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## EDITORIAL

### Let Ford Consider the Source.

Henry Ford can easily endure ridicule by papers which believe war to be a sensible proceeding, and are gravely repeating as worthy of consideration the hysterical absurdities of the preparationists.

S. D.

### A Dangerous Program.

The newspaper reports may not be true which quote Secretary of War Garrison as saying that his preparedness program involves a plan for compulsory military service. If the Secretary has been correctly quoted, then he has furnished another reason for democratic Congressmen to oppose his program.

S. D.

### A Plan to End War.

Commenting upon the convention called to meet at Wellesley, Massachusetts, in January, for the purpose of organizing a society to eliminate the economic causes of war, the Chicago Evening Post says:

We believe Mr. Babson's project goes to the core of the matter, but we confess we do not see how the goal it seeks is to be attained. As long as there are in the world great wealth-producing nations whose energies demand ever-widening markets; as long as there are virile peoples multiplying in number within restricted areas, there will be competition and land hunger. And while these continue there will be a recurrence of crises in which the effort to readjust and redistribute will threaten the employment of force.

And the Post goes on to note that the Revolutionary war was a struggle for economic independence, that the Civil war was an effort to perpetuate chattel slavery, and that the present European war is due to the rivalry between nations seeking new markets.

Is not this doubt of the Post due to a misconception of the economic problem? Why should nations be so eager to obtain foreign markets? Why should the English or the German manu-

facturer struggle so hard, and involve his country in war, for the mere privilege of selling a coat to a Chinese, when Englishmen and Germans at home want for coats? The undisputed testimony of sociologists has established the fact that the working class in England and in Germany not only is not getting a proportionate share in the production of wealth, but, the cost of living considered, is receiving a decreasing share. The great mass of the people in those countries, as well as the mass of the people in the United States, are wanting in the full requirements of modern social life. Their standard of living, when compared with the productive power of the world, is not as high as that of earlier ages. And these masses of people are eager to have more. They are demanding more. And they are striving their utmost to get more. Why, then, do not the manufacturers who are seeking foreign markets turn their attention to their own people who are in need? Why send cloth to the ends of the earth seeking a market, when backs at home are shivering? The answer, of course, is that they are willing to sell at home, but the people lack the means to buy. And this leads to the core of the question. Why cannot the people who make things buy the things they make?



The answer is not to be found in production, but in distribution. A few men on an island, pursuing the simple labors that satisfy primary wants, would never be bothered with a surplus. Exchange would be mutual; each would be able to buy as much as he produced; and the total wealth would always be in demand. But if there should appear among them a man claiming title to the land, and should charge each of the islanders for the privilege of occupying and using the natural resources of the island, a new condition would arise. The producers, who surrendered one-fifth of their product to the owner of the land, would have remaining a purchasing power equal to only four-fifths of what they had produced. And as the fifth going to the landowner accumulated he would be desirous of a foreign market in which to dispose of his share. This is the condition in European countries, and it is fast coming to be the condition in the United States. A large part of the product of labor goes to the owners of the natural resources, who render no service in return, and labor to that extent is deprived of its purchasing power. Since, therefore, home labor cannot purchase this surplus, a market elsewhere is sought. The remedy, however, is not to be found in fighting for new markets abroad, but in reopening old

markets at home. Shut off the toll that privilege takes, and labor will regain its full purchasing power. And with the purchasing power restored to the people the strife for foreign markets will cease. When trade at home and abroad gives as much as it receives traders will be friends and wars will cease.

S. C.



### The "Goblins-Will-Get-You" Argument.

Adversely commenting on congressional opposition to unjust taxation for preparedness, the Chicago Herald says in its issue of January 2 that "a gasoline-saved nation is better than a nation not saved at all." The Herald begs the question. So far the preparationist demands rest on unproven and improbable claims concerning what other nations are likely to do, while the injustice and harm of taxes on consumption are facts long demonstrated both in theory and practice. Now, the Herald urges Congressmen to unquestioningly help in piling more substantial burdens on the people, lest a goblin get us while we are arguing over the matter. If preparationists are so sure of that danger and of the unimportance of methods to avert it, let them prove it by urging prompt acquiescence in the demand for taxation of privilege instead of labor. If they do not care to do that, then the sincerity of their belief in the goblin may well be questioned.

S. D.



### What Conscription Means.

Conscription does not mean that those responsible for war must do the fighting. It means that men must be forced to fight, who were denied any voice in determining whether or not there should be a war. And in the case of every existing nation it means that they must fight for a government that denies their right to opportunities to earn a living, and to the full product of their labor.

S. D.



### Military Necessity.

"Military necessity" may be urged as excuse for interference with neutral mails by the British government. But the excuse does not excuse. If it did, then it would serve for other and greater wrongs, even for the torpedoing of unarmed liners filled with non-combatants. The plea of "military necessity," if allowed, would admit the right of any belligerent nation to commit any outrage that it might see fit, regardless of whether the victims be enemies, friends or neutrals.

S. D.

**Cause and Effect.**

Since the Chicago school board now contains a safe majority for special interests and against the public interest, it is only natural that it should promptly take action in favor of military training in the high schools.

S. D.

**An Incompetent Board of Education.**

Whatever may be the merits of the individual members of the Chicago Board of Education, they lack the faculty of team work. The Board's inability to finance the schools, and its failure to bring about harmony in the teaching ranks, shows a working at cross purposes that should not be tolerated in a public body. Two years ago a schedule of salaries was agreed upon, and a scheme of promotions fixed. Today the Board declares itself short of funds, and unable to meet the schedule of raises. The money available is a little less than fourteen and a half million dollars.



There should be somewhere in Chicago an organizing mind capable of bringing order out of this chaos. If the public school is worth while, and if the teacher is earning her salary, there should be no question about providing the necessary revenue. Labor unions are claiming and receiving higher wages because of the advancing cost of living. But the increase in teachers' salaries is merely a recognition of greater efficiency. There is no provision for enabling them to meet the advance in the cost of living. Yet men on the Board of Education are seriously considering the withholding of these promised advances in salary. Chicago is a wealthy city, and amply able to meet all the expenses incident to the education of its children. Many of its leading citizens are urging the country to enter upon a system of military expansion that will take not millions but billions of dollars. If the city can contribute its share toward hiring soldiers, it can hire its own teachers. And if either the military or the educational branch of the government is to be pared, let it be the former.

S. C.

**Unreasonable Election Expenses.**

While it is true that there is more in an election than the mere choice of a public agent—for political campaigns are the chief means of political education—there is no use in paying more for it than is necessary. It is estimated that \$2,500,000 will be required to pay for the elections in Chicago during the coming year. The number of ballots called for to supply primaries and elections will amount to more than forty million. Some

of these ballots will be as large as the page of a daily paper. There will be spring primaries and elections, and fall primaries and elections. There will be five registrations and three revisions. Much of this cumbersomeness is due to our habit of adding amendments, instead of revising the main law. The election board estimates that a million dollars could be saved by simplifying the registration laws. It would seem that the very burden of these elections would compel an early resort to sane methods of choosing public officials. With a short ballot, nominations by petition and preferential voting, elections can be so simplified as to fall within the comprehension of the average voter, and reduce the labor and expense to a small part of what they now are. A simplified election machinery will offer a better means of political education for the voters and will secure more competent officials.

S. C.

**An Embarrassing Suggestion.**

Miss Julia Lathrop, head of the Children's Bureau, wants to know, according to her annual report, why the rate of mortality among children in industrial and mining centers is nearly twice that in suburban residence centers. She also wishes to know what the country is going to do for the 18,000,000 children who do not live in cities. She has noted the fact that in many instances both the parents and the children are illiterate, that many are undernourished, that they work too hard, and that their lives are too monotonous. There is little doubt that many of the near-statesmen at Washington will think Miss Lathrop very inconsiderate to issue such a report at the present time. She should not permit herself to become so absorbed in her own work that she forgets the needs of other departments of the Government. The Army and the Navy Departments were in the field before her. President and Congress are wrestling with their problems. What can the men who direct the affairs of the Nation think of the head of the Children's Bureau who suggests at this time the advisability of looking after the children of the Nation? She should know that this will take money; and how can we spare the thousands of dollars called for by the Children's Bureau, when a half billion dollars is needed to begin the two-billion-dollar plan of preparedness? Suppose 134 infants in 1,000 do die in the first twelve months; the stork will bring more. Dreadnaughts must be paid for; children can be had for nothing. Why all this pother about saving the children, when we are preparing to kill the men?

