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EDITORIAL

Astor's New and Appropriate Title.

The barons of old lived on unearned wealth exacted from labor. William Waldorf Astor of today does the same. It was fitting therefore that the title of baron be bestowed upon him. The bestowal was a delicate and unintentional intimation to the people of New York that Astor's moral right to the ground rent which he collects from them is equal to but no greater than the right of the ancient barons to the tribute which they exacted from their peasants. The intimation implies that if New Yorkers are wise they will cease to pay tribute to Astor and to other barons not yet officially acknowledged as such. The sooner the hint is accepted the better.

S. D.



Bonds and Taxation.

An exchange expresses mystification over the proposition of the Administration to carry out its preparation program with taxes, and to issue bonds for building a merchant marine; and confesses that it can see no difference in issuing bonds to pay for war ships and issuing bonds to pay for merchant ships. The two undertakings are radically different; they are as distinct as the borrowing of money to spend for pleasure, and borrowing money to put in legitimate business. If fifty million dollars is spent for merchant ships, and the enterprise is conducted on business principles—and it should not be conducted any other way—a sinking fund will be provided from the earnings to take up the bonds when due. If the same amount be spent on war ships, there will be no sinking fund, and the ships will be worn out by the time the bonds are due. To issue bonds for war ships means for this generation to build the ships, and for the next generation to pay for them—when they are obsolete. Bonds issued to pay for merchantmen will be paid by the generation that has the use of the ships. All government expenditures that leave no permanent wealth should be met by the generation that makes them. Those

expenditures that do leave permanent wealth can consistently be paid for by the generation that gets the wealth. Whether or not the Administration should issue bonds for the building of a merchant marine, it should not issue bonds for the building of warships, or for other military expenditures.

S. C.



Reckless Misrepresentation.

At the Forest Industry Conference which was held last October at San Francisco two speakers distinguished themselves by talking on a matter about which they apparently know little or nothing. One of these was Mr. E. T. Allen of Portland, Oregon, who represented the Western Forestry and Conservation Association. Mr. Allen, in speaking about the Singletax, said:

There is more ground for security with regard to Singletax. This craze seems to be weakening because of repeated defeats and the development of internal dissension. It is well to guard against a rally, but without one it is no longer very dangerous. The strongest single factor, in its dissolution has been our marshalling of forestry and conservation interests against it. This led to a division within single tax ranks as to whether forests should not be exempted to avoid such opposition and Singletaxers committed to the yield tax where timber is concerned. Eastern Singletaxers inclined this way, western ones did not. The result was financial trouble for the western mercenaries, for their pay roll is met in the east.

There would be no great harm to the Singletax cause if this statement were allowed to go unchallenged. If timber land monopolists have been lulled by such talks into a sense of false security then the fight against monopoly will be that much easier. But The Public has been asked to comment on the matter, and is compelled to warn Mr. Allen and his sympathizers that they had better not take so comfortable a view. There is no weakening of the "craze." The contrary is evident from increasing strength at every election at which the issue has been raised by either its friends or enemies. Division over exemption of forests could not have taken place. The Singletax principle requires taxation of the value of all land on which forests are grown, including values of trees not grown or preserved through individual labor, and not publicly owned, and requires exemption of trees grown or preserved through such labor. As to "western mercenaries," if Mr. Allen knows of any he should name them. Probably no one else has the information. The Singletax movement is a poor place for mercenaries, considering the far greater ability and willingness of the other side to pay for such services.

The other speaker was Captain E. A. Selfridge, Jr., president of the California Protective Association, who said:

You will find that where any one class of men is advocating a change in taxation, it is doing it either from the position of faddists, or it is trying to shift the burden to some other class. Take for instance that angel of Singletax, Mr. Fels. He, as I understand it, was not a large real estate owner; he operated large factories for the manufacture of soap, and any scheme of Singletax would remove all taxes from his plants and stocks on hand and pass the additional burden to holders of real estate.

Captain Selfridge qualifies his statement with "as I understand it." It is unfortunate that he did not try to improve his understanding, which failed to take into account the following facts: 1. Joseph Fels was a large owner of land, both improved and unimproved, in a number of localities. 2. His soap factory interests were in Philadelphia, where the enlightened policy has prevailed for years of exempting machinery and factory products. In working for Singletax he worked to extend to his competitors in other places the special advantage that Philadelphia manufacturers enjoy. 3. Singletaxers do not want to tax "real estate," which includes all improvements upon land, but only the value of bare land irrespective of improvements. If Captain Selfridge wants to set right all who may have imbibed wrong ideas from his address, he will furnish them with a correction. The remarks of Mr. Allen and Captain Selfridge are typical of the anti-Singletax arguments that have been used by the opposition on the Pacific Coast.

S. D.



Egyptian Political Economy.

An item floating through the press states that the Assouan dam and other irrigation works in Egypt, which cost \$53,000,000 to build, have increased land values in middle and lower Egypt from \$955,000,000 to \$2,440,000,000. The rent of this land has risen from \$82,000,000 to \$190,000,000. If the statement is accurate then one year's increased rent would pay more than double the cost of the dam, but the Government is allowing a few favored individuals to keep it, while it levies taxes on industry to pay interest on the bonds issued to build these improvements. And the very persons upholding this system claim that the people of Egypt are not fit for self-government.

S. D.



Is The Tribune Waking Up?

It is somewhat startling to see the following

... of January 9:
 needs the transfer of
 into the possession
 and all attention again
 center of Chicago is
 into a land of monopoly.
 in any way. It is bad
 business district, bad for
 the body politic.
 measure to find means
 monopoly and begin its

... need but read
 "Poverty" or should
 measure therein pro-
 tect as long as the
 money appropriated.
 best way to break
 distribution that will
 be to those who
 use. It is regret-
 table to the Single-
 taxer as the Tribune has
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 facilitated concern-
 Is the Tribune ready
 now, or does it only
 check land monopoly
 s. d.

Benjamin Franklin's
 an Economist, organ
 Tariff League, in its
 duces a letter alleged
 Franklin in April, 1771,
 by Marshall of West
 The matter deserves
 deal of the kind of
 protection. In this
 which the Economist
 "protectionism":
 "I will consider, that
 purchase foreign Gew-
 Apparel, being apply'd
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 industry and Frugality.
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 of those Provisions,
 the European Nations;
 Colonies, not in the
 Demand at pres-
 ent long continue so.
 in our Country
 Provisions within our
 to the Country as
 for the Manufac-
 and it is well known

and understood that wher ever a Manufacturer is established which employs a Number of Hands, it raises the Value of Lands in the neighboring Country all around it; partly by the greater Demand near at hand for the Produce of the Land; and partly from the Plenty of Money drawn by the Manufacturers to that Part of the Country. It seems therefore the Interest of all our Farmers and Owners of lands to encourage young Manufacturers in preference to foreign ones imported among us from Distant Countries.

It would be far more reasonable to construe this statement as a sermon on thrift, Franklin's favorite text. Moreover, even though it were intended as a protectionist argument it would be a poor one. The reference to rise in the value of lands is something which a protectionist advocate had better touch but lightly upon. If followed it must lead to conclusions antagonistic to protectionism.



