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EDITORIAL

Preparedness Tends to War.

Preparedness must be for aggressive war as well as for defense. So says that staunch preparationist organ, the Chicago Tribune, in its issue of October 9. In other words, preparedness means war. We cannot prepare for aggressive war without arousing suspicion of our intentions on the part of foreign nations. That means a competitive struggle to build the biggest armament, with temptation constantly presented to the momentarily stronger nation to attack the other, before it becomes the stronger and makes the first attack. The Tribune's assertion shows that, however moderate may be the immediate demands of preparationists, the ultimate result, whether they know it or not, must be war.

S. D.



Discrimination in Government Burdens.

Is the statesmanship of the Congressmen and Senators who will gather at Washington this winter to be measured by the continuation of the head tax? Has all the modern study, investigation and experience qualified them for nothing better than the enactment of laws conceived in the Dark Ages? Can our representatives devise nothing better than the tax-farming system that has been the undoing of Turkey and the Orient? Word has gone forth that the Federal Government must have more revenue; and close upon its heels comes the supplemental word that the duty on sugar must not be removed.



In nothing else perhaps is the iniquitous nature of the tariff system of taxation so conspicuous as in the duty on sugar. Not only is it the largest single contributor of revenue of the various classes of goods paying duty, but it bears with greatest severity upon the poorer classes. If tariff taxation could be arranged in such a way that the duties could be collected from the citizens in proportion to their ability to pay, there would be little enough to commend such a cumbrous system.

But when the duties are levied in such a way that the greater part of the revenue is collected from the very poor it becomes doubly iniquitous.

Sugar is not a luxury, but a necessity; it is one of the chief items in the diet of the poor. The tariff tax, therefore, falling as it does on consumption, bears upon the citizen, not in proportion to his ability to pay, but in proportion to the amount of sugar he consumes. And it may well be doubted if, taking into consideration the difference in the sizes of the families, the millionaire pays as much sugar tax as does the laboring man. A millionaire bachelor may pay no duty on sugar, while the scrub woman with a number of children pays several dollars. Nearly one-sixth of the revenue from the tariff is collected from sugar and molasses, and almost the entire amount falls upon laboring people. For nearly half a century a campaign has been waged to remove this burden. Once the duty was replaced by a bounty, but only for a short time. The present tariff law provides that sugar shall go on the free list the first of next May. And now, as we approach the long-sought day, the edict goes forth that the free sugar clause must be repealed, and the burden continued on the backs of the poor. Is this the measure of Washington's statesmanship? If the sugar growers must have a bounty, let it be paid out of the wealth of the country, not from the necessities of the poor. If the Government must have more revenue, why take it from those least able to pay? Are there no limits to legislative foolishness?

S. C.

The "Dumping Ground" Fallacy.

Chairman George W. Perkins of the Progressive party wants a tariff commission to prevent dumping of European products on our shores after the war. For thirty years or more protectionists have been using that "dumping ground" argument. For thirty years or more they have dodged straightforward answers to such questions as these:

Will Europeans ask pay for the stuff they dump? If so, must not a dollar's worth of work be performed here for every dollar's worth of dumped stuff bought? If not, won't we be able to live well without work off of the donations of the generous Europeans? If a dollar's worth of dumped stuff be sold to us for less than a dollar, will not the difference be our gain? If the dumped stuff is dangerous can we not simply refuse to buy? No tariff is needed to induce any one who prefers American goods to buy them, is there?

A protectionist unafraid of his principles should have no difficulty in answering "yes" or "no" to all of these questions. Has Mr. Perkins sufficient

faith in protectionism to answer that way? Or will he evade a straight forward answer?

S. D.

Railroad Rates With and Without Competition.

Transcontinental railroads are before the Interstate Commerce Commission asking permission to reduce rates so as to meet steamship competition to the Pacific Coast. The steamship lines have surely not reduced cost of railroad operation. So if the railroads can afford to reduce rates to meet steamship competition, why can they not equally afford to reduce rates where such competition does not exist?

S. D.

Confession of Failure.

A humiliating confession of incompetency and misrule is implied in a recommendation to President Wilson by Governor Arthur Yager of Porto Rico, whom press reports quote as saying:

Despite its prosperity the paradise of Porto Rico is overpopulated. Three hundred and fifty inhabitants to the square mile is more of a burden than it or any other place should be asked to shoulder.

The Governor seems unaware of the fact that Rhode Island has 400 persons to the square mile and Belgium, before the war, had 900. But 350 persons to the square mile or, for that matter, three persons to the square mile, is more of a burden than any place can afford to shoulder, when the people are denied permission to apply their labor to unused natural resources. Such are the conditions which American rule is upholding in Porto Rico. When an American Governor overlooks the possibility of opening these resources to labor, and urges emigration instead, he confesses himself incompetent. If American rule can furnish Porto Rico with no better governors than that, then it is a miserable failure. In the light of Governor Yager's humiliating confession, what effrontery it is for Americans to offer as excuse for denying Porto Rico self-government the remark that "They are not fit for it."

S. D.

Salvaging the Unemployable.

While sociologists are puzzling their heads over the question of the unemployed, the New Republic essays a solution of the problem of the unemployable. Considered in and of itself, the plan proposed for the regeneration of work-shy individuals offers a promising basis for further consideration. The plan, in brief, involves the setting up by the State or the municipality of a workshop in which the tramps and loafers will be assigned to tasks simple enough to be within their comprehension; and they are to be kept at these tasks until they

have acquired the habit. The regeneration will be aided by proper diet, and by promotion and advancements under the guidance of practical psychologists who, by means of recreations and enjoyments, will quicken the spark of manhood that lies dormant.



This is a rich field of speculation, and there lies within it vast possibilities for social betterment. It must be confessed, however, that the plan proposed by the New Republic, excellent as it is of itself, may fall short of expectation unless supplemented—or rather preceded—by measures to make places for the salvaged unemployables when they have been restored to normal conditions. To rehabilitate the tramp, and make of him an additional competitor in a market already overflowing with surplus labor, is to bring about a situation not unlike that brought about by the well-intentioned efforts of the Chicago Hebrew Charity Association. Thinking that it would be better to set the victims of poverty in the way of self-support than to dole out charity, the Association bought small stocks of goods and set families up in business. And by means of judicial advice, friendly encouragement and occasional patronage the members of the Association were gratified to see in a little while the new shopkeepers self-supporting. What was the chagrin of the benevolent Hebrews, however, to see, at the very time their weaker brethren were getting on their feet, other members, who had already been established, forced to the wall by the new competition.



It is nothing to the discredit of the proposition put forth by the New Republic to regenerate the unemployables, that their reinstatement may involve the displacement of some who are already employed; but it does broaden and emphasize the obligation on the part of society to provide opportunities for all to labor. And if society will make this provision, if it will remove the obstacles to business, if it will prevent the monopolizing of the natural elements, if it will, in a word, give free access on the part of labor and capital to the resources of nature, there will be employment for all. And if such a change in the proportion in jobs and men be made that labor will be at a premium on the market, instead of a drug, it is not unlikely that a large part of the men who are now rated as unemployable will be drawn back into industry; and the problem of regenerating the defectives will be greatly simplified. Society does owe to itself and to its individual members to reinstate in normal manhood and womanhood the loafers and tramps who are so much in evi-

dence. But how much more does it owe to itself and to its individual members to clear away the legal obstacles that stand in the way of free employment of all who are now willing to work?

S. C.



The Miners' Debt to Walsh.

If there is anything good in John D. Rockefeller's concessions to his Colorado miners, the latter may thank Frank P. Walsh for it. But for the thorough and persistent grilling which the younger Rockefeller received at Walsh's hands it is safe to say that he would never have been shamed into a conciliatory attitude. And in openly establishing different conditions in the mines Mr. Rockefeller confesses that when he testified before the Commission on Industrial Relations he was not so frank as he should have been. Then he wanted it understood that his father could not interfere with the management of the mines, since he had in his name less than a majority of stock in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. But now he has demonstrated that he can easily influence its policy. To secure from him an unwilling admission of this fact Walsh subjected him to a persistent cross-examination, but no more severe than circumstances warranted, and for this offense Walsh has been denounced and sneered at by every organ of Rockefellerism in the country. Yet these attacks on Walsh could not conceal the sorry figure that Rockefeller made.



If public opinion had been sufficiently educated to properly distinguish between an unjust social system and individuals profiting therefrom, Mr. Rockefeller would have been spared much of the censure and condemnation showered upon him, in spite of all disclosures. Recognition of the fact that he is but a product of bad economic conditions would have caused blame to be placed where it belongs—on legalized injustice, not on its beneficiary. If Mr. Rockefeller had been sufficiently educated to realize this same fact, he would not have considered it necessary to return evasive or equivocal answers to Walsh. He might have told Walsh that if Colorado miners did not like the way he used his legalized power, they should make use of their right to vote to take it from him. He might have said that as long as they refused to remedy matters through that method, he had a right to assume that they wished to leave the management with him. And neither Walsh nor any other member of the Commission would have found it easy to pick a flaw in such an argument, even had they wished to do so. But

since neither the public nor Mr. Rockefeller has arrived at the point where such facts as these may be clearly seen, the showing up of outrageously bad conditions in the mines forced Rockefeller to choose between defying public opinion or doing something to mollify it. He has wisely chosen the latter. Whatever good may follow will be one of the indirect results of the strike, but the chief credit cannot be justly awarded elsewhere than to Frank P. Walsh.

S. D.



Sunshine as a Premium.

