johnson, are attending the National Irrigation Congress in San Francisco and putting in some good work and words. There is a general feeling of optimism here over the news from Eastern points that the wages and hours of the workers are rising, it being generally admitted that they will be in a better position to purchase their commodities and making trade brisker throughout the Nation.

WALDO WERNICKE.



JOHN HOWARD SPRINGER.

Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 22.

John Howard Springer died near Willard, N. M., Sept. 12, 1915, age 56. His body was brought to Indianapolis for burial, which occurred on the 16th.

During the past 15 years, Mr. Springer had been most of the time in the southwest and on the Pacific coast, his health being such that he was compelled to abandon his home in Indianapolis. Within the past two years he had returned here improved in health, and with the hope that he could remain, but during the late months of last winter he again broke down. With a pluck that few men possess, broken and suffering with a fell disease, he again sought the southwest, where for many weeks he fought a brave but losing battle with the great destroyer.

Mr. Springer was well known to many of The Public readers, and was one of the most intelligently aggressive and uncompromising of Singletaxers. He became a convert to the Henry George philosophy in the early days of the movement, being converted from a believer in high protective tariff doctrines, and was unwavering in his devotion to singletax ideals to the very end of his earthly career.

Though a man of frail physical structure he was singularly endowed with an intellectual capacity to grasp ideas and to analyze quickly and accurately. It was often a remark among his friends that he was "all think." It would be no offense to him, and is no lack of regard for his memory, to say that he sometimes lacked in that tact and toleration which, even in strong controversy, make some men lovable, and that his biting candor sometimes stung even his friends, but he had such a compensating loyalty to his convictions and promulgated and defended them with such marked vigor and ability, in season and out of season, that those who knew him more or less intimately usually looked upon his frailties in the most tolerant of attitudes.

Illustrative of his characteristics was a few words in a letter received from him by the writer a few days before his death. Prompted by the knowledge

that a fraternal lodge in a town in the southwest, an order to which Mr. Springer belonged, had given him some much needed aid, I had suggested that reformers sometimes fail to give proper weight and support to those duties in life expressed in personal attentions. His answer was that lodge members acted very kindly and he fully appreciated their work, "but there are comparatively so few Singletaxers that they ought to work on the job (the Singletax) all the time." He had little time for anything but the cause that always loomed big in his life.

No man ever devoted himself more unselfishly to any cause than did Mr. Springer. His was a sturdy character, honest and self-reliant, and steadily endeavoring to be self-sustaining in the face of the most discouraging of physical difficulties. But he went about uncomplaining, and it was rare indeed that any of his troubles reached the ears of anyone. But the cause he believed in he spoke and worked for at all times. In the many letters I have received from him in the years that have passed, of himself he wrote little or nothing, but there were pages on some phase of the movement for economic justice, his observations of the movement in his travels, and his hopes for its growth.

While in late years he was somewhat out of tune with certain phases of the early singletax arguments, those of us who knew him best have the gratifying consciousness that John Howard Springer never for a moment wavered in his unbounded faith in the efficacy of the Singletax to establish economic justice; that he loved humanity, and that he hoped and worked for a larger life for the masses of men; that he went to his death serenely, and was troubled with none of the superstitious qualms that beset men with limited vision and clouded intellect.

JOHN F. WHITE.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

IF THINE ENEMY HUNGER, STARVE HIM.

Erindale, Ont., Sept. 21.

News item: "The British prize court today condemned the American products forming the cargoes of four steamships. The products, valued at several million dollars, are declared forfeited to the Crown. . . . Sir Samuel held that the meat cargoes were destined for delivery in Germany."

CHRISTINE ROSS BARKER.



PROPOSED REACTIONARY TAXATION CLAUSE.

New York City, Sept. 22, 1915.

Referring to page 907 of *The Public* of September 17th, we note that the summary of the proposed Constitution which you copy makes no mention of an important provision in the taxation article as follows:

Hereafter no exemption from taxation shall be granted except by general laws and upon the affirmative vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each House.

I believe the intention of this provision is to prevent the Legislature from directly or indirectly

granting any exemption from taxation on buildings or improvements or allowing the voters of any municipality to obtain such an exemption except by vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each House. It would thus appear that if 33 out of 50 Senators and all 150 Assemblymen voted for a bill partially reducing taxes on improvements the measure could not carry. This seems to have had no attention as yet from the press.

W. W. YOUNG.



SOME LURID LESSONS FROM THE FRANK CASE.

Marietta, Ga., Sept. 18, 1915.

The lynching of Leo Frank, the alleged murderer of Mary Phagan, terminated a criminal case perhaps unique in the history of this nation. The only public profit now to be derived from it is the discernment and evaluation of a few signs of the times made by it more luminous than ever. To these the patriot and the Christian may well attend and about them they should patiently and prayerfully ponder.

I.—The first of these lessons is that the masses of the people are beginning to resent with sullen bitterness the power of money to protect criminals from the punishment which our laws provide for their deeds. Frank is by no means the only man accused of a great crime to whose protection great wealth has been devoted. That the poor and the rich are equal before the courts of our land will be asserted only by a crazy man or a liar. A witness in this case testified that Frank said: "My people have money. Why should I be hung?" If he said that he used the diabolical dialect of the typical rich criminal in this land, and such defiance and contempt of government by the rich few are the forerunners and probably the causes of the spirit of revolt against constituted authorities which prevails increasingly among the masses. The sequel to the lawlessness of mammon is the lawlessness of the mob. It is quite the ordinary thing for the heinous criminal to expect exemption from punishment if he is able to secure the services of some so-called great criminal lawyer and he can always secure his services if he has money enough. This is true with the plutocrat who scorns the laws of the Federal government, or with the murderer who dreads not the state statutes as to crimes. Harsh words are probably not deserved by the lawyer who uses his great talents to free his client, because the system as it exists sanctions him, and yet it cannot be denied that there is an ominous accuracy as well as a grim humor in calling him "a criminal lawyer." He is contaminated by a subtle contagion that comes from his close contact with his crime infected client. We need some prophylactic legal ethics or some actual laws to prevent the prostitution of legal abilities. The worst criminal should have a fair trial and his lawyer should use his utmost power to see that he has it; but when guilty, through the shrewdness and the sophistries of his lawyer he goes unwhipped of justice the righteous resentment of the people is aroused and this resentment will from time to time express itself through illegal and violent channels and the dread is not unfounded that the intervals will grow alarm-

ingly shorter. Nature endeavors to slough off an abortive organ and to substitute an efficient one, and this is an analogy of what may be expected in a healthy political organism.