The Economist states further that Franklin "never wavered from his belief" in protectionism. Since it is improbable that he ever held such belief, it is quite probable that he "never wavered" from it. But if he did actually hold protectionist views in 1771, he certainly abandoned them soon thereafter. Many of his expressions on this subject are reproduced in an address delivered by Joseph Fels to "The Poor Richard Club" of Philadelphia on January 6, 1910. In this address Mr. Fels gave the following excerpts from Franklin's writings, all of which can be verified by consulting authorized publications. In "The Internal State of America," Franklin said:

And when the government had been solicited to support such schemes by encouragement in money or by imposing duties on importation of such goods, it has been generally refused on this principle, that if the country is ripe for the manufacture, it may be carried on by private persons to advantage; if not, it is folly to think of forcing nature. . . . The governments in America do nothing to encourage such projects. The people by these means are not imposed on either by the merchant or mechanic.



In 1775 he suggested the following:

Whenever she (England) shall think fit to abolish her monopoly . . . and allow us a free commerce with all the rest of the world, we shall well nigh agree to give and pay into the sinking fund 100,000 pounds sterling per annum for the term of one hundred years.

In the Continental Congress on July 21, 1775, he moved:

That all custom houses in the colony shall be shut up, and all officers of the same discharged from the execution of their several functions, and all the ports of the said colonies are hereby declared to be henceforth open to the ships of every state in Europe that will admit our commerce and protect it. . . .

In a letter to Peter Collinson—date not given—he said:

In time, perhaps, mankind may be wise enough to let trade take its own course, find its own channels and regulate its own proportions, etc. At present most of the edicts of princes, placards, laws and ordinances of kingdoms and states for the purpose prove political blunders; the advantages they produce not being general for the commonwealth, but particular to private persons or bodies in the state who procure them, and at the expense of the rest of the people.

In a letter to Vaughn, written in 1784, he said: The making England entirely a free port would have been the wisest step ever taken for its advantage.

This was consistent with the following statement made by Franklin ten years previously:

It were therefore to be wished that commerce were as free between all the nations of the world as it is between the several counties of England: so would all by mutual communication obtain more enjoyment. These counties do not ruin one another by trade; neither would the nations.

Yet the official organ of America's protected monopolists of today has the effrontery to claim Franklin as an advocate of its predatory principles!

S. D.



Futility of the Anti-Trust Law.

There is nothing to regret in the failure of the Government to secure conviction of the New Haven directors, regardless of whether they violated the anti-trust law or not. Conviction would have strengthened, for a time, belief in the fallacy that criminal prosecutions under a drastic law can put an end to trust practices. The absurdity of this belief should be evident to all. Drastic criminal laws have failed to put an end to predatory crimes such as burglary or pocket-picking, although these notoriously yield but a poor living. Why should anyone expect the same means to put an end to practices that can yield such fortunes as those of Rockefeller or Carnegie?



What is needed is not more laws with severe penalties for violation, but abolition of Privilege. Without Privilege predatory trust practices would be impossible. With Privilege abolished there would be no need of stirring up district attorneys to start criminal proceedings, no need of sparring over legal points in court, no need of worrying judges for hair splitting decisions, and no need of convincing a jury of any one's guilt. Legislation revoking privilege would be self-enforcing. Until we get such legislation monopolistic trusts will continue to flourish, regardless of what criminal penalties the law may provide.

Corporation Control

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taken by Governor Am
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posed an effort of min
through a bill materiall
responsibilities and virtu
company should be its
corporations have started
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to the mining corporat

The Government's M

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duces a letter from a
with an eight-year-old

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of subjection to the choice between starvation, beggary or crime.

S. D.



A Worthy Leader in a Good Cause.

Commenting upon the worthiness of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt to succeed Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Anna Howard Shaw as head of the National Woman Suffrage Association, the Christian Science Monitor says she has one qualification that they lacked, that is:

She knows the world by having seen it. That is to say, she has been internationalized through travel and contact with leaders of the woman movement in Europe and Asia.

Mrs. Catt has another qualification that may be of vastly more importance than this broadminded liberality. She appreciates and understands the economic problem. She has perceived that great natural law, the breaking of which has plunged Europe into war, and halted progress in this country. She is numbered among those who understand why wealth is not equitably distributed, why poverty dogs the steps of progress, and how mankind can be restored to its rightful inheritance.



This is no small asset to the suffrage movement. One of the greatest handicaps to the suffrage cause has been the inability of women to show that an improvement would be made in the electorate by adding their voice to the male vote. Even were this a fact it should in no way bar them from the ballot, which belongs to them as free moral agents; but it furnishes an excuse for illogical minds to withhold from women the privilege that has been conferred upon themselves. The woman's movement has now assumed such prominence in this country that the announcement of definite propositions in statecraft will mean much to both the movement and to the country. Women have ceased to consider the mere getting of the ballot: they are earnestly studying what they will do with it. This is where Carrie Chapman Catt's understanding of the economic problem will be of such great service. She will be able to direct the enquiring minds to the truth, and save them the wandering in the economic wilderness that has prevented their brothers from entering the promised land. It will be a great day in this country when men and women enjoy equal rights before the law; and it will add much to woman's satisfaction if in the day when she is clothed with authority she is ready to solve the great problem that has baffled man.

S. C.

Sacrificing American Interests to Foreign Belligerents.

The defeat of Peter Witt for Mayor of Cleveland has been attributed to views he expressed on the European war. Whether these views were right or wrong is not the question. They related to a matter that has nothing to do with American issues and should not be allowed to influence American politics. They were entitled to no more consideration than his views on the canals of Mars. But nevertheless many voters who knew Witt's position on Cleveland city affairs to be correct are said to have deliberately voted to inflict on their city a reactionary administration on account of this foreign issue. This explanation, if correct, shows the result to be no repudiation of Witt's fundamental democratic views, and absolves the preferential vote of responsibility. But it shows some voters to be more interested in the cause of a foreign belligerent than they are in the fight against evils which threaten the American people. A similar explanation has been offered concerning the defeat for re-election of Governor Walsh of Massachusetts, whose views on the war were alleged to be diametrically opposed to Witt's. There is the same comment due the voters of that State who were influenced to act against the public interest through this foreign issue.

S. D.



Not a Bankers' War.

It was often said before the outbreak of the present war that the bankers held the fate of nations in their hands, that no nation could go to war without their consent; and that there would be no great war because, while building great armaments might be to their advantage, the devastation of war would cause them harm. But when the break came all were swept into the maelstrom together. The people had been taught for generations that foreigners were enemies, and that the prosperity of other nations must be at the expense of their own. And when statesmen, proceeding on this false philosophy, overreached themselves, and precipitated war, the people rose en masse to defend their countries. The bankers had about as much influence in restraining the several governments, as a fire company would have in saving a powder magazine after the match had been applied. Men cannot play indefinitely upon the passions of the people with arms in their hands without producing an outbreak; and there will be no peace until the statesmen, and leaders of public thought, face about and take their stand upon right, instead of upon might. When they

teach liberty, justice, and fraternity, internationally as well as nationally, wars will cease.