Employers have devised many means for stimulating efforts on the part of employes, but none perhaps is stranger than that of the manager of the Chicago department store. An indignant customer withdrew her account because many of the employes worked in the basement by artificial light. The manager protested that chemical analysis showed the air in the subway to be as pure as that on the street level; and while he appreciated the desirability of sunshine he called attention to the fact that not all mankind can have sunshine, and added:

The fact that a clerk is employed in our basement does not mean that he or she will continue there indefinitely, as their efforts are recognized the same as other employes, and are promoted accordingly from time to time.



It may at first blush seem cruel that sunshine should be doled out as a reward for faithful service; yet, if sunshine has a commercial value, and is to be bought and sold, why should it not be used as a premium? The London church that pays the neighboring lot owner for not running his roof above its beautiful stained glass window pays for the sunshine that streams across it; and the renter in San Francisco notes the difference in the price of rooms facing south and those facing north. The most casual observation will make it clear that what we carelessly speak of as being "free as air" is not free at all. Neither air nor sunshine is free. Every particle of air and sunshine that comes within the boundaries of that inverted pyramid, whose apex is at the center of the earth and whose base is in the bottomless depths of space, belongs to the person who has the title deed to the cross section of the pyramid known as the surface of the earth. And the owner of the surface of the earth can, if he will, withhold from the rest of mankind not only food and shelter, but the very air and sunshine. Does not this indicate that property in the elements of nature differs radically from property in the products of labor?

S. C.

Using Courts to Intimidate Labor Organizations.

The latest effort to use the criminal courts to intimidate labor organizations came to an unsuccessful end in New York on October 8. Eight leaders of the garment workers held for many months on trumped up murder charges, were acquitted. The charges related to occurrences which took place in a strike five years ago. It is significant that it was not until three years later, when unrest in labor circles became acute once more, that steps toward prosecution were taken. Such unjustifiable prosecution is of course a gross injustice to the victims, but it is a far greater injustice to the public. It serves to discredit every criminal charge brought against anyone participating in labor troubles. There have undoubtedly been cases where there have been violence and crime. There will probably be more. But if district attorneys get into the habit of seeking conviction on trumped up charges, or on unsatisfactory evidence, juries may get into the habit of looking on all prosecutions of labor leaders as malicious.

S. D.



When Law Enforcement Becomes an Evil.

A commendable agitation has been begun by Henry M. Hyde, special writer for the Chicago Tribune, in exposing the evils of unreasonable arrests. An enormous and ever increasing number of irrational laws and ordinances make law-breakers of thousands, guilty of no act that is wrong in itself, though contrary to the petty or silly whims of some legislators. Then there are also the number of arrests of innocent persons, including arrests for acts not forbidden by law, but of which the arresting policeman does not approve. When law-making and law-enforcement have such results, it is useless to urge respect for law. Laws will deserve and receive respect when restricted to prohibition of such acts as are wrong in themselves, and from which people should refrain regardless of their legality. Then there will be justification for the principle that ignorance of the law excuses no one. Until so restricted, most law-making will continue to be a greater moral crime than most law-breaking.

S. D.



Writing Constructive History.

History when considered in its broader phases is not so much a cultural study for those delving into the records of the past as it is a guide to the statesman planning for the future; and that historian may be said to have written best who had the profoundest grasp of social causes and

the clearest understanding of human motives. The mere recital of an endless array of facts, without an explanation of their origin and meaning, is as useless as pounding sand. But the historian who, himself understanding natural law, groups causes and effects in such a way that the reader can apply them to current affairs makes of what has been a guide to what may be. What is true of the great events of the past is true of the happenings of today; and many well-intentioned champions of the right who have essayed to criticise City Councils, State Legislatures or National Congresses have seen their efforts come to naught because they failed to grasp the underlying motives of the actors.



It is in this respect that C. J. Buell of St. Paul has so signally succeeded in his history of the 1915 session of the Minnesota Legislature. This little book, already reviewed in the book department of *The Public*, deserves a careful reading by those who would know the possibilities, as well as the responsibilities, of a State legislator. Mr. Buell did not clutter up his few pages with intemperate abuse of men who betrayed their constituents; nor did he waste any time in speculating upon their individual deficiencies. But having recorded the simple fact of their approval, or disapproval, of important legislation, he explained why that legislation should or should not pass, by squaring it with natural law. And, having himself a firm understanding of the philosophy of government, he was able to state each proposition with a directness and a simplicity that will not fail to reach the understanding of any ordinary person.



Herein lies the peculiar value of Mr. Buell's little book. Having avoided personal abuse of the members of the Legislature, he is upon good terms with them; and they, reading his fundamental explanations of natural law applied to social affairs, and being conscious of the fact that their constituents are reading the same explanations, will be the more apt in the next session of the Legislature to correct the errors of omission and commission in the last one. It would be of incalculable service to the cause of intelligent legislation if every State Legislature could be analyzed and measured as Mr. Buell has analyzed and measured the Minnesota Legislature. s. c.



Progressive Public Officials.

Although the State of Minnesota has a liberal law classifying property for purposes of taxation,

and has a nominal tax of three mills on money and credits in order to draw them from hiding, Mr. Frank L. Powers, county assessor for Ramsey County, is still unsatisfied. Mr. Powers, in a recent address before a gathering of business men in St. Paul, showed that the tax on personal property produces comparatively little revenue, while it is vexatious to the citizen and costly to collect. As a practical administrator, with experience under the old law and the new, he advocates the repeal of the tax on all personalty. Mr. Louis Nash, member of the St. Paul Commission Government, at the same meeting advocated the abolition of taxes on both personal property and improvements. The heaven is working. s. c.



Mayor Thompson's Poor Memory.

Mayor Thompson of Chicago signed two pledges before election. One required that he ignore the Sunday closing law; the other that he enforce the civil service law. He has violated both. Concerning his Sunday law pledge, he says that he is not sure whether he gave it—though the proof in black and white has been produced. But anyway, he said, his oath of office must take precedence. Concerning the civil service law he has so far said nothing. Perhaps his memory is equally poor about that pledge, and he may not remember that his oath applies to the civil service law as well as to the Sunday law. Since pledges and oaths are so easily forgotten by the Mayor the Sunday closing advocates had better not place too much confidence in his promise that the Sunday closing policy is to be permanent. He may forget it.

S. D.



Vancouver's Taxation Experience.

Much ado has been made in certain quarters over the fact that the city of Vancouver has had a little backset in its phenomenal development. The truth of the matter is that Vancouver has passed through an era of speculation, common to all rapidly growing cities, and must now readjust its affairs to a growth along more normal lines. The fact that this British Columbia city approached the Singletax system to the extent of exempting personal property and improvements from local taxes had nothing to do with the present slump, except that in stimulating prosperity it intensified and quickened the speculative fever. The result that has come about was long ago predicted, and the citizens of Vancouver were urged to guard against it, not by stopping the city's commercial growth by returning to the old system of taxing the products of labor, but by rais-

ing the tax on land values to a point that would forestall speculation. The people of Vancouver, however, were not ready to go that far in the tax experiment, and so they have had to pay the penalty.



Two important points are conspicuous in the present situation. One, according to the statement of Louis D. Taylor, Mayor of Vancouver, in the Ground Hog, is:

This enormous addition to office buildings, apartment houses and residences brought about a corresponding reduction in rents of about fifty per cent, and proved this contention—that holding land out of use in cities increases rentals and real estate values. The other point is the Mayor's statement regarding the public's estimation of the system of taxation. Mr. Taylor says:

The city of Vancouver, like many individuals, has had to curtail its expenditures in every direction, but notwithstanding this, when the council brought down the estimate for the current year, and struck the tax rate, the resolution to exempt improvements carried for the sixth time without a dissenting vote. This fact should be sufficient to counteract any reports that Vancouver has suffered because of its Singletax method. Every municipality except two in British Columbia exempts improvements; the British Columbia government does the same, and imposes a wild land tax. The last legislature passed a measure which comes into effect within five years, to raise all revenues of the province from land and natural resources, and retains only one other tax, that on incomes, which are exempt up to \$1,500.

The advocates of taxes on industry—with the exemption of monopoly and privilege—will have to look elsewhere than to Vancouver for evidence to bolster up their parasitical system. S. C.



An Unfortunate Example.

In a "Dry" parade that took place in Chicago on October 9 an Oklahoma clergyman carried the following sign: "Missionary from saloonless Oklahoma to saloon-cursed Chicago." Saloonlessness may have its advantages, but in one respect Oklahoma is little better off than Chicago. The State was opened to settlement 26 years ago. It is consequently but 21 years since the first settlers obtained title to their claims. The Commonwealth was then one of home owners, while the greater part of Chicago's population were tenants. But Oklahoma is getting near to Chicago's level in that respect. A majority of its farmers are tenants today. Prohibition is not responsible for this, unless it has helped to inflate land values. But being wet or dry cannot check the poverty-creating tendencies of a system that encourages land monopoly. Oklahoma Drys had better bestir themselves against this evil, lest they give their

Wet opponents a chance to hold up Oklahoma as a horrible example. S. D.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

WHAT HAPPENED IN PATERSON.

New York, Oct. 9, 1915.

I write to correct the paragraph, "Paterson under Police Rule," on page 983 of your October 8th issue. You reprint (and I do not wonder at it) the inaccuracies that have appeared in many papers. The police of Paterson did invade Socialist headquarters, and they did arrest Carlo Tresca for attempting to speak from the window out into the street. Tresca was the only man arrested, and half a dozen speakers had preceded him. Wright and I accompanied Tresca to the police station, so as to keep our eyes and ears on every detail of what happened. We were joined at the police station by a local lawyer, Henry Marelli. Marelli, representing Tresca, asked on what charge Tresca had been arrested. After we had waited in an ante-room for about half an hour, the police captain said to Tresca: "We have several alternatives to offer you. The first is that of leaving Paterson tonight. If you refuse to go, we have other alternatives." Tresca conferred with his lawyer, and decided to return to his home in New York. He was accompanied to the car by two detectives.