S. C.

### Raising Wages.

There is a movement throughout the world to advance wages. It is not a concerted, co-operative movement, and the various organizations have nothing in common, internationally speaking, save that they have the same reason, and are working at the same time. But wherever labor is organized there is a demand for higher wages, and the basis for the demand is the advancing cost of living. Statisticians in this country, in Australia and in Europe have shown that the advance in the cost of living has exceeded the increase in wages. This fact is sufficient to justify the demand for an advance in wages in general, if not in each particular instance. If there be any trade or calling in which labor now receives a fair reward—even when measured by present economic conditions—then cannot be said of the mass of labor. Yet, is organized labor proceeding in the right way to better its condition? Is its present course likely to obtain the desired end?



The excuse for raising prices is the increased cost of production. If wages advance, the manufacturer and tradesman say, we must raise prices in order to cover the increased cost. Prices are advancing, the leaders of organized labor say, the cost of living is going up, and we must have higher wages. Have we not fallen into the vicious circle? And are we not in reality trying to lift ourselves over the fence by pulling on our bootstraps? Both labor and capital seem to be justified in their course of demanding fair prices and higher wages. But what good will come of it all? Have they not overlooked the real cause of their trouble? If prices advance, labor must have more wages. If wages advance, capital must have higher prices. But what of rent? What of the toll that is levied by the owner of the earth for permitting labor and capital to produce wealth on his land? He also is advancing prices. How can labor and capital overtake him? Does not the real relief of labor lie in diverting rent into the public till? If the ever-increasing toll that goes to the owner of land, simply as landowner, can be stopped, capital and labor can divide between them the constantly increasing wealth that comes from invention and discovery. They will cease to chase each other around the circle, and advance straight toward their goal.

s. c.



### Economic Humor.

Whatever possessed Thomas Carlyle to call political economy the dismal science? Possibly it was a mournful, dreary, disheartening doctrine as

he viewed it fifty years ago; but if he could read some of the present-day disquisitions of the professorial critics, or of the advocates of the protective tariff, he would find a vein of rare humor. Consider this from a man who was reckoned a few years ago one of the best exponents of the Single-tax philosophy, and who has of later years amused himself—and his audience—by attempting to confute his own arguments. In the earlier days he was most eloquent in showing the wonderful nicety with which the Singletax would distribute economic rent among all the members of society, and thus secure to each member his exact portion of the world's wealth. He now endeavors to show that the Georgian conception of rent is entirely wrong. Instead of rents being graded from the least productive land in use to the most productive land, this critic maintains that the greatest production may take place on free land; and he proves it after this fashion:

Transportation is the generative industrial function, out of which all co-operation arises. So important is it, functionally, that if all the alleys, streets and common roads were closed up trade would instantly cease, and all values vanish. Hence the work carried on on these alleys, streets and roads is functionally most productive of all labor, and this is carried on on "free land."

This is almost equal to the disingenuousness of the man who said he was not interested in the land question because he worked on a boat and lived in a boarding house. It would be interesting, indeed, to find a transportation agent, whether an individual or a corporation, that uses no land besides alleys, streets and roads.

s. c.



### Chicago's Humblest Multimillionaire.

An enterprising reporter has discovered a well-preserved man of fifty-six, who lives modestly with one servant, in a small house on a fashionable avenue. It is his practice, according to the reporter's story, to call at the office nearly every morning, wish his associates a pleasant day and look over the mail. After that he may attend a nickel show, walk in the park or return home to read. Whatever else he does must be of his own choice, for his income of a half million a year makes it unnecessary for him to do the bidding of others. It might be inferred that a man enjoying such an income must be at the head of a very large business, and employ a great many men and women. But that is not the case. Aside from the one servant in his house, he employs merely enough clerks to conduct the bookkeeping incident to his income. Perhaps, then, he has invented something of great benefit to the world, or made some valuable discovery; or

possibly some one who did these things gave him the money.

No, it is not known that he ever contributed anything of value to the world. He was fortunate in choosing his father. His immediate forebear was one of Chicago's pioneer real estate dealers. Lands that he bought for a trifle in early days rose to a value of \$2,700,000 in 1889. The same lands are today estimated at \$7,500,000. It is very kind of the people of Chicago to confer this added value to the humble millionaire's holdings. It shows how generous and how magnanimous the people can be; for they tax themselves to support the government, and thus permit the beneficiary to collect from his tenants for the service provided by his fellow citizens. Without implying any sense of conscious guilt on the part of the recipient of this half-million-dollar income, it may be suggested that it is not unlikely that the mere fact of the situation will cause many a quickening conscience to ask the question: Can an honest man live on an unearned income? s. c.

#### Privilege's Increasing Power.

The increase in value of Standard Oil stock, since the dissolution order of the Supreme Court in May, 1911, is about one billion dollars or approximately one and a half times the appraised value at time of dissolution. This makes the market value of stock, which has a par value of but \$97,500,000, about \$1,600,000,000. The increase of one billion dollars in four and a half years does not represent increase in actual wealth. It is the capitalized value of increased power of certain possessors of Privilege to appropriate what others produce. Privilege means exclusive power conferred by law on certain favored ones in derogation of the common right. The privileges of the Standard Oil Company consist in control of public rights of way, of shipping terminals, and to some extent of natural sources of supply. It has the exclusive permission to use certain highways for pipe lines. At one time it could secure, without violation of law, special rates from railways. This was because favored corporations were given the privilege of exclusive control of public highways. The laws thus conferred on the company advantages denied to others. In controlling shipping terminals it controls certain natural sites to which all should have equal right of access. There also the law gives an unfair advantage. The same applies to its control of natural sources of supply. A further advantage

given the corporation by law is through taxation. The drawback provision of the tariff gives to the corporation benefits of free trade in many things while compelling its smaller competitors to bear heavy tariff duties. There is no provision for interference with such privileges in either the Sherman law or the Clayton law. The dissolution decree of the Supreme Court did not interfere with them. The monopolistic power of the corporation thus remains intact, and has continued to grow and flourish. That billion-dollar increase in Standard Oil makes the Sherman law and the United States Supreme Court ridiculous.

As with the Standard Oil Company, the oppressive power of all monopolies will on investigation be found to rest on legalized control of natural resources—including highways—unjust taxation or some arbitrary privilege as patent rights. There can be no effective anti-trust legislation, no relief from exactions of monopoly until these underlying privileges shall be removed. The same measure that would put an end to land monopoly would put an end to unjust taxation. Other privileges should be removed by repeal of the laws creating them. Until Congress and legislatures show a disposition to do this, monopolies and trusts need feel no concern for their predatory power. s. d.

#### Presumption of Innocence.

In the case of Warden Thomas Mott Osborne of Sing Sing the rule has extraordinary force that an accused person should be held innocent until proven guilty. The circumstances which led to his indictment justify suspicion of malicious prosecution. He has introduced admirable and long needed reforms into the prison which have interfered with abuses and graft, and has incurred the vindictive wrath of their beneficiaries. On noting how a similar element has been allowed to conduct an outrageous persecution of Judge Lindsey in Denver, the possibility of a similar attack on Osborne is too evident to be disregarded. s. d.

#### A Verdict Not Above Suspicion.

If confidence in the courts is to be maintained, then such verdicts must not be allowed to stand, as the conviction of Mathew Schmidt at Los Angeles. The verdict comes at the end of a trial the fairness of which seems improbable, aside from the fact that the prosecutor himself was a breach of faith. It is deplorable if there has actually been another verdict obtained by the methods that prevailed in

the trial resulting from the Haymarket affair at Chicago. It would be disgraceful if after nearly 30 years it should still be possible for convictions so obtained to be upheld by the higher courts.