S. C.



British Conscription.

The introduction in Parliament of the bill to compel the enlistment of the unmarried men of military age marks the desperate straits of the empire. While the bill itself will not add many men to the ranks, it was the promise of the act that secured such a generous response in Lord Derby's recruiting campaign. Prime Minister Asquith pledged his word that if the unmarried men did not enlist in proportion to the married men he would invoke conscription, and he has kept faith with those who voluntarily offered themselves. The bill, which passed the first reading in the Commons by a vote of 403 to 105 is not resort to universal military service, for it comes at the end of the voluntary enlistment of six million men, but is intended to reach the shirks, or "slackers." Yet, it is to that extent compulsion; and so jealous is the Briton of his liberties that even such a limited measure has been bitterly fought. It is not the fear that such a law will do any material harm at this time that causes the opposition, but the dread of the precedent. There is a large minority in England that is as reactionary as the Prussian Junkers. Their aim has been to secure universal service in order to perpetuate the rule of privilege. And those who now oppose the present bill do so not because they wish to discontinue the war, nor omit putting forth the last ounce of strength, but for fear that it will be used as a precedent to entrench the militarists, and lead to the introduction of universal military service.



One of the fruits of the present British course is already seen in this country, where the militarists are using it to fortify their policy of universal military service. When Secretary Garrison said before the House military committee in answer to a question as to whether he believed in universal military service: "I think in a democracy that every citizen should be under identical responsibilities as every other citizen as to his duties to the nation," he voiced the popular sophistry that is being used to undermine real democracy. To liken the situation and necessities of the United States to those of European countries is to do violence to human reason; and to seize upon the limited force law of England, introduced under dire extremity as an excuse for universal service in this country is nothing less than madness. European countries have their international policies. If they

persist in living by the sword, universal service will ultimately be the fate of all. For if there be no other way for a country to exist except by fighting, then it is the duty of each citizen to serve, or to let the nation perish. But the United States is differently situated. Its problems are internal, not external, national, not international; and with its present opportunities and duties before it the reactionaries must not, can not, and will not turn it from its course toward complete democracy, and commit it to militarism. S. C.



Rationalizing the Monroe Doctrine.

In nothing has the present Administration excelled to a greater degree than in its relations with the other American governments. So fair and broad, indeed, has been its foreign policy that notwithstanding the chaotic conditions in Mexico—the result of a generation of despotism and misrule—and the shameful treatment of Colombia on account of Panama, the United States is more kindly regarded today by the Latin American countries than at any time since the Civil War. The Monroe doctrine, which had been the salvation of the new republics in South and Central America during the first half of the nineteenth century, became a source of humiliation, if not a menace, to the established countries during the second half of the century. Nor should this surprise any one acquainted with human nature. Patronage that may be welcomed by the child is resented by the man. The policy of the United States might be best for the American countries, yet be irritating to them merely because it was the policy of the United States. For, a good international policy that is dependent upon the might of one nation may at any time become a bad policy. Add to this potential menace the fear engendered by dislike, the suspicion begotten of our spoil of Mexico in 1848, the Platt Amendment qualifying Cuba's independence, our treatment of Colombia, and a threatened second spoliation of Mexico, and it will be seen why Latin America disliked and feared the Yankees.



When President Wilson declared in his Mobile speech that this nation would not again acquire foreign territory by conquest, Latin America became interested. When he invited the A-B-C powers to join the United States in aiding Mexico, our southern neighbors awoke to new conditions. When, in spite of rebuffs and defiance of the revolutionists, and the continuance of anarchy month after month, we continued to respect the territorial integrity of Mexico, fear of us dis-

appeared. And now that representatives of the several nations are participating in the Pan-American Scientific Congress, they hail with enthusiasm the proposition to broaden the Monroe doctrine into Pan-Americanism. The definite form of this change remains to be worked out, but the propositions submitted by President Wilson and Secretary Lansing suggest that all the American Nations shall unite in guaranteeing to each other absolute political independence and territorial integrity; that they shall agree to settle all pending boundary disputes as soon as possible by amicable process; that they agree to handle all disputes arising among them by patient, impartial investigation, and settle them by arbitration; that they agree that no revolutionary expedition shall be outlitted against, or supplies for revolutionists be shipped to, neighboring states. With some such agreement in existence among the American nations the misunderstandings and suspicions would gradually disappear, and they would stand together in opposing any encroachments of other nations.



But this very broadening of the Monroe doctrine is seized upon by the preparationists as a reason for a great military establishment. Either we must prepare to defend this doctrine, they declare, or renounce it. What warrant is there for such a conclusion? We have won the regard of Latin America by fair treatment; will the same treatment of other countries have less effect? And why should Europe be less likely in the future than it has been in the past to respect this doctrine? So far as respective armaments are concerned England could have disregarded our threats. And had other nations combined they might have worked their will on this hemisphere. Whether England liked the doctrine or not, and whether or not she was friendly to this country, she would not have dared to embroil us for fear of her enemies in Europe. Germany for the same reason dared not question the Monroe doctrine. Will either of these countries be more immune from attack at home in the future than they have been in the past? Why do we need to fight for the Monroe doctrine any more than we do for the rights of non-combatants at sea? We shall continue to proclaim international law, and however much it may be broken, our protests will not be without effect. When the present belligerents return to sanity they will see and admit that we were right; and they will take such steps as they can to preserve international law in the future. International law upheld by a military power

strong enough to overcome all opposition would be respected not because it was right, but because it had the biggest guns behind it. And such international law would be changed whenever it suited the purpose of the strongest nation. Either we must abide by the principle of right, or of might. If we are to maintain the rights of neutrals and non-belligerents with a superior military power, those rights will rest upon might, and will be dependent upon the whim of whomsoever controls that might. This is the condition of international affairs today. Would they be bettered if we were entrusted with the might? Universal armament of Europe did not preserve the peace, nor has victory been won by the nation of greatest preparedness. Why should we, with such a complete demonstration before us, repeat their folly?
s. c.



Faithful Over a Few Things.

It is a difficult thing for a man to get an honest estimate of himself from his fellows. If he die, he cannot read his obituary; if he run for office the praise of his friends is so mingled with the abuse of his opponents that he must conclude both are biased; and if he keep on the even tenor of his way he may hear no comment at all. Is there not a time in every man's life when, having performed the task committed to his charge, he is entitled to an estimate of his fellows, and to such an appreciation as he has earned? If he has betrayed his trust, or shirked, or blundered, little need be said; the consciousness of failure is sufficient weight for any soul. But if he has kept the faith; if he has foresworn the world, and clung to truth, it would seem that he had earned of his fellows a friendly smile, and an encouraging word. Besides, a hero is seldom a hero to his intimates. It is only when those at a distance proclaim him that the home folks take notice.