II. In the second place the danger of lodging sovereign power in the hands of one man is again demonstrated in this case. That the governor who commuted Frank's sentence to life imprisonment was a law partner of his chief counsel infuriated many thousands of the citizens of Georgia, and many others, of whom the writer is one, who believe that he acted conscientiously, deplore the supreme folly of his acting on the matter at all, when it could so easily have been left to his successor in office. However, this case, along with others, demonstrates that the people should take away from the governors the royal prerogative to pardon or commute. It is a survival of mediaeval absolutism which should be excised from the body politic without delay. It has been used many times for political effect. Not many years have passed since the governor of one of our states pardoned a political friend convicted of murder, when the echo of the verdict of the jury had hardly died out; and another state more recently had its penitentiary almost emptied by the erratic pardons issued by a governor, and it has been but a few weeks since the governor of still another state who as district attorney before he was elected governor, prosecuted and convicted a man for murder, went through the hollow form of considering his petition for mercy. Is it not time in no spirit of haste or passion, but as matter of political wisdom to relieve our governors of the danger and responsibility of autocratic prerogative?

III. A third serious lesson was made plain when Frank was so easily taken from the State Prison, and that is the lamentable inefficiency of many of our state governments. Unless they shall be made more efficient the next step in our political evolution will be an increase of power in the Federal government. States' rights ought no doubt to be regarded, but rights involve obligations and we need nothing more perhaps than a crusade to increase the efficiency of our state governments. In spite of the outcome of the Civil War there is no danger that any state in the union will now have its rights violated from without; but there is real danger that state governments will become so inefficient as that the people will make undreamed of changes in our political system. That there should be a storm of villification of Georgia because of this tragic Frank case was to be expected; but that the ominous conditions made clearer than ever by it are national rather than provincial, all fair and judicially-minded persons will be ready to admit. To remedy them should enlist the utmost energies of every patriot and every Christian.

REMBERT G. SMITH, D. D.



EXPECTING THE OLD GRIND OVER AGAIN.

Washington, Sept. 16, 1915.

Reviewing the trade and industry of the United Kingdom in 1914, the London Chamber of Commerce Journal for January quotes the Chancellor

of the Exchequer to the effect that after the war there will be some four or five years of prosperity for British industries and then years of depression must ultimately and inevitably ensue. Messrs. Boling and Lowe, contributing to the same issue, say: "We share the view expressed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that when peace is secured there will be four or five years of great prosperity for all English industries. . . . and it will be the effort of our manufacturers and exporters to so consolidate their grip on the world's markets that they can face the lean years which the colossal destruction of capital may be expected to bring in its wake."

The "wake" is most noticeable immediately astern of a ship and disappears within the space of four or five furlongs. The destruction of capital will be most apparent in its effects immediately after the war and should be almost imperceptible four or five years afterwards, when it will have been in large measure replaced.

After the war rents for a time will be lower and wages high, but as production increases rents will rise and wages, relatively at least, will fall; and it will be the effort of the owners of land (including mines, water powers, etc.) to so consolidate their grip on the world's natural resources that they can face with equanimity the lean years which will inevitably ensue for those who are engaged in productive industry.

The high authorities on the metals trade quoted above, and the well informed Journal, and the learned Chancellor, know exactly what is going to happen—prosperity and depression, progress and poverty.

WILLIAM WALLACE CHILDS.

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, September 28, 1915.

The Labor War.

A strike was ordered in Chicago on September 23 by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. About 25,000 men and women are affected. The only large firm not affected by the order is Hart, Shaffner & Marx, which has an arbitration agreement with employees. The union demands reduction of hours to 48 a week without reduction of wages and an arbitration arrangement similar to that with Hart, Shaffner & Marx. The wage scale for week workers to be: for cutters, \$26 a week; trimmers, \$20 a week, and apprentices, \$8 a week.



In charging the Hudson County, New Jersey, grand jury on September 21, Justice Swayze severely criticized the Standard Oil Company's action in hiring gunmen to break the strike at Bayonne. He said that private persons or cor-

porations had no right to maintain armed forces, and that if life was taken as a result of such illegal act, all participating therein are guilty. He laid down the principle that life taken in defense of property—and not in self-defense—is murder.



Mrs. Lee Champion and Mrs. Sarah L. Scanlan of the Colorado Justice League called on John D. Rockefeller, Jr., at Denver on September 27 to talk over the labor troubles in the mining districts. The conference was private, but an account of what took place was later given out by Mrs. Champion. Mr. Rockefeller was told that the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, in which his father is the largest stockholder, had supplied the funds to pay the Colorado militia, while they were shooting at the miners. The history of the troubles, including the Ludlow massacre, was repeated to him. Mrs. Champion asked whether he intended to recognize the miners' union. He said that his attitude on that matter was still the same as announced in his statement to the Commission on Industrial Relations. Asked what he would do about John R. Lawson and the other miners indicted since the strike, he said that he had nothing to do with that, that it was a matter for the courts to handle. Mrs. Champion reminded him that a word from him would nevertheless do much to insure a fair deal to the prisoners. She then asked him:

If John R. Lawson is guilty of murder through conspiracy, are you not equally guilty?

Rockefeller evaded the question. He said what information he had, did not show that the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company was in any way responsible for the acts of the militia. Mrs. Champion then offered him documentary evidence in proof of the charge that the company had employed murderers and thugs released from the penitentiary and paid them as employes, while they served in the militia. Mr. Rockefeller refused to accept it.



Although Federal Judge Anderson issued an injunction to restrain a strike of Fort Wayne street railway employees, they nevertheless quit work on September 27. They demand reinstatement of men said to have been discharged for membership in the union.



Chicago School Affairs.

An injunction was issued on September 23 by Judge John M. O'Connor restraining the Chicago Board of Education from enforcing its rule against the Teachers' Federation. The Board's attorney announced that an appeal would be taken to the Appellate Court. Among the steps that had been taken by the Board to enforce the rule, before being restrained by the court, was withholding from

some members of the Federation increases in salaries legally due them. Further withholding of this money will now be contempt of court. [See current volume, page 930.]



Students to Act On Nearing Case.

The following resolution was adopted on September 21 by the Students' Executive Committee of the Wharton School of Finance, the economic department of the University of Pennsylvania, from which Professor Scott Nearing was recently dropped:

The executive committee of the Wharton School Association has recognized the importance of the free speech issue in our university and has decided to call a meeting at which the students may discuss the matter formally. At this meeting the sentiment and action of the students will be finally determined. [See current volume, page 641.]



Reactionaries Challenged to Debate.

