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EDITORIAL

The Crime of War.

"We are at war" is the excuse offered by belligerent nations for all the outrages and inconveniences inflicted upon citizens of nations not at war. This makes the crime all the greater when a belligerent refuses to submit its quarrel to mediation.

S. D.



Militarism's Price.

The news report comes from London of prosecution of eight citizens for publication of a pamphlet demanding repeal of the conscription act. War has made but a memory of free speech and a free press in England. In Ireland it has revived, in the court-martial of the Dublin insurgents, the brutal methods of bloody Judge Jeffreys. Militarism in this country, though labeled "Preparedness," must have a similar demoralizing effect. Is it worth the price?

S. D.



Real Preparedness.

Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador to Turkey, suggests a way in which America can be made the strongest nation in the world. Millions of people in Europe and Asia are starving on account of the war. America is the only country rich enough to relieve this situation. Some of its riches have come as a result of the war. Let America give \$500,000,000 to the feeding of these stricken people, and quicken the hearts of mankind.

S. C.



Guarding the Canal.

It is reported from Panama that it is the belief in army circles as well as outside that German agents have thoroughly explored and mapped the Panama Zone. The crews of the interned German vessels at Colon have been allowed to scatter without surveillance, and United States army officers have seen Germans on military roads and trails. What is there that is surprising about that? Does

not a man eat when he is hungry? Does not water run downhill? When Congress decided to fortify the canal it issued a challenge to every nation in the world to take it if it could. It said in unmistakable terms: "We do not trust you; we believe you want to destroy this canal; but we defy you to do it." It may be accepted with the utmost assurance that every detail of the Canal Zone is as well known in European countries and in Japan as it is in Washington. And there is not a war office in any first-class nation but what has a complete plan worked out to meet the American defenses. By fortifying the canal we have placed a premium upon its destruction, and the nation that succeeds will be hailed as having achieved a great feat.



All this might have been avoided by internationalizing the canal. Ethically considered, it is a world waterway, and, practically considered, it can be preserved against harm only by making the world responsible for it. All the trouble between this country and Colombia occurred as a result of our government's determination to impose its will upon a weaker country, instead of taking its case before a world court; and the United States is submitting to an enormous expense to fortify the canal, rather than admit other nations to a share in its control. Men say that is too much risk; some nation might betray us. That is possible. It is also possible that the canal may be destroyed or captured in spite of our defense. And the latter possibility is more likely to happen than the former. It will be a long time before the world sees another "scrap of paper" incident. By that single act of faithlessness the good will of mankind was alienated, and the finest army in the world rendered impotent. We should profit by others' mistakes. When peace does return, the terms should include the internationalization of all such waterways as Panama, Suez and Gibraltar. Nations may guard their own borders, if they believe that gives greatest safety, but there is no excuse for their placing fortifications upon the world's highways.

s. c.



A Conscript Parade.

Recruits for Chicago's Preparedness parade are to be procured as they were obtained in 1896 for McKinley parades. The Illinois Manufacturers' Association is sending to business men a circular containing the following instructions:

Following up its action in sending a delegation to Washington two weeks ago to advocate preparedness the Illinois Manufacturers' Association has

joined with other organizations in Chicago to make the great parade June 3 a big success. The officers, clerical staff and men of every plant in Chicago should be in line.

In order to facilitate the organization of the industrial division of the parade which has been placed in the hands of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, you are requested to promptly fill out the enclosed card, giving the details as to the number of men you will furnish and the name of the particular officer of the company who will be in command.

Please act promptly.

SAMUEL M. HASTINGS, President.

In other words, employers are urged to ask each employe whether or not he will march. And prudent employes, whatever their inclinations may be, will make no hazardous experiments with negative replies. A foreign conquest could scarcely leave them less freedom of choice in such matters. However little they may believe the bogey tales of hostile invasion, they feel that a very real danger menaces their jobs. To avert this real danger, not the imaginary one, they will help to swell the parade. And the preparationist press, with little regard for the facts, will report the affair as a spontaneous and voluntary movement.

s. d.



Preparedness for Aggression.

In charging that lack of preparedness caused elimination from the immigration bill of the offensive clause relating to Japanese, preparationist organs practically charge that the United States has no regard for an agreement. The clause was a violation of a pledge against which the Japanese government properly protested. Now the preparationists would have us believe that, had we a bigger army and navy, we would have disregarded the protest and the pledge. The plea that we must prepare for defense has already expanded into one that we must prepare in order to violate agreements with impunity.

s. d.



Preparedness and Labor.

The opposition of the Chicago Federation of Labor to the preparedness parade has naturally angered the chief militarist organ, the Tribune, so that in its issue of May 20 it presents the fake Japanese issue as a reason why such opposition is "especially stupid," at a time when the "government has been compelled to accept dictation from a foreign power on a labor issue." Therefore, the Tribune argues, organized labor should favor a big army and navy, so that a war may be waged against Japan. Admitting the Tribune's absurd presentation of the Japanese affair to be correct, there is still no reason why Labor should favor

preparedness. Organized labor has found, at Ludlow alone, military oppression to be a greater menace and evil than any possible Japanese competition. Add to Ludlow, Youngstown, Pittsburgh, West Virginia, the Michigan copper district, Lawrence and innumerable other places where Labor has suffered from military rule, and the Japanese bogey takes on a beneficent aspect in comparison. Then bear in mind the refusal of congressional preparationists to forbid the use of the army in labor disputes, and the intention becomes clear to use the army against American workers.

The Tribune asks if a Japanese scale of wages of "14 cents for women and 22 cents for men" would be liked by laborers? That is an unfortunate question to put to trade unionists. The Illinois Manufacturers' Association contains the principal employers of labor in the State. This association is opposed to organized labor and demands preparedness. The same applies to the National Association of Manufacturers. Do these organizations want preparedness in order to keep out Japanese immigration, so that their members may be spared the opportunity to get labor for from 14 to 22 cents a day? If that is the case, then of course none of these employers would employ Japanese at less than American wages, if they did come. But not even the Tribune would have the hardihood to put forth such a claim. These manufacturers know that the question of Japanese immigration has nothing to do with preparedness. They know that, however big a military establishment we may have had, it would have been our duty just the same to eliminate the offensive Japanese reference from the immigration bill. And if it were true that lack of preparedness is likely to bring on a flood of Japanese immigrants there would be little support of preparedness parades by employers with no objections to cheap labor.

If the trade union position were more fundamental than it has yet got to be, labor organizations would inform the Tribune that no amount of Japanese immigration or any other immigration could hurt American labor if natural resources were not monopolized. But for this monopoly there would be no lack of jobs for all, even though the entire world's population were to locate within the United States, and every worker would get the highest possible wage—the full product of his labor. This monopoly is the greatest menace to

the American people. Until it has been removed labor organizations are right in refusing to be stampeded by hysterical preparedness cries. And when it shall be removed the economic cause of war will be removed also. Not yet have the labor organizations realized that in the principle of "the land for the people" lies their strongest defense against the evils which they have been formed to combat. But they are learning. S. D.



The Foot and Mouth Disease.

During the Blaine-Cleveland campaign Puck published a cartoon representing John A. Logan, Republican vice-presidential nominee, with his foot in his mouth. Underneath were the words: "Every time he opens his mouth he puts his foot in it." Recently the same idea was in a Harper's Weekly cartoon, appropriately applied to Theodore Roosevelt and cleverly entitled, "The Foot and Mouth Disease." The latest manifestation of this ailment was the Colonel's Detroit speech. There, in taking a stand against the government armor plate factory, he put himself in the position of one pleading for preparedness for the benefit of private manufacturers. But an even greater blunder was his endeavor to connect preparedness with social justice.



In speaking of Belgium and Korea as places where foreign domination makes the will or opinions of workers, business men or farmers of little consequence, Roosevelt forgot that the same can be said in condemnation of American policy in the Philippines and Porto Rico, in condemnation of intervention in Mexico, and in favor of movements for armed resistance to American authority. His statement furthermore implies that the first duty of the American people is to attend to enemies at home who are making the will of some classes of Americans of as little importance as the opinions of Belgians and Koreans. It implies that our worst enemies are upholders of the conditions which compel American workers, regardless of their views or desires, to march in preparedness parades. It has the same application to the opponents of equal suffrage and opponents of direct legislation, to upholders of the various legal and illegal devices for nullifying the Fifteenth Amendment. And it implies that our national security is menaced through suppression of free speech and free press in many places by local authorities and by the Post Office Department. Until these enemies of the present have been disposed of, future foes. S. D.

Excuses Offered for Treachery.