Early in the Singletax movement a man joined the Chicago Singletax Club for the purpose of aiding a cause dear to his heart. He could not make speeches, nor carry on a public debate, and he had little money to contribute. The first thing he found to do was to stand at the door, and hand out tracts to those who attended the meetings. Presently he added a few pamphlets—which he sold at cost. Then more pamphlets, and paper covered books were added, and finally a few bound books. All related to the Singletax, and all were sold at the lowest price that would sustain his venture—without pay for himself. And so this earnest man coined his heart's enthusiasm into

service for his fellows by distributing literature. Week after week he has stood behind his little stock of books, tracts, and pamphlets. If the stranger could not buy a book, a pamphlet was suggested. That failing, a tract was pressed upon him. Years have passed, the man's hair has turned white, yet still he attends every meeting of the Club, eager to supply the stranger with food for his soul, and setting high the standard of service for the many earnest working men and women in the Club. It will undoubtedly please the many people who have noted this fidelity to know that the commercial house in which he has labored in a humble capacity has recognized his faithful service by giving him a life pension. The Chicago Singletax Club has had many zealous officers and members who have given of their time and their money; but no one has exceeded the devotion of F. W. Maguire. s. c.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE DEFEAT OF THE NEW YORK CONSTITUTION.

San Diego, Calif., Dec. 26.

In the Standard (Baptist), Chicago, Dec. 18, 1915, the editor had regretted the defeat of the New York Constitution, and I replied to his editorial as follows:

The common people seem to be growing more and more critical. A few years ago most voters followed the party label, but now more and more of them, like the man from Missouri, "must be shown." It is true that the late New York state constitution, which was overwhelmingly defeated, was the result of many months of labor on the part of "the best lawyers and statesmen that New York possesses," and no doubt had some minor improvements over their present organic law, which may be embodied in some future constitution, still the fact was clear to the student of fundamental democracy that the adoption of the document would have been a reactionary victory.

To some it seems that the widely heralded speech of Hon. Elihu Root against "invisible government" was one of the main reasons why the constitution was defeated. Thousands knew that there had been an "invisible government" controlling the affairs of the Empire state, but many of the partisan voters did not believe it until Mr. Root, who was known to have been in close, if not organic, connection with the bosses, vouched for the fact.

To overcome official and legislative corruption people are learning that the best means at hand are the initiative and referendum and the recall. Mr. Root denounced these measures, calling them "nostrums and patent medicines in government," and, with ex-President Taft, erroneously charged that they are "an abandonment, or partial abandonment, of representative government."

It was found also that the beneficiaries of the system of "invisible government" were, as stated by an able writer in *The Public*, "working desperately to have this constitution adopted."

It is true that "the vox populi is not always the vox Dei," but the will of the majority should always be supreme, and if they are not right there should be room for discussion and enlightenment. Democracy in the long run is always better than autocracy.

JAMES P. CADMAN.

WHY MEN LEAVE THEIR WIVES.

Oak Park, Ill., Jan. 3.

Wives and children, deserted and left destitute by the husband and father, are rapidly becoming one of the greatest problems in this country, according to Judge Henry Neil, originator of the Mothers' Pension System. He intends to appeal to congress and to the legislative bodies of this and all other states to consider the deserted mother and her children. He has obtained Mothers' Pensions for widows in twenty-six States, but deserted women and their children are still left in poverty.

"Many well meaning citizens," he said in discussing the deserted families, "fear that the pension system will encourage desertions. My experience in hundreds of poverty stricken families, in courts, jails and asylums of all kinds, has convinced me that such is not the case. The men who desert will not be kept at home by the fear that their wives and children will suffer. Many charity experts and others say that the deserted mother and children should be left in poverty, their punishment being used to reform the bad father. They ask us to withhold the pension from the woman until the man is reformed and made to do his duty.

"So often has this bad father been used against mothers' pensions that I have devoted considerable time to a study of the problem. Out of hundreds of cases I have formulated a classification of the causes of desertions, which I give in the order of their importance, as follows:

- Low wages (making a family home impossible).
- Unemployment (creating from the hard-working man a discouraged loafer).
- Bad housing (dwelling so small that the man can find no room for his leisure hours and he is forced to go out except when eating or sleeping).
- Whiskey, (usually resorted to as a result of the preceding causes).
- Arrest and imprisonment of low paid wage workers on charges of failure to support their families.
- Interference of charity visitors in the affairs of a low paid workman.
- Feeling of disgrace because he has had to accept charity.
- Prison and military or naval experience which taught habits unfitting a man for home life.
- Conduct of the wife.

In the opinion of Judge Neil low wages are the fundamental cause, all other causes given above being directly caused by insufficient income, or being aggravated by this poverty work. Among well paid craftsmen the desertions are few. Desertions increase as the wages go down.

"If wage workers had income sufficient to provide a decent house and other necessities," says Judge Neil, "there would be few desertions. But low wages force the family into little rat-trap habitations.

"It is unnatural for men to leave their own offspring, and when a large number of men are committing this unnatural act we must conclude that there is some strong compulsion. I have found this compulsion, and as long as low wages continue we will have desertions and all the courts and jails in the world will not reform the situation.

"The use of the Mothers' Pension System in twenty-six states has had wonderful results, court officials

reporting a hundred per cent efficiency in reducing juvenile crime and delinquency and consequently reduction in taxpayers' burdens."

OTTO McFEELY.

PREPAREDNESS?

Brooklyn, Jan. 3, 1916.

Up to date the advocates of increased militarism in this country have not shown themselves in accord with the plan for government manufacture of all armor plate and other war munitions. They have thus far failed to take a definite stand on the question relative to the abolition of the private manufacture thereof.

Should it not be our first duty as a precaution against future embarrassment to remove all possible danger of foreign interests gaining control of our base of supply?

If preparedness as embodied in the administration's program is being urged solely for the purpose of securing the safety of the American people and their homes, if it has been prompted by unselfish motives, if its only aim is to place the army and navy on a more efficient and economic basis, why have Roosevelt, Choate and the other advocates thereof evaded the above mentioned proposition?

Let the truth be known and it will make us free.

HENRY SAUM.

STAMPEDED EUROPE.

Holloway, Ia., Dec. 30.

In the year 1831 Henry George said:

"Private property in land blocks the way of advancing civilization. The two cannot long co-exist. Either private property in land must be abolished, or, as has happened again and again in the history of mankind, civilization must again turn back in anarchy and bloodshed. Even now I believe the inevitable struggle has begun. It is not conservatism which would ignore such a tremendous fact. It is the blindness which would invite destruction. He that is truly conservative, let him look the facts in the face, let him speak frankly and dispassionately. This is the duty of the hour. For, when a great social question presses for settlement, it is only for a little while that the voice of reason can be heard. The masses of men hardly think at any time. It is difficult, even in sober moments to get them to reason calmly. But when passion is roused, then they are like a herd of stampeded bulls. I do not fear that present social adjustments can continue. That is impossible. What I fear is that the dams may hold till the flood rises to fury."

This it has done in Europe today. The blindest can not dispute this fact. Shall we continue the stand-pat-ism that has invited and brought on the destruction there? Is not the cause and fury of the conflagration to be found in the injustice which permits a few men like the Riabouchinski brothers to own and monopolize six million acres of land near so great and populous a center as Moscow?