In an open letter, dated September 22, to David Jayne Hill of the National Association for Constitutional Government, the National Popular Government League says:

We note with interest the organization of the General Committee of the National Association for Constitutional Government, of which you are chairman, and of which former President Taft, Hon. Alton B. Parker and ex-Senator Julius C. Burrows are distinguished members. It is interesting also to note that your purpose is "earnestly approved" by Senator Elihu Root in his letter sent out with your literature.

We are in cordial agreement with your declared general purpose of upholding constitutional government and of preserving our representative institutions. We are in disagreement, at least to some extent, as to the method by which to achieve this end.

We favor what we term "the Gateway amendment." That is, a means of making the Federal constitution substantially easier of amendment.

We believe the Initiative, Referendum and Recall (in workable form) are necessary—at least in our cities and States—to make representative government representative of the people rather than of special interests.

You oppose the Gateway amendment. You take no clear stand with regard to other measures which we regard essential for the adequate protection of our fundamental rights of life, liberty and property. You fail even to mention the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. We regret this vagueness. It leaves us no means of knowing your purposes regarding these measures except the views of your committeemen. They, so far as they are known to us, are in the main opposed to them. We are therefore compelled to infer that your organization not only will not support the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, but will probably oppose these measures. We desire to be corrected if wrong in this inference.

So far as you are specific, you speak of the Federal constitution in the words "the existing method of amending it being deemed wise and adequate." We hold that the present method is so cumbersome and

restricted as to endanger peaceful progress because it permits a small but powerful privileged minority to indefinitely block the adoption of changes necessary to the general welfare, long after such changes are demanded by a majority of the people. It took ninety years to secure the direct election of United States Senators, and it took eighteen years of fighting to get the Income Tax amendment, during which time the wealth of the nation escaped taxation in support of the national government in a sum estimated at not less than two billion dollars.

In a word, we propose to strengthen representative government by increasing the people's control over it. You, if we correctly infer your position, oppose giving further power to the voters and favor government by elective oligarchies, recklessly left exposed, as at present, to control by invisible influences.

Assuming that we are right in this estimate of your purposes, we wish, in the public interest, to take issue squarely with you on these principles of popular government and challenge you publicly to debate either or both of the following questions at such time and place as may be agreed upon:

First—Resolved, That the Initiative, Referendum and Recall are a fulfillment of, and not in conflict with, the principle upon which the American government is founded, and that their adoption is advisable.

Second—Resolved, That the existing method of amending the Federal constitution is not wise or adequate.

The affirmative of these propositions will be maintained by Senator Robert L. Owen, president of the National Popular Government League, and you are asked to defend the position taken by your organization through an advocate chosen by yourselves, preferably Senator Elihu Root, Hon. Alton B. Parker or Prof. W. H. Taft. (Signed.)

Frank P. Walsh,
Lewis J. Johnson,
A. J. McKelway,
Geo. W. Norris,

Executive Committee.

By Judson King, Executive Secretary.



Taxation in Pueblo, Colorado.

The result of a thorough investigation of assessments in Pueblo, Colorado, has been published by the local Singletax League. It shows that assessments were not made in accordance with the amendment adopted in November of 1913. The report says in part:

The assessment of property in Pueblo county for purposes of taxation would be comical if it were not serious. The people voted to exempt from taxation one-half of the value of improvements in the city of Pueblo for one year, and thereafter to exempt 99 per cent of the value of improvements. That's what the people did. "The powers that be" seem disinclined to obey "the voice of the people," and have evidently induced the assessor to perform a series of feats that are really worthy of observation, though hardly of emulation. The people said they would exempt improvements. Now read what the assessor did:

In 1912 the assessment of city and town lots for

Pueblo county was for lots \$7,908,010 and for improvements \$6,979,683, as shown by the recapitulation at the end of the tax lists of 1912.

This is the assessment that was in force at the time the Singletax law was adopted.

The recapitulation at the end of the tax lists of 1913 shows city and town lots to be worth \$14,691,885 and improvements \$14,565,585.

The recapitulation at the end of the 1914 tax lists shows city and town lots \$13,890,840 and improvements \$15,194,293.

The assessor's abstract for 1915, as published in the Chieftain of September 1, this year, shows city and town lots \$11,286,336 and improvements \$13,774,417.

The State Tax Commission raised the assessment of 1914 7 per cent, and we must add the same percentage to the abstract figures for 1915 if we would fairly compare the assessment of 1915 with that of 1914.

Seven per cent added to the city and town lots (or to \$11,286,336) gives \$12,076,380, and 7 per cent added to improvements (or to \$13,774,417) gives \$14,738,626.

We have, therefore:

	Pueblo County Lots.	Pueblo County Improvements.
1912	\$ 7,908,010	\$ 6,979,683
1913	14,691,885	14,565,585
1914	13,890,840	15,194,293
Abstract, 1915	11,286,336	13,774,417
1915 with 7 per cent added	12,076,380	14,738,626

In 1913, as compared with 1912, there was an increase of \$6,783,875 on lots and an increase of \$7,585,902 on improvements, or \$802,027 more on improvements than on lots. The burden on improvements was raised in the amount of \$802,027 as compared with lots.

In 1914 the recapitulation shows lots were reduced from the 1913 assessment of \$14,691,885 to \$13,890,840, or in the sum of \$801,045, and improvements were raised from the 1913 assessment of \$14,565,585 to \$15,194,293, or in the sum of \$628,708. This is an increased burden on improvements, as compared with lots, of \$628,708 plus \$801,045, or \$1,429,753, and added to the change of \$802,027, made in 1913, makes \$2,231,780 added to the valuation of improvements as compared with lots.

Fortunately for home owners, the Singletax exempts 50 per cent of the value of improvements this year. Except for this Singletax exemption the burden of home owners would have been unbearable under this most astonishing assessment.

In spite of the antics of the assessor's office, the taxes of a large majority of the home owners of Pueblo are lower than they were in 1912, and this saving is wholly due to the Singletax 50 per cent exemption of improvements.

If the State Tax Commission raises the 1915 assessment 7 per cent as it did that of 1914, lots will be assessed at \$12,076,380, or \$1,814,460 less than the 1914 assessment, and improvements will be \$14,738,626, or \$455,667 less than the 1914 assessment, which is a discrimination of \$1,358,793 in favor of lots as compared with improvements.

But the home owner is now safe, for next year the Singletax exempts 99 per cent of the value of improvements. Remember, \$99 out of every \$100 of

the value of your improvements will not be subject to taxation by the city next year.

Absolutely crooked assessments cannot deprive home owners of all the benefits of the Singletax.