Congressman Murray Hulbert of New York, one of the faithless 30 Democrats who voted against independence for the Philippines, writes to *The Public* in defense of his action. He quotes the last paragraph of the Philippine plank of the Democratic national platform as follows:

We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers. In recognizing the independence of the Philippines our government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

Apparently because no definite time for establishment of independence is mentioned, Mr. Hulbert asks to be acquitted of the charge of repudiation. But the first paragraph of the plank, which Mr. Hulbert did not quote, reaffirms the position of the Democratic conventions of 1900, 1904 and 1908. All of these urge independence on establishment of a stable government. If Mr. Hulbert's construction is to be accepted, then every Democratic convention, since the Philippine question became an issue, has been guilty of deliberate deception. His words imply that even had the party won in 1900, 1904 and 1908 the pledge of Philippine independence would still remain unkept. In other words, the conventions intended to trick the voters, and Mr. Hulbert and his 29 colleagues ask credit for seeing to it that the trick did not fail. This is a more serious indictment of the Democratic party than any responsible Republican has yet presented. And it is to the honor of all but the 30 faithless Democratic Congressmen that they refused to discredit their party or themselves by trying to crawl out of their obligations through such a loophole.



Mr. Hulbert also offers in defense a letter from a constituent commending his vote. But the vote was not on a matter that concerned the rights of this constituent, but the rights of the Filipinos. Mr. Hulbert shows little knowledge or regard for democracy in offering that letter in justification. Not even the rights of his constituents can be safe in the hands of a representative who has not grasped the fundamental principles of democracy and thinks a strained construction of a platform plank excuses betrayal.



Another one of the faithless 30, Allen of Ohio, has announced that he will not be a candidate for re-election. This is regrettable. It deprives the

true democrats of his district of the pleasure of helping to defeat him. S. D.



Will the Courts Quibble?

A bill has been passed by the New York Legislature condemning to involuntary servitude young men of 16 to 19. The form of slavery prescribed is military service. Of course the act is unconstitutional. The Thirteenth Amendment plainly forbids slavery or involuntary servitude. It names one exception to the prohibition, and but one—the case of persons convicted of crime. It is clear that the framers did not wish to make an exception of involuntary military service. The country was then fresh from an experience of that kind in the drafting of recruits for the Civil War. So the failure to mention military service as an exception must have been intentional. It does not follow from this that the courts will hold the act unconstitutional. But it does follow that if they do not it will be a case of discreditable quibbling to please interests that want militarism. S. D.



Half Justice.

The coal miners, through the power of organization, have compelled the anthracite coal operators to raise wages, which they will collect in the shape of higher prices from the unorganized consumers. Is it not time for the public to take advantage of the power of organization and compel the operators to get the wage increase from the mine owners? The miners contribute their labor for what they get; the operators contribute the capital and superintendence for what they get; but the owners of the coal lands, what do they contribute for the royalties they get? The consumers have only to unite politically, to change this condition. Such a combination is far easier and less expensive to maintain than a labor union; all that is necessary is gumption enough to go in when it rains. S. C.



Barring Future Generations.

Some of the people who are undertaking to assimilate the immigrants coming to this country put forth strange reasons. Of the million immigrants a year that were landing on our shores before the war, four hundred thousand returned to their own country after accumulating an average of two thousand dollars. It is urged that if these aliens understood conditions in this country they would invest their money here, instead of sending it back to Europe. Buying homes and farms is put forth as a means of retaining the alien and his money in America. This is good

policy, but it is to be feared its advocates are not employing the best means for attaining the desired end. It is urged, for instance, that lands available now for \$20, \$30 and \$40 an acre will quadruple in value within a generation. Granting that this may be so, what is to become of the next generation, and those that come after? If it requires leagues and societies, with the aid of rural credits and other special legislation, to get people to go upon the land at present prices, what inducement will be required when the land is four times as valuable? A little less zeal and more understanding might aid these good people in attaining a laudable aim.

S. C.



Pensions and Human Nature.

Individualists who deprecate the too frequent resort to pensions as a corrective of social ills have received a striking vindication from the return of British pensioners to work in the ammunition factories. Age and decrepitude had caused their retirement from the ranks of labor, and they were spending their days in idleness, supported by their modest old age pensions. But when their country fell into sore straits, and every hand was needed, these retired workers came voluntarily to the shops and begged to be allowed to help. Their strength is slight and their contribution small, but such as it is it is contributed cheerfully.



What is the difference between these old people at work now and in former years? What but an opportunity to work, and a purpose for which to work? Labor is in such demand that even feeble hands are welcomed, and the consciousness that they are serving their country makes their owners happy. Why not have such conditions in times of peace? With labor in demand, as it would be with the earth made accessible to all, special tasks fitted to the strength and circumstances of the workers would be devised, and the ample pay would make employment at congenial tasks preferable to idleness.



Pensions are an accompaniment of economic injustice. With Privilege forcing wages down to the margin of subsistence, many laborers are unable to save enough to keep them in their old age, and must either eke out their last days in poverty or live upon a pension. The struggle for a place in the shop or the mine is so fierce that only those in their prime can stand the pressure. There is no place for the old and the feeble. But it is no compensation for unrequited labor during the worker's prime to give him all ease after he is

broken. Under normal and just conditions employment would be adjusted to the worker's strength throughout his life, not by arbitrary laws, but by the worker himself. Pensions, like charity, are necessary only to relieve the stress caused by mal-conditions. The remedy for the evil is justice.

S. C.



Taxing the Poor.

Under the blanket tax law of Illinois, which requires the taxing of all property, tangible and intangible, real and personal, except what is used exclusively for agricultural and horticultural societies, and for school, religious, cemetery and charitable purposes, the assessors have been leaving personal property schedules with families where a Turkish tax gatherer would have trouble in finding enough to pay for the search. The victims are writing to the Board of Review for relief. They enumerate their meager belongings, or relate tales of poverty due to sickness and unemployment. The pathetic part of it all is that even when the Board of Review exercises its powers of discretion, and relieves them of the personal property tax, it has done but a trifle toward establishing just relations between these poor citizens and the State. For the Board can do nothing toward relieving them of all the indirect taxes that fall upon what they consume. All taxes laid upon the production and distribution of wealth are paid by consumers, regardless of whether they are rich or poor. The State does not distinguish between the shoes or blanket that go into the family of the well to do and those that enter the home of the needy; the tax is the same. When the poor ride upon the street cars the same percentage of their fare is taken for taxes as is taken of the banker's nickel. And there are persons of alleged intelligence who defend the present system of taxation.

S. C.



Outrageous Censorship Again.

High-handed is the mildest term to apply to the action of the Post Office Department in withdrawal of second-class rating from *Regeneracion*, the organ of Mexican radicals, published in Los Angeles. An arbitrary order to this effect was issued on May 13, signed by A. M. Dockery, Third Assistant Postmaster General. The editors of the paper have for some time been under indictment, but indictment does not necessarily mean guilt, and until proven guilty they are entitled to the presumption of innocence. So the indictment does not excuse the outrage. It is possible to trump up charges against any editor and procure

his indictment. Then, if the indictment may be made a pretext for withdrawal of second-class rating, the life of every publication in the country is at the mercy of maliciously inclined persons who may see fit to bring criminal charges. Acquittal may follow later, but that will be no compensation for business loss, and would not even compel restoration of the revoked rating. Postmaster General Burleson will bring great discredit on President Wilson's Administration, as well as on himself, should he allow this inexcusable action of his subordinates to stand. S. D.



Free Speech at Dartmouth.

The faculty of Dartmouth College have adopted a rule allowing extra credit marks to students who spend a part of their vacation in the Plattsburg military training camp. The rule is lacking in justice and common sense. That those responsible for it are well aware of this is shown by the fact that they do not want it discussed. One of the students, F. Sterling Wilson, editor of the college paper, "Jack o' Lantern," has found this out to his cost. He has been expelled for calling attention in the paper to the absurdity of the rule. He said in part:

Cheer up, you ringers, and all others who can never get your degree by use of your intellect. Soon we will have one hour given for a walk to Moose Mountain, and three hours for the Mt. Washington trip, then will come credit for keg parties and honorable mention for steady attendance at Junction dances. Never again can a coach in the excitement of a mass meeting dare to say athletes must study at Dartmouth. Take notice, alumni, and take notice, other colleges, that my diploma is not as good as yours and pity me.

With militarism comes suppression of free speech and free press. That is a lesson taught by the action of the Dartmouth faculty. It is a timely one, even though unintentional. And students should take heed of it who have been misled into the belief that preparedness is needed to preserve liberty. S. D.



A Social Product.

A self-made man died in Cincinnati on May 20. He was one of those who, seeing the opportunities which American institutions present to the humblest, had promptly seized them and thus raised himself from most bitter poverty to the position of millionaire. His ability was such that in spite of his humble origin and imperfect education he succeeded where other parvenus almost invariably failed. He actually obtained admission into social circles ordinarily closed to those whose wealth has not been inherited for at least two generations.

The oldest, proudest and wealthiest of Cincinnati's landed aristocratic families welcomed as a social equal this product of the slums. The man who achieved this astounding success was George B. Cox.