Such a policy, combined with war preparedness, has destroyed most of the great and wealthy nations of the past. Such a policy has lighted and kept burning the fuse of war in Europe. Such a policy has made the Riabouchinski brothers possible. Now they, like other wealthy land monopolists of Europe, have not only money, but men to burn. Destroy the flower of the country, the strongest, the bravest and the best, and the task of holding God's world forever the same will be an easy

matter. Then, when the Christ with bowed head passes that way, they will answer him:

Oh, Lord and master, not ours the guilt,
We build but as our fathers built;
Our task is hard with sword and flame
To hold Thine earth forever the same.

—JOSIE THORPE PRICE.

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, January 11, 1916

Congressional Doings.

Congress reconvened on January 4. Congressman Sherwood of Ohio, Democrat, and only surviving general of the Civil War, bitterly denounced the Administration's preparedness plans. He declared the farmers and laborers opposed it and that it was favored by those who wanted "to give tone and polish to flamboyant Washington society." He said further that "a standing army means waste, depression, moral decay," and that "a nation can not be moving toward peace while definitely preparing for war." [See vol. xviii, p. 1242.]

On January 6 Secretary of War Garrison appeared before the House Committee on Military Affairs to advocate his army plan, which involves expenditure of \$600,000,000 in the next four years to create an army of 500,000 men, and store up arms, ammunition and other equipment. He threatened that if "you adopt a practical system based on voluntary action of the people and that fails, then policies based on universal service, or some form of compulsory service will be enacted as the only remaining remedy."

The Senate Committee on woman suffrage reported with favorable recommendation on January 8 the Susan B. Anthony amendment proposing woman suffrage by constitutional action. Of all the members of the committee only Senator Catron of New Mexico formally dissented from the report, but Senators Ransdell of Louisiana, and Johnson of Maine did not sign.

The House on January 8 passed the Ferris water power site bill, one of the Administration's conservation measures. It provides for fifty-year leases of dam sites on the public domain to private persons, on terms to be fixed by the Secretary of the Interior. Rates for electricity are left with the state public service commissions where there are any. Where there is none, the Secretary of the Interior will fix rates.

Woman's Peace Party.

One year after its formation on January 9, the Woman's Peace party held its second convention at Washington. A mass meeting addressed by Jane Addams and Julia C. Lathrop was held. At the regular meeting on January 10 resolutions were adopted condemning President Wilson's preparedness program, and suggesting that the women of the country hold protest meetings on Washington's birthday, February 22. Officers elected for the year were Jane Addams, president; Lucia Ames Mead, secretary; Miss S. P. Breckenridge, treasurer. [See vol. xviii, p. 110.]



Anti-Preparedness Committee.

The Anti-Militarism Committee with headquarters at 732 Munsey Building, Washington, has decided to change its name to Anti-'Preparedness' Committee, and issued on January 8 the following explanation:

In order that there should be no mistaking its position, the Anti-Militarism Committee, which has opened headquarters in Washington to combat the pending army and navy budgets, has changed its name to the Anti "Preparedness" Committee. The Committee has added to its membership Dr. James P. Warbasse of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Mrs. Glendower Evans of Boston, and Miss Zona Gale of Portage, Wis. In an explanatory statement the Committee says:

"In the few weeks the Committee has been organized, we have discovered that the word 'Preparedness' has a perfectly definite meaning to the country. It is falling steadily into evil repute as the people begin to appreciate that all the preparedness programs mean a huge navy and a vast increase in our military budget, with universal compulsory military service in the distance as the goal towards which the militarists are striving. This is 'preparedness'—in quotation marks—and this is the thing we are fighting. Believing that this is no time for indirection and circumlocutions, the Committee has decided to make impossible any misconception of its position by renaming itself the Anti-'Preparedness' Committee.

"But even as we close in on the 'preparedness' forces, we find them shifting their position. Three weeks ago they were talking wildly about an inevitable invasion of the United States by Germany. Now, it is interesting to note, they are already modifying their stand. Senator Williams of Mississippi admits that there is no likelihood that Germany will actually invade the United States, but he suggests that she will adopt a 'bullying' policy in her relationships with us.

"This is pure assumption for which the Senator offers no evidence. If American diplomacy has been able to adjust difficulties with Germany arising in the strain and effort of a world war, why should not our diplomacy be able to take care of post-bellum difficulties? Senator Williams bases his pessimistic view upon the theory that Germany will be the victor, but he does not seem to realize that a victorious Germany means a Germany surrounded by jealous European foes who would not

hesitate to spring again at her if she gave them an excuse. The Senator's war scare is like all the others in that it ignores some vital factor or other in the situation.

"The Anti-Preparedness Committee believes that the country is not intimidated by war scares, sincere or otherwise, and that it is unalterably opposed to any such break with our national policy as the various preparedness schemes propose."

[See vol. xviii, p. 1262.]



A Protest Against Inequitable Taxation.

The following address to "The Workers of America" has been sent out under date of January 11 by the Equitable Federal Income Tax League with headquarters at 320 Broadway, New York City.

The financiers and other millionaires in New York wish to avoid paying a fair income tax to the federal government by inaugurating a local income tax with a uniform tax rate on the men who earn \$1,200 a year and the men who draw an unearned income of \$500,000 a year.

Prof. E. R. A. Seligman, a brother of the head of the New York banking firm of J. & W. Seligman says:

The rate of taxation for the state or for local purposes should be only the normal rate of one per cent. If a graduated scale (progressive rate on large income) were introduced as in the federal tax, it might easily happen that the combined taxes . . . on large incomes would reach a figure which would probably be considered grievous or even confiscatory.

Of course, taxing a poor man on his small earned income is only a blessing in disguise.

In 1915, \$17,417,537, or 42.4 per cent—nearly half of the Federal Income tax is paid by residents of New York State. Of the 174 persons in the United States who received during that year a net taxable income of \$500,000 or more, 102 lived in New York State; of the 69 who received an income of \$400,000 to \$500,000, 27 lived in New York State; as also a majority of the 60 persons receiving a net taxable income of \$1,000,000 or over.

Every large income was derived from investments or gains throughout the country and nearly every one in the country helped to earn these fortunes.

The Secretary of the Treasury estimates a deficit in Federal receipts in 1917 of \$254,000,000. Privilege estimates that by increasing taxes on consumption, food (including sugar), clothing, shelter, gasoline trucks, etc., this \$254,000,000 is to come out of the workers of the country. Prof. Seligman says we can get "thousands of millions of dollars" this way.

In 1915, 357,515 persons, out of a population of about 100,000,000 received an income of nearly four billions of dollars—about one-fifth of the total income of the country.

Which class can better afford to pay most of the \$250,000,000 additional revenue the Federal Government must have, those receiving incomes of over \$50,000 or those receiving less than \$800? Please write or telegraph your answer to President Wilson and Hon. Claude Kitchin, Washington, D. C.

[See current volume, page 12.]

Pan-American Congress.

The Pan-American Congress held its final regular session on the 8th. At the conclusion of the Conference the delegates, as guests of the United States Government, are to visit several of the university cities of the eastern states, including Philadelphia, Princeton, New York, New Haven and Boston, where the party will arrive the afternoon of the 14th. [See current volume, page 12.]