The Free Speech League had not planned an open air meeting earlier in the evening. It had engaged the Auditorium, the second largest hall in Paterson. The meeting in the Auditorium was suppressed by the police, on the ground that the hall-keeper had no permit. This was merely a subterfuge. The actual cause of the suppression of the meeting seems to have been the fear that Elizabeth Flynn or Carlo Tresca would attempt to speak at the meeting—this in spite of the fact that the contract of the Free Speech League with the hall-keeper contained a clause, "It is agreed that there will be no I. W. W. speakers at this meeting," and in spite of the fact that I had promised the hall-keeper that I. W. W. speakers would not speak at the meeting.

The open-air meeting was the one held in the street outside of Socialist headquarters at 15 Prince street. All the speeches were made out of the window. The police had been notified, in the customary way, of this meeting, and they recognized it by preserving order until the arrival of Carlo Tresca about 10:45 p. m. In the melée that followed as the result of the efforts of the police to shove back the crowd, a young man fell, hit his head against the curb, and hurt himself badly.

LEONARD D. ABBOTT.



FIGHTING THE REACTIONARY CONSTITUTION.

Batavia, N. Y., October, 1915.

When a man who for ten years has been chief judge of the Court of Appeals of New York State declares that the adoption of the new Constitution will be "a great public calamity," the smug, prosperous, and self-satisfied reactionaries, who framed it begin to appreciate that they went too far.

In The Public on September 24th I pointed out the peculiar circumstances which conspired, in connection with the nomination and election of delegates to the convention, to place it almost wholly in the hands of conservatives, whose sympathies are mainly with the great accumulators of wealth, and who had no thought of framing a basic law that would bring government closer to the people, and equalize opportunities for all.

How completely they have put emphasis on property rights, rather than on human rights, has been emphasized in an almost sensational manner by an address that has been issued by Edgar M. Cullen, former chief justice of the Court of Appeals, directed to the voters of the state, in which he not only says that the adoption of the Constitution would be a great public calamity, but he also says that if the voters ratify it, it will be "the veriest hypocrisy to reproach Germany for its militarism."

Judge Cullen does not hesitate to appeal directly, in his address, to the labor organizations of the state, because he says that the rejection by the convention of the proposed amendment declaring that "military tribunals shall not exercise civil or criminal jurisdiction over citizens, while the regularly constituted state courts are open to administer justice" (after the debate on the subject) will be urged in every court where the question arises, as proving that the people did not intend to prevent the legislature from authorizing the trial of civilians by military tribunals, should it see fit.

Judge Cullen points out that the federal Constitution does not afford the protection which ought to be given by the amendment which the Constitutional convention rejected. He cites the Milligan case, and says that the decision that saved Milligan 50 years ago in Indiana is no protection to citizens tried by a military court operating under state authorities. This is proven by recent events in West Virginia, where men were convicted by military commissions and sentenced to imprisonment for years for offenses for which civil courts were required by law to inflict far less severe punishment. The West Virginia workmen sought in vain protection under the federal Constitution, and under the Constitution of West Virginia. Referring to the adverse decisions against them, Judge Cullen says:

Now, let me call your attention specially to what these decisions necessarily import. First, a civilian may be executed; in pursuance of the order of a military commission for any offense for which the commission may think he ought to suffer that punishment, for there is no law prescribing the punishment to be inflicted by military commissions, and if they have, as decided in the cases I have referred to, power to punish at all, they have the power to shoot or hang as well as to imprison. Second, absence from the scene of disorder (in case of strikes) however remote, affords the citizen no immunity from prosecution and punishment before a military commission, as long as it is charged that he aided or abetted those guilty of violence, on the theory, as stated by the court, "It is obvious that persons outside of such district may do as much or more than persons inside of it" (the military zone). Under these rules of law, in case of riot at Buffalo, a man may be taken from Brooklyn or New York, before a military commission, on the charge that he has aided the rioters, and shot, if the commission sees fit to order it.

The evil which will result from the adoption of

the Constitution proposed for New York State will extend throughout the Union, for Judge Cullen points out that if it is adopted, all the law journals of the United States will be teeming with articles showing that the Supreme Court of West Virginia has at last been vindicated from the unjust denunciations, under which it has suffered. Wherever disorder following labor strikes occurs, it will be insisted that New York state has established a precedent. Punishment of wage workers by military commission was an experiment in West Virginia, but the Constitutional Convention of New York state will tend to make a success of that experiment, and it will be carried farther and farther, as employers need the assistance of the militia to subdue their employes.

Judge Cullen says:

A singular sense of proportion seems to have been entertained by the convention. Many matters are put beyond legislative interference by being imbedded in the Constitution, and probably, wisely so. But not so with the fundamental principles of civil liberty. The legislature is inhibited from removing a stick of timber from the forest preserve, but security of the citizen from arbitrary arrest and punishment, by a military commission, was said in the debate to be sufficiently guarded by the military code, and the military regulations which prescribe that persons arrested shall be delivered to the civil authorities. The military code is only a statute which the legislature may repeal at any time, and military regulations are rules formulated by the governor, which may at any time be changed by the major general, with the consent of the governor.

The Public in its insistence that there is grave danger to democracy in the growing subordination of our courts to state military authorities, acting under influences engendered by corporations seeking to reduce labor costs, has sometimes seemed like a voice of one crying in the wilderness. It is gratifying for those who are jealous of the principles of civil liberty to find the position of The Public so ably supported by Judge Cullen.

The campaign for the defeat of the Constitution has received great impetus from Judge Cullen's address, and also from a meeting held in Albany last Monday, called by the executive council of the New York State Federation of Labor. To this meeting were invited representatives of all the labor unions of the State, including those not affiliated with the New York State Federation of Labor, the more important unaffiliated unions were the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhoods of Railway Trainmen. The latter organizations were represented by John Fitzgibbons of Oswego, who reported that the railroad men, the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Order of Railroad Conductors, and the Brotherhoods of Railroad Trainmen, had already instituted a campaign to promote the defeat of the Constitution, on the ground that it is "reactionary and centralizing"; that no new concessions are made to labor, that it centralizes too great power in the governor and the courts, that it denies the electors of the state the right to vote for the heads of fifteen great departments, as well as for a large number of judges for the highest court, that it is likely to increase rather than decrease the ex-

penses of the state government, and it is undemocratic in its purpose and tendency.

The railroadmen's report said:

It is said that men are known by the company they keep. This Constitution may be judged by the men who were most anxious for its passage in the convention, and who are now most earnest in seeking its ratification by the people. They are principally the representatives, or the paid attorneys of the great corporations of the state. It is said that party lines were not strictly drawn in voting for the various sections of this instrument. That seems to be true, but vested rights of property appear to have received greater consideration than the rights and liberty of the people. We beheld in the convention prominent Republican delegates like Elihu Root, Henry L. Stimson, George W. Wickersham, and William Barnes, standing side by side with Democratic delegates like William F. Sheehan, Morgan J. O'Brien, DeLancey Nichol, and John B. Stanchfield, earnestly supporting measures desired by the big interests.

A report rendered by a committee of the State Federation of Labor was unanimously adopted at the State convention of the Federation, in Buffalo last August, which declared that if final results showed that the Constitutional convention had ignored the recommendations embodied in the Federation's memorial to the convention, then a meeting should be held to determine upon a plan of campaign, to defeat the Constitution at the polls. So the meeting at Albany was not intended to be a deliberative assembly, to discuss and consider the Constitution, but rather a meeting to decide on a plan of campaign to defeat it. However, it seemed at one time doubtful whether the Albany meeting would or would not declare unequivocally against all three propositions submitted by the Constitutional Convention.

Richard H. Curran, one of the three delegates to the convention, who were affiliated with organized labor, voted in favor of the adoption of the entire revised Constitution as a whole, in the convention. His vote had subjected him to severe criticism, and he made a spirited speech at the Albany meeting, defending his vote, and defending the position which he took. When in the convention in explaining his vote for adoption, he said:

While in my opinion, labor should not expect all that it requested, it seems to me at least that it got its fair share.

James P. Holland of New York, president of the State Federation, who presided at the Albany meeting, left the chair and made a bitter attack upon Mr. Curran for his vote, and particularly for the utterance in explanation of his vote which I have quoted.

Thomas V. O'Connor, another union labor man who was a delegate to the convention but who voted in the convention against the adoption of the Constitution as a whole, spoke warmly in commendation, nevertheless, of many features of the amendments adopted.

The Albany meeting also extended the courtesy of the floor to Seth Low, a delegate to the convention, who said he appeared partly on the request of Senator Elihu Root, to ask the labor men not to condemn the Constitution for any of the things which it did not contain, and to give careful consideration to the amendment authorizing the State to bring occupational diseases under the provisions of the

Workmen's Compensation Act, and other amendments believed to advance the interests of wage workers.

Mr. Low spoke for over an hour, and at the close of his address offered to answer questions. Among others who questioned him, particularly with regard to the taxation amendments of the Constitution, was T. P. Ryan of Brooklyn, who wanted Mr. Low to explain how personal property could be taxed without the tax being shifted to labor. He tried to get Mr. Low to state whether he favored the taxation of all personal property in New York City, but the former mayor did not give a direct answer to this question.