Some current prejudices may prevent the holding up of Mr. Cox's career to American boys as an example to imitate. Yet these prejudices must be unreasonable, since they would not prevent holding, as examples to be followed, of some eminently respectable persons, who but for Cox's aid and support would have remained unknown to fame or fortune. Through industry and economy in early life Mr. Cox managed to accumulate enough money to open a saloon and thus become a business man. The saloon business gave him opportunities, which he promptly seized, to become the supreme political leader in his precinct, then in his ward, later on in city and county, and finally, of the State of Ohio, on formation of an alliance with the great Mark Hanna. But for Cox the United States Senate would never have known Joseph B. Foraker nor the House of Representatives, Nicholas Longworth. But for his aid the electoral vote of Ohio would not have been cast in 1896 for William McKinley. But for his influence with legislators the street railway interests of Cincinnati would not now be in possession of a 50-year franchise. These are a few of the results of his political career. Let not those sneer at the mention of respect due him who approve of what he accomplished.



George B. Cox was what American conditions made him. If the contention is correct of those who deny the need of fundamental change in these conditions, then was Cox's career commendable, and those who decry political bosses and bossism must be public enemies. Cox's power rested on two supports. One was the legalized predatory interests who needed him as a tool to help them gain and retain needed privileges. The other was the most poverty-stricken class, which had votes to give in return for charitable aid. Privilege held by one class creates the poverty of the other. But for Privilege there would have been no opportunity for Cox as a political boss, and even had he sought such power there would have been no degraded poor whose gratitude could be bought with charity. Cox had much opposition. But this opposition came mainly from that class of reformers who do not or will not see the foundations of the power of bossism. So when he did suffer an occasional defeat at the

polls the successful reform candidates, for lack of economic knowledge, committed blunder after blunder, making the rule of the Cox machine appear brilliant in comparison, with the inevitable result that the disgusted citizens ousted the reformers at the first opportunity. Possibly many of these reformers, much as they abhorred Cox, nevertheless preferred the most corrupt kind of boss rule to abolition of legalized predatory institutions. Cox's final retirement was but the retirement of an individual. The conditions that created him still exist, though Ohio's adoption of the Initiative and Referendum makes easier a successful attack upon them. But until they have been destroyed the opportunity is there for another Cox, and sooner or later he must arise. S. D.



HOODWINKING THE VOTERS.

The old adage, beware the Greeks bearing gifts, still serves. It was all very fine for certain public-spirited citizens of Illinois to interest themselves in the reform of its antiquated tax system, and it was generous of them to maintain a lobby at the State capital to aid the Legislature in drafting a constitutional amendment. But there have been some who, having the old saw in mind, have wondered at this apparent disinterestedness, and have cast about for a motive. They have felt that, while it all looked so fair without, there must be a Senegambian concealed somewhere in the pile of ligneous combustibles. Particularly have the farmers down the State wondered at this course of the Chicago taxpayers. It was not so much that the proposed amendment sought by means of classifying personal property to secure a larger revenue, but that the amendment was so drawn as to permit its movers to attain their particular end, while shutting out all other attempts a tax reform. It was this that awakened suspicion.

Had these tax reformers submitted to the voters on the Public Policy ballot a proposition to classify personal property, it could have been fought out on that issue; but, having submitted to the people an amendment to classify "property" and to the Legislature an amendment to classify "personal property," they aroused suspicion; suspicion led to investigation, and investigation has bared some strange things.



There are two distinct features about the Illinois Tax Amendment. By confining the Legislature's powers to classifying "personal property," all attempts to unburden industry will be barred. Lighter taxes on homes and farms, such as Minnesota has, will be prevented. Much of the relief

of manufacturers, granted by Pennsylvania, will be impossible. On the other hand, the Tax Amendment not only permits the Legislature to place a low rate on money, credits and mortgages—its ostensible purpose—but it empowers the Legislature to place the same low rate on the capital stock of corporations and franchises. This is what interests the farmers, organized labor and all persons who are seeking to equalize the burdens of taxation.

The friends of the deceitful amendment protest that they are the victims of circumstances. Why, they ask, should they be suspected of a desire to favor corporate stock and franchises? The very idea! And yet it is possible that the Legislature may do in the future things similar to what it has done in the past.

In 1905, under a Constitution requiring the taxation of all property, it passed a law specifically exempting the capital stock of certain corporations from taxation. True, this was not a general exemption. It applied only to the capital stock of "companies and associations organized for purely manufacturing and mercantile purposes, or for either of such purposes, or for the mining and sale of coal, or for printing, or for the publishing of newspapers, or for the improving and breeding of stock." Public service corporations and franchises were not included in that law. It was not considered politic to go too far at the first step. If the courts sanctioned this partial evasion of the Constitution, other items could be added.

Unfortunately for the tax-evading interests, however, the courts declared the law unconstitutional. This compelled a resort to the slow and tedious process of amending the Constitution. Not only that, but it subjected the program of the spurious tax reformers to the danger of attack by the real tax reformers. It was a delicate question as to how to amend the Constitution enough to exempt capital stock and franchises, without permitting the exemption of small homes. But the men having the matter in charge were equal to the occasion. Governor Deneen appointed a commission to consider the question. The chairman was the man who defended the corporations sued for tax evasion by the Chicago Teachers' Federation, and there were enough men of kindred spirit on the commission to aid him in making the desired report.

This report of the Deneen Commission was such a mass of legal verbiage that only an expert can understand it; but when reduced to common English it is said to mean that the Legislature should be given power to classify "personal property." But it was at no time stated in such language;

and when it was submitted to the voters for approval it was stated as an amendment permitting the classification of "property." Then, after it had received this popular endorsement, it was put through the Legislature with the word "personal" added, which is the form that the voters are to pass upon in November. Any voter who may be in doubt has only to remember that "personal property" means not only money, credits and mortgages, but also capital stock and franchises.



It is now clear why the men backing this tricky amendment fought so hard the Initiative and Referendum. The I. and R. Constitutional Amendment had been twice approved by overwhelming votes on the Public Policy ballot, but every time it was brought before the Legislature it met with the implacable opposition of the tricky amendment people. Many persons wondered at the time why this opposition was so persistent; but they wonder no longer. The opponents of the I. and R. knew that with that measure in the hands of the people their own tricky amendment would be useless. For, though they were confident that they could elect a Legislature that would exempt capital stock and franchises from taxation, they well knew that they could not carry it on a referendum vote.

It is not claimed that all those who have hitherto supported this tricky tax amendment knew that it was dishonest. But it is charged that its immediate sponsors knew it. And so carefully was the matter handled that not only were well-intending Illinoisans fooled, but college professors and tax experts in other States were deceived into endorsing it. Now that the real facts are presented, those who care to will have an opportunity to undo the mischief they have unwittingly done. It all goes to show that the people can never be safe until they have the Initiative and Referendum to control their representatives. s. c.



He would have been a rash man who, when Augustus was changing the Rome of brick to the Rome of marble, when wealth was augmenting and magnificence increasing, when victorious legions were extending the frontier, when manners were becoming more refined, language more polished, and literature rising to higher splendors—he would have been a rash man who then would have said that Rome was entering her decline. Yet such was the case.—Henry George.



The solution of the Temperance problem is to give a man something to work for. The solution of the religious problem is to give a man something to live for.—Dan Beard.

JOSEPH S. MARTIN.

Joseph S. Martin is dead. Chicago newspapers speak flippantly of Mr. Martin as an old school gambler, and a friend of Governor Altgeld, who made possible the Governor's election, and who induced him to pardon the "Anarchists" who had not been executed after their conviction following the Haymarket riot. This "lying by telling part of the truth" serves the double purpose of providing one more fling of prejudice at the great Governor, who still lives, an abiding, vital influence in the hearts of scores of thousands of the sons and daughters of Illinois, daily reminding them that, "Compromisers, traders and neutral men, never correct abuses; never found or save free institutions; never fight for human rights. They always become the instruments of the enemy. . . . Only men of courage and conviction can save this land. Only the men who stand erect ever get recognition."

Besides it enables these newspapers to chronicle the death of a remarkable man without mentioning his fine character, and his worthy public service. Martin did at one time run a gambling house; John B. Gough was at one time a drunkard and Saul of Tarsus held the garments of those who stoned Stephen. How unfair it is to speak of the "shot-gun," and the old days and ignore the fact that more than twenty years ago Mr. Martin caught the vision of Justice, retired from gambling altogether, and devoted himself, his time, talents and money, to the service of the over-borne, the disinherited, the betrayed and the plundered. These facts are well known, yet the newspapers, true to their yellow, perhaps because they know only too well his unselfish, sacrificing efforts to baffle the schemes of the workers of political iniquity, ignore his signal devotion to the highest ideals of disinterested political activity, and speak only of the vulgar form of gambling in which he was engaged before he came under the influence of the great Altgeld.