S. D.

### William Perkins Black.

About 25 years ago some one wrote a story called "Who Lies?" Therein a number of business and professional men agree to confine themselves for a week to telling the truth. The result proves disastrous to all. Among these sufferers is a lawyer. It may be that the author had in mind the case of a lawyer who actually had such on experience for a much longer period than one week, Captain William P. Black of Chicago, who died at his home in that city on January 3. A brave soldier in the Civil War, Captain Black displayed even greater heroism in later years as a lawyer and citizen, when he dared to defend against an unjust charge some poor and popularly detested prisoners. He was made to suffer even more than the brave, upright and honest lawyer in the story. The prisoners were Albert Parsons and others, the so-called anarchists, charged with complicity in the Haymarket massacre. In taking this case Captain Black aroused the anger of a host of wealthy clients. A broadcloth mob had unthinkingly decided that Parsons and his associates must be guilty. In the manner of all mobs it would hear no argument or defense, and would tolerate no effort to deprive it of victims. So duty required that Captain Black offend this mob. He did it and thereby sacrificed a lucrative practice and a profitable professional career. He did not save the prisoners. A prejudiced judge, a hand-picked jury and a press susceptible to influence of a broadcloth mob brought about their conviction and the execution of four, even though no evidence was produced to connect them with the bomb thrower. Six years later Governor Altgeld made clear the injustice that had been done and was himself persecuted for it. But Time is remedying the wrong, at least, to the memory of the victims. To Governor Altgeld a repentant State has already erected a monument. And justice must yet be done to that other true hero and patriot, William P. Black.

S. D.

### Catharine Goggin.

The accident that caused the death on January 4 of Catharine Goggin deprives not only the Teachers' Federation of a devoted worker, but the city of Chicago of one of its most useful citizens. In helping to create the Teachers' Federation Miss Goggin helped to erect the strongest de-

fense which Chicago public schools possess against private interests seeking to prey upon them. As one of the leaders in the memorable fight against tax dodging privileged interests, she performed a public service, the good results of which have been far reaching. This and similar work in defense of the schools have brought to the Teachers' Federation the honor of being marked for destruction by interests with sinister designs against the public good. Long after the millionaires who opposed her good work will be forgotten, Chicago should honor the memory of Catharine Goggin.

S. D.

### JOHN HAY ON ARMAMENTS.

Mr. William R. Thayer, who has written so ably the story of the Risorgimento period of Italy, whose life of Cavour may be said to have already become a classic, has recently published a delightful biography of an American statesman, John Hay. The volumes contain some of Hay's letters and reports written during his diplomatic services in Europe. An extract from one of these letters, addressed to Secretary Seward, and written from Vienna in 1868, ought to be published widely at this time, that it may be read by those who are advocating the entrance of our country into the ranks of preparationists at any price. He writes:

The great calamity and danger of Europe today are these enormous armaments. No honest statesman can say that he sees in the present attitude of politics the necessity of war. No great power is threatened. There is no menace to peace that could not be immediately dispelled by a firm protest of the peacefully disposed majority of nations. There would be, therefore, no danger to any people, but a vast and immediate gain to all from a general disarmament. It need not be simultaneous. It is idle to say that France fears an invasion from Prussia or Prussia from France, and an honest understanding among the western nations would keep the peace from the eastern side.

Why, then, is this awful waste of youth and treasure continued? I believe from no other motive than to sustain the waning prestige of Kings. Armies are today only useful in Europe to overcome the people in peace, or by groundless wars to divert their attention from domestic misrule. With the disappearance of great armies, the welfare of the people would become the only mainspring of national action, and that false and wicked equilibrium by which the interests of one man weigh as heavily as those of millions of his fellow creatures would be utterly destroyed.

John Hay, it will be remembered, was Secretary of State under, and an intimate friend of, Mr. Roosevelt. What does Mr. Roosevelt think of these sentiments? What do the Republican congressmen now sitting in Washington think of them? Has the world retrograded so far in the

past forty-seven years that these sentiments have become obsolete?

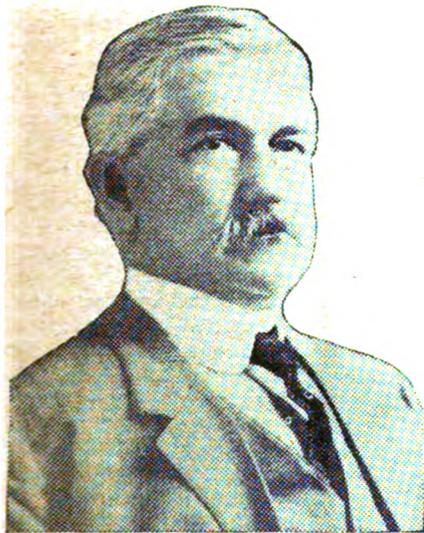
It is true that the letter in which the above quotation occurs was written just two years before the Franco-Prussian war was on the way, but that war proved the truth of a part of the thought expressed, and it might have been prevented if the other part had been heeded.

J. H. DILLARD.



## SANITARIAN AND ECONOMIST.

William C. Gorgas was born at Mobile, Alabama, October 3, 1854, and received his A. B. degree from the University of the South when 20 years of age and his M. D. degree from Bellevue Medical College at the age of 24. He entered the Medical Corps of the United States army the following year with the rank of First Lieutenant. He became a Captain in 1885, a Major in 1898, Colonel



in 1903 and Surgeon General of the United States on January 16, 1914.

Prior to the Spanish-American war his service had been at various army posts and in the field in several Indian campaigns. He was detailed as health officer of Havana, Cuba, under the military government, after the American army took possession. Yellow fever was worse than it had been for several years. His brilliant work as a sanitarian entirely eradicated this plague, which had been the scourge of Cuba for 150 years.

When the Government undertook to build the Panama Canal in 1904 General Gorgas was placed in charge of the sanitary work in the Isthmus. His work there has made him the best known sanitarian in the world. Upon completion of the canal he was advanced to the rank of Major Gen-

eral in the United States army and appointed Surgeon General. He was invited to South Africa by the Dominion government to advise upon sanitary conditions.

In the course of his work in the tropics he had occasion to observe that the question of sanitation is closely connected with economic conditions. In an address at Cincinnati on September 26, 1914, he expressed himself on this matter as follows:

That poverty was the greatest single cause of bad sanitary conditions was very early impressed upon me. If I should again go into a community such as Cuba, or Panama, and were allowed to select only one sanitary measure, but were at the same time given power to choose from all sanitary measures, I would select that of doubling wages. This, in my case, is not altogether theory. In our tropical possessions, in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Panama, the result has always come about that we have largely increased wages; the result has also come about that in all these cases we have greatly improved sanitation. At Panama, the Commission found that in order to attract labor, and keep it on the Zone, they had to increase wages, and within a very few months double the wages of the manual laborer. It does not take more than a moment of thought to show to you how such a measure acts and reacts. Results take place in many directions, but particularly with regard to increasing the ability of the people to live well and get better food and better clothing. While dwelling upon thoughts such as these, I came across "Progress and Poverty." I was greatly impressed by the theory and was soon convinced that the Singletax would be the means of bringing about the sanitary conditions I so much desired, and was striving for. It was impressed upon me in a concrete form everywhere, in the United States, in the Tropics and particularly in Panama, the great benefit that some such scheme of taxation would confer upon sanitation.

E. J. BATTEN.

## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

### CONGRESSMAN LONDON'S PEACE RESOLUTION.

Washington, Dec. 29, 1915.

Under the caption "Democratic Peace Terms," I printed an editorial in the December 24th issue of The Public in which reference is made to a resolution for a peace congress introduced by Senator Lane. You describe this resolution as a "democratic and statesmanlike" measure, and I thoroughly agree with you. I wish also to express my admiration for the Senator. But at the same time I cannot refrain from reminding you that this resolution was originally introduced in the House by Representative Meyer London, Socialist.

It may interest the readers of The Public to know how this resolution was received not only in this country but abroad, and what is being done to win for it official support.

In England, the Leeds Mercury said that "Quite unprecedented deference, not to say complaisance,

characterizes the reception of Representative London's joint resolution. It is all the more striking when contrasted with the comments made upon the Henry Ford peace expedition." The Star described it as "within the range of practical politics," and Sir Robertson Nicoll, veteran British journalist, wrote: "Here is certainly a good thing come out of Socialism. This kingdom wars to the death for four out of seven of the London principles and would be quite ready to adopt the other three with a few minor limitations that might be settled by a small round table conference." In the opinion of the Saturday Review, "Mr. London means well and talks rationally." The Manchester Labor Leader, organ of the Independent Labor party, says: "We thank Mr. London on behalf of the Independent Labor party in this country for the lead he has given."

At the last meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party a committee consisting of Morris Hillquit, Eugene V. Debs and James Maurer, member of the Pennsylvania Legislature and president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, was appointed to call on President Wilson and urge his favorable consideration of the resolution. Expressions of sympathy with the resolution have been received by Mr. London from many of his colleagues. At the same time, an appeal has been made through the radical and labor press to all those who would like to see the resolution translated into reality to write their Representatives and Senators to support it. In the House it is known as H. J. R. 38, and in the Senate as S. J. R. 49.