State Tax Commissioner Knapp and Charles J. Tobin, secretary of the tax commission, were also given the privileges of the floor, and made a special plea for the tax amendments, which they were frank enough to state sought to bring about a method by which all personal property might be taxed. Mr. Ryan in questioning these gentlemen obtained an admission that in the taxation of both tangible and intangible personal property much double taxation would follow, and furthermore that in the taxation, for instance, of the stocks of wholesale and retail merchants the tax imposed would be shifted to the merchants' customers.

After the speeches by Mr. Low, Mr. Knapp, Mr. Tobin, Mr. Curran and Mr. O'Connor, all praising certain provisions of the new Constitution, a general discussion ensued, and afterwards a motion was unanimously adopted providing that all three propositions submitted by the Constitutional Convention should be opposed, but that the woman suffrage amendment and the other amendment submitted by the legislature authorizing a \$27,000,000 bond issue to complete the barge canal should be approved.

In the general discussion of the new Constitution, the labor men contended that the legislature already has the power to bring occupational diseases under the provision of the workmen's compensation law, and that the State industrial board has the power to regulate or prohibit manufacturing in tenement houses.

It was gratifying to note in the discussions how generally it was recognized that Constitutions are established to secure to the people the blessings of freedom (as the preamble to the New York Constitution states) and that therefore a fundamental question is whether under the provisions of the new Constitution the people will enjoy a greater or less degree of freedom than they now possess. So the principal reasons given for a campaign of opposition was the failure of the Constitution to recognize the supremacy of civil over military authorities, and its failure to make provisions to bring government closer to the people and place it more directly under popular control through the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall. These seem to be accounted the principal sins of omission, while the principal sin of commission was the tax amendments, which were denounced as instigated by rich land speculators and owners of real estate in New York City, and other centers of wealth, to saddle taxes on small owners of personal property, for the history of personal property taxation has shown that the wealthy invariably escape by concealment and perjury, while

the multitude of small owners have to pay more than their share.

CHESTER C. PLATT.

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, October 12, 1915.

European War.

Military developments are still along the lines indicated last week. In the East the Russians appear to be slowly recovering themselves. The only activities of moment are at Dvinsk and the Dvina River, but the Germans seem to be unable to advance. Nothing is reported from the center of the line; and in the south the Austrians continue to yield a little to the Russians in Galicia. [See current volume, page 983.]

Action on the western front slackened after the great assault of the Allies; but smaller attacks and counter attacks have been almost continuous, resulting in slight changes in the line, and in heavy casualties. The result on the whole seems to favor the Allies, who have continued to nibble at the German line, and to resist the German assaults. Artillery fire is a conspicuous feature of the fighting, with an increasing use of aeroplanes.

The Balkans are still the center of interest. Bulgaria on the 5th replied to the Russian ultimatum. Russia declared the answer unsatisfactory and withdrew her minister from Sofia. This was followed by a request for passports by the ministers of France, Great Britain, Italy and Serbia. But the surprise lay in the action of Greece. That country, which has a treaty with Serbia pledging its aid in case the Bulgarians attack Serbia, has been co-operating with the Allies to the extent of permitting them to use Greek Islands in their Dardanelles operations, and in allowing them to land troops at Saloniki. Premier Venizelos who represented the pro-Allies sentiment, was supported by a large majority in the Greek parliament. Yet when Bulgaria prepared to attack Serbia, King Constantine refused to fulfil his treaty obligations to Serbia. The Venizelos cabinet resigned, and a new cabinet was formed by Alexander Zaimis. The new government announces a policy of armed neutrality. No objection has yet been made by Greece to the landing of the Allies at Saloniki for the defense of Serbia. The Allies announce that they will land something over 70,000 troops at that point. Roumania also announces that it will remain neutral for the present. The Bulgarian

forces are ready to strike Serbia, but the presence of the Allied troops, who are crossing Greek Macedonia into Serbia, has thus far delayed action. It is rumored that a Bulgarian force has crossed the Serbian boundary near Kniashevatz, northeast of Nish.

The Austro-German forces invading Serbia which are reported to number from 350,000 to 400,000 men, have crossed the Danube and the Save Rivers on the north and the Drina on the west of Serbia. The first two are said to have been successful, but the third has met with a reverse. The real Serbian resistance is expected to take place in the interior mountain passes through which the Teutonic forces will have to pass. Belgrade, the Serbian capital, which earlier in the war was captured and afterwards abandoned by the Austrians, is again in Teutonic hands. The present capital is at the interior city of Nish. Although Serbia has severed diplomatic relations with Bulgaria, war has not yet been declared.

Brigadier General Francis Vinton Greene, of the United States Army, has estimated the casualties of the war from the best available data, to be as follows:

| | Killed. | Wounded. | Missing. | Total. |
|--------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Great Britain... | 86,000 | 251,000 | 55,000 | 392,000 |
| France | 400,000 | 700,000 | 300,000 | 1,400,000 |
| Russia | 500,000 | 800,000 | 900,000 | 2,200,000 |
| Italy | 5,000 | 15,000 | 5,000 | 25,000 |
| Belgium | 25,000 | 40,000 | 15,000 | 80,000 |
| Serbia | 20,000 | 40,000 | 10,000 | 70,000 |
| Germany | 600,000 | 1,000,000 | 300,000 | 1,900,000 |
| Austria | 400,000 | 700,000 | 700,000 | 1,800,000 |
| Turkey | 30,000 | 80,000 | 20,000 | 130,000 |
| Total | 2,066,000 | 3,626,000 | 2,305,000 | 7,997,000 |

Payments on the third German loan up to October 7, amount to \$1,605,225,000. One feature of this loan is the systematic campaign for subscriptions in the United States. Printed matter in German is being quietly circulated, naming five per cent as the rate of interest, and notifying the purchaser that he may buy at the rate of \$21.00 for a 100 mark bond, which is practically equivalent to paying \$87.50 for a \$100 bond. The earliest date of maturity named is 1924.

Japan.

It is officially announced that Japan has notified China that unless Japan's demands regarding jurisdiction over the Koreans residing in Chentao, in the Kirin region of Manchuria are accepted, Japan will pursue her own course, employing force if necessary. The Japanese claim rests on the agreement of May, 1915. The Chinese government maintains that Chentao is not mentioned in the

agreement, and therefore does not come within those provisions. [See current volume, page 547.]



Mexico.

Secretary of State, Lansing, reported of the conference between himself and the ambassadors and ministers of Argentina, Brazil, Chili, Bolivia, Uruguay and Guatemala:

The conferees, after careful consideration of the facts, have found that the Carranzista party is the only party possessing the essentials for recognition as the de facto government of Mexico, and they have so reported to their respective governments.

In return it is understood that the Carranza government will protect the lives of Mexicans and foreigners; that general amnesty will be granted certain leaders opposed to the constitutional cause; that persons connected with any religion in Mexico will be secure if they do not participate in politics, and that the de facto government will take necessary steps to restore law and order, elect officers of the government, and restore a constitutional government in Mexico. Formal recognition of the Carranza faction as the de facto government will not be extended by the United States until the South and Central American countries, whose representatives participated in the conference, have given their approval. [See current volume, page 983.]



All Americans in Villa territory have been ordered to return to the United States for fear of reprisals from disappointed partisans. General Villa's forces are reported to be dwindling from desertions.



National Bank Interest Rates.

Comptroller of the Currency, John Skelton Williams in addressing the Kentucky Bankers Association at Frankfort on October 6, said that of the 7,615 national banks, 1,020 report charging a higher rate than ten per cent for loans. He did not mention names but said the list included 2 banks in Illinois, 6 in Minnesota, 2 in Missouri, 23 in Georgia, 6 in Florida, 21 in Alabama, 2 in Louisiana, 315 in Texas, 17 in Arkansas, 3 in Tennessee, 90 in North Dakota, 25 in South Dakota, 18 in Nebraska, 5 in Kansas, 38 in Montana, 14 in Wyoming, 37 in Colorado, 25 in New Mexico, 300 in Oklahoma, 12 in Washington, 10 in Oregon, 13 in California, 2 in Utah, 1 in Nevada and 33 in Idaho. In one southwestern state, said Mr. Williams, 131 banks reported they charged a maximum rate of interest of from 15 to 24 per cent; 67 banks a maximum between 25 and 60 per cent, 22 banks a maximum between 60 per cent and 100 per cent, 18 between 100 and 200 per cent, and 8 between 200 and 2,000 per cent.

Progressives for Progress.

The State convention of the Progressive party of Massachusetts on October 5 adopted among other platform planks the following:

That our natural resources may be conserved and developed in the interest of all, instead of being exploited by the favored few, we demand the public ownership of mines, oil and gas wells and water power. We favor public action in the reclamation of wet lands by drainage, of dry lands by irrigation, and in the scientific forestation of lands unfit for agriculture.

We favor neither collectivism nor individualism, so-called, in their entirety. We believe that the solution of most economic problems lies between the two extremes, and that a careful distinction should be observed between public and private business, but we recognize that certain institutions and industries are essentially public in character, and thus admit of no competition, and that other industries in carrying out competition to its logical conclusion become themselves state or nation-wide, thereby making further competition impossible. We favor the town, city, state or national ownership of all institutions essentially public in character, and of all industries after they have developed beyond the period of competition. . . .

The equitable taxation of the unearned increment of land, with local option provision. . . .