The story of his transformation is an interesting one. Someone placed a "claim" against Gambler Martin in the hands of Attorney Altgeld for collection. Altgeld wrote and Martin called upon him, and at the close of the interview remarked, as he was leaving, "It is unjust, but I'll pay it; men in my business cannot expect justice." "What do you mean?" asked the lawyer. "Do you mean that this man did not lose his money in your place?" "I mean just that," replied Martin. "Then," said Mr. Altgeld, "you return the day after tomorrow. I'll have the man here and if I find you are correct, I will make no further effort

to collect the claim and will have nothing further to do with a man who would make a wrongful claim. An unjust claim cannot be paid through this office." Martin was fairly stunned by this unexpected professional integrity. He was charmed and fascinated by this man who was "a lawyer and on the square," and became one of Altgeld's most devoted and efficient supporters. Nor did this devotion cease with the great Governor's life. A man of considerable wealth when he entered public life, Altgeld retired from office a poor man, and but for the work of Joseph Martin, his widow would have suffered privation. After the Governor's death, Mr. Martin quietly raised money enough to provide Mrs. Altgeld with an annuity which enabled her to pass her last years in comfort. Indeed, most of Mr. Martin's good works were quietly done. He was as shy as a country lad, but, though he shrank from publicity, he was utterly fearless, as was shown in October, 1914, when he flayed Roger C. Sullivan in an open letter, declaring his intention to vote for Raymond Robins. He was a shrewd judge of men. He loved reality, genuineness, and hated every degree of sham and humbug. He knew the power of Privilege, and when those whom he had believed had the vision, fell by the way and began to eat out of the hand of the Boss, he merely sighed, turned their pictures to the wall, and looked to others for help in his battles for the Right. He was as simple as a child, beloved by the forward-looking who knew him, and respected even by the political crooks who feared him, and not without reason. His life work was completed with the unveiling at the north end of Lincoln Park last September, of Gutzon Borglum's statue of Altgeld.

" . . . And if it be,
That, from the viewless world, whose marvels none
Return to tell, a spirit's eye can see
The things of earth; still may'st thou hail the sun,
Which o'er thy land shall dawn, when Freedom's
fight is won."

WILEY WRIGHT MILLS.



Liberty of each, limited by the like liberties of all, is the rule in conformity with which society must be organized. Freedom being the prerequisite to normal life in the individual, equal freedom becomes the prerequisite to normal life in society. And if this law of equal freedom is the primary law of right relationship between man and man, then no desire to get fulfilled a secondary law can warrant us in breaking it.—Herbert Spencer.



Those who love the liberties already won must open the door to the new, unless they wish to see them all take flight together. There can be no single liberty. Liberties go in clusters like the Pleiades.—Henry D. Lloyd.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THEY MARCHED BUT WHAT FOR?

Brooklyn, May 17.

On Saturday, May 13th, New York City witnessed what I regarded as one of the most gigantic frauds ever perpetrated upon the American people. It is said that those in the line of march participated therein because they favored what is called preparedness.

But did they march of their own free will, did they actually know the form of preparedness for which the parade was arranged, the form the National Security League, the Navy League and Wall Street interests propose to have saddled upon the American people?

Were they familiar with the testimony given before the House Committee on Naval Affairs by ranking admirals?

The fact is that many marched because they feared they would otherwise lose their positions.

In many instances coercive methods were employed, in fact I have been informed through a reliable source about one concern that supplied new straw hats and silk neckties to those of its employes who paraded. Am informed these tactics were also used in many other instances.

When we see the flag so lavishly used as it was in connection with this parade, to further the schemes of commercial greed, it is time we questioned as to whether it is still in reality the emblem of truth, liberty and justice.

If those who marched were furnished with all the facts and a vote taken thereon, the real sentiment could have been more correctly ascertained. That would be a democratic method. But those who are pressing the campaign for preparedness have no place for democracy in their schemes.

HENRY SAUM.



MARGARET SANGER IN MINNEAPOLIS.

Minneapolis, May 14.

A large and enthusiastic audience of over 1,000 men and women greeted Margaret Sanger at the City Hall, Minneapolis, Thursday, May 11. Birth control and why it is necessary was the topic of the evening. While the crowd that packed the hall to overflowing was comprised of revolutionists of many creeds, there was nevertheless a goodly crowd of Singletaxers.

When in Chicago, Mrs. Sanger met a woman physician from Minneapolis who told her to stay away from that city as it was too conservative, and that she would have no audience.

Mrs. Sanger spoke of birth control from a humanitarian and not from a Malthusian standpoint. She gave numerous examples of women of the working class who were nothing more or less but breeding machines, and other women who were willing to undergo operations in preference to bring child labor slaves into the world. She told of little children between 3 and 5 years in New York City who were not old enough to go to school but who assist in making artificial flowers and cigarettes and in picking over rags way down in sub cellars.

All the terrible heart-rending things about women and children that Margaret Sanger talks about are indictments against our present industrial and wage system. And as I sat there and listened I hoped and prayed for the time to hasten when our taxation system will be so changed as to eliminate some of these terrible wrongs.

Mrs. Sanger says a woman never will be free until she ceases to be a human incubator and knows how to prevent conception. But will she then be free? She will have no more economic freedom than our men. Her condition will simply be alleviated. She will still be a labor slave subject to our present economic system.

Margaret Sanger knows about the wretched conditions of women and children living in poverty and disease, results of our present system. She teaches birth control which will alleviate these conditions, but will not cure them. I wonder if she doesn't condemn socialism? For she condemns our federal postal laws and mentions the fact that in Glasgow the poor are not helped by municipal ownership but live in huts in the suburbs and have no use for municipal cars or houses, etc.

One thing is hopeful: when our women learn how to prevent conception they can devote more time to studying present conditions and assisting us in finding a remedy which we all believe to be the single-tax. For there is no remedy for misery and poverty but equal opportunities, and that can be gained only by Singletax.

CHARLOTTE SMITH.

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM.

Detroit, May 15, 1916.

A report from Vienna, dated May 11, states that over 50,000 Russian prisoners have signed a petition asking to be permitted to remain in the country after the war as Austrian citizens. It is also stated that another 200,000 Russians are ready to make a similar request.

These prisoners had been well treated by the Austrians, they had worked on the fields and had learned the language of their captors. Apparently they prefer decent treatment under foreign rule to oppression by their own government. They seem to care but little for Russia's getting Constantinople, and have no fear of Germany's place in the sun being too hot.

What, then, has become of the war of Teuton against Slav, of German culture vs. English liberty? Is it not evident that the war is but a struggle of the ruling classes for lands and markets? Might it not also be reasoned by analogy that we have no real quarrel with either the Mexicans or the Germans, and that it is time we decide to keep our hands off?

HYMAN LEVINE.

THE TRAWLER-ZEPPELIN INCIDENT.

Wyoming, N. Y., May 15, 1916.

Referring to the "King Stephen" incident, a correspondent in *The Public* of April 14 states that while he has "not at hand the exact numbers of the trawler crew and the Zeppelin survivors, . . . there were about 30 on the trawler and 150 on the Zeppelin." Although I have not the exact numbers at hand, either, I know that this statement is a gross ex-

aggeration so far as the number of the Zeppelin is concerned. The newspaper accounts of the wreck of the Zeppelin L-20, which was blown ashore on the west coast of Norway on May 3, state that the crew comprised 16 men; and I believe that this figure is approximately correct for all Zeppelin crews. In refusing to take aboard 16 half-drowned Germans, the trawler captain and his crew of 30 able seamen possibly did the "sane thing" (to use the correspondent's phrase), as ideas of sanity go nowadays; that he did the humane or manly or British thing is quite another matter.

W. R. BROWNE.

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, May 23, 1916.

Congressional Doings.

The flood control bill to expend \$45,000,000 on improvement of levees in the lower Mississippi, and \$5,600,000 on the Sacramento River in California passed the House on May 17 by a vote of 180 to 53. One-third of the cost of the Mississippi river improvement must be borne by the local districts, and one-half of the Sacramento river improvements by the State of California. The vote was 180 to 53. Objections to the bill were raised by Republicans who showed that the Mississippi project would reclaim 15,000,000 acres of land for the sole benefit of private land-owners.

The House passed on May 20 and sent to the President for his signature the army bill agreed upon in conference and known as the Hay-Chamberlain bill. The vote was 349 to 25. Some of the opponents were big army men who claimed that the bill is useless. Among these was Republican leader James R. Mann. For contrary reasons the measure was opposed by Congressman Tavenner and others opposed to militarism. The bill includes a provision for a government nitrate manufacturing plant to cost no more than \$20,000,000. Opinions vary on the exact results of the bill. The lowest estimate is that it gives a standing army of 218,000 men, the highest estimate is 296,461. In addition, provision is made for federalizing the militia. [See current volume, page 467.]

The naval increase bill came before the House in Committee of the Whole on May 18. As drawn it provided for 80 submarines and a large number of dreadnaughts besides battle cruisers. The so-called "little navy" men succeeded in having

eliminated the provision for dreadnaughts and in reducing the number of submarines to 20. A provision was furthermore adopted on motion of Congressman Hensley, authorizing the President to call an international conference on conclusion of the European war for creation of a permanent peace tribunal.



The Administration Shipping bill appropriating \$50,000,000 for a government merchant marine passed the House on May 20 by a vote of 211 to 161. The service is to be under control of a board of five members which is to have power to regulate rates of all ships in American waters. The government is to cease operation of the marine as soon as the ships can be leased or sold to private parties.