It seems to me that here is a genuine opportunity for all radicals and humanitarians generally to make their influence felt in a worthy cause by getting behind the London-Lane peace resolution.

CHARLES SOLOMON.



## THE TREASON OF MILITARISM

Cincinnati, Dec. 30, 1915.

The jingoes, the war-at-any-price advocates are traitors to the republic.

They are traitors because they would overthrow the republic and on its ruins rear the fabric of Caesarism and imperialism.

These traitors would substitute for the institutions of our republican fathers the establishments of old world monarchies and aristocracies.

These unnatural sons, while pretending to love this country, really hate it, and without awaiting to have foreigners impress alien institutions would themselves impose the yoke.

The 8th of January is the day set aside to do honor to a real patriot, a man who were he alive today would recommend the gallows for treason as he did in the thirties, Andrew Jackson.

There was nothing of the mollycoddle about this dauntless old Democrat. He was indeed a red-blooded man. He was an American and he conceived of America not as so much territory but as a spirit. He fought the domestic enemies of the republic with fiercer vigor than he did the invading armies, for he knew that the dangers that really threaten the republic come from within and not from without.

He knew that America had then, as it has now,

"a place in the sun," that liberty here held high the torch of freedom to enlighten the world.

"Old Hickory" was not ashamed of America. He did not look abroad for his models. He saw nothing to ape in the despotism of Europe; he was not fascinated with stars and garters and titles of nobility, with gold lace and brass buttons. He had a perfect horror for militarism. He knew a gun-toting nation was always in trouble. This hero, this warrior, warned his countrymen against "preparedness" that consists in bayonets and bullets. He said militarism was not only an enemy of peace but of liberty.

In his fourth annual message General Jackson wrote:

Neither our situation nor our institutions require or permit the maintenance of a large regular force. History offers too many lessons of the fatal results of such a measure not to warn us against its adoption here. The expense which attends it, the obvious tendency to employ it because it exists, and thus to engage in unnecessary wars, and its ultimate danger to public liberty, will lead us, I trust, to place our principal dependence for protection upon the great body of the citizens of the republic.

What did this great, virile, man say about the traitors to republican institutions? This is what "Old Hickory" said:

It is from within, among ourselves, from cupidity, from corruption, from disappointed ambition and inordinate thirst for power that liberty will be endangered. It is against such designs, whatever disguise the actors may assume, that you have especially to guard yourselves. You have the highest of human trusts committed to your care. You have been chosen as the guardian of freedom to preserve it for the benefit of the human race.

There you have it. Jackson believed we had "a place in the sun" and a pre-eminence because we were "so different" from the old military nations of Europe. And this is his summons to the friends of liberty to defend it from, not the Germans, not the English, but from enemies "within, among ourselves":

May you with pure hearts and pure hands, and sleepless vigilance, guard and defend to the end of time the great charge committed to your keeping.

Again in his seventh annual message Jackson said:

The career of freedom is before us, with an earnest from the past that, if true to ourselves, there can be no formidable object in the future, to its peaceful and uninterrupted pursuit.

Another warning against the political parricides was contained in his message to Congress on January 16, 1833, as follows:

The rich inheritance bequeathed by our fathers has devolved upon us the sacred obligation of preserving it. They bequeathed to us a government of laws founded upon the great principle of popular representation. It is now the object and the hope of the friends of civil liberty throughout the world.

Certainly the victor of the battle of New Orleans was not a "soft" man. He believed in "hard money," but he did not believe in hard steel. He did not trust the mailed hand as an agent in our foreign policy. Writing of our foreign relations in his fourth annual message, General Jackson said:

The relations of our country continue to present the same picture of amicable intercourse. This desirable state of things may be mainly ascribed to our undeviating

practice of the rule which has long guided our national policy, to acquire no exclusive privileges in commerce and to grant none. It is daily producing its beneficial effect in the respect shown to our flag, the protection of our citizens and their property abroad, and in the increase of our navigation and the extension of our mercantile operations. Nor have we less reason to felicitate ourselves on the position of our political, than of our commercial, concerns. They remain in a state of prosperity and peace, the effect of a wise attention to the parting advice of Washington to cultivate free commerce and honest friendship with all nations.

All honor to Andrew Jackson, democratic Democrat.

ALFRED H. HENDERSON.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of The Public for earlier information on the same subject.

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Week ending Tuesday, January 4, 1916.

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### Mexico.

Germany has recognized the de facto government of General Carranza. The general trend throughout the country appears to be toward a readjustment under the new government; there is, however, little reliable information regarding internal affairs coming through in press dispatches. Villa troops are returning to their homes and fighting seems to be near an end. [See vol. xviii., p. 1261.]

General Huerta, who has been a prisoner at Fort Bliss and in El Paso, is critically sick. Pending a possible indictment by the Federal grand jury, he has been released from custody on his own recognizance. This was done at the request of Attorney General Gregory.

### European War.

Comparative quiet reigns on the eastern front in the Riga section. In the southeast the Russians have begun an offensive movement that has taken them into Bukowina as far as the heights near Czernowitz, the capital of the province, and into eastern Galicia as far as Tarnopol. On the western front the heavy cannonading has continued, and the Germans have attacked in force south of Arras; but this, together with the desperate fighting in the Vosges mountains, has led to no material change in the lines. [See vol. xviii., p. 1262.]

Movements in the Balkans are still the subject of conflicting reports. The threatened attack on the Allies at Saloniki has not occurred; and there are rumors of the movement of German forces from the Greek frontier to Varna on the Black

Sea, and to points on the Danube. The Allies at Saloniki have seized the German, Austrian, Bulgarian and Turkish consuls to Greece, and placed them on board a French warship. The Austrian attack on Scutari is reported to have been repulsed by the Montenegro-Serbian forces. The remainder of the Serbian army, less than 100,000 strong, is reorganizing in Albania.

Continued Russian successes in Persia over the rebels who have sided with the Central Powers has temporarily checked the Germanic influence in that country. The Russians are marching on Ispahan, which is within 300 miles of the British forces on the Tigris River. Reinforcements are ascending the river to join the British, who still hold their position at Kut el Amara. Rumors persist that an attack of Turks, officered and strengthened by Germans, will be made on Egypt and the Suez Canal. Munitions and men, said to number from 500,000 to 800,000, are gathering on the road from Constantinople to Mecca, which approaches at the nearest point within fifty miles of Egypt.

Submarine warfare has again assumed an important roll, this time in the Mediterranean Sea. The British passenger ship Persia was torpedoed off Alexandria on the 30th. The submarine struck without warning, and it is reported that about 300 of the passengers and crew were lost. Following in quick succession came the torpedoing of the Glengyle and the Geelong. Three Europeans and seven Chinese were lost on the Glengyle; no loss is reported on the Geelong. Two large Japanese vessels were sunk, but without loss of life. The loss of the Persia is of most interest to the United States, as several Americans, including the American Consul to Aden, Robert N. McNeely, are reported lost. Coming so close upon the receipt of the Austrian admission of error in sinking the Ancona, this act has caused a tense feeling in Washington that may find expression in summary action on the part of the Administration, when full information has been received.

The Austrian reply to the second American note on the sinking of the Ancona was substantially a concession of all American demands. The reply was conciliatory in tone, and embraced the following statements:

The Austro-Hungarian government fully agrees with the Washington cabinet that the sacred laws of humanity should be taken into account also in war and emphasizes that it, in the course of this war, has given proofs of the most humane feelings. The Austro-Hungarian government can positively concur in the principle that enemy private vessels, so far as they do not fly or offer resistance, shall not be destroyed before the persons aboard are secured.

The assurance that the United States government attaches value to the maintenance of the existing good relations between Austria-Hungary and the United States is warmly reciprocated by the Austro-Hungarian government, which now, as heretofore, is anxious to render these relations still more cordial.

The Austro-Hungarian naval authorities have arrived at the conclusion that he (the submarine commander) apparently neglected to take into consideration the panic among the (Ancona) passengers. . . . The officer was therefore punished for violating the instructions.



#### Ford Peace Ship.

Henry Ford, who left the peace delegation at Christiania, arrived in New York on the 2d. In a press interview Mr. Ford said he was sure the venture was worth far more than it had cost because of the peace discussion caused in all quarters. Regarding his present position he said:

A marked change has come over my whole viewpoint since I went away. Before going to Europe I held the view that the bankers, militarists and munitions manufacturers were responsible for the war. I came back with the firm belief that the people most to blame are the ones who are getting slaughtered.