The appalling destruction of life, health, art and wealth now occurring in the world places a burden upon society to determine some method by which such a loss to the human race shall be impossible in the future. We stand for the substitution of law for war, between nations as is now between individuals, and to that end we stand for a real international court of justice, where disputes between nations may be heard and decided, and a real international parliament where international questions may be discussed and settled so that military armament will be necessary for police duty only.



The Progressive party convention of New Jersey on October 5 adopted a plank for land value taxation and for home rule. Similar planks were offered in the Republican convention held on the same day, but were defeated.



Tax Reform News.

The Massachusetts Tax Commission gave a hearing on October 7 to a citizens' delegation which urged exemption of live stock and machinery from taxation. Charles H. Porter of Boston and Ralph S. Bauer of Lynn, both manufacturers, strongly urged the exemption. Mr. Bauer quoted figures showing that from 1909 to 1914 the amount of property moved from New York to Pennsylvania to take advantage of tax exemptions there amounted to \$275,650,000. Commissioner Creamer brought the tariff question into the argument. He claimed that the war would impose a heavy load of taxation on European manufacturers and held that exemption of machinery in this country

would give American manufacturers a greater advantage than the tariff gives them.

Assessor S. H. Howes of Southboro, a farmer, told of the decline in the number of cows and said that they should be exempt from taxation. There is no money in farming and farmers have to work twice the hours of union labor. The city man has more property in land values than the country man. The 33 cities in the state, and Brookline, with 7 per cent of land areas, have 82 per cent of all the land values in the state. In Suffolk county 46 per cent of all assessed property is land value. Hampden is the only other county in the state where land values are over 40 per cent of the total valuation. This is largely due to the high land valuation in Springfield which is the best place in the State to live in, if a man has to move. Mr. Howes enlarged upon the benefit to farmers of exempting their livestock from taxation, and thus increasing their prosperity. He favored local option in the matter of land tax, so that the singletax might be tried. Professor Robert J. Sprague of Amherst showed that the general property tax fails to fall on each individual in accordance with his ability to pay, and favored a graduated income tax. Senator Charles L. Gifford of Cape Cod showed defects in the tax system of Pennsylvania and New York. He held that ability to pay taxes is silly as a basis and that a shiftless man ought to pay as much on a farm as a hard-working farmer whose property has the same basis.



The Nearing Case.

In a public statement issued on October 2, Professor Scott Nearing answered Dr. J. William White's criticism as follows:

I have read the open letter written by Dr. White, an alumnus and trustee, to the Alumni of the University of Pennsylvania. May I call to the attention of Dr. White, and of my fellow alumni, the following statements upon which Dr. White bases his justification of the Board of Trustees?

1. Dr. White states that "on numerous occasions" I presented certain views which were construed as "fanatic" and "extravagant" before "lay audiences" that were "quite unfit to appreciate or digest them."

2. Dr. White says that "sober-minded, sensible persons" believed that I "advocated the ruthless redistribution of property."

3. Dr. White suggests that these same persons were convinced that I believe in "the personal iniquity of those who lived on incomes derived even from their own savings," and that I "thought that the alternative of work or starvation should be presented even to the old, the feeble, and the diseased."

4. Dr. White states that "Dr. Nearing had been kindly and considerately asked if he could not lessen this growing feeling . . . by a better adaptation of his arguments to the understanding of his audiences."

5. "With the approval of the Board, the Provost offered to continue Dr. Nearing's salary until he de-

clined on his future course . . . ; but Dr. Nearing, with commendable independence, declined to accept the offer."

6. Dr. White cites an article in *The Ladies' Home Journal*, in which "he had declared himself, or permitted himself to be described as 'Professor in the University of Pennsylvania,' when in fact he was but an instructor."

7. Dr. White suggests that the University authorities when approaching potential contributors who "are often not averse to being supplied with a good, ready-made excuse" find it "positively harmful to be handicapped by statements like the following put forth by Dr. Nearing: 'Private wealth has been able to control political parties and the church; let it not control the school. The schools must not take a dollar from any private donor. There must be no educational donation save the tax which all the people pay. . . . So long as you have your college presidents and your college professors on the payroll of corporation foundations, you will have the policies of your higher institutions of learning dictated by these corporation interests.'"

A full knowledge of the facts necessitates the revision of each one of these statements.

1. The "lay audiences" before which most of my public lectures have been given fall mainly into four groups,—teachers, women's clubs, churches, and labor unions. I do not know which of these audiences Dr. White believes to be "quite unfit to appreciate or digest" my views.

2. I have never advocated a "redistribution of property," ruthless or otherwise. I have talked only about the just distribution of income.

3. I do not believe, and have never insisted upon "the personal iniquity of those who live on incomes derived even from their own savings," nor that I "thought that the alternative of work or starvation should be presented even to the old, the feeble, and the diseased."

4. I was asked by the Provost not to talk against Child Labor and Poverty as "such agitation hurts the University." I know of no other advice to which Dr. White can refer.

5. Neither the Board nor the Provost, nor any officer of the Board has offered me a continuance of salary. Obviously, therefore, I never "declined to accept the help proffered."

6. Inquiry would have shown Dr. White that the title "Professor" was added by the editors of the "Ladies' Home Journal," who, like most people outside of academic circles refer to all university teachers as "Professors," and further, that the moment the error appeared I had it corrected in the later articles of the series.

7. Dr. White lays great stress on a statement of mine regarding private endowments to public educational institutions. He does not note that this statement was reported to have been made by me in July, 1915. My connection with the University ceased in June. It is presumably copied from the reprint of a news story based on a public lecture given in July, 1915. Such a news story does not pretend to be a verbatim report of my remarks. Prior to July, 1915, I never made any public utterance regarding private endowments.

I find in Dr. White's entire letter no other important statement of fact regarding me. It is upon these

statements, whose accuracy I have questioned, that Dr. White builds his argument in justification of the action taken by the Board last June.

[See current volume, page 981.]



At a meeting of the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania on October 11, resolutions were adopted declaring that Professor Nearing was dismissed from the faculty of the Wharton school, because his public views and utterances during his connection with the university were misunderstood and misconstrued by the public and parents of students to such an extent that they reflected unfavorably upon the university as a whole. The resolutions further deny that the question of free speech is involved. The Trustees also adopted another set of resolutions introduced by Wharton Barker endorsing the views expressed in 1874 by Professor Thomas H. Huxley at Aberdeen, as follows:

Universities should be places in which thought is free from all fetters and in which all sources of knowledge and all aids of learning should be accessible to all comers, without distinction of creed or country, riches or poverty.



The Labor War.

With but a few hundred votes in opposition, miners employed by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company have accepted the Rockefeller plan. [See current volume, page 980.]



On October 7 the Colorado Supreme Court admitted John R. Lawson to \$35,000 bail, which was furnished on the following day. Lawson was at once released. He returned to his work at headquarters of the United Mine Workers in Denver.



The entire militia of Arizona was ordered out by Governor Hunt on October 7 to proceed to Clifton where 5,000 copper miners have been on strike for a month. The mines are in the Morenci-Metcalf district. The strike is for restoration of the wage scale that prevailed before depression set in in the copper market. When the dull period commenced, wages were reduced ten per cent, with the understanding that they would be restored when better times came. The demand for copper brought on by the war has caused prices to rise, but the company holds that the old rate can not be restored until the price of copper reaches sixteen cents. At other camps the required price is thirteen cents. The strikers demand \$3 a day for shovelers and laborers, \$3.50 for miners, and an average of 29 cents an hour for smelter and mill workers.



In Defense of Caplan and Schmidt.

In sending a check for fifty dollars to the Cap-

lan-Schmidt Defense League Mrs. Joseph Fels wrote as follows under date of October 9:

The enclosed is only a slight sign of my sense of human comradeship with you and your purpose, the defense of Schmidt and Caplan. Usually I have no interest in defense, only in attack, and I have never been able to understand labor's objective, either in war or in propaganda. You seem to regard the employer as your chief, if not your sole enemy. I think the landlord is the enemy, and not even he personally. It's Rent, Labor should dynamite, not buildings and men; rent of land.

My hope is that all the several columns of progress will some day converge and then, together, solve labor's problem and mine.

[See current volume, page 778.]



Women Opposed to Preparedness.

The Woman's Section of the Navy League of the United States is inviting the co-operation of women's organizations throughout the United States in the campaign for preparedness. In answer to this invitation the Women's Singletax Club of the District of Columbia adopted the following resolutions:

We are opposed to the spirit of militarism, concealed under the name of "national defense," because history has shown that instead of insuring peace, "preparedness" proves rather a source of temptation to see in every disagreement with a weaker nation sufficient grounds for war; and Europe is furnishing a most horribly convincing object-lesson of the danger of being misled into a war of aggression under the guise of patriotism.

We are opposed to the enormous expenditure entailed by national defense because of the unjust and unnecessary burden of taxation placed upon the worker, who is deprived of the fruits of his labor for the benefit of the militarist and the armament ring, the subtle work of whose agents our club sees back of the work of the League.

We are opposed to instilling into our children the militaristic ideal that "might makes right," and training them up in a belief that international differences can ever be permanently decided by physical force. We believe that internationalism, rather than patriotism, is the basis of permanent peace.

We believe the time has come for civilized nations to discard butchery as a method of settling disputes, and to substitute therefor international arbitration; and we want our country to be a nation strong in righteousness and to stand in the councils of the nations and be able to demand that wars and armaments shall cease, and to be the first great nation to set the example.

We believe in conserving the precious heritage of liberty which our forefathers bequeathed to us, and in adding to this political liberty, economic liberty and justice for our own and other nations, which will prove an infinitely more potent safeguard against war than standing armies and powerful fleets.