The House in Committee of the Whole on May 20 rejected an amendment to the Porto Rican bill offered by Congressman Meyer London of New York forbidding employment of children under 16. A provision now in the bill prohibits employment of children under 14 in "occupations injurious to health or morals or hazardous to life or limb." This Congressman London declared useless. Congressman Murray of Oklahoma led the successful opposition to Mr. London's amendment. On May 22 the Committee of the Whole adopted by 60 to 37 an amendment by Congressman Mann granting suffrage to women of the island.



Universalists Oppose Preparedness.

Massachusetts Universalists in State Convention at Haverhill on May 21 adopted by an overwhelming vote resolutions against preparedness as follows:

The Massachusetts Universalist convention wishes to register its solemn protest against the form of preparedness which is the expression of a heathen faith that puts its trust in iron tube and reeking shard; that we demand a truly Christian and patriotic preparedness, which will both eliminate the principal causes of war and also give us a more stalwart and patriotic statesmanship.



Militarism in New York.

Five bills passed by the New York legislature regarding compulsory military service were signed by Governor Whitman on May 15. These are the Welsh bill, the Slater bill, the two Stivers bills, and the Kincaid bill. One of the Stivers bills provides for drafting into militia service, at the discretion of the Governor, of any person in the State of militia age. The other Stivers bill prescribes a number of details as to organization of the militia reserve. The Welsh bill provides for compulsory military training of all school children above the age of 8. The Slater bill provides a military training commission empowered to super-

wise the military training in the schools and to force all boys between the ages of 16 and 19, except those "regularly and lawfully employed in any occupation for a livelihood," to undergo training in military camps during the summer months. The Kincaid bill appropriates \$500,000 for experimental military maneuvers of the militia.



Preparedness Parade Movement.

Plans for preparedness parades are reported from many cities. A committee headed by W. Rufus Abbott of Chicago is endeavoring to arrange such affairs throughout the United States on June 3, when the Chicago parade is to take place. In answer to Mr. Abbott's request to Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee for use of his name in issuing such a call the following reply was given:

With reference to the use of my name to call for preparedness parades in cities of the United States, will say that there is a grave danger that preparedness parades may be seized upon for all time to come by the private munitions and armor plate manufacturers, as an evidence that the American people are in favor of militarism and a huge standing army, such as brought the countries of Europe into the present unfortunate and barbaric conflict.

I believe, therefore, that the call for preparedness parades should clearly define its meaning. To illustrate: The preparedness we desire should mean peace, not militarism. It should also include at least these propositions: Improvement of the condition of the masses, government ownership of munition plants, and the principle of an organized and prepared citizenship as against a large standing army.

With this explanation you may use my name.



The Chicago Federation of Labor on May 21 adopted resolutions strongly denouncing the methods of the preparedness parade managers and approving the stand of its officials in opposition.



Labor Notes.

The following initiative measure against injunctions in labor disputes is being circulated for signatures by the Michigan State Federation of Labor:

1. No restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the state, or any judge or judges thereof, in any case involving or growing out of a dispute concerning employment or the terms or conditions thereof.

2. It shall not be unlawful for any person to make, enter into or carry on any arrangement, agreement or combination made with the view of lessening or changing the hours of labor, or increasing wages, or altering the scale thereof, or altering or bettering the conditions of working men or working women, or prescribing the terms or conditions upon which they shall work, or carrying on collective bargaining concerning employment or the terms or conditions thereof, or doing, in pursuance thereof, any act which would be lawful if done by

a single individual in the absence of such arrangement, agreement or combination; to terminate any relation of employment; to recommend, advise or persuade others so to do; to cease to perform any work or labor; to recommend, advise or persuade others so to do; to attend any place for the purpose of obtaining information from or communicating information to any person relative to any dispute concerning employment or the terms or conditions thereof; to persuade any person to work or abstain from working; to attend any place for the purpose of persuading any person to work or abstain from working; to cease to patronize a party to any such dispute; to recommend, advise or persuade others so to do; to pay, give or withhold from any person engaged in such dispute any strike benefits or other moneys or things of value; to assemble for any of the purposes hereinbefore set out; to do any act or thing which might be done by a single individual in the absence of any such dispute and any such arrangement, agreement or combination; and no person shall be indicted, prosecuted or tried in any court of the state for doing any of the things in this section contained.



Chicago drivers of express wagons to the number of 1,000 struck on May 17. The trouble arose from refusal of the companies to recognize the union. The corporations concerned are the American Express Co., Adams Express Co., Wells-Fargo Express Co., Western Express Co. and Great Northern Express Co.



The strike of 30,000 employes of the Westinghouse Company at Pittsburgh came to an end on May 16. The company made concessions to the demands of the strikers.



Steps toward formation of a national association of all employers of labor were taken by the National Association of Manufacturers in convention at New York on May 17. The object is to present a solid front of employers in opposition to the American Federation of Labor, and, in opposition to labor legislation.



Birth Control Movement.

Pamphlets containing birth control information were openly handed out at a public meeting at Union Square, New York, on May 20. Policemen were present but did not interfere. Emma Goldman, Bolton Hall and others addressed the meeting. A message of sympathy was sent to Dr. Reitman in prison. [See current volume, pages 448, 464.]



Tax Reform News.

An increase since 1910 of \$57,296,000 in assessment of land values in the business district of Cleveland was announced by County Auditor John A. Zangerle on May 19. This is that part of the city between the lake, river and East 14th St. The

1910 assessment made the rate \$96,440,000. The new assessment is \$153,736,000.



S. B. Boone and J. D. Cook of Alief, Harris County, Texas, 15 miles from Houston, appeared before the County Commissioners on May 15, asking that assessments of their lands be increased, and that of other land owners also in their school district. The men are school trustees. Land in the district is assessed now at \$15 an acre. The request is that it be raised to \$25. In asking the increase the men stated that much of the land is owned by non-residents, who "are in the East, while we are here creating the values. Yet they are unwilling to pay their share of the taxes."



Attempted evasions of the income tax aggregating \$8,380,185 were announced on May 20 by the Treasury Department, as having been discovered and frustrated. The attempted dodgers were mainly corporations. Investigation is said to be proceeding of returns of 80,000 individuals and corporations.



Mexico and the United States.

General Scott's report to the War Department of the conference at El Paso between himself and General Obregon, makes clear the fact that there is now a better understanding on the part of the Mexican authorities as to the purpose of the American Government. The fears that had been entertained by men as broadminded as General Obregon have been removed or allayed. The Mexican general agreed to send 10,000 picked troops into the Big Bend and Parral regions to stamp out the bandits. It is reported that he is distributing troops along the border in a manner to prevent raiders from Mexico entering the United States. General Scott believes the Mexican authorities are acting in good faith.



No official comment has come from General Carranza since the arrival of General Obregon at Mexico City. It is the de facto President's wish to have the American troops leave the country as soon as possible; but the administration at Washington shows no disposition to recall the men until all danger from raids has been removed. The second punitive expedition, under the command of Colonel F. W. Sibley, that entered Mexico in pursuit of the Glenn Springs bandits, and liberated the two Americans who had been carried away in the raid, has returned to the American side of the boundary. The expedition penetrated Mexico 125 miles. General Pershing's men operating south of Columbus are picking up small bands of bandits wherever found.

Santo Domingo.

Three hundred marines at Norfolk and 400 or 500 in Haiti have been ordered to Santo Domingo to reinforce the American force policing the Republic. No reports of fresh disturbances have been received. [See current volume, page 471.]

**European War.**

Verdun is still the chief center of interest. German assaults west of the Meuse resulted in small gains at Avocourt and on Hill 304 and Hill 287; but the French claim to have re-taken these positions on the 22d. East of the Meuse the French have retaken the fortified stone quarries at Haudremont, and have captured all but the north end of Fort Douaumont, which the Germans have held since the first advance upon Verdun. They still occupy a small part of the north end of the fort. The Germans have struggled hard to flank the French position on Dead Man's Hill, but the French assault on the 22d appears to have relieved their works from this danger. Heavy fighting has taken place throughout the western front as far as the Belgian position on the Yser, but no material changes in the line have occurred. Heavy cannonading of the British front is taken to indicate a possible assault in force by the Germans at that point. [See current volume, page 471.]



The Austro-Italian deadlock has been broken by an advance of the Austrians down the valley of the Adige toward the Italian railroad center at Vicenza. The capture of Vicenza would threaten the Italians on the Carnic and Isonzo fronts. The Austrian forces are reported to number 300,000 men. The Italians claim the advance has cost the Austrians a loss of 40,000 killed, wounded and prisoners. The Austrians claim to have captured 23,883 Italians. Dispatches from Rome admit the gravity of the situation, but assert that the advance has been stopped.



No material changes are announced on the Russian western front. In the east their advance in Armenia has alarmed the Teutonic empires, and caused them, according to report, to send the Turks reinforcements of German, Austrian, and Bulgarian troops. A spectacular turn was given to the eastern campaign by the announcement from the British on the Tigris River below Bagdad that Russian cavalry had reached that point. Details are lacking, but it is supposed that this force consists of Cossacks who have pushed on in advance of the army, which is supposed to be at least one hundred miles to the northeast of Bagdad. The Turks below Bagdad have drawn in their line, and the British have followed them up. The Russian advance on Mosul has not been reported, but it is possible the Turkish line of communications has already been cut. The Germans are aid-

ing the Turks to collect a strong force at Sivas, 230 miles west of Erzerum, to oppose the westward march of the Russians. Rumors persist of a Balkan campaign by the Allies in June, in which Greece and Roumania will join.