The woman's section of the Congress held its final session on the 7th. The organization of a Woman's Pan-American Union, proposed earlier in the Congress, was postponed till a future day. A permanent committee of members from all countries was provided, however, with a secretary at Washington, to distribute abstracts of the proceedings of the woman's section in all countries, and serve as agents for a permanent organization when deemed advisable.



No Conviction of New Haven Directors.

Of the New Haven railroad directors indicted and tried for violation of the Sherman anti-trust law, six were acquitted by the Federal jury on January 9 at New York. They were D. Newton Barney, Robert W. Taft, James S. Hemingway, A. Heaton Robertson, Frederick F. Brewster and Henry K. McHarg. The jury disagreed concerning the following five: William Rockefeller, Charles F. Brooker, Charles M. Pratt, Lewis Cass Ledyard and Edward D. Robbins.



Margaret Sanger's Case.

The following statement of the case against her was issued on January 5 by Mrs. Margaret H. Sanger, wife of William Sanger, the architect, recently sent to jail through plotting of the late Anthony Comstock:

I returned to this country on October 6th—four days before William Sanger was released from jail. On the sixth of November, my little daughter died from pneumonia.

A few days after my arrival, I informed the United States Attorney of my presence, asking him if the indictments issued against me a year ago were still pending, inasmuch as the issue on which I am indicted—birth control—has been so thoroughly discussed during the past year in the various journals and magazines throughout the United States, and also inasmuch as no editor or publishers have been indicted. He replied that the indictments were still pending. The case was called for trial at the end of December, and postponed until January 4th. It is now set for Tuesday, January 18th, and will positively be tried on that date.

The opportunity was offered me to plead guilty, thereby ensuring my release after payment of a small fine. I refused to do this, because the whole issue is not one of a mistake, whereby getting into jail or keeping out of jail is of importance, but the issue involved is to raise the entire question of

birth control out of the gutter of obscenity and into the light of human understanding.

The present indictments are based on twelve articles published in "The Woman Rebel," eleven of which discuss birth control. The twelfth is a philosophic defence of abortion. My case differs from William Sanger's in this respect—that these indictments do not (in my opinion) violate the law. No question of distributing information in regard to the prevention of conception is at present involved.

I shall go into court on January 18th without an attorney, because I cannot find any lawyer whose mental attitude toward this case is right.

I appeal to you to give me your moral and financial support at this time. Write letters to Judge Clayton, of the United States District Court, Post Office Building, New York City, before whom the case is to be tried. Write letters to newspapers. Hold protest meetings and send resolutions to your Congressmen and to the President of the United States. Raise funds for publicity. Address all communications to me at 26 Post Avenue, New York City.

[See vol. xviii, p. 906.]



Whitman Tries to Remove Riley.

The resignation of John B. Riley, state superintendent of New York prisons, was requested by Governor Whitman on January 6, after Dr. George W. Kirchwey, the new warden of Sing Sing, had complained to the Governor of interference with his work by the superintendent. Kirchwey had announced his intention of continuing the reform policy of his predecessor, Thomas Mott Osborne, who had been antagonized by Riley. [See current volume, page 14.]



Rioting at Youngstown.

Private guards hired by the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. at East Youngstown, Ohio, fired into a crowd of men outside of the barricade around the works on January 8, killed two men and wounded 23 persons. A strike had been in progress for about a week against the Republic Iron and Steel Co., and the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., due to refusal of the employers to grant an increase of five and a half cents an hour, which would have made wages 25 cents an hour. Press reports are to the effect that some drunken and disorderly members of the mob got into a brawl with the guards outside of the walls. After firing on the crowd the guards are said to have retreated behind the barrier, while the mob began to loot and burn property in the neighborhood. The Governor was asked by the sheriff to send militia. This was done and order has since prevailed.



Mexico.

Governor Enriquez, of the State of Chihuahua, has promulgated a decree fixing the maximum profits a tradesman may charge, and requiring them to accept paper money on a par with silver.

Wholesalers are permitted a profit of 10 to 25 per cent, according to the class of business and retailers are allowed a profit of 20 to 35 per cent. Grocers have the smallest rate, and drugs the highest. Hotels and restaurants are required to change their prices to conform to the paper money. [See current volume, page 11.]



Admiral Winslow reported to the United States Navy Department on the 10th that 3,000 Mayo Indiana and Villa troops surrendered near Esperanza, Sonora, to the Carranza, General Dieguez.



China.

Rebellion against the new monarchy has broken out in the province of Yunnan, where it is reported 50,000 men have joined the standard of revolt. Disturbances are reported from other points, but the extent of the uprising is not known. [See vol. xviii, p. 1221.]



Sun Fo, a son of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, and a student in the University of California, in an address to the Home Rule in Taxation League of San Francisco, December 22, told the story of the monarchist usurpation in China. He said:

Recent reports of the Chinese situation may cause persons unfamiliar with events in that country to conclude that the Chinese people are unfitted for a republic; that, after four years' trial, a monarchy is better for them; and that the decision for a change, as given out by the Peking government, is unanimous on the part of the people. Nothing is further from the truth. The Republic, under the control of Yuan Shi Kai, never had a fair trial. The monarchist usurpation reflects the ambition and autocratic will of one man. The Chinese people have nothing to do with it.

During the Revolution of 1912, Yuan Shi Kai agreed with the Republicans to persuade the Manchu House to abdicate, and to unify the Republic. He was made the second Provisional President, and soon began to betray his trust by unconstitutional acts. The struggle between democracy and autocracy began about a year later, when Sung Chiao Jen, ex-Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, and leader of the majority party in Parliament, was assassinated in Shanghai. The crime was traced to Peking, and laid at the door of Chao Ping Chun, the Premier of Yuan Shi Kai.

Shortly after, Yuan defied Parliament by signing the Five-Power loan of \$125,000,000 without its sanction. From that time, it was unable to restrain him. Thus supplied with ample funds, Yuan gained control of Parliament, by bribing some of the members. A new party was formed by Yuan, known as the Chinputang, or Progressive party, which opposed the Kuomintang, or Nationalist-Majority party. As a result, only one bill passed Parliament in four months. This was just what Yuan had planned, so as to discredit Parliament, and have an excuse to assume autocratic powers.

After the Revolution in 1913, Yuan accused Par-

liament of attempting to overthrow him, and issued an illegal order expelling 310 Kuomintang members. On January 11, 1914, Yuan formally abolished the Parliament elected by the people; but not until he had forced its members to elect him as the regular President. On the same day that he abolished Parliament, all of the provincial or State legislatures, district and municipal councils were ordered to be abolished. With a stroke of the Usurper's pen, all of the elective bodies of the Republic were destroyed. Since January, 1914, the Chinese Republic has been forced to submit to a dictatorship; Yuan being the Dictator.

Yuan was elected President October 5, 1913, for a term of five years, being eligible for a second term. After he abolished Parliament, he promulgated an illegal constitution on May 1st, 1914. A Council of State was then appointed by him, and empowered to act as the Legislature. He had the presidential election laws changed by that Council, extending his term of office to ten years, with no limitation as to re-election.