We therefore pledge ourselves to the cause of international peace and justice, and will endeavor to be true patriots and servants of the Republic to our life's end, and do all that lies in our power to render

our country secure from the hands of every foe, whether without or within our borders.



The Dry Sunday Issue in Chicago.

On October 5 the United Societies of Chicago made public a pledge signed by Mayor Thompson, while a candidate for election, as follows:

If elected Mayor of the City of Chicago, he will use all honorable means to promote such objects:

1. That he will oppose all laws known as "blue laws" and that he especially declares that he is opposed to a closed Sunday, believing that the State law referring to Sunday closing is obsolete and should not be enforced by the city administration. And that he is opposed to all ordinances tending to curtail the citizens of Chicago in the enjoyment of their liberties on the weekly day of rest,

2. That he is in favor of "special bar permits" until three o'clock A. M., being issued by the City of Chicago to reputable societies or organizations for the purpose of permitting such societies to hold their customary entertainments.

3. That as Mayor he will use his veto power to prevent the enactment of any ordinance which aims at the abridgment of the rights of personal liberty or is intended to repeal any liberal ordinance now enacted, especially one repealing or amending the "special bar permit" ordinance now in force.

4. That he will oppose the further extension of the prohibition territory within the city limits, unless such extension is demanded by a majority of the residents in a district in which, at least, two-thirds of the building lots are improved with dwelling houses.

5. That he is unalterably opposed to having the anti-saloon territory law extended to the City of Chicago.

6. I hereby declare that I have not signed the pledge of the Anti-Saloon League, any other so-called "reform organization" and have not given any pledge to any newspaper.

The published copy of the pledge includes a facsimile of the Mayor's signature. In answer to a question concerning this pledge Mayor Thompson said that he may have given it, but could not remember, and considered his oath to defend the Constitution and enforce all laws entitled to precedence, even if he had pledged himself otherwise. [See current volume, page 984.]



Practically all of the 7,000 saloons of Chicago were closed on Sunday, October 10.

NEWS NOTES

—The Fourth Annual Conference on Housing in America began at Minneapolis on October 6.

—Miss Amy Mali Hicks of Brooklyn will address the Chicago Singletax Club on Friday evening, October 15.

—Brazil approved on the 6th the arbitration treaty with this country that was ratified by the United

States Senate August 13, 1914. [See vol. xvii, p. 805.]

—At the September conference of the Anglican clergy of Canada at Toronto, a resolution was adopted to expunge from the hymn "God Save the King," the second verse expressing hatred for national enemies.

—Although personal property tax assessments in New York City have been considerably increased over last year, they are being reduced by the process of swearing off. On October 5, 65 citizens who had been altogether assessed for \$2,591,000 had this cut down to \$9,700. More swearing off is looked for. [See current volume, page 984.]

—New Hampshire singletaxers formed a State organization on September 25, under the name of New Hampshire Singletax Club. Officers are: President, Fred T. Burnham, Hopkinton; vice presidents, Reverend Henry G. Irves, Andover; William E. Davis, New Ipswich; treasurer, John C. Burnham, Contoocook; secretary, George H. Duncan, East Jaffray, member of the present State legislature.

—The Chicago public school teachers held a primary election on October 6 to select candidates for trustees of the Teachers' Pension Fund. The four candidates of the Teachers' Federation were nominated, defeating those of the rival organization, the Teachers' League. The highest candidate of the Federation received 4,602 votes. The highest candidate of the League received 1,828 votes. [See current volume, page 982.]

—Federal Judge Oliver B. Dickinson in a decision on October 1 at Philadelphia held the Motion Picture Patents Company together with other concerns manufacturing motion picture films to be an illegal combination which must be dissolved. The defendants had claimed that as holders of patents they could dispose of their property as they wished. But the court held that the granting of a patent does not confer a license to do what the law condemns.

—Women voted for the first time at Norwegian general elections on the 11th. The new electors added to the rolls number 170,000, of which the press predicts the greater part will go to swell the Socialist representation in parliament. The ballot was won by the Norwegian women June 11, 1913, when the Storting unanimously agreed to extend the right of all women to vote, without regard to the amount of their income tax. [See vol. xvi, p. 586.]

—The International Peace Congress met at the Exposition Grounds, San Francisco, on October 11 to continue in session until October 13. The Congress is under the auspices of the American Peace Society. The Church Peace Union, the American League to Limit Armaments, American Peace Centenary Committee, League to Enforce Peace, San Francisco Federated Peace Committee for 1915, Woman's Peace Party and World's Insurance Congress.

—The Chinese maritime customs office at Tsing-Tau, the German Protectorate in Shan-tung, captured by Japan, November 7, 1914, is reported reopened. The agreement was signed by the Japanese Minister to China and the director of the Chinese customs service, and went into effect September 1, 1915. The Japanese government deducted 20 per

cent of the import duty levied by it, and turned the remainder over to the Chinese government. The annual value of imports at Tsing-Tau exceeds normally \$6,000,000. [See current volume, page 547.]

—The latest survey of the slides in Gaillard Cut, Panama Canal, indicates that 10,000,000 cubic yards of earth will have to be removed before navigation will be restored. An area of 175 acres, extending 2,600 feet on both sides of the Canal, is in motion, sliding in from the sides and forcing up the bottom. At the present rate of excavation it will take ten months to complete the work, and ships may not be able to pass before the first of the year. The 100 ships blocked of passage will take other routes to their destination. [See current volume, page 788.]

—A parcel post convention between the United States and the Argentine Republic has been concluded to take effect October 15. The provisions are similar to those with South American countries. The weight limit is eleven pounds, and the postage rate is the maximum rate in the United States. The Postmaster General is trying to establish a complete money order system, and to apply the domestic rate of postage throughout the three Americas. Paraguay is now the only South American nation without a parcel post agreement with the United States.

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see current volume, page 789) for the seven months ending July, 1915, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for July, 1915, were as follows:

| | Exports. | Imports. | Balance. |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Merchandise .. | \$1,969,787,495 | \$1,008,909,441 | \$960,878,054 Exp. |
| Gold | 9,774,262 | 162,187,374 | 152,413,112 Imp. |
| Silver | 28,814,816 | 18,744,541 | 10,070,275 Exp. |
| Total | \$2,008,376,573 | \$1,189,841,356 | \$818,535,217 Exp. |

The exports of merchandise for July, 1915, the twelfth month of the European war, were \$267,978,990, as compared with \$154,138,947 in July, 1914, and \$160,990,778 in 1913. The imports for July, 1915, were \$143,099,620, as compared with \$159,677,291 in July, 1914, and \$139,061,770 in 1913.

There were 18,342 special-use permits in force on the National Forests on June 30 last, according to figures just compiled by the U. S. Forest Service to show the varied uses to which the public is putting the Government land involved. The list includes 59 apiaries, 2 brick yards, 31 canneries, 39 cemeteries, 9 churches, 1 cranberry marsh, 32 fish hatcheries, 1 golf links, 43 hotels, 1 astronomical observatory, 10 fox and rabbit ranches, 1,085 residences, 74 resorts and club houses, 3 sanitariums, 500 saw-mills, 163 schools, 9 slaughter houses, 57 stores, 16 municipal watersheds, and 182 water power sites, with many other uses. Fees collected on 7,895 of these permits contributed a total of \$175,840.40 to the general Forest revenues, but 10,447 of the permits were issued without charge. The permits cover more than 1,087,000 acres and 15,041 miles of right-of-way, granted for various purposes, these figures including 173,131 acres for municipal watersheds, 6,572 miles for telephone lines, and 80,593 acres and 1,919 miles for reservoirs, canals, pipe lines, and other irrigation and domestic-supply works. The steady growth of National Forest business is shown

in columns of yearly figures going back to the last century. Between 1891, when the first Forests were established, and 1900 there were only six timber sales. The number in 1915 was 10,905. The number of free timber permits has risen from 283 in 1901 to 40,040 in 1915, and of grazing permits from 2,317 in 1901 to 30,610 in 1915. The special use permits, which were only 298 up to the end of 1905, were increased by 5,657 in 1915, making a total during the last 11 years of 42,369. Of these 18,342 are in force.

PRESS OPINIONS

Could Not Serve God and Mammon.

Harper's Weekly, October 9.—The worst part of the case of the Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis, entangled in doubtful financial enterprises, is not the mere fact of a clergyman joining in the nervous chase for wealth, bad as that is in a person who is supposed to trust the Lord. The worst aspect is that Mr. Hillis has recently expressed reactionary sympathies in the industrial controversies of the day. The acute search for money leads to spiritual blindness.



Chicago Haymarket Police Tactics in Paterson.

New York Tribune, Oct. 2.—If the police officials of Paterson, N. J., desired to arouse public sympathy for the I. W. W. agitators and their friends whom they high-handedly expel from the city every little while, they could take no more effective course. The most recent instance, when on Thursday night Carlo Tresca was arrested—on no formal charges—and finally was driven out of town by the police, was utterly defenseless. There was no shadow of law under which the police could have acted. Indeed, the police chief declared recently, when valiantly chasing a woman talker from a meeting, "You may have the right, but we have the power." Paterson officialdom says the silk business is exceedingly prosperous just now, and no little issue like personal rights and the constitutional guarantee of free speech shall be permitted to interfere with the city's chief industry. No more pin-headed attitude could be taken. If the case of these labor agitators is a good one, no official censorship, even if enforced with police clubs, can or should prevent its expression. If the case is not a good one, the surest way to stamp it as sterling is to martyrize the agitators. That the strong-arm police and the unintelligent officials who back them are surely doing. Moreover, they are building up for their city a reputation which will cost it good will and actual money. For years Paterson labored to live down its bad odor because of a small group of anarchists. It will take the city much longer to live down its capitalistic and official anarchists.