If the State Tax Commission does not change the assessor's valuations, lots will be reduced from the 1914 assessed value in the sum of \$2,604,504, and improvements in the sum of \$1,419,876, which is a disadvantage to improvements as compared with lots of \$1,184,628. Figures for 1915 are not officially verified, but improvements are burdened four times as much as lots.

What do taxpayers think of this series of feats by which the relative burden on improvements was raised?

\$ 802,027in 1913
1,429,753in 1914
1,358,793in 1915

The report presents figures of many individual assessments, showing that the law has been deliberately defied, and says that the evident purpose is to array home owners against the Singletax, or failing in this to make them pay the taxes that an honest enforcement of the singletax law would levy on speculators in outlying vacant lots. But in spite of unfair official action the large majority of Pueblo homes are bearing a smaller burden of taxes than prior to adoption of the singletax amendment. [See vol. xvii, p. 687.]



The following statement is being sent by the League to all taxpayers:

The assessor has recently informed several taxpayers that the next assessment is largely a duplicate of the last, although changed in a few instances, or locations. Therefore we can calculate next year's taxes with approximate accuracy.

The total city revenue from taxation for 1914 in Pueblo is \$368,467.

One mill is levied on personal property.

One-half the value of improvements is exempt.

	Assessed values are.	Taxable values.
Land	\$11,696,795	\$11,696,795
Franchises	1,685,240	1,685,240
Improvements	14,083,420	7,041,710
Personal property	6,540,470
	<u>\$34,005,925</u>	<u>\$20,423,745</u>
One mill on personalty gives.....		\$ 6,540
An average rate of 17.7 mills on \$20,423,745 gives		<u>361,500</u>
		<u>\$368,040</u>

Next year 1 per cent of improvements will be taxable and 1 mill will be levied on personalty.

Taxable property, 1915—	
Land	\$11,696,795
Franchises	1,685,240
One per cent of improvements.....	140,834
	<u>\$13,522,869</u>
Average rate of 26.8 mills on \$13,522,869 gives	<u>\$ 362,412</u>

Personal property is valued at \$6,540,470 and 1 mill gives..... 6,540

\$ 368,952

The total assessed value (as above) is....\$34,005,925
A rate of 10.83 mills on \$34,005,925 gives.. 368,284

To figure your city taxes under the old system, multiply the value of all your property by 10.83 mills.

To figure your city taxes under the Singletax of next year and thereafter, add 1 per cent of the value of improvements to land values and multiply this sum by 26.8 mills. Then multiply the value of personal property by 1 mill. Add the two results—and compare with tax under the old system.

To provide for lost liquor revenue under either system add to your city tax 25 per cent of itself—that is, if your city tax is \$12 make it \$15.



Mexico.

Trouble along the Texas border to the west of Brownsville continues from depredations of irresponsible bands of outlaws who slip across the border and attack American settlers. When any of these bands are overtaken by the American patrol, fighting ensues, with disastrous results to the Mexicans. As the American troops do not pursue the bandits into Mexico, they find shelter south of the border, and come back at every opportunity. General Nafarette, the Carranza officer in charge, has proclaimed a neutral border of no man's land south of the boundary, in order to keep his own troops from assisting the bandits. It is now proposed by the Americans to use mountain guns along the border to shell out the marauders when they retreat into the neutral zone. Almost all of the casualties have been confined to the bandits. [See current volume, page 931.]



No definite developments have taken place at Washington. The agents of the various Mexican factions are active in behalf of their partisans, and the President continues to study the situation with a view to picking one that the Administration can safely recognize.



China.

The question of determining the form of government for the nation is to be left, according to reports from Peking, to a citizen's convention. President Yuan Shih-Kai said at a meeting of the state council:

I already have promulgated a mandate setting November 20 as the date for the final election of members of the citizens' convention. When the elections are completed throughout the country the citizens' convention will be summoned and formally inaugurated. We shall then be able to secure and ascertain the proper opinion of the people.

The President's action is receiving favorable comment in the Chinese capital. To the officers of the military forces, who have urged him to convert the government into a monarchy, he has said

that the matter is now in the hands of the people. It is reported that the movement to set up a monarchy is rapidly spreading. No organized effort in behalf of the republic is apparent. [See current volume, page 883.]



European War.

Reverses appear to have come to the Teutonic arms both on the eastern and the western fronts. The German advance still hangs on Dvinsk, where the Russians continue to hold their position. It is reported that the Russians trapped a considerable German force in the marshes near Pinsk, forcing them to retreat with heavy losses. Still farther to the south the Austrians are falling back. The triangular fortresses, Lutsk, Dubno and Rovno, the first two of which were taken by the Austrians, have been recovered by the Russians. In Galicia also the Austrians are retreating before the recovering Russians. Internal disturbances incident to the proroguing of the Duma have subsided temporarily, though there is an active movement in behalf of its recall, and of a reorganization of the cabinet. [See current volume, page 932.]



The long cannonading on the western front ended on the 25th by an advance of the Allies in France and Belgium in which greater gains are reported than at any time since the battle of the Marne. In the Champagne region to the west of Verdun the French claim an advance along fifteen miles of their front, and going forward in places two and a half miles. Between Arras and La Basse the British advanced to the third line of the German intrenchments, taking the village of Loos and the long disputed Souchez. The fighting continues, with the Germans making desperate attempts to recover their positions. Details of the battle have not been published, but the losses are said to be enormous. British war ships bombarded the Belgian coast, particularly at Zeebrugge, during the land battle. Berlin reports the sinking of one ship and the disabling of two others.



No developments of moment have been reported from the Dardanelles or from Italy. Much interest still clings to the Balkan situation. Bulgaria's mobilization has been followed by that of Greece and Roumania, bringing the five minor nations under arms. Bulgaria announces that it will maintain a position of armed neutrality, similar to that of Switzerland. There is mutual suspicion and distrust.



The new British budget announced by Chancellor McKenna includes sharp advances in the income tax, in the tariff taxes, and in the addition of more articles to the dutiable list of imports. Tobacco is to have a heavier tax, and the half

penny postage is to be doubled. The income tax is raised 40 per cent. Fifty per cent is to be taken from war profits after the income tax has been deducted. Tea is advanced from ten cents to fifteen cents a pound, cocoa from two to three, coffee from four to six, and sugar is to have a duty of 1.48 cents a pound. Benzine, gasoline and similar spirits will pay twelve cents instead of six cents a gallon. The rate on patent medicines has been doubled. Motor cars, bicycles, moving picture films, clocks, watches, musical instruments, plate glass pay a duty of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. The new budget provides \$1,360,000,000 with an expenditure of \$7,950,000,000. A British committee is in this country concluding the terms of a half billion dollar loan for France and England. The money is to remain in this country to be drawn against in payment for supplies, other than munitions of war.