Subsea and air craft are active. Many contests have taken place along the western front between aeroplanes, resulting in the loss of craft and men. Much bombing of each other's works has occurred from the air. The submarines continue to take their toll, mostly of the Allies; but since the Baltic sea has been freed of ice, the Germans have lost many ships to the British and Russian U-boats. Less activity of German submarines has occurred in the North Sea since the exchange of notes with America. It is not known whether this is due to the depletion of the German forces, or to a desire to secure a modification of the British blockade. The British government announces that it will not permit foodstuffs to enter Germany. The scarcity of food in the Central Empires is evident from many bits of information that appear in the dispatches. More and more stringent rules for the handling and distribution of grains, meats, fats and potatoes are made by the government. Scarcity of food among the Poles, Jews, and Serbians is so dire that Americans are raising large funds for the purpose of shipping in stuff in accordance with the permission of the British Government to go through the blockade.



Premier Asquith has returned to London, where he continues conferences with the leaders of the Irish Nationalists and the Ulsterites in an effort to come to an agreement with them for a freer government in Ireland. Sir Roger Casement and Daniel Julian Bailey have been committed for trial in the law courts, probably within three weeks. Mr. Asquith asks Parliament for a new vote of credit of \$1,500,000,000, which is the eleventh vote of credit since the beginning of the war, and will bring the total to \$11,910,000,000. The French Minister of Finance has presented to the Chamber of Deputies a request for a credit measure for the third quarter of the year. The credits amount to 8,010,000,000 francs. The British compulsion bill passed its third reading in the House of Commons on the 16th by a vote of 250 to 35.

NEWS NOTES

—George B. Cox, for many years political boss of Cincinnati, died at his home in that city on May 20, aged 63.

—Philadelphia voted on May 15 by more than 100,000 majority for a \$100,000,000 bond issue for subway and other transportation improvements.

—Oakland, Cal., Singletaxers formed the East Bay Singletax Club on May 17. The committee on organization consists of Dr. H. F. Dessau, R. R. Waterbury and E. H. Tickle.

—The jury disagreed in the case of David Caplan at Los Angeles on May 16, charged with complicity with the MacNamaras. The vote was seven for conviction and five for acquittal.

—The Cristman-Whceler bill for state censorship of moving picture shows in New York was vetoed by Governor Whitman on May 20. He considers the terms of the bill too severe and burdensome.

—The report of the Education Committee of the House of Representatives on May 20 places the number of illiterates over 10 years of age in the United States at 5,250,000. Of these 4,275,000 are over 20 years of age.

—Owing to the dearth of United States army officers in the eastern department on account of the transfer to Mexico, the business men's training camp at Plattsburg this year will be in charge of seven officers from the Panama Zone.

—Justice Charles E. Hughes was endorsed for President at preference primaries on May 16 by the Republicans of Vermont, leading Roosevelt almost three to one, and on May 19 by the Republicans of Oregon, when he defeated Cummins of Iowa and Burton of Ohio.

—Mauna Loa volcano in the Hawaiian Islands is reported to be violently active. A flood of lava burst forth on the night of the 22d at an elevation of 7,000 feet. The lava, which is following the course of the eruption nine years ago, is flowing down the side of the mountain at the rate of a mile an hour. The glow illuminates a wide area at night. Newspapers can be read many miles away.

—State-wide primaries in Pennsylvania on May 16 resulted in a split delegation to the Republican convention. The voters had the choice of an uninducted delegate ticket favored by Senator Penrose, and a ticket favored by Governor Brumbaugh pledged to vote and work for the presidential preference of the voters. Penrose adherents claim 50 of the 76 delegates, Brumbaugh's adherents claim 41. Brumbaugh and Penrose were both elected delegate-at-large, but the Governor's vote was 8,000 larger than the Senator's. The only name on the ballot for presidential preference was Governor Brumbaugh's, but the names of Henry Ford and of Theodore Roosevelt were written on by many voters. In Philadelphia Ford received 3,200 votes in this way, and in Pittsburgh 6,000 votes. No figures have yet been given from the state at large. The Roosevelt vote was about half of Ford's so far as reported.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Irish Rebellion.

Labor Leader (Manchester, Eng.), May 4.—The story of the rebellion in Ireland is one of the saddest in her sad history. . . . More responsible than anyone is Sir Edward Carson. It was he and his fellow loyalists of Ulster who taught the extreme Nationalists and Laborists of Dublin to arm, and the

impunity which the British Government allowed them naturally encouraged the Sinn Feiners and Larkinites to follow their example, whilst the Dublin strike and the employment of troops against the workers deepened the sense of revolt, and drove men like Jim Connolly to espouse the policy of violence. We think they have been terribly and criminally mistaken, but we hope the British people will realize that unless our asserted sympathy with small nations is the most absolute cant we must pursue a policy in Ireland which will allow her people to realize their high Nationalist aspirations. We should also like to repeat the warning we uttered last week. So far only one side of the story as to the origin of the rebellion has been stated. There is another; that we know. A full and impartial inquiry should be held. Until then, final judgment should be withheld.



Where Our Soldiers Have No Right to Be.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat, May 16.—Possibly it is true that we haven't soldiers enough to patrol the Mexican border. But that is only because we have so many of them located where they are not needed. There are thousands of soldiers in the Philippines, Hawaii, Alaska, Porto Rico and the Canal zone that might be called home for service on the border without in the slightest degree imperiling our interests in any of these places. But it would give the jingo snap away if this were done.



An Old Lesson Still Unheeded.

Sacred Heart Review (Boston), May 13.—Great Britain is only giving aid and comfort to her enemies when she shoots her Irish rebels. Her firing squads furnish a new impulse to extreme Irishism. They have enshrined the Sinn Feiners with the Boys of Wexford, the United Irishmen, the Tones, the Emmets, the Forty-eight men, and the Fenians.



Congressional Bunglers.

Chicago News, May 19.—Congress has bungled its alien exclusion bills first in one way and then in another. In its present form the Burnett immigration bill, by which Japan and parts of the Asiatic mainland where Japanese have settled or may settle are excluded by geographical descriptions, is crude in the extreme and generally absurd. Japan, as is well known, does not care to have its citizens migrate to lands that are not under Japanese rule. It objects, however, to forms of exclusion that place the stigma of inferiority upon the Japanese race. Ambassador Chinda holds that the United States is obligated by treaty to enact no Japanese exclusion legislation. For practical purposes the question of Japanese immigration is solved by the agreement under which Japan undertakes to prevent, and does prevent, the migration of Japanese laborers to the United States. Notwithstanding this situation the House of Representatives passed the Burnett bill in a form offensive to Japan. In response to the objections of the Japanese ambassador, the Senate, at the instigation of the American State Department, has modified the bill. . . . The issue turns upon matters of form, not of substance. The meas-

ure in its present shape affords a monumental example of American legislative bungling. It would be just as easy to frame an act under which immigration to this country from any foreign country would be restricted to a fixed percentage each year of the naturalized American citizens coming originally from that country. Such a law would prevent the entrance into the United States of any appreciable number of unassimilable aliens and would give offense in no quarter.



Why Shouldn't Congress Revoke the Patent?

The Day Book (Chicago), May 19.—The poor old Standard Oil Trust is in a pitiable plight. It is making outrageous profits out of gasoline, but is afraid to cut the price for fear it will ruin its independent competitors. Here's how a Standard man explains the situation: The Standard now has a patented process for making gasoline from crude oil by which they get from 50 to 60 per cent gasoline, while under the old process they got only from 20 to 25 per cent. Using the patented process, the Standard could make a big cut in the price and take a big profit in a price that wouldn't enable the independent manufacturers to live—because the independents have to use the old process. The public kicks at the high price and the outrageous profits of the Standard, but the poor old monopoly is afraid to quit robbing the public because it might ruin its competitors. So it goes on taking its hog profit, but secretly pretends to be ashamed of itself. Can't somebody help the Standard out of this awful dilemma? If no better way is suggested the Standard might save its rivals from ruin and escape its present mortification by letting the independents use the patented process. But isn't it a funny situation for the Standard—piling up millions and robbing the public by being tenderhearted to its competitors?

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE CITY BEAUTIFUL.

By James C. McNally.

The boon supreme is here, because the bane
Has been uprooted from its sordid lair;
The place so ugly once is passing fair,
The city dead in sin is born again.

Redeemed, it rises in the rich domain;
Its craftsmen soul and body blessings share;
Its women bloom in unpolluted air;
Its children blossom without scar or stain.

The ancient cankers poison life no more;
Vanished are dive and den and sodden slum;
The smile of Heaven floods Hope's opened door;
Sweet, dreamed-of Liberty indeed is come.
Wherefore the change, vaster than dark to dawn?
The People's Boss and Politics are gone!