Militarism's Latest Hysterics.

New York Call, Sept. 7.—One of the great motion picture concerns is preparing to exhibit to the people of New York a massive film in 'steen reels, entitled "The Battle Cry of Peace." . . . As we sense it, from the livid advertisements, the film will show New York in peril. The people are at their usual

work. There is a "peace" meeting in the Garden. Then the attack comes. We will see the skyscrapers toppling down; Wall street in ruins; the hostile army marching up Broadway; the discomfiture of the peace meeting, and, finally, the arousing of the American people to arms, the expulsion of the foreign foe and the settling down of the nations to peace and to great armies and navies. In other words, it is a plea for "preparedness," for the enlarging of our means of warfare. The hypocritical plea is made that peace can be secured only through war; that life can be saved only through the killing of men; that national honor can be maintained only through the performance of dishonorable acts; that the only proper use to make of the income of a great nation is to buy munitions of war of the Armament Trust. It is well to note, by the way, that the same people who cry for these things are the very men who writhe in agony at the expenditure of \$500,000 for the investigations of the Industrial Relations Commission and who resent the expenditure of the few paltry millions for public education. . . . There never was a time that was so propitious for beginning the work of disarmament as is today. There never was a time that any great nation was so free from the danger of foreign attack as is the United States today. There never was a time when foreign nations were so unable to attack us, if they would, as they are today. . . . France and Russia have been disarming Germany and Austria. Germany has been disarming France and England and Italy and Russia. The people are heartily sick and tired of war, of wholesale killing, of the expenditure of money for military purposes. . . . Now is the time for the one great country that is not affected by this blood bath to strike the first blow for the ending of militarism forever! There is one way to do it. Let us resolve that there shall be not another penny, not a man for war purposes! . . . Will a vast armament in our hands, controlled by Wall Street, by capitalism directed, be more pure, be less dangerous to the peace of the world than France's, or Germany's, or England's? Who says this? Rockefeller? Roosevelt? Will not a vast armament tend towards war with other countries, just as Germany's and France's and Russia's did? The ideal of the Jingo—when they are not merely cold-blooded agents of Bethlehem—seems to be a state of continual preparation for war; that no country has a right to exist unless it can lick another country. Guatemala lives only because its army and navy have terrified England's and Germany's, which countries would otherwise have long ago fallen upon and dismembered her. Is that not it? It is a thoroughly rotten ideal; it soils a people that hold it. It makes of them un-reasoning beings; it makes of the country holding that ideal the easy prey for an insolent militarism, an insolent Kruppism, that has eaten out the heart of Europe.



Setting Money to Work.

Farm, Stock and Home (Minneapolis), September 15.—When one stops to think about it at all seriously the only proper way to raise taxes is to find the idle dollar and levy upon it for the economic sin of loafing. And the surprising thing is that when one comes to look for it he usually finds it hidden

in a piece of ground. The working capital of the world is in other things—buildings, live stock, machinery of a thousand kinds, but the idle money of the world is invested in vacant lands on the frontier, in unimproved lands in the more thickly settled neighborhoods, and is piled up almost beyond belief in vacant or half-idle downtown city properties. To get at the idle dollar it is but necessary to remove the burden of taxation from buildings and personal property, placing it upon the land, equally and fairly, to meet the tax requirements of each community. And the idle dollar not reached in this way may be chased out of hiding by progressive inheritance and income taxes. To fine a man for putting up a barn, and reward his neighbor across the road for maintaining a quarter section of good productive land in complete idleness is an economic absurdity. Why not reverse the process?

RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE LAW.

For The Public.

An angel, dressed in robe of snowy white,
Seated upon a throne, crystal and pearls,
Is handing down the tablets with inscriptions
Writ by the finger of Omniscience,
And, as I gaze upon the vast assemblage of mankind
Kneeling in reverential awe, I hear,
As from an universal voice:
"Behold THE LAW!"



A mob of boisterous, roysterous men in chamber hot
assembled,
With sundry missiles hurtling through the laden air,
While shrieks the voice of hapless clerk in calling
roll of names—
More ignorance, passion, dire confusion gathered
Than in so little space you ever saw—
Truth, standing near me, whispers:
"Look! Behold THE LAW!"

—EDWARD PARKER TOTTEN.



AN UNOFFICIAL PEACE COMMISSION.

For The Public.

A mediatory commission of neutrals, sitting continuously while the war is in progress—this in brief is the solution to the European tangle advocated by Miss Jane Addams and her co-laborers as a substitute for a "fight to a finish." It is this commission idea which will be pushed by adherents to the Addams plan before the International Peace Congress which assembles in San Francisco, October 10-13. It is this plan, too, which is being endorsed by many men and women prominent in civic, political, religious, commercial and scientific life, in response to a questionnaire just issued by the National Peace Federation. At the present writing, though the

proposal has barely been submitted, four Governors and twelve members of Congress have already endorsed it. It is this plan, moreover, that the Woman's Peace Party will push with the utmost expedition throughout the nation among its numerous branches.

Practically all thoughtful observers of the European situation agree that the old orthodox method of mediation, by which a neutral government says in effect to the belligerents, "As soon as either of you is ready to quit, just tell us, and we'll be glad to act as go-between and disinterested friend," is inadequate to cope with as stupendous a situation as confronts the world today. However sick both sides may be of the war, they are too proud to accept mediation as commonly understood. None of the governments can afford as yet to go before its people with a virtual confession of defeat, such as would be implied in its official acceptance of mediation. The censored press in each of the belligerent countries leads each people to believe that victory is certain. Imagine, then, the popular outcry against any government that suddenly announced that it had told Uncle Sam or any other neutral that it was ready for a settlement!

It is clear, then, that the first steps looking toward an approach to a settlement must come from some neutral agency. Miss Addams became firmly convinced of this during her pilgrimage to the warring capitals. Everywhere the story was the same, those high in power saying in effect: "We are just as anxious as anybody can be to see the ghastly game called off. No one among us desired this war, nor wishes for its continuance. But with us it must be a fight to a finish, unless you neutrals step in and offer a solution." As Miss Addams put it in her Carnegie Hall address of July 9: "They said, in all of these foreign offices, that if some other power presented propositions—if neutral people, however they might be gotten together, people who would command the respect of the foreign offices to whom their propositions would be presented—if a small conference were willing to get together to study the situation seriously and to make propositions, one, two, three—even if they were turned down over and over again until something were found upon which negotiations might commence—*there is none of the warring nations that would not be glad to receive such service.*"

What, then, shall this neutral agency be? Miss Addams and her colleagues found that at least five of the neutral countries of Europe—Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland—were more than anxious to aid in a speedy settlement of the issues, but were looking to some power of first magnitude to take the initial step. These European neutrals are living in a constant state of fear lest they, too, will be engulfed. On both sides pressure is being brought to bear upon them

to enter the conflict. Every act of theirs is closely watched by the belligerents, and even the most innocent unneutral acts might lead to far-reaching consequences. They are therefore not willing for the present to act affirmatively, lest such attempt at unsolicited mediation be regarded as an unfriendly act.

The obligation would seem to rest, then, upon the United States, which, because of its mixed population, its size and its geographical isolation, stands in a position of peculiar responsibility. But while numerous organizations have petitioned the President to call an official conference of the neutral nations, the Addams plan calls for an unofficial commission, sanctioned and approved by the President in much the same manner in which the Governor of a State might appoint delegates to a good roads congress, or to a charities conference, or what-not, but in no wise committing the United States Government to its conclusions. Yet, should the President, for some reason or other, feel that he cannot even give his moral sanction to such a commission, the Addams plan still leaves it open to secure its appointment through some other agency, as, for instance, the American panel of judges of The Hague Court, the Interparliamentary Union, the Supreme Court of the United States, or even a popular convention of American citizens.

Why an unofficial commission? It should be clearly understood that those who support the Addams plan are by no means opposed to an official conference of neutrals, should our government decide upon such a course of action. This plan is submitted as an alternative. The reasons against an official conference of neutrals appear to be the following (how valid the objections are I leave it to the reader to judge for himself): That a conference of all neutrals would make an unwieldy body, and one in which there might be many reactionary tendencies represented, which might defeat the very purpose of such a conference; that an official gathering would be bound by conventionalities and diplomatic usages of the past, while the present situation demands forward-looking, constructive action; that any commission, however appointed, would probably be buffed at first, and that the President of the United States, responsible for the "honor" of the country, could not risk the eventuality of even a temporary failure.

Miss Addams, therefore, feels that the first approach to the situation must probably be non-governmental. A commission of neutrals, such as she proposes, would perhaps work out somewhat in the following manner:

The men chosen must be of broad human experience, coming from fields of work inherently international in character—such as commerce, labor, science, religion—men who will command respect at home and abroad, but who at the same

time are ready to enter upon their duties with the full expectation of seeming to labor fruitlessly at first, much as the arbitrators in a labor strike are at first rebuffed again and again by both sides, until finally some little point, to which both parties agree, is the entering wedge for negotiations leading to a complete settlement.

These men, chosen from among our American citizens, should ask representatives of the neutral nations of Europe similarly appointed and approved to confer with them.

At first they would probably be ignored by the belligerent press. During that time they would merely study and explore the issues involved. But let us not forget that in each of the warring countries there are tremendous popular currents at work demanding an early peace. They have not been very successful thus far, because there was no concrete proposal to which they could direct the attention of their governments. They were denounced as "peace prattlers," as "anti-patriots," and when they became too aggressive were raided by the police, as happened a few days ago in the case of the "Bund Neues Vaterland" of Germany, an organization which numbers among its members some of the best minds of the Empire, men like Professor Schücking, Sieper, Quidde, Nippold, Lammasch, Rev. Siegmund-Schultze, and State's Secretary Hans Delbrück.

But once such an international commission of neutrals were in session these democratic currents could reassert themselves with renewed force. However stringent the censorship, we have abundant proof that news, nevertheless, keeps filtering through. What excuse could a government offer these internal critics for refusal to assent, if an unofficial commission were to ask that a man of international experience, say, like Herr Ballin, director-general of the Hamburg-American line, be permitted to confer with it, to present the German point of view, and, without committing his government, state what in his opinion would be a method of approach that might be satisfactory to Germany?

The bare, though lamentable, fact of the present situation is that there is absolutely no clearing house or central agency through which there can be any interchange of ideas between the belligerents. Such a commission, if it did nothing else, would first of all become a means of contact.

After exploring the issues, then; after summoning to its councils men of similar high standing to represent the belligerents unofficially; after working out various methods of approach that would as far as possible harmonize the conflicting claims and counter-claims, such a commission could then unofficially sound the governments themselves with some such proposal as this: "Will you agree to adopt or even consider the accompanying propositions, or any phases of them, as a basis of peace, if and when the governments of

the other warring powers will agree to do likewise?" In short, the unofficial commission would act up to the time that some actual basis were found for official action—at which time the governments themselves, through their regular channels, would assume negotiations.

But even supposing that the commission made no impression whatever upon the warring governments, that all its efforts to bring the belligerents together failed? Still it would have tremendous value. For, even accepting for the moment the fallacious theory of "a fight-to-a-finish," the war cannot go on forever, and sooner or later negotiations must, after all, take the place of military action. When these negotiations begin there will be more need than ever of wisdom and constructive statesmanship to prevent a settlement along the lines that will merely mean the perpetuation of the conditions that led to the present war. A constructive peace program worked out by the commission proposed could not but be of far-reaching influence upon the men assembled around the green table. Students of The Hague conference will remember how William T. Stead, though not a member of the conference, virtually became its directing head through his publication of a daily news sheet that told the diplomats assembled how to proceed.

The labor, peace and women's organizations are already preparing to meet at the same time and place with the conference of diplomats to bring the pressure of public opinion to bear upon the peace settlement negotiations. The conclusions of such a deliberative commission as above described would probably be accepted by these bodies as a basis for common action. It is not hard to foresee how such united action would have profound influence upon the peace deliberations.

LOUIS P. LOCHNER,

Secretary National Peace Federation,
Secretary Chicago Peace Society.



THE WORLD'S TORMENTOR

By Alter Brody.

I am a pestilence
Sweeping the world—
Hate is the root of me,
Death is the fruit of me.
Swift is my stroke;
Blood is the sign of me,
Steel is the twine of me,
Thus shall ye know me;
I am the death of Life,
I am the life of Death,
I am War!

I am a madness
Riding the necks of men—
Champing of nations armed
Stamping of war-horse hoofs,
Charging unbridled;
Clashing of bayonets,
Flashing of sword-blades,

Rumbling of cannon-wheels,
 Crumbling of kingdoms,
 These are my harbingers;
 I am the death of Law,
 I am the law of Death,
 I am War!

I am a harlot
 Seducing the nations;
 Diplomats lie for me,
 Patriots die for me,
 Lovers I lack not—
 Cannon mouths speak of me,
 Battlefields reek of me,
 Widowed wives shriek of me,
 Cursing my name,
 I am the death of Joy,
 I am the joy of Death,
 I am War!

BOOKS

"AND THE LIGHT SHINETH IN DARKNESS."

The Mighty and the Lowly. By Katrina Trask, author of "In the Vanguard." The Macmillan Company. New York. Price, \$1.00.

It is true enough that through the long centuries of "Christianity" the garments of the man Jesus have been rent by disputing theological fencers while the real spirit of his teaching has been practically ignored. It is on this higher plane that Mrs. Trask takes her stand in the little volume, "The Mighty and the Lowly," which bears the poetic stamp of its author's genius. In externals she sees no distinction is made by Jesus in his message to the world—"The poorest are rich if they have the inner glory of life, and the richest are poor indeed, and go away empty if they have not found that inner glory which nothing can touch."

All this the reasonable mind acknowledges. But here on the external plane, where the world mainly dwells, we have to recognize distinctions that are not absolute realities in themselves, but which the ordinary unpoetical mortal has to treat as real. If those dependent upon Him are homeless and hungry, his attempt to lift himself to the plane of Jesus will not shelter and feed his dear ones unless he can develop the superhuman power of turning stones into bread, and of gathering up twelve baskets of fragments where not even five existed.

Says Mrs. Trask: "Externals do not really matter to the heart that is filled with the Eternal Reality of Life." True enough. But the power to bring eternal realities into externals is the only use we can make of a gospel that teaches nothing less. The spiritual law is void if it works no change in material conditions. If it does not help men to fulfill the prayer of Jesus, "Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done, on earth as in

heaven," it is vain to seek the height which is expressed only in words. The divine law of brotherhood demands the fulfillment in deeds of all that Jesus taught, and the rich man no less than the man of poverty must come under the Golden Rule. There can be no recognition of either aristocrat or proletariat in the practice of the Gospel, the spirit of which the author of "The Mighty and the Lowly," unfolds.

It is the practice—the practice only that will ever truly reveal this Gospel in the world to which it was brought two thousand years ago.

A. L. M.

PERIODICALS

Preparedness and Pacifism.

In the October issue of the *Medical World* (1520 Chestnut street, Philadelphia) Dr. C. F. Taylor, in his interesting column of *Monthly Talk*, speaks of the "preparedness" cry which "is carrying the thoughtless and the uninformed off their feet." It is regrettable that among those to whom Dr. Taylor refers must be included *Everybody's Magazine*, which, in its October issue, continues the mistaken policy of encouraging the preparatist hysteria. Although Dr. Taylor's "Talk" in the *Medical World* was undoubtedly written independently of William Hard's contribution to *Everybody's* "National Defense" series, it is an able refutation nevertheless. Mr. Hard's weakness lies in his apparent failure to realize that any nation acting independently, by establishing justice within its own boundaries, can render itself immune against attack by less enlightened ones. He should consider carefully a truth which Dr. Taylor makes clear that "the universal cause of all war is the failure of government." Mr. Hard brings up the Lusitania matter, but there Dr. Taylor has forestalled him, and shows that condemnation of such outrages can only be consistently uttered by the pacifists, for whose ideas Mr. Hard expresses mild contempt.

S. D.



The October American.

In the *October American Magazine* Ray Stannard Baker explains why he will vote "Yes" when he goes to the polls to pass on the woman suffrage amendment pending in Massachusetts. It is an article that opponents of suffrage cannot possibly refute. Suffragists would do well to circulate it where campaigns are on. Then there is a story by Edgar L. Hampton, entitled "Skippy Limited," that deals with land speculation. In an entertaining way the reader is told of an extreme case of the rise and fall of a boom town. Hygienic information is furnished in an entertaining way in an article by Norman Strong entitled "Growing Young at Fifty."

S. D.



A Sidelight on Demand for Intervention.

A showing up of one of the American interests demanding intervention in Mexico is made in the September issue of *The Forum*. In an article on Yucatan and the International Harvester Company

Carlo De Fornaro shows how that corporation exercised oppressive control over the planters and laborers of Yucatan. He also shows how a revolutionary governor, Salvator Alvarado, broke up the monopoly by providing competition, and quotes the resulting complaint to the United States Department of State by the Harvester concern. What he shows about Yucatan may well illustrate the true motive underlying all the demands for intervention. The same issue of *The Forum* contains a thoughtful and interesting article on the McNamaras by Theodore

Schroeder. Deserving of special mention is a pathetic and well written sketch by Charlotte Holmes Crawford, entitled, "Enemy's Child," which deals with one of the most brutal incidents of warfare.

S. D.



Rural Party—"Two third-class returns."

Ticket Agent—"Where to?"

Rural Party—"Why, back 'ere, o' course, ye fule!"
—Punch.

New Editions of Two Standard Works:

"The Life of Henry George" By Henry George, Jr. and "The Taxation of Land Values" By Louis F. Post

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We have decided to sell at 75c, postpaid, the few copies available. Those who ordered copies at \$1 will receive a refund of 25c.

THE PUBLIC

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CHICAGO

A rector in South London was visiting one of his poorer parishioners, an old woman afflicted with deafness. She expressed her great regret at not being able to hear his sermons. Desiring to be sympathetic and to say something consoling, he replied, with unnecessary self-depreciation, "You don't miss much."

"So they tell me," was the disconcerting reply.—
Kansas City Star.

Massachusetts Single Tax League

ALEX MACKENDRICK, Secretary

Office and headquarters of the League, 120 Boylston Street, Boston. Secretary in attendance every day from 2 till 5 o'clock; Saturday, 10 to 12; Friday evenings, 7:30 till 9. Executive Committee meets the last Friday of each month at above address at 7:30. All interested are welcomed at these meetings.

CHICAGO SINGLE TAX CLUB SCHILLER BUILDING

Oct. 15—Amy Mall Hicks, of New York: "How to Advance the Singletax."

Oct. 22—William L. Chenery, of the Chicago Herald, "American Ideals in 1915."
Stoughton Cooley, "The Single Tax."

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