They have neglected to select the proper heads for their governments—the men who would prevent such chaotic conditions. In the great majority of cases the people select their rulers and then are afraid of them. They don't write enough letters to them and let them know their views.

[See vol. xviii., p. 1262.]



The German government has granted the peace delegation permission to cross German territory in a sealed train, on its way from Copenhagen to The Hague. It is announced that the expedition will disband at The Hague, January 12.



#### Pan-American Conference.

Discussions of problems of world-wide interest by eminent scientists, historians, geographers, archaeologists and others occupied the attention of the delegates to the Pan-American Scientific Congress. There was a distinct move toward a closer bond of fellowship between the United States and the Latin-American countries. There are indications that the Monroe doctrine will hereafter be considered the policy of the nations of the Americas, and not merely the policy of the United States. A distinct advance in international relations was shown by the auxiliary meeting of the women of American countries.



#### Peace Commissions Forming.

The international commission under the Bryan peace treaty with Great Britain was announced on December 30. Judge George Gray of Delaware will be the national member for the United States,

and Ambassador Domicio De Gama of Brazil the non-national member. Viscount Bryce will be the national member for Great Britain and Max Koreski of the Imperial Council of Russia the non-national member. Fridtjof Nansen, former premier of Norway, will be umpire. For a similar commission with Italy, George L. Mackintosh of Indiana has been selected as American national member and the Chilean ambassador, Eduardo Suarez Mujua, as non-national member. [See vol. xviii., p. 1102.]



#### Garrison for Compulsory Service.

Arthur Sears Henning, Washington correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, reports in the issue of January 2 that in an interview with Secretary of War Garrison on January 1 the secretary expressed himself substantially as follows:

If a sufficient number of men fail to volunteer for the continental army it will be necessary to resort to compulsory enlistment to provide the country with adequate security.

The plan proposed is the best that can be devised short of compulsory military service, which the country is not ready to adopt.

[See vol. xviii., p. 1027.]



#### For a Progressive Income Tax.

The following memorial was sent to the President and Committee on Ways and Means by the Equitable Federal Income Tax Association on December 29:

The rapid increase in local, State and National budgets, especially the plan for extraordinary expenditures for defense, and the deficit in the customs revenues, emphasize the inadequacy of existing methods of raising revenue.

Most of the revenue for the national government is secured from internal revenue and customs taxes.

Most of the revenue for local and State purposes is secured from general property taxes, business taxes, fees and licenses.

Much, the major part, of these revenues comes from the workers of the country. The smaller the income, the larger is the proportionate contribution under our tax system, which, directly or indirectly, costs many workmen nearly a fifth of their earnings. Earned incomes are taxed much more heavily, in effect, than unearned incomes, for nearly every great income is chiefly derived from secure investment, or from privilege and monopoly.

The war taxes proposed would increase these burdens.

The deplorable conditions of millions of tenant farmers and workers in industrial centers, fully described by the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, demand that we should lighten the present heavy burden of taxes upon these millions and millions of other workers.

The most fundamental measure of preparedness which our nation can adopt is the establishment of better economic and industrial conditions.

A rapidly progressive income tax is a proper source of revenue for the Federal Government, be-

cause nearly every person receiving a large earned income does so for services throughout a large area, and nearly every person receiving a large unearned income derives it from the entire country.

The individual income tax yielded during the fiscal year, ended June 30th last, only \$41,046,000, although in 1914 there were twenty-three hundred and forty-eight persons receiving an income of \$100,000 or more, of whom one hundred and seventy-four received an income of \$500,000 or more.

We believe that, at least, \$300,000,000 should be secured by the individual income tax, and that the rates should be very rapidly progressive and intensive.

We urge that those receiving an income of over \$1,000,000 be taxed a third to a fifth of their total incomes. To take such a proportion of these incomes would more nearly approximate that equality in taxation which it is the purpose of the Constitution to ensure and the duty of statesmanship to secure.

This sum of \$300,000,000 would meet any reasonable expenditures for preparedness, and permit the reduction of customs duties upon the necessities of life, and of internal revenue duties upon the cheaper grades of commodities now classified as luxuries.

Additional revenue for local and State purposes can be secured by heavier taxation of land values, which are an adequate, appropriate subject of taxation, for these purposes.

We, therefore, ask that Congress at once enact legislation to secure three hundred millions from an individual income tax, and that the President approve such legislation.

Among the signers are: James P. Boyle, Pres., Central Labor Union of Brooklyn; Professors Henry R. Seager and Henry R. Mussey of Columbia University; Frederic C. Howe, Immigration Commissioner of New York; J. J. Pastoriza, Tax Commissioner of Houston, Tex.; Daniel Kiefer, Chairman, Fels Fund Commission of America; Edward T. Hartman, Secretary, Massachusetts Civic League; Charles H. Ingersoll; Henry C. Lippincott, Publisher; Clarence E. Todd, Secretary, California League for Home Rule in Taxation; Hon. A. B. Pittman, Circuit Judge, Memphis, Tenn.; Charles McCarthy, Legislative Librarian, Wisconsin University; Prof. Charles H. Cooley of the University of Michigan; Samuel Hopkins Adams; Justice John Ford, New York City; Eugene F. Cranz, Secretary, Ohio State Grange; George W. Coleman, Pres., Associated Advertising Clubs of America; W. A. Hays, Lecturer, Indiana State Grange; Chester C. Platt, Editor *Batavia Times*, N. Y.; Robert A. Woods; James A. Young, University of Pennsylvania. The headquarters of the League are at 320 Broadway, New York City. The president is John J. Hopper.



#### Tariff Reduction Does Not Hurt Manufacturers.

The Department of Commerce announced on December 26 that American hosiery manufacturers who opposed tariff cuts on knit goods are making a profit of nearly 12 per cent on capital

invested and could increase that margin through better methods. The highest profits are made on the class of goods meeting foreign competition. The smallest profit is made on seamless hosiery, an exclusively American product. Net profits vary in different parts of the country. Sixteen mills in the South are making five times the profit of as many mills in Pennsylvania. Seventy-three establishments were studied, and sixteen states visited.



#### The Lynching Record of 1915.

A report on the lynching record for 1915 has been issued by Mr. Monroe N. Work, of Tuskegee (Alabama) Institute.

There have been during the year just closed 69 lynchings. Of those lynched 55 were Negroes and 14 were whites. This is six more Negroes and eleven more whites than were put to death by mobs in 1914, when the record was 49 Negroes and three whites. Included in the record are three women. In at least four instances it later developed that the persons put to death were innocent of the offenses charged. Eighteen, or more than one-fourth of the total lynchings, occurred in the State of Georgia.

Only 11, ten Negroes and one white, of those put to death, or fifteen per cent of the total, were charged with rape. Other offenses and number lynched for were: Murder, 17; five whites and 12 Negroes; killing officers of the law, 9, 3 whites and 6 Negroes; wounding officers of the law, 3; clubbing officer of the law, a family of four, father, son, and two daughters; poisoning mules, 3; stealing hogs, 2, white; disregarding warnings of night riders, 2, white; insulting women, 3; entering women's rooms, 2; wounding a man, 2; stealing meat, 1; burglary, 2; robbery, 1; looting, 1; stealing cotton, 1 charged with stealing a cow, 1; furnishing ammunition to man resisting arrest, 2; beating wife and child, 1, white; charged with being accessory to the burning of a barn, 1.

Lynchings occurred in the following states: Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 5; Florida, 5; Georgia, 18; Illinois, 1; Kentucky, 5; Louisiana, 2; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 2; Ohio, 1; Oklahoma, 3; South Carolina, 1; Tennessee, 2; Texas, 5; Virginia, 1.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—William Waldorf Astor was made a baron by King George on January 1.

—More than 40,000 soldiers of the Allies, according to Dr. Helen Nolen, who has been working in the American Hospital at Nice, have been made totally blind since the beginning of the war.

—Associate Justice Joseph R. Lamar of the United States Supreme Court died at Washington, January 2, aged 58. Although nominally a Democrat he was appointed by President Taft to the Supreme bench in 1910.