The German government has negotiated at home a loan exceeding \$3,000,000,000. Dr. Helfferich, Secretary of the Imperial Treasury, estimates the daily per capita expense of the war to be 25 cents in Germany and 55 cents in Great Britain.

NEWS NOTES

—Several women teachers at Independence, Mo., led by Miss Anna Baskin, have refused to pay taxes because denied the right to vote.

—There are now living only 396,370 of the 2,213,365 men who enlisted in the Union army during the Civil War. Death claimed 33,255 in 1915.

—Louis F. Post will speak in Chicago at Orchestra Hall on Sunday evening, October 3, under the auspices of the Sunday Evening Club on "The City Righteous."

—The Alabama legislature on September 21 passed a bill prohibiting dealing in cotton futures. Buyers in cotton must hereafter contract in writing for its delivery at a stipulated time.

—At the Massachusetts state-wide primary on September 21 Governor David T. Walsh was renominated by the Democrats. The Republicans nominated Congressman Samuel W. McCall. [See current volume, page 863.]

—Premier T. C. Norris, of the Manitoba government, announced on the 21st that a referendum will be taken on March 19 on the prohibition of all sales of liquor. If it carries, no liquor licenses will be issued after May 31 in Manitoba.

—Petitions are being circulated in the 23d ward of Chicago in behalf of the aldermanic candidacy of William C. Wulff, formerly an active singletax worker in Cincinnati, and for the last fifteen years engaged in similar work in Chicago.

—The Interstate Commerce Commission on September 21 postponed putting in effect of its order in the case of the Western railroads until December 31. This was done at the request of the roads to

give them time to file a plea for a rehearing. [See current volume, page 810.]

—Philadelphia primaries on September 21 resulted in nomination for mayor by the Republicans of former postmaster Thomas B. Smith; by the Washington party of Director of Public Safety George D. Porter; by the Democrats of Gordon Bromley, and by the Keystone party of James E. Gorman. The convention of the newly formed Singletax party nominated L. W. Marks.

—Eight persons were killed and 85 injured in New York City on September 23 through a cave-in on Seventh avenue caused by blasting for the new subway. The injured persons were in a trolley which fell into the excavation. A second accident of a similar kind on Broadway and 38th street occurred on September 25 and resulted in death to one woman and injury to four men.

—Premier Arthur Sifton announces that a bill will be introduced in the next session of the Alberta legislature, with the full approval of the government, giving equal suffrage to men and women. As this measure conveys also the right to vote in parliamentary elections it will place Alberta with New Zealand and Australia as the only places in the British Empire where men and women have equal rights.

—An attack of Haitian rebels on an American force near Cape Haitien resulted in the killing of forty Haitians and the wounding of ten Americans. The disarming of the natives continues as the marines advance into the interior. General Rameau, commanding 500 native troops, has agreed not to oppose the opening of the railroad and the taking of supplies into Gonaives. [See current volume, page 932.]

—The Federal grand jury at Chicago on September 21 indicted eight individuals and two corporations on charges relating to the Eastland disaster. The indicted ones include the chief officials of the St. Joseph-Chicago Steamship Company and of the Indiana Transportation Company, the two indicted corporations. Other indictments are against the Federal inspectors and the master and chief engineer of the Eastland. [See current volume, page 788.]

—An initiative petition was filed on September 11 with the Oklahoma Secretary of State submitting a proposed amendment to the constitution for reform in the election laws. The proposition provides for State, county and precinct election boards of three members, one from each of the three powerful parties. The members are to be chosen by the parties to be represented. At present local election boards are appointed by a State board, which is appointed by the Governor. The initiative petition was pushed by the Socialists and received 60,037 signatures.

PRESS OPINIONS

Unshackling Business.

Reedy's Mirror (St. Louis), September 24.—Mr. Louis P. Aloe, a merchant with a mind that he uses to think with, made an address to the Associated

Retailers of St. Louis the other evening. He told them something. He told them that one of the burdens on merchandising in St. Louis that should be removed is the fine array of taxes and licenses levied on business here. . . . To the support of the progressive Mr. Aloe, who makes a melody like a Singletaxer, comes the thunderous Globe-Democrat in last Saturday morning's paper, condemning this tax upon enterprise. Says that paper: "The records show that it (the tax upon enterprise) is ended or in the process of being ended, in all of the larger centers of industry and population. In 'Financial Statistics of Cities,' lately compiled and issued by the Census Bureau, this tax is shown to have not been laid, in 1911, in such cities as Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore and Pittsburgh. What is even more striking is that the amount of such taxes collected in New York, in that year, was only about half of the amount collected in St. Louis. That collected in Chicago was only about one-third of the St. Louis tax. St. Louis must get rid of such a burden on business." This is the true doctrine of taxation. Nothing should be taxed that can be moved away. Whatever can be moved away is produced by labor, by service. Therefore, we should not tax houses, tools, machinery, equipment fixtures, furniture, money in bank, stocks and bonds. But, says the terrified contemplator of such exemption, how shall we raise revenue if we don't tax those things? . . . Revenue! The land value of St. Louis is big enough to provide all the revenue needed for all kinds of improvements and public services. The more improvements made and services rendered, the more land value is increased: the more land values increase the more revenue is provided. It is a virtuous circle. The landholder as such contributes nothing to the productiveness of the city. He doesn't produce the land, but he charges others for the use of it. Everybody's work contributes to him. He contributes nothing since he passes all the taxes he now pays on to the people who must use this land. He could not pass it on if the community took all his rent. He would let go and land would be more plentiful. It would be more used. There would be more work for the workers, at better pay, more business for merchants and manufacturers. The way to make St. Louis the greatest city in the United States is to take the taxes off all forms of production, to make labor and capital tax free, to tax not land, but land value. There would be no men looking for jobs, but thousands of jobs looking for men.



A Logical Conclusion.