Yuan's permanency of office was further secured by providing that in the year of the presidential election, if the Council of State deems it a political necessity, that body, appointed by him, can prolong the President's term of office to another ten years, without the electoral college acting, thus enabling Yuan to be President for life; and that the retiring President shall nominate three candidates, out of which the electoral college shall choose one as his successor. Thus Yuan may nominate three of his sixteen sons, and one of them must succeed him.

Even if there were no movement to create a monarchy in China, the Republic would not be a real Republic under Yuan. Ever since his coup d'etat of 1914, the Republic has been non-existent.

The agitation for a monarchy began last August. The apparent cause was a paper submitted to Yuan by Dr. Goodnow, then his advisor, and now President of Johns Hopkins University, advocating a return to the monarchy. Yuan's proteges formed a society to discuss the form of government. His officials gave it encouragement. Soon after, a second monarchist society was formed by Liang Shi-Yi, Yuan's most trusted lieutenant, to organize all monarchist sympathizers, and to send a combined petition to the Council of State asking for a monarchy, and also to Yuan, requesting him to ascend the throne.

The Council of State sent these petitions to Yuan, and asked him for instructions. In a message to the Council, he declared that the opinion of the Country should be obtained. On October 6th, Yuan issued a mandate calling for the election of a National Convention to be made up of 1,834 members, and to be charged with the duty of deciding the question at issue.

A Peking press correspondent reported that out of a population of 1,250,000 in that city, only a few more than 1,600 votes were cast at this election. This shows that only a few of Yuan's 100,000 officials in Peking voted for him. Assuming the proportion of votes cast throughout China (no official report has been made) to be the same, then out of a population of 400,000,000 Chinese, only 518,000 persons voted. In the first national election that chose the

Parliament in 1913, over 40,000,000 votes were counted. Yuan arbitrarily reduced the number of voters to 518,000, or about one-tenth of one per cent of the population.

This minority election was held only in the provincial and district capital cities. Only persons designated by the local military and civil authorities as qualified were permitted to vote. Each province chose electors, who assembled in the provincial or state capitol, and elected delegates, who constituted the National Convention.

Tson Hwa Sin Pao, a Chinese paper at Shanghai, reports that the election in Nanking was called on one day's notice, and that only twenty-six delegates out of about one hundred were present. The meeting was held at the military governor's residence, and surrounded by armed soldiers and police. The delegates came forward one at a time, and the election officers ordered them to write on their ballots, "I favor a monarchy," and "I publicly elect Yuan Shi Kai as the Great Emperor of the Chung Hwa Empire." In every province the election of the delegates and the voting were held in the same manner.

The United States Government will soon be asked to officially recognize this usurper Yuan and his Empire. The United States was the first among the great powers to recognize the Chinese Republic. Will it approve of the acts of this usurper and traitor, after it has refused recognition to Huerta of Mexico? This is a question for the American people to decide.

At the conclusion of Mr. Sun Fo's address, a resolution was offered by one of the members of the League for Home Rule in Taxation, and adopted, as follows:

Resolved: That we urge President Willson not to recognize the government of the usurping monarch who is attempting to destroy the Chinese Republic and the liberties of its people.



European War.

Increased activity on the part of the Russians in Galicia is the center of interest. The heavy and continuous assaults on the Austrian lines indicate strong forces on the Russian side, and a determination to crowd their opponents out of the province of Bukowina. Exceptionally heavy casualties are reported on both sides, some reports placing the number at 200,000 men for the two armies. Much interest is felt in this movement on account of its supposed effect upon Roumania. Rumors persist that if the Austrians are driven out of Bukowina Roumania will join the Allies. Added interest attaches to this move because it requires the presence of Austro-German troops that had been assigned to other fields. Elsewhere on the eastern front there is comparative quiet, with the exception of a Russian advance toward Kovel. Heavy fighting has occurred on the western front in the Champagne region, and in the Vosges mountains. Small local successes favor the Germans, but no material changes in the lines have been made. [See current volume, page 11.]

Bulgarian forces are reported to have advanced in Albania to within 28 miles of Durazzo, at which point an Italian force is supposed to be. The Austrians are still unable to make further headway in Montenegro; and the promised attack on Saloniki has not taken place. Large German forces have been reported on the Greek frontier, but later rumors are to the effect that these men have been sent to other points, and that if the attack is made at all it will be by the Turks and Bulgarians. The fear of such a move is causing much uneasiness in Greece, which is reported to be inclining more to the side of the Allies.



The last of the British and French forces have been withdrawn from the Gallipoli Peninsula. The removal of the troops on the tip of the Peninsula is said to have been accomplished without loss of life. This closes the immediate efforts of the Allies to force the passage of the Dardanelles, and releases Turkish troops reported to number 200,000. No definite news is to be had of the Tigris River expedition. Rumors credit Turkey with continued preparations, under German guidance, to invade Egypt; and Great Britain is preparing to stop them at the Suez Canal.



No news of moment comes from the Italian front. In Tripoli it is rumored that the Italians are having trouble with the natives. Italy is floating her third war loan. The amount is \$200,000,000, and is said to have been covered by local subscriptions.



Great interest has attached to the British conscription movement. The government's bill, which passed its first reading in the House by a vote of 403 to 105, provides for the compulsory service of bachelors and widowers without dependent children, between the ages of 18 and 41. The bill is the fulfillment of a promise of the Premier to resort to enforced service for unmarried men if they did not voluntarily offer themselves in Lord Derby's recruiting campaign. Six million men have volunteered, and there is hope that the pending bill will not be used. Considerable opposition on the part of labor has been manifested. Ireland is excluded from its operations.



The German armed steamship Kingani on Lake Tanganyika, in Central Africa, surrendered to the British, December 26. The Germans in Kamerun on the west coast of Central Africa have lost their last fortified post, but still have a small army in the field.



Ford Peace Expedition.

The peace expedition, five weeks after leaving New York, crossed Germany from Denmark to

Holland in a sealed train on the 8th. The members report considerate treatment at the hands of German officials. The first meeting in Holland was held in the Zoological Garden, where the auditorium was filled by a large and enthusiastic audience. Part of the American members sailed for home on the 12th, the remainder will leave on the 15th. The members of the peace board will remain at The Hague. [See current volume, page 12.]

NEWS NOTES

—David Lloyd George, Minister of Munitions announces that 2,422 establishments controlled by the government are making shells.

—A wage raise of ten per cent to be effective on February 1 was granted by the United States Steel Corporation January 6 to its common laborers.

—Francis Neilson, singletax member of the British Parliament, will be the guest of the Philadelphia Singletax Society at the annual dinner on January 27.

—An explosion at the du Pont powder works on January 9 at Carney's Point, New Jersey, opposite Wilmington, Delaware, resulted in the death of 30 men.

—Women public school teachers in the District of Columbia may marry without losing their positions, according to a decision on January 6 of Justice Gould of the District Supreme Court.