—Governor W. S. Hammond of Minnesota died suddenly at Clinton, La., on December 30. Through

his death, Joseph A. Burnquist, Lieutenant Governor, becomes Governor. Hammond was a Democrat. Burnquist is a Republican.

—A minimum weekly wage of \$8.50 for experienced women and girls employed in retail stores is provided by the Massachusetts law that went into effect January 1. The number affected by the new law is estimated to be over 10,000.

—Of 30,000 applications in Chicago to enlist in the United States army during the past year, 2,600 were accepted. Of 2,562 applications for the navy, 753 were accepted. The principal grounds of rejection included non-citizenship, physical defects and disease.

—Mathew Schmidt was convicted at Los Angeles on December 30 of first degree murder in connection with the blowing up of the Los Angeles Times building in 1910 by James B. MacNamara. A motion for a new trial has been made. [See vol. xviii, pp. 1115, 1122.]

—January lecture dates for Louis Wallis are as follows: Chicago, 3rd; Rockford, Ill., 3rd; Racine, Wis., 5th; Minneapolis, Minn., 8th-12th; Vermillion, S. D., 16th-17th; Peoria, Ill., 21st; El Paso, Ill., 23rd-24th; Gardner, Ill., 28th; Coal City, Ill., 29th; Morris, Ill., 30th.

—The new Toledo city charter was sustained by the common pleas court of Lucas county, Ohio, on December 27. This not only validates the election as mayor of Charles M. Milroy, former business partner of Brand Whitlock, but the preferential vote also.

—The 55 per cent of the net earnings of the Chicago street car companies that goes to the city, and that is to be used in building a subway, now amounts to \$18,759,500. The increase in wages granted the men after the recent strike reduced the city's share of the net earnings \$540,398.

—At a meeting held in Columbus, Ohio, on December 30, presided over by Dr. Washington Gladden, resolutions were adopted for formation of the Columbus Peace League, to conduct a campaign of education against the preparedness agitation. William P. Halenkamp acted as secretary.

—Through a decision on January 1 of Judge Henry Hudson at Pawhuska, Oklahoma, 2,229 Osage Indians became citizens of the United States. The decision gives members of the tribe control over their personal property, but their real estate holdings remain under government guardianship.

—Child Labor Day, January 23, as announced by the National Child Labor Committee, will be observed this year with a view to influencing favorably the Keating-Owen federal child labor bill, now before Congress. This bill affects the welfare of 150,000 children between 10 and 16 years of age.

—Prohibition went into effect on January 1 in the following seven States: Colorado, Iowa, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, South Carolina and Arkansas. In Washington the prohibition amendment will be resubmitted on the ballot next November. In Idaho the measure in effect is not an amendment but a legislative act and is being contested in the courts.

—The value of shares in the Standard Oil Company had reached \$1,700 a share on December 29.

At the time of dissolution in 1911, in accordance with the decision of the Supreme court the shares were worth \$675. The total number of shares is 983,383, of which John D. Rockefeller owns 247,692. This makes the value of his Standard Oil holdings about \$421,000,000.

—Revised census figures of London for 1911, show that the population of the county does not equal to that of New York City. The county had in 1911, a population of 4,521,358, while New York had in 1910, a population of 4,766,883. Counting in suburbs outside of the county London has 7,251,358, while New York, together with Westchester county and the New Jersey suburbs, had in 1910, 7,383,871.

—The New York grand jury on December 28 indicted members of the Labor National Peace Council on charges of conspiracy to incite strikes in munition factories. Besides indicting Franz von Rintelen, David Lamar, Herman Schulteis and Jacob C. Taylor, the grand jury included in its charges Congressman Frank Buchanan, ex-Congressman Robert Fowler, former Attorney General of Ohio, Frank S. Monnett, and H. B. Martin.

—Oliver T. Erickson, president of Seattle's municipal council, and widely known as an advocate of municipal ownership, singletax and other democratic reforms, has accepted an invitation of the local Public Ownership League to become a candidate for mayor of the city at the primaries in March. Other candidates will be Austin E. Griffiths, who is also a municipal ownership advocate, and possibly the present mayor, Hiram Gill, who was re-elected, after having been recalled.

—The long drawn out fight against Warden Thomas Mott Osborne of Sing Sing, resulting from the reforms he has instituted there, culminated on December 28 in his indictment by the grand jury of Westchester county. The indictments mainly allege negligence in discharge of duty, which is said to be responsible for some unlawful occurrences. On December 30, Mr. Osborne temporarily relinquished his duties, and George W. Kirchwey, former dean of Columbia law school, was appointed acting warden by Governor Whitman. [See vol. xviii, pp. 308, 805.]

—A banquet in Chicago in honor of Surgeon General William C. Gorgas will be given at the Auditorium Hotel on January 10, under the combined auspices of the Chicago Singletax Club, the Chicago Medical Society, the Army Medical Reserve Corps, the Chicago Dental Society, the Lawyers' Association of Illinois and the Sanitary Corps of the Illinois National Guard. Dr. Gorgas will speak on "Sanitation and the Singletax." Herbert S. Bigelow will also deliver an address. Dr. William A. Evans will preside. Reservations and information may be had of Ernest J. Batten, 508 Schiller building.

—The New York State official count of the last election, with the vote of Oneida county missing, gives the result on suffrage, for 544,487, against 732,770, an adverse majority of 188,813. On the proposed new Constitution the vote was 388,966 in favor and 893,635 against, an adverse majority of 504,669. The proposed taxation amendment received 337,897 in

favor and 906,373 against, being rejected by 568,476. The vote on \$27,000,000 bond issue for the barge canal, the only proposition that carried, was 615,147 in favor and 569,950 against, a favorable majority of 45,197. [See vol. xviii, p. 1098.]

## PRESS OPINIONS

### No Coercion for Mexico.

The Star (San Francisco), December 11.—It is better for us to aid and befriend Mexico than to coerce her—better for us in every way, even though we have no thought of what the people of Mexico may think. There are those in America who would have coerced Mexico—or would have tried to do so, at a huge cost of lives and money—and there are those who even now attempt to coerce Mexico. They are, for the most part, men who have or claim title to something in Mexico that does not morally belong to them.

Had President Wilson acted toward Mexico as the Hearsts and other grabbers of Mexican lands and concessions demanded, he would have made all Mexicans enemies of the United States. More than that, he would have made the Central and South American republics our enemies, and there would have been no possible gain to us.

There is no country on earth that needs enemies; most of them need friends. President Wilson's course toward Mexico has made friends for this country from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn—and we need every one of those friends.



### Pointers for the Movie Censor.

Chicago Tribune, December 17.—Mother Goose (Globe Photoplay Company). Cut out Dish running away with Spoon, as suggestive of larceny or truancy. Dish may wash Spoon, suggesting cleanliness, or go walking with it in the park in charge of governess or tutor. Cut out Cow jumping over Moon, an astronomical impossibility, tending to inculcate the idea that the price of beef is too high and to promote radicalism. Cow may be shown eating clover. Flash close up view of Little Jack Horner sitting in a corner. A corner is not a proper place for Master Horner to sit unless he has been made to do so for disobedience. Cut out subtitle "He stuck in his thumb and pulled out a plum." He may ask his nurse for a plum. The episode suggests the use of fingers at the table. Cut out subtitle, "She had so many children she did not know what to do" in "There Was an Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe." Suggestive of the advantages of birth control. Cut out episode of Simple Simon and the Pieman and substitute scene showing Master Simon in a psychopathic laboratory. Flash close up view of Miss Muffet and the Spider. Cut out view of Tom, Tom, the Piper's Son, stealing a pig and running away. Cut out inelegant phrase "Greedy Gut." Cut out the "Dinner, a Dollar, a Ten O'clock Scholar," as suggesting tardiness and indifference to obligations. Substitute view showing child bringing teacher a red apple at ten minutes before 10. Cut out view of Wondrous Wise Man jumping into bramble bush. Show him going to an oculist. Permis-

sion to show Jack the Giant Killer and Little Red Riding Hood is withheld on account of ineradicable scenes of violence.

## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

### LIFE'S JOURNEY.

Griff Alexander in Pittsburgh Dispatch.

A lifetime is a traveled road between two busy streams—

The stream of Once-Upon-a-Time; the stream of Soon-to-Be.

A lifetime is a portage through a Land of Troubled Dreams.

So grab your load, my brother,  
And take the road, my brother,  
The mountain road, my brother,

Where the hill of Present Worry bows the head  
and bends the knee.