The Rebel (Hallettsville, Texas), September 18.—To be perfectly frank with our readers, we believe that the present land plank in the Socialist State platform, while far ahead of any land plank presented by any political party in the South, is subjected to the criticism of being, if not unscientific, at least not as wide sweeping and far-reaching as it should be. Our present land plank in Texas calls for a tax equal to the full rental value to be levied on all land held for speculation or exploitation and not actually used and occupied by the owner. Homesteads are exempted from the rental tax. The trouble with the foregoing plank is that it makes it pos-

sible for confusion to ensue in the minds of the average man or woman who will ask all kinds of questions that may suggest themselves as to what "exploitation" is, and how much land is subject to use and occupancy, and whether the exempted homesteads should be larger or smaller than other homesteads where the land is richer or poorer. Another objection is that the large land owners will seek to secure all sorts of legal subterfuges, such as acquiring a large number of different homesteads which they would give to each of the different members of their families and retainers. Lengthy court proceedings would undoubtedly ensue with the result that the cases would be taken to the courts and, if the courts are true to their traditions, would inevitably result in decisions in favor of the landlords. The result would be that landlordism would not be killed, although scotched. In seeking a way out of this dilemma we have gone, we believe, to the root of the trouble and have reached the conclusion that what is necessary to save ourselves from all entanglements, to go to the heart of the question and permanently destroy landlordism in city and in country, is to adopt the principle of the Single-tax in all its phases without equivocation or reservation.

olistic power derived from some special aid given it by government, from some unfair advantage conferred by a railroad corporation, or from control of natural resources?

6. A. Should the District of Columbia be given complete local self-government?

B. Do you favor municipalization of the street railways and other public utilities of the District?

C. Should the half and half system of paying local government expenses in the District be abolished?

D. Should any change be made in the present system of taxation of the District?

Publication of definite answers received began on page 864 of current volume, to be continued in following numbers and concluded in this issue. [Editors of The Public.]



Congressman Rufus Hardy of Texas.

1. Possibly Congress or States might.
2. Yes.
3. Too broad for answer.
4. Favored and still favor the building of this road by Government. Have not studied details of Bailey bill.
5. Certainly.
6. A. Yes.
- B. Inclined to do so. Possibly Chicago has solved this question.
- C. Yes.
- D. Not answered.



Congressman Eugene Black of Texas.

1. I answer that by first making the observation that prosperity isn't altogether the creature of Law. The most that any Government can do is to bring about an equality of opportunity and an open door to success, and then the citizen must step in himself and furnish the thrift and industry that is necessary.

It is the duty of the Government to provide, in every possible way, for an adequate and elastic currency system that will meet the needs of the commercial and agricultural interests of the country, and I hope that this has been in a good measure accomplished by the establishment of the regional banking system.

However, I believe that additional legislation is needed to meet the needs of our farming interest, and I believe this will be the most important task of the next Congress. In my opinion, the regional banking system is admirably fitted to serve the business and commercial interests of the country, but by no means adequately meets the needs of the agricultural interests.

I think that the "Back to the Farm" idea is the most sane solution of the unemployment situation. I have always lived either on the farm or in a small town, and I know that the man who owns his own little farm always has a job and you can't put him out of employment. Therefore, I am going to be strongly in favor of a Rural Credits bill that will enable a man, who goes at it in the proper way, to borrow money on long time at a low rate of interest, to purchase and improve a farm.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE ALTGELD MONUMENT.

For The Public.

So often halts our meed of praise
 Until the bar is crossed;
 'Till bell is tolled and flags are draped,
 And tardy Ignorance learns from Time
 The debt we ever owe those larger souls
 Who lead us on.
 And then on marble cold and printed page,
 In pretty diction done,
 Confess ourselves
 The fools we mortals mostly be.

GEO. WHITELEY TAYLOR.



WHERE CONGRESSMEN STAND.

The following questions were recently sent by The Public to Congressmen and Senators:

1. Do you think that Congress can legislate in such a way as to increase opportunities for employment?
2. Should the telegraph and telephone be made part of the postal system?
3. What measures additional to those already existing are needed for conservation of natural resources?
4. Would it be practical or desirable to defray the cost of the government railroad in Alaska by the method proposed in the bill of Congressman Bailey of Pennsylvania; that is, to take for this purpose the land values which the building of the road will create?
5. Should the Trade Commission in investigating a trust seek to determine whether it has monop-

I think that the Creator primarily intended the land for homes, and I wish to assist, in every way that I possibly can, the man who aspires to pass from tenantry into home ownership. You have lived in a city and I have not, and you understand its problems better than I do, but I think that you will agree with me, that a great many people who have moved into your city from the country would have been a great deal better off if they had remained in the country. In other words, one of your big problems is not so much a problem of legislation as it is the crowding of population into the cities, and as long as this continues there are certain to come times when the problem of unemployment will be a serious one, and no system of government ever devised by mortal man will wholly solve it.

Let the government do everything that it possibly can to make farm life attractive and profitable.

Let the activities of the Agricultural Department in its instruction on improved seed selection, soil conservation and better methods of culture be still further extended.

Let both State and Federal governments encourage and assist the building of better highways, and let the school facilities of the rural communities be brought up to the highest possible point of efficiency, with special stress laid on scientific agriculture and the industrial arts.

In other words, make farm life profitable and desirable and remove the incentive to crowd into the cities. When this is done a long stride will have been made in the solution of the problem of unemployment.

2. I answer no. The activities of the Post Office Department are already somewhat hampered because of lack of funds and many rural communities desiring free delivery are having to wait. Of course the Post Office Department is doing splendid work every year in the improvement and extension of the postal service and none has ever done better than under our present Postmaster General, Albert S. Burleson, but with the growth of the country there will be even greater demands for extension and improvement, and I do not believe that it would be a wise idea for the government to embark in the ownership of the telephone and telegraph lines.

There is plenty of room yet for activity in the improvement of the postal service.

3. Not answered.

4. Not answered.

5. I answer this question in the affirmative.

If the facts disclose that any private monopoly exists by reason of government favoritism, then that favoritism ought to be withdrawn, and the more speedily the better. If it exists by reason of unfair advantage conferred on it by some railroad corporation, then that fact ought to be known, because a railroad has no moral right to make any discrimination in favor of or against any of its customers. It is a common carrier and should be made to treat all shippers alike.

Any other rule is a violation of both the letter and spirit of the law.

Also, if it can be shown that any monopoly is in control of a sufficient percentage of natural resources in its particular line to enable it to oppress the people, then this fact ought to be shown so that

Congress in its regulatory powers may pass laws that will safeguard the interests of the public.

6. In respect to this:

The last session of Congress had some of these matters under consideration, and a committee was appointed from the Senate and the House of Representatives to make an investigation and report to the next session of Congress. I shall await this report before jumping at conclusions in the matter.

I am a new member of Congress and am not familiar with local conditions in the District of Columbia and expect to make thorough study of the report which will be filed by this committee at the next session.

I am always glad to give my views on public questions and to have my constituents write me freely as to their views.



Congressman John S. Each of Wisconsin.

1. Yes, but mainly through increasing the size and number of so-called pork barrel bills.

2. Yes.

3. Passage by Congress of a general dam act applicable to the public domain and to navigable waters. Passage by the legislatures of the several States of water power and forestry legislation.