"Regenerate the individual" is a half truth; the reorganization of the society which he makes and which makes him is the other half.—Henry D. Lloyd.

CATCHING UP WITH THE BIBLE.

By Louis Wallis in the Standard (Baptist).

The great social awakening, which now sweeps like a tidal movement over the churches of the nation, means that the world is at last beginning to catch up with the Bible. Not a work of man, but a work of God, breathing a new life into the churches at the very time when men were becoming discouraged about the prospects of organized religion. Thus, while the movement goes on around us, men feel its grip and acknowledge its power, and yet ask in bewilderment, "What is the social awakening?"

Jesus and the Hebrew prophets lead to the new day when they tell us about "the weightier matters of the law," whereof the foremost is justice. By the supreme test of Jesus and his forerunners are all religious leaders, teachers and authorities now being judged. "He shall set justice in the earth, and the isles shall wait for his law." Such was to be the historic work of the Christ, as foreseen in the most exalted vision of Hebrew prophecy. "Let justice roll down like waters!" was the cry of Amos. If religious leaders fail to put justice at the center of their message and at the focus of their perspective, the Bible sits in judgment upon them.

Moreover, the Bible is definite regarding the foundations of justice. When, during the age of the Judges, the tribes of Israel came to Samuel for assistance in organizing a kingly government, Samuel told the people that under the monarchy there would be concentration of landed property in a few hands. (II Sam. 8). The prophets vigorously condemned the adding of field to field (Isa. 5:8; Mic. 2:1, 2). They looked forward to a time when every man's right to the soil should be acknowledged, and all should sit under their own vine and fig tree (Mic. 4:4; Zech. 3:10). The Hebrew people went down to ruin through the concentration of property and the injustice which always goes along with excessive wealth. Yet in this they were like all the other nations of history. Rome was destroyed by great estates, declares Gibbon. In America we have already reached a stage of development in which 2 per cent of the people own 60 per cent of the property, as pointed out by the United States Commission on Industrial Relations.

But the Bible does not offer a political or economic program for dealing with these questions of poverty and wealth. Scripture cannot be cited as authority for Socialism, or Singletax, or any other school of sociological thought. Nor should we seek to commit the church to any political party or scheme of social reform. Nevertheless, the Bible, of a surety, voices the demand for justice in human relationships. It puts the problem of "rich and poor" definitely before us. The Bible was ahead of the world when it was written.

It holds up an ideal of brotherhood that still waits to be realized. The social awakening carries the churches out of theological dogmatism into the great matters of social justice emphasized by the Bible. And while the church may not espouse political parties or schemes of social reform, we are learning that the house of God is a community center where all problems and programs bearing on the moral and spiritual life may be canvassed in an atmosphere of kindly fraternalism.



THE DEN, IGNORANCE.

For The Public.

I sat me down to write, and bethought me I had an interesting subject, but as is sometimes the case my thoughts were not so well defined as at other times and my work was not very satisfactory. Then I stopped to think and at last decided to take a stroll, and in my mental ramblings I came upon a den, as it were, a rather dingy-looking place, and as I looked I saw it was the "Den of Ignorance," and I was wont to turn away, but a man standing thereat beckoned me, saying: "This is the place you seek, enter therein." At first I was somewhat offended that he should endeavor to bring me in such a place but I observed that he was a pleasant man and of goodly countenance, and as I turned back I saw that his name was Investigation and when I saluted him he said, "Many there be herein who are truly noble and worthy of a better life, but are here by stress of circumstances and know no different, and except someone like yourself comes along to lead them out, they are doomed to always stay here." Then he motioned me to proceed and I entered the open space. Then I saw that the steps went downward and that once inside there was plenty of space, and there was therein all manner of human beings, working at their various tasks and some also who never seemed to do anything.

And I observed that the place was full of filth and much pestilence, although many there were who labored to keep it clean, their work came to naught. Cobwebs were builded in a moment of time, and germs and worms and other filth lurked about the place.

First I talked with some of the loafing ones as to why they were in there, such as "Indolence" and "Don't Care" and "Good Enough" and several others of like type, and they all said they were pretty well satisfied; in fact, did not know they were in a den.

Then I went into another room that was slightly cleaner, and here I found such fellows as "Sometime," "Ought-to-be," "Going to," and the like sort.

These all admitted they were in a "den" and were going to get out, but without exception, "couldn't do it now" or "were going to do it some time," and the like.

These I could not sympathize with very greatly for they were quite satisfied with their lot, but another class who seemingly made it their business to keep all the places clean and fresh for their own and others' safety, not apparently by any compulsion other than their own relentless energy.

Of these, one in particular (by name, "Couldn't Find It"). I felt for him a strong sympathy, for he was bent on not only bettering himself, but also to bring all his fellows out of the den; in fact, was always scrubbing and cleaning against great odds as if thinking to clean the "den" was the first step in bettering conditions, and I said to him, "Fellow, why work so hard here; do you think it worth while?" And when I learned his ambition—that he would make the whole world a better place—I asked him if he did not think it proper first to come out of this loathsome den, and he said he had tried long, and by many different means to get out, but had failed.

I found him an interesting fellow, and in the course of his work he took me in many different rooms; by this time we had come to what is known at "Plute Row." Here the atmosphere seemed a little clearer at first and the occupants seemed a bit more enlightened, the room also seemed to be less infested with filth-breeding germs, but as one lingered for a time there seemed to be an odor that made one's head dull and mind blear, and it became a more repulsive place to stay than any of the others. So, "Couldn't find it" explained that he had at one time lingered in this ward, doing nothing; thinking it the ideal life, but that it grew too monotonous for him and that he preferred to work with his fellows in an effort to clear away such a den.

I asked him if there were no doorways out, and he said there were many, and I asked him if they were guarded and he said there were such fellows as "Slothfulness"; "Ingrate", and their kind, who were set to hinder, but they were too weak to seriously interfere with one bent on getting out, and I asked him were the doors open, and he said they were always locked. Then he showed me there were innumerable doors, and that they were named according to the way they led, such as Altruism, Socialism, Unionism, Commercialism, and many others that came under the list of economy streets. Then there were other lists—isms and other kinds, such as religious, fraternal and many other sorts.

So "Couldn't find it" told me he had tried many of these various ways, and sometimes seemed well on his way out, only to find himself back again, and often in worse straits than ever. I suggested that he try a key and see where it would lead us. Then he told me that while the keys were mostly visible they were hard to get, as they were walled in, and when I reached for them I found there was a thick, glasslike substance that

covered them and is called "financial barrier", which seemed very thick and impregnable at first—especially to those who suffered most from existing economic ills—but which proved quite thin and easily broken by those who were really determined to get out.

I asked "Couldn't find it" what means he had used for getting the keys he had tried, and he said sometimes he had money, then "financial barrier" furnished no resistance, but that not all the passages led any place, except (as he had already stated) around into another ward, where was greater confusion and distress than that which he had left. I asked him what sort he had used and he said some had told him that a certain religion was the "cure all" for all evils; others that an inequality of opportunity was the cause and recommended their particular passage, but in all cases the results so far had been about the same, and of late he had no more means of breaking the financial barrier, so had given up hopes. I asked "Couldn't find it" what way he most desired, and he said he thought if he could get where salaries were big, and he could do much good. Then I explained that many already there had tried that, and most of them have given up in disgust, and that in almost all businesses men had gone through big fortunes and ended in failure. I further stated that it is generally admitted that it is not lack of supply, or overpopulation, or scant money that makes so many live so miserably, for already produce goes to waste every year on the farms for want of market, while at the same time wage earners in the cities go hungry because prices to them are so high they cannot buy, and yet, due to wasteful handling—commission and business men are often on the verge of bankruptcy, living as it were, from hand-to-mouth, and "Couldn't find it" agreed that, notwithstanding many theories to the contrary—doubtless that was right. Then I asked him if he did no think that in view of these circumstances, good health and equality of opportunity before the law was the main object to be achieved and that these of itself would bring wealth and happiness to all who were willing to work and earn, and he agreed. Then I asked him if he had ever heard of the "Henry George" idea, and the "Dr. Moras" way. He said he believed both their keys were available, but as to the former, he had heard he was a very pernicious thinker and an anarchist, and was bent on making trouble; and as for the latter, he had not heard much of him, but had been informed from "reliable" authority that he was a very abusive personage and was crazy.

But, said I, "I was recently in like fix as you, and these served me well, for the little way that I have advanced from this place was by these same means, and I am well satisfied, in fact, the more so, the further I proceed." So "Couldn't find it" was willing, for, as he said, he was not

well, and being an industrious person, he believed all the help he needed was health and a proper chance. And it so happened that when once he was ready to start the good man at the gate (Investigation) joined us. He made easy for us to get the keys, and also explained to us that there was no better route from this foul den, and that, moreover, they were close of kin, and that those who had one needed the other, and that they were so closely linked that one could travel both at once.