We are taking up our burdens, for the journey must  
be made,

We are taking up our burdens and our hearts are  
unafraid.

And though the way be weary and the journey  
many a mile

We are taking up our burdens with a smile.

Who brought you here, my brother?

Ah, your Captain is unknown.

And what your cargo? Little things that go to  
make up You.

And whither bound? You know not.

But the trifling things you own  
For good or ill, my brother,  
Grow with the hill, my brother,  
The trying hill, my brother,

That strengthens while it tires you; that wears,  
then builds anew.

We are taking up our burdens that are growing with  
the years.

We are taking up our burdens of experience and  
tears.

But the love that lightens Labor helps the weary  
feet along,

So we're taking up our burdens with a song!



## THE BEST NATIONAL DEFENCE.

A Posthumous Article by Joseph Fels in National Magazine.

I was recently asked by a friend who had read my open letter to Mr. Andrew Carnegie on the cause of war, what action I would suggest were some nation to make a wanton, unprovoked attack upon us. The question was inspired by the argument I had advanced in that letter to show that under a policy of Free Trade and Singletax there would be no incentive for any foreign nation to attack us, and no such scarcity of opportunity at home as would make a cry of "new for-

eign markets" an inducement to engage in such wars of criminal aggression as our attack on the Philippine Republic.

My friend illustrated his question by telling of the imaginary landing of an overwhelming force sent by a warlike nation, which he mentioned, one suffering like we are from economic injustice and deprived of some advantages which we enjoy.

I told him that such an attack would be unthinkable. We have a country big enough and rich enough to support a far greater population than that of the entire globe. Opportunities to produce wealth within our boundaries would be open to all and conditions would be such that every man would get the entire product of his labor. With every inducement to encourage rather than restrict immigration under such circumstances these opportunities would be open to citizens of the attacking country as well as of our own and of the rest of the world. To engage in a hostile attack on us under such circumstances would be an attack on their own interest.

But this reply did not satisfy my friend. He held that the advantages we would have to offer would only be for the class that depends on its own labor for a living, while the potentially hostile nation he had in mind is ruled like nearly every other country by an aristocratic class to which opportunities to work on any terms would not be attractive. In fact the members of this class might be apprehensive of the effect on the wage slaves of their country, of the opportunities for economic independence we would have to offer, and be all the more eager for that reason to conquer us.

I told him that the aristocratic class could not hope to conduct an aggressive war without help of the workers, and that the latter would probably be well enough informed to realize the great injury to themselves that would result from overthrow of our institutions. In that case the war would surely be so unpopular, especially since it would be entirely without cause, that there would be too much danger of a revolution in consequence, to make the attempted invasion of our country a safe venture.

My friend, however, would not admit that these workers would be aware of the superior economic advantages of our institutions. He held that it must be necessary to assume that they would be too ignorant to understand such things, as otherwise, he admitted, they would necessarily have been coming in as peaceful immigrants to enjoy the industrial freedom we had to offer, regardless of any talk of war. So he portrayed a hostile army landing on our shores officered by aristocrats, with densely ignorant members of the working class as common soldiers, and asked me what ought to be done in such a contingency.

I told him that the country he had in mind was not one in which such ignorance could pre-

vail and the same applied to every other nation strong enough to be seriously mentioned as one capable of carrying on a war with us. But waving this fact and assuming such an invasion as he pictured, the men, though ignorant, would still appreciate the advantage of being able to get two dollars for work for which they had been getting one, and of living under institutions which ensured a permanent excess of available jobs over men, instead of the excess of men over jobs to which they had been accustomed. If they knew nothing of such conditions here before landing, it would be good policy on our part to see that they learned about it as soon as possible after landing. In fact we might even take such educational measures before any war had been declared. Without a single soldier or sacrificing a single life, we could change the hostile invasion into a peaceful one.

"But suppose we don't have Free Trade and the Singletax?" he asked next. "You know," he continued, "that as long as we do not have these, we have not jobs enough for our own people, let alone foreigners, and we would consequently not have such a defense as you suggest."

"All the more reason for working to get the Singletax," I told him, "instead of fooling away time and money in building big battleships, or in talking about the abolition of war without abolition of its cause."

"But suppose we fail to get the Singletax?" he said.

"Then," I said, "let those who have prevented its adoption do the fighting if they want to, and pay all of the expenses."



## CHARLIE ROSS OF 1916.\*

For The Public.

Mrs. Ross was having a struggle with poverty. She had five children. Mr. Ross earned \$13.50 a week. He would take two or three glasses of beer each day and spend 10 cents carfare to and from his work. This reduced the net amount of money for household expenses so low that Mrs. Ross found it impossible to pay \$15 a month rent for a house in a respectable neighborhood. She was grieving over the possible necessity of moving her family into a slum district where rents were cheaper and surroundings filthy.

Christmas was near at hand and her little boy, Charlie, who was his mother's great joy, a beautiful child all the neighbors said, wanted to see what Santa Claus would bring the children.

So Mrs. Ross washed and dressed Charlie in the best clothes she had for him and took him to the toy department of the Great Store.

\*Forty years ago Charlie Ross, a boy 4 years of age, was kidnapped from his parents' home in Philadelphia. Mr. and Mrs. Ross spent their entire fortune in a fruitless search for their boy. They died three years ago without learning anything about him.

Charlie eyed with wonder and a longing heart the profusion of toys and playthings, and asked his mother if Santa Claus would bring him some.

Mrs. Rich was strolling through the toy department intending to select toys to be sent to poor children. She heard Charlie's voice pleading for Santa to bring him some toys. Mrs. Rich asked Charlie's mother about her boy and begged to be allowed to send him toys. Mrs. Ross consented and gave her name and address to Mrs. Rich.

On Christmas day the toys arrived at the Ross home.

Mrs. Rich on the same day looked out of the window at the landscape and snow tipped trees. She had no children of her own. Her arms felt empty and she longed to have the companionship of a child. She thought of the boy she had seen in the store. A Charity Visitor called to get the promised donation for the poor. Mrs. Rich told the Visitor of her desire for a child.

The next day the charity expert sent a Friendly Visitor to Mrs. Ross to find out about her home conditions. The visitor questioned Mrs. Ross and learned that Mr. Ross drank beer and that the family was poor.

Mr. Ross was summoned into the Court of Domestic Relations and was tried. The Friendly Visitor testified that the family was poor and that the defendant spent money for beer. Mr. Ross was sent to the house of correction for a year for contributing to the delinquency of his children.

Soon after the New Year, Mrs. Ross was summoned into the Juvenile Court on a petition of the Friendly Visitor and charged with being unable to provide food and clothing for her children. The judge ordered that her boy, Charlie, be taken away from her and turned over to the charity society for adoption.

Mrs. Ross was told that this was done in order to relieve her of part of her burden, as she could not earn the living for her five children. She was told that she could now try to get along with four.

Soon Mrs. Rich was notified that a healthy boy had been deserted by his parents and could be legally adopted by someone able to care for him. Mrs. Rich asked to have the boy sent to her home for inspection and asked if she would be bothered by his mother if she adopted him. The Charity Expert informed her that under the Juvenile Court law it is a criminal offense for anyone to give the real mother any information of the whereabouts of her child after it has been taken away from her by the Juvenile Court and given out for adoption.

Mrs. Rich looked the boy over and discovered that he was the boy for whom she bought the toys.

Another Christmas has come. Charlie now has all the toys any child could desire and is known as "William Rich." Mrs. Rich is known as one of the large contributors to organized charity.

Mrs. Ross is dead.

HENRY NEILL.

## THE DEAD HAND ON EUROPE.

For The Public.

For memories they rushed to death and pain,  
Old flags, old songs, old tales of valiant sires;  
Old fears of loss, old cherished hopes of gain,  
Long vengeance like embers of dull fires.

But oh! the mothers who had reared their sons  
In love's deep rushing tide;  
Their houses ashes and their fields vast graves,  
Their yearning arms denied.

In vision sent I saw a woman fair,  
With voice like song of birds;  
Fitted for peace and little children's care,  
Glad carols and kind words.

But she was fleeing through a shattered town  
That paid war's bitter and relentless price;  
Snapped at her heels starved dogs of ill renown,  
Leaped for her throat the cur of avarice.

Thus is Civilization, heaven lent,  
Sweet daughter of old Time;  
Pursued by mongrels of war's dread intent,  
Blind passion and vile crime.

—George W. Priest.