4. I have some doubts. I fear that Bailey's plan would retard development by delaying settlement.

5. Yes.

6. A. No, the government should maintain some measure of control through Congress.

B. Yes.

C. I am not wedded to the half and half ratio, but believe the Federal government should help sustain the District.

D. Yes; intangible as well as tangible property should be taxed.



Congressman Thomas S. Konop of Wisconsin.

1. Yes.

2. No.

3. None. Let private capital develop water powers. Too much water running away waiting for people to act.

4. Yes.

5. Yes.

6. A. Yes.

B. No.

C. Yes.

D. Yes



Congressman M. E. Burke of Wisconsin.

1. Yes.

2. Yes.

3. The passage into law of the Conservation bills, substantially in the form in which they passed the House of Representatives in the second session of the 63d Congress.

4. No. I am not in favor and do not consider it practicable or desirable to defray the cost of the Government railway in Alaska by the method proposed by Congressman Bailey of Pennsylvania.

5. Most certainly.

6. A. No.

B. Yes.

C. Yes.

D. Yes. Under the present system the Government is being favored by the Government.



One of the Most Progressive and Democratic of Congressmen, Whose Name Is Withheld Pending Publication of an Article More at Length.

1. Yes.

2. Yes.

3. Leases of grass, oil, coal, nitrates, phosphates, radium, etc.

4. Yes.

5. Yes.

6. A. Doubtful.

B. Yes.

C. Yes.

D. Government should pay on property owned and half park and street maintenance expenses.

BOOKS

A TREATISE ON IMMORTALITY.

Is Death the End? By John Haynes Holmes. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

The subject discussed in this book has always seemed to me of supreme importance, and I have read a number of treatises on it, representing different standpoints. But of all I have read none has been at the same time so comprehensive, so critical and so convincing as this one by John Haynes Holmes. No important argument for or against the doctrine of immortality is overlooked, and persons who doubt a hereafter but would like to believe can hardly find anything more helpful than this book.

In order briefly to indicate the standpoint of the author and the contents of his book I will first quote one or two sentences from the preface and then give the chapter-headings.

In his preface the author, who is an ardent social reformer, says: "I want to live on and on, simply because I am sure that within a narrow span of seventy or eighty years I never can learn all I want to learn, do all I want to do, or love all I want to love. I want to survive after death, for practically the same reason that I want to awake tomorrow morning after tonight's slumber. This life, like this day, is too short for the fulfillment of my purposes. I want to live on, because I want to work on, forever!" And then again: "This is the age of the social question, and therefore predominantly the age of thought and action for the life that is here and now. Strange as it may seem, it is just because of my supreme interest in the social movements of our time, and the stupendous emancipations of the bodies and souls of men that are involved in these movements, that I feel a fervent interest in the apparently remote problem of life after death. To regard this prob-

lem as remote, however, is the very essence of superficial thought and shallow feeling. Nothing in reality could be nearer; for not till we come to believe profoundly that every human being is at bottom an immortal soul can we see the social question of our day in its true aspect, and give to it its true direction. The one greatest public need of the present moment is the redemption of the modern movement of social revolution from the materialism which haunts it as camp-followers haunt an army. And this can be achieved only through the establishment of the idea that death is not the end of life."

The chapter-headings are as follows: I.—Introduction. II.—An Open Question. III.—Intimations of Immortality. IV.—Immortality and Evolution. V.—Immortality and Scientific Research. VI.—The Proof of Immortality. VII.—Conditional Immortality. VIII.—What Will Immortality Be Like? IX.—Is Immortality Desirable? X.—Mortal or Immortal: Does It Make Any Practical Difference? XI.—Conclusion.

AUGUST DELLGREN.



A STORY WITH A PURPOSE.

Great Is America. By Peter Richard Boylan. Published by The Purdy Publishing Co., 1000 Mallers Building, Chicago. 1915. Price, 75 cents, net.

Readers of the Sunday School stories of forty years ago could skip the preaching parts and still find enough story left to be interesting and entertaining. No doubt many of them availed themselves of this opportunity. Mr. Boylan's story may be classed with this literature, but he has so arranged it that the reader must not shirk reading the educational parts, if he would get anything at all out of the work. While apparently telling the life history of the conventional poor boy who grows up to become prosperous, the real object of the book, as the author frankly states, is to record some principles which he believes of great importance.

S. D.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Commission on Industrial Relations, Final Report. Frank P. Walsh, Chairman. Washington, D. C. 1915.

—The Mighty and the Lowly. By Katrina Trask. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. 1915. Price, \$1 net.

—Socialized Germany. By Frederic C. Howe. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Tin Plate Industry. By Donald Earl Dunbar. Published by Houghton-Mifflin Company, Boston and New York. 1915. Price, \$1 net.

—Essays and Speeches. By Charles G. Dawes. Published by Houghton-Mifflin Company. Boston and New York. 1915. Price, \$3 net.

—The Canadian Iron and Steel Industry. By W. J. A. Donald. Published by Houghton-Mifflin Company, Boston and New York. 1915. Price, \$2 net.

—Forty-seventh Annual Insurance Report of the Insurance Superintendent of the State of Illinois. Part II. Life Insurance, Legal Reserve, Assessment and Fraternal Beneficiary. 1915. Rufus M. Potts, Insurance Superintendent, Springfield, Ill.

PERIODICALS

Margaret A. Haley's Bulletin.

The Chicago school fight is attracting public attention from coast to coast, involving, as it does, issues that are by no means local. A wise move has consequently been made by Miss Margaret A. Haley, business agent of the Federation, in beginning the weekly publication of "Margaret A. Haley's Bulletin," which will present matters in connection with the fight that the daily press has not seen fit to publish. The first issue of the Bulletin has appeared under date of September 23 as a double number. It contains among other matters an account of proceedings of the school board's meeting at which the now famous—or infamous—rule against the Federation was adopted. It reproduces proceedings before the Baldwin Senatorial Committee, and promises in the next issue to produce evidence showing how the authorization of this committee was "corrected into the records." Facsimiles of letters are published, some of which are likely to embarrass the writers. The place of publication is 844 Unity Building and subscription price is \$2 a year.

In an address to the teachers Miss Haley says:

To the uninformed the attempt to annihilate the Chicago Teachers' Federation may have seemed to be a chance occurrence unrelated to any of the great tendencies of the time. It may have appeared to some to be merely a clash of personalities. It is none of these things.

Actually it reveals the dearest ambition of the financial feudal lords of America who have agreed upon one economic and political principle. That looks to the control of the public school system of the country.