—The 16th annual meeting of the National Civic Federation will begin at Washington on January 17. On the program for discussion are preparedness, immigration and nationalization of industry.

—Forty-five teachers were awarded a pension of \$100 each by the trustees of the Illinois State Teachers' Pension Fund. This constitutes the first actual disbursement of the pension annuities. Hereafter the payments will be made quarterly.

—The following eight cities in the United States maintain public defenders in the police courts to safeguard the rights of penniless prisoners: Los Angeles, Omaha, Pittsburgh, Houston, Texas; Temple, Texas; Evansville, Indiana, and Portland, Oregon.

—American marines kept in Haiti for police purposes in accordance with the agreement between the two governments, were attacked by rioters at Port au Prince on the fifth. One of the rioters was killed. No Americans were injured. [See vol. xviii, p. 1217.]

—The 25th anniversary of the Brooklyn Woman's Singletax Club will be celebrated with a dinner on January 15 at 6:30 p. m. at the Imperial, 360 Fulton street, Brooklyn. Among the speakers will be Louis F. Post, Mrs. Mary Ware Dennet, Miss Grace Isabel Colburn and Miss Jennie A. Rogers.

—Baby week, which will be the first week in March, according to a report of the Children's Bureau, will be devoted to a nation-wide discussion of the needs of babies. The intention is to give parents such instruction as will lead to a decrease in

the annual death rate of babies, which now amounts to 300,000.

—The required number of signatures to initiative petitions for a vote on state-wide prohibition in California had been obtained on December 31. Two propositions will be submitted, one for partial prohibition to take effect in 1918 and another for total prohibition to take effect in 1920. They will be voted on next November.

—A test of the legal right of the State of Missouri to levy taxes on disfranchised citizens will result from the refusal of Miss Stella Dickey of St. Louis to file a schedule. On January 8 she returned the assessor's blank unfilled except with the words, "no taxation without representation." The assessor has declared that he will bring suit.

—Professor Sylvanus G. Morley of the Carnegie Institute at Washington has figured the age of a Mexican antique stone statue in the United States National Museum. The statue was found near Vera Cruz and is of Mayan origin. The hieroglyphics upon it have not yet been deciphered with the exception of certain marks which have been found to be calendric. Study of these show that the statue was made at the date approximately equivalent to 100 B. C.

—Governor Dunne issued a call on January 7 for a second extra session of the Illinois legislature to meet on January 11. The call asks for changes in the election laws to eliminate two registration days and consolidate elections so as to hold presidential primaries and judicial elections on the same day as the Chicago city election on April 4. Other objects named are to validate a vote taken in Cook County for a \$2,000,000 bond issue for good roads, to make appropriations for foot and mouth disease indemnities, and a number of miscellaneous matters, and to pass an act regulating the sale of hog serum.

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see vol. xviii, p. 1103) for the eleven months ending November, 1915, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for November, 1915, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise.	\$3,191,659,975	\$1,615,586,684	\$1,576,073,291 Expt.
Gold	19,536,633	406,541,913	387,005,280 Impt.
Silver	46,768,019	31,881,063	14,886,956 Expt.

Total \$3,257,964,627 \$2,054,009,660 \$1,203,954,967 Expt.

The exports of merchandise for November, 1915, the sixteenth month of the war, were \$331,144,527, as compared with \$205,878,333 in November, 1914, and \$245,539,042 in 1913. The imports for November, 1915, were \$164,319,169, as compared with \$126,467,062 in November, 1914, and \$148,236,536 in 1913. Both exports and imports of merchandise were larger in November, 1915, than in any other month since the beginning of the war.

PRESS OPINIONS

Bringing Back the Land.

Kansas City Post, Dec. 16.—The efforts of Senators Norris and Chamberlain to restore to the public land worth nearly \$100,000,000 that has been embezzled by railroads is one of the encouraging fea-

tures of Congress so far this session. Wars may come and wars may go, but the economic rights of the people depend almost entirely on access to land. Senator Norris accuses the Union Pacific railroad of embezzling three hundred feet of its right-of-way through Nebraska, Kansas and Colorado. Senator Chamberlain accuses the Central Pacific railroad, of Oregon, of transferring 3,000,000 acres of land in that State to which it had not title. The greater part of the economic pressure exerted on the people at this time is due to the vast amount of land that is held away from use. Ostensible owners have acquired title to vast tracts which do not belong to them. They are holding these without attempting to develop the stores of minerals, timber, oils and other deposits and growths of nature on and under them for the very definite purpose of enhancing the value of that portion of natural resources which they are producing. By not using the remainder they hope to maintain their hold on the people for generations, with values constantly rising. The efforts of the senators should be backed by every right thinking man who believes that economic evils in this country do not exist because the people will not go back to the land, but because the land cannot go back to the people.



The World Also Notes Our Preparationists' Hysteria.

The Star (San Francisco), January 1.—The world holds America in contempt, says Roosevelt. Too bad that President Roosevelt grabbed the Panama territory from Colombia, isn't it? For the world very naturally condemns America for what President Roosevelt did to Colombia.



Easy Money from Easy People.

Successful Farming (Des Moines, Ia.), December.—The State of Texas gave three million acres of land to the Capitol Freehold and Investment Land Company, Limited, of London, England, in payment for the State capitol building. On July 3 this company sold to Frances C. Farwell, Hobart C. Chatfield Taylor and George Findlay 978,055 acres of this land for the sum of \$4,736,000. Who created this value? The Englishmen across the sea? No. The settlers that have gone to those counties have created the value that the Englishmen have put in their pockets. They still have about two-thirds of the original grant of land left which is increasing in value as settlers come in. Well, what of it?

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

CHURCH MILITANT.

By Harrison Morris.

"It is to the permanent interest of true religion that it should not be drawn into the wranglings of politics."—Philadelphia Bulletin.

What worth religion, pious laws
That dare not mingle in the fray

Or turn to battle for a cause
That stirs the very soul to pray?

God made the churches—yes, His will
Lies on their altars plain to read;
God made the race, shall it be still
When it can battle through its creed?

Shall honor, treasure, freedom, life
Be threatened by a crew low-browed,
And God be shrouded from the strife,
Because His pulpit is too proud?

Shall all our rights be trampled down
By lock-step of a convict gang;
And that one Fortress never frown
Which unto Luther's clarion rang?

No, no! This is the day to bring
The hidden Ark forth to the light—
Let priest and choir and organ sing
The civic hymn of human right.

Through street and factory, mart and home
Echo the truth, let it be free;
God hides not in the dim-lit dome;
Throw wide the aisles for liberty.



AN ARMENIAN-AMERICAN.

For The Public.

One now and then objects to hyphenated citizens (which is reasonable), but there must be a moment or two in the life of an immigrant when he is crossing over from old ideals and conditions to those of the Republic.

Down in Fresno, where so many Armenians are at home and are first-rate citizens, is a fellow of my circle who likes Armenians. He pokes around their second-hand furniture shops, looking for old books and oddities; he talks with them about vineyards and gardens; sometimes he goes home to dinner with an Armenian friend, in which case they are quite apt to talk about the wonderful history of those children of Haig and Amais, whose ancient heroes