## BOOKS

### A HISTORY OF ARISTOCRACY.

*The Normans in European History.* By Charles H. Haskins. Published by Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston. Price, \$1.50 net.

Professor Haskins' book furnishes a concrete study of the growth of the "upper classes" in civilization—a sociological subject on which many inquiring minds will dwell in the near future. By title, his work has two phases: "The Normans" and "European History." The upper orders of Europe—the "nobility"—are descendants of a fighting, military class, which came into the various countries of the old world from outside the particular country subjugated. The upper classes were aliens in the first place, and they have remained alien from the life and thought of the great masses of the plain people down to the present day. This is involved in the logic of a situation whereby the "nobility"—the "aristocracy"—are the beneficiaries of enormous, unearned ground rents which take the place of an original war-tribute imposed upon the people by their conquerors, and which represent the social, or public, value of the land.

This volume is the first attempt to tell the connected story of the Normans in the various parts of Europe—Normandy, England, and the lands of the Mediterranean. Beginning with the coming of the Norse Vikings to Normandy a thousand years ago, Professor Haskins emphasizes the influence of William the Conqueror and his successors

in Britain. "It is in England," says the author, "that the most permanent work of the Normans survives. They created the English central government and impressed upon it their conceptions of order and of law. Their feudalism permeated English society, their customs shaped much of English jurisprudence and their kings and nobles were the dominant class in English government."

LOUIS WALLIS.

## PARIS IN WAR TIME.

**Paris Reborn.** By Herbert Adams Gibbons. Published by The Century Co., New York. Price \$2 net.

How is it that the best books on Paris are always so exquisitely illustrated? Those who know E. V. Lucas' "A Wanderer in Paris" will remember Walter Dexter's illustrations in color; and in "Paris Reborn," by Herbert Adams Gibbons, author of "The New Map of Europe," the illustrations by Lester G. Hornby, are an irresistible attraction that almost annoyingly interrupts one's first reading. It is, I suppose, the juvenile heart of Paris that spurs the artists to excel. Paris, as Mr. Gibbons says, is incapable of the sensation of worry—its heart is young and very beautiful.

Just how young and beautiful "Paris Reborn" shows. It gives the feel of Paris during the first four months of the war. By means of brilliant, human sketches the reader is made to see picturesque incidents characteristic of the national upheaval caused by the outbreak of hostilities. While other war correspondents (Mr. Gibbons was representing the Philadelphia Evening Telegraph) scurried round looking for scoops and picking up nothing but rumors, he evidently made no effort to get near the front, but rushed back to Paris at the first sure signs of trouble. From his accustomed beat and circle he watched the rebirth of the heart of the nation. Or, rather, watched the people show how brave and steel-true the cheerful French can be.

Just one illustration of the style, from Chapter VIII, in which the author takes a rap at the Americans, who were filled with "righteous indignation" at inconveniences of the early days of August, 1914: At the missed steamship passages, the annoyance of having to comply with reasonable military precautions, at difficulties in getting cash, etc. Fuming around the hotels thinking of themselves, they were blind to patient bravery around them. Sick of scenes of such selfishness in the tourist hotel, he leaves to visit a friend and by way of vivid contrast relates this incident:

"When I turned into the Rue de Rivoli, a shopkeeper was just leaving. A small kit was in his hand. He was stuffing a package of sandwiches into his pocket. Arms were thrown around his neck. There was a wild sob, and a moment of silence. Then a self-possessed woman drew back into the doorway.

"I'll keep things going while you're gone," she smiled through her tears.

"From her skirts a sturdy youngster peeped out uncomprehendingly. As the man started down the street he cried, 'Come home soon, papa.'"

STANLEY BOWMAR.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

—Immigrants. By Percy MacKaye. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

—How Diplomats Make War. By a British Statesman. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Social Freedom. By Elsie Clews Parsons. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

—The Religion of Revolution. By Herbert S. Bigelow. Published by Daniel Kiefer, Cincinnati, Ohio. Price: cloth, \$1.00.

—Memories of a Publisher, 1865-1915. By George Haven Putnam. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1915. Price, \$2.00 net.

—The Coming Newspaper. Essays, edited by Merle Thorpe. Published by Henry Holt & Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$1.40 net.

—Comparative Free Government. By Jesse Macy and John W. Gannaway. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$2.25 net.

—Ethical Readings from the Bible. Harriet L. Keeler and Laura H. Wild. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1915. Price, 40c net.

—The Operation of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall in Oregon. By James D. Barnett. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$2.00 net.

—Michigan Manual of Freedmen's Progress. Compiled by Francis H. Warren, secretary of the Freedmen's Progress Commission, 325 Broadway Market B'ld'g., Detroit, Mich. 1915.

—Health Work in the Public Schools. Leonard P. Ayres and May Ayres. Published by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, O. 1915. Price, 25 cents, postpaid.

## PAMPHLETS

### Pamphlets Received.

The Saloon Problem. By M. H. Wilcoxon, Applegate Acres, Murphy, Ore. Price, 10 cents, postpaid.

Preparedness—For What? By Charles H. Levermore. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. 1915.

The Rockefeller Foundation: Annual Report, 1913-14. Second Edition. Published by the Rockefeller Foundation, 61 Broadway, New York.

The John F. Slater Fund: Proceedings and Reports for Year Ending September 30, 1915. James H. Dillard, Director, Box 418, Charlottesville, Va.

Third Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor. For the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1915. United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

The Principles of Effective Debating. Fifth Edition. By Rollo Lu Verne Lyman. Bulletin 570, Extension Division, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1915. Price, 15 cents.

The Peril of Conscription. By J. Bruce-Glasier. Labour and War Pamphlets, Number Three. Published by the Independent Labour Party, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Sq., London. 1915. Price, one penny.



Clergyman (to tattered hobo)—"Instead of spending your life wandering about the countryside and sleeping under hedges, why can not you act like a man and go out and fight for your hearth and home?"—Punch.



"Every time the baby looks into my face he smiles," said Mr. Meekins.

"Well," answered his wife, "it may not be exactly polite, but it shows he has a sense of humor."—Pacific Unitarian.



In a rural court the old squire had made a ruling so unfair that three young lawyers at once protested against such a miscarriage of justice. The squire immediately fined each of the lawyers \$5 for contempt of court.

There was silence, and then an older lawyer walked slowly to the front of the room and deposited a \$10 bill with the clerk. He then addressed the judge as follows:

"Your Honor, I wish to state that I have twice as much contempt for this court as any man in the room."—Youth's Companion.



First Motorist (after very narrow shave)—"But, why all this fuss? We haven't damaged you. You can't bring an action against us."

Second Motorist—"I know I can't, sir; I know I can't; that's just my point."—Punch.



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# Women's Trade Union League of Chicago

The annual meeting, and League Supper for members and friends, will be held at the Hull House Coffee House—35c, Sunday, January 9th, 1916, at 6 o'clock. This supper will take the place of the regular monthly meeting and it is hoped that every member will attend and bring a group of friends in order to make this A Happy New Year gathering.

The polls, in connection with the election of officers, will be open at the Hull House Coffee House from 4 to 6:30 p. m.

Miss Mary McDowell, Vice-President of the League, will preside. Speakers: Miss Agnes Nestor, President, Mrs. Raymond Robins, Mr. Victor Olander, Miss Fannie Cohen, Mr. John Fitzpatrick, Miss Mary Anderson, and others.

Supper reservations should be made by telephone or post card not later than Friday, January 7, 1916.

# From Governor Geo. W. P. Hunt of Arizona:

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## Frederic C. Howe On Germany

Mr. Howe's new book, "Socialized Germany" will probably be one of the best misunderstood books of the season.

The pro-German papers are publishing laudatory reviews. The New Republic reviewer calls it a "social panegyric of Germany" and says that the book was obviously written "to point the moral that we must remake ourselves after the German model."

If the average reviewer cannot distinguish between those measures which are palliative and those which are fundamental, that is his misfortune, not the fault of the author.

"Socialized Germany" shows that this country has a great deal to learn from Germany's success as well as from her failures, but it does not try to make anyone think that the counterfeit democracy of Germany is anything it is not or that it should be copied in this or in any other country. Mr. Howe states very definitely that in Germany there is no "belief in democracy or representative institutions or manhood suffrage."

For those who want to understand Germany of yesterday and today—and possibly the Germany of tomorrow—we know of no better book than this. Price \$1.50 postpaid. Other Books by Mr. Howe:

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