The motive is simple. Profits are being reduced by a growing governmental control. Democracy demands that this control shall become more powerful in the future. The selfish interests of the wealthy classes depend upon the breaking down of the popular power, therefore, your fight for life is as profound and as precious as the early struggles of the men who founded this nation.

Back of the attempt to reduce your salaries;

Back of the attempt to take or to wrest from you your rights and privileges as the citizens of a free nation;

Back of the far-sighted attempt to doctor and adulterate the food which is poured into children's minds, lies a malign assault upon the basic principles of American government.

We intend to show that the campaign against the Chicago Teachers' Federation is the result of a criminal conspiracy. We intend to make clear the devious maneuvers by which the beneficiaries of special privilege acting through their agents in the Chicago School Board, in the executive offices of the government of Chicago, in the Senate of the State of Illinois, have acted in singular concert.

We intend to throw light upon every ugly detail of this abominable plot.

We will show how the power of those who profit by

defrauding the people of their just taxes and who grow rich by withholding the just wages due their own employees, reached the State Senate. We will show how "Big Business," which knows no law, did not hesitate even at altering the very records of the upper house of the Illinois Legislature, thereby corrupting government at its very source.

The immediate motive should be kept in mind. It is threefold. You are being punished:

Because you defeated the Cooley Vocational Bill;

Because you protested at the proposed cut of seven and one-half per cent in your salaries;

Because you have exercised your rights and privileges as the citizens of a free nation.

The determination of "Big Business" to reduce the teachers of Chicago to a state of servility was formed after the defeat of the Cooley Vocational Bill. The plot was hatched in Chicago when Mayor Thompson, by the use of his veto, failed to prevent the City Council from pursuing its projected investigation of the finances of the Chicago School Board. A hurry call was sent to the Senate at Springfield—and Mayor Thompson's good friend, Senator Samuel Ettelson, had the minutes of the Senate Journal "corrected."

The very remarkable details of this possibly criminal "correction" of the Journal of the Senate are made clear in exhibits to be presented in future issues of the Bulletin.

The intimate relation existing between the group in the Board of Education which passed the Loeb rule on September 1st, and the Senate commission "corrected" into the Senate Journal, will be shown by other exhibits. In subsequent issues other documents showing the particulars of this connection will be presented.

S. D.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

The White Horse. By Norman E. Tully, Hubbard, Ohio. Price, 5 cents.

Ground Rent and Taxes. By Jonas M. Miles, 28 Adams St., Brookline, Mass. Price, 10 cents.

The War in Europe. By Clarence Darrow. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Price, 10 cents.

United States Commission on Industrial Relations. Report on the Colorado Strike. By George P. West. Washington, D. C.

The Reign of Reason. By I. F. Bradley. Published by the Author, 206 Portsmouth Building, Kansas City, Kans. Price, 50 cents.

Decisions of Courts Affecting Labor. 1914. Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 169, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. 1915.

The National Women's Trade Union League of America. Proceedings of the Fifth Biennial Convention, New York City, June 7 to 12, 1915. Price, 25 cents.

Wages and Hours of Labor in the Iron and Steel Industry, 1907 to 1913. Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 168. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. 1915.

War Zones. Official Documents Concerning Neutral and Belligerent Rights, issued since August 4, 1914. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. 1915.

War Zones (continued): Interference With Trade. Official Documents Concerning Neutral and Belligerent Rights. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. 1915.

United States Commission on Industrial Relations. The National Erectors' Association and The International Association of Bridge and Structural Ironworkers. By Luke Grant. Washington, D. C.

Was it Envoy Dumba who inserted the mysterious advertisement: "Lost—A cane by a gentleman with a gold head"?—Timbuctoo Times.



"Now, Willie," said the mother, "you told me a falsehood. Do you know what happens to little boys who tell falsehoods?"

"No, ma'am," replied Willy sheepishly.

"Why," continued the mother, "a big black man with only one eye in the center of his forehead comes along and files with him to the moon, and makes him pick sticks for the balance of his life. Now, you will never tell a falsehood again, will you? It is awfully wicked!"—Ladies' Home Journal.

From the middle of October to December 31, the best book selling season of the year, we should sell at least \$800 or \$1,000 worth of literature, and make a little profit on our sales.

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Principal Speakers: Clarence Darrow, subject: "Legal Obstacles to Progress." Henry H. Hardinge, subject: "Ancient and Modern Morality."

George A. Schilling will preside.

OTTO CULLMAN, President. **E. J. BATTEN,** Business Secretary.

Chicago Sunday Evening Club

Opening Meeting of 9th Season, October 3
ORCHESTRA HALL, 8 P. M.

Hon. Louis F. Post

Subject: "The City Righteous"

Choir of 100—Noted Soloists Organ Recital at 7:40
Doors Open at 6:30 Seats Free

REAL MAN OR SLAVE MAN

—the latest booklet by Sidney A. Weltmer, full of help, inspiration and freedom—a practical application of Thinking to personal problems. It shows why men are slaves to their thoughts and how limiting thoughts may be displaced. Postpaid 25c.

Address Dept. P. M., Weltmer Institute, Nevada, Missouri

\$50 Cash Prize for the Best Singletax Poster

A reader of The Public has placed in our hands \$50 cash to be offered as a prize for the best poster illustrating the Singletax idea.

The size of the original must be 11 by 14 inches, or in that proportion.

The selection of the pictorial theme, manner of execution, and the wording, is left to the individual artist, with the reservation that colors—in entries where colors are used—must not exceed the three primaries, and it should be remembered that the design will be produced as a poster and as a poster stamp.

Quite subordinated, but still clear, the words, "Interested? Read The Public, Chicago; 50c, 26 issues" should appear, probably in one corner.

The competition will close on November 15, and all originals must be addressed to the Poster Competition Editor, The Public, Ellsworth Building, Chicago, Ill.

Return postage must be enclosed, if return of originals is desired. The winner will be announced in The Public of December 3, and in the January number of "The Poster," the editor of which is announcing the competition.

Artists who do not understand the Singletax can obtain literature from The Public's Book Department. Send 10c.

Each artist may submit as many designs as he desires, but every one must bear its individual identifying word or symbol on the back, which must be repeated on the outside of the sealed envelope enclosed with the design, containing the competitor's name and address.

Judges will be Will Carqueville, of the George Enos Throop Poster Advertising Co., Chicago; Frank D. Butler, Treasurer Illinois Singletax League; and Otto Cullman, President Chicago Singletax Club.

Copies of the winning poster will be distributed, at about cost of production, by the Circulation Department as soon as possible after the closing of the competition. Address all designs to

THE POSTER COMPETITION EDITOR
The Public Ellsworth Building Chicago