So we set out, and no sooner that we were outside the heavy gates than "Couldn't find it" began to say how much better he felt; that "the air was purer and the way clearer than any he had yet tried"; that some of the routes were so beset with quagmires and brush and fog, and other impediments, until he could hardly distinguish when he was out and when he was in the den. But this was not so. Now the way constantly grew clearer and more pleasant, and that instead of carrying hardships, it was easier than staying where he was, or by going any other route. So we, too, passed on our way, saying: "As soon as we have sufficiently learned the way we will return hither and endeavor to guide such ethers from this place as are tired of their lot."

Here I reflected for a moment, asking myself: Is this worthy to jot down? Then I said I will write this for others to pass upon its merits, for no one is competent to judge of the value of his own efforts.

RUSSELL H. DISTIN.



THE BURDEN.

By Robert Whitaker.

Not the weak, but the strong are the burden we bear,
We could carry the feeble today,
And no one be broken with heart-ache and care,
If the strong would stand out of the way.

We could satisfy all who have less than they need,
If those who have more would refrain.
Want is not the world's problem, the problem is greed,
For the slums are the back-yards of gain.

We prate of "defectives," and scold "the unfit,"
But the people who trouble us most
Are the vaunted "efficient," who think they are it,
And know not the things that they boast.

The handsome folks live on the plain folks, of course,
And the clever folks live on the fools;
And the people who work are forever the source
Of the waste and the riot that rules.

You may double the tax on the common man's bread,
But the rich man must still have his cake.
And the foolish must fill up the trenches with dead
That the wise folks may double their stake.

And when you have beggared the man who is down
The man is a patriot still.

But alas for the flag, and alack for the crown
When the rich have to settle the bill.

No, it isn't the weakness of those who are weak
That makes the world wretched and wrong,
We shall some day discover the sinner we seek
In the self-centered greed of the strong.

BOOKS

AN AID TO SERENITY.

Quit Your Worrying! By George Wharton James, Pasadena, Cal. Radiant Life Press. New York. The Baker & Taylor Co. Price, \$1.00 net.

This is no psychologic study or analysis of worry. The author does not inquire into the cause of worry. I think it could be shown that all worries have their origin in fear. Fear of poverty, fear of want and old age, fear of the neighbors, fear of the new and unaccustomed, fear of change and progress, religious fear, fear that is everywhere, in some form or other lessening the duration, kind and quality of life. The author dwells rather on the evil results of worry and the wretchedness and misery that it entails. Assuming that you are a worrier or the victim of a worrier (and who is so fortunate as not to be either one or the other, and quite frequently both?), then this little book is well worth your reading. Sane, practical and helpful, the work of a man driven insane by worry himself at one time and who fought his way back to the serenity he preaches, it cannot fail to help the reader to quit his futile, wasteful worrying.

LAVINIA LEITCH.

MUCH ABOUT NOTHING.

Notes of a Busy Life. By J. B. Foraker. 2 vols. Published by Stewart Kidd & Co., Cincinnati. Price \$5.00 net.

In two big, well-printed volumes, liberally illustrated, with a good many more or less valuable facsimiles, Mr. Foraker has treated his subject sympathetically. Like Mark Hanna, Foraker was simply a man without a vision who stood for privilege at all times, as the fountain head of prosperity. That there exists such a study as economics, or that society is any other than an aggregate of unthinking beings to be led with anything other than spread-eagleism, never seems to cross his mind. When he happens across men with an idea, like Henry George or Tom Johnson, he instinctively classes them as "demagogues" or "anarchists and socialists" and is still of opinion that without his own rhetorical efforts, the whole social structure would slide to the demnition bow-wows.

Many otherwise dull biographies are made valuable by the sidelights cast on contemporaries, but

Mr. Foraker's observations upon people with whom he came into contact, except when such belonged to the "old guard," are amazingly thin. As history, the book is not valuable, for little is touched upon except as J. B. had a hand in it, and if he, full fed with conservative tradition, ever said a thing that deserves to live, he has been singularly modest in recording it.

CHARLES J. FINGER.

THE EFFICIENCY MYTH.

Voting Trusts. By Harry A. Cushing. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Price \$1.50 net.

The fact is that in many cases Big Business has rather gotten away from us. A railroad system is effectively managed in a way, but the scope of operation is often so large, the responsibility so divided and subdivided between subordinates, the necessity for attention to the larger details so urgent, that waste creeps in in a thousand ways. Material is dropped unused, things are laid aside and forgotten, minuter details overlooked. Just as Prince Kropotkin so ably showed that intensive agriculture is better for the nation than wide-sweeping operations, so, often, are small businesses run with less waste than large. L. P. Jacks in a recent essay argues that big business is likely to swamp governments as well as people, that all of us, capitalists and small stockholders, workers and bosses, have more than we can handle. Stockholders, for example, might be expected to exercise a proper discretion in the care of their rights, in the election of directors that really direct, who in turn would install a management suitable to them—but they do not. The sense of ownership contained in a share of stock is too dimly sensed, and hence the Voting Trust by means of which power to act is relegated to two or three, and no questions asked. Mr. Cushing holds a brief for the continuance of the Voting Trust, and thinks that legal objections notwithstanding, it has come to stay.

CHARLES J. FINGER.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

An Application of the Teachings of Christ to the American Japanese Problem. By Herbert Flint. Hattie Elizabeth Lewis Memorial Essays on Applied Christianity—Prize Essay, 1915. Published by the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.

Report of the Committee on Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure, of the American Association of University Professors. Edwin R. A. Seligman, Chairman, Columbia University, New York City. Published by the Association, John Dewey, Columbia University, President. 1916.

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By George W. Nasmyth, Ph. D.

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The philosophy of force, according to the author, is the real cause of the breakdown of civilization in Europe. This philosophy claims to find a scientific foundation in the application to human society of Darwin's theory of "the struggle for existence" and the "survival of the fittest." A critical study of this so-called "Social Darwinism," which upon analysis is found to consist in a belief that collective homicide is the cause of human progress, shows it to be entirely false. Moreover, it is in direct contradiction to the ideas of Darwin himself, who bases his whole theory of social progress upon justice and the moral law.

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Said the Judge: "By the way, I am indebted to you for a couple of suggestions, though possibly you don't remember."

"Indeed?" inquiringly responded the business man.

"You asked me one day last summer if I had read the *Far Country*, at that time Churchill's latest book."

"Yes; I recall it now," said the business man, "and next time we met you told me you had read it, and then I asked you another question," refreshing the Judge's memory.

"You asked if I had read *The Harbor*. I had not, but have now, is why I am tendering acknowledgments at this time, while listening if perchance you have something later up your sleeve,—since I begin to look to you as my literary scout."

"I have to get off at this next corner, Judge, or would like to tell you more about the last book to interest me. I'm reading it now for the third time—it's the *'King of the Money Kings'*, and I believe you want it next."

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When a Feller is Out of a Job

By Sam Walter Foss.

All nature is sick, from her heels to her hair,
 W'en a feller is out of a job;
 She is all out of kilter an' out of repair,
 W'en a feller is out of a job.
 Ain't no juice in the earth an' no salt in the sea,
 Ain't no ginger in life in this land of the free,
 An' the universe ain't what it's cracked up to be
 W'en a feller is out of a job.

W'at's the good of blue skies an' of blossomin' trees
 W'en a feller is out of a job?
 W'en yer boy hez large patches on both of his kneec
 An' a feller is out of a job?
 Them patches, I say, look so big to yer eye
 That they shet out the lan'scape an' cover the sky,
 An' the sun can't shine through 'em the best it can
 try
 W'en a feller is out of a job.

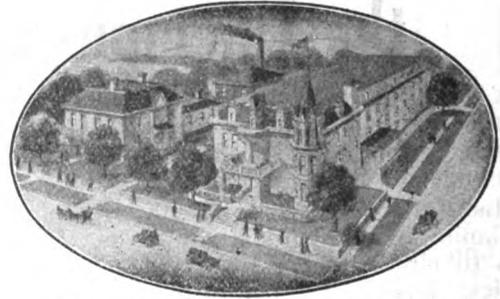
W'en a man has no part in the work of the earth,
 W'en a feller is out of a job;
 He feels the whole blund'rin' mistake of his birth,
 W'en a feller is out of a job.
 He feels he's no share in the whole of the plan,
 That he's got the mitten from Nature's own han',
 That he's a rejected an' left-over man,
 W'en a feller is out of a job.

For you've jest lost yer holt with the rest of the
 crowd,
 W'en a feller is out of a job;
 An' you feel like a dead man with nary a shroud,
 W'en a feller is out of a job.
 You are crawlin' aroun' but yet out of the game,
 You may bustle about—but yer dead jest the same—
 Yer dead with no tombstone to puff up yer name,
 W'en a feller is out of a job.

Ev'ry man that's a man wants to help push the
 world,
 But he can't if he's out of a job;
 He is left out behind, on the shelf he is curled,
 W'en a feller is out of a job.
 Ain't no juice in the earth an' no salt in the sea,
 Ain't no ginger in life in this land of the free,
 An' the universe ain't what it's cracked up to be
 W'en a feller is out of a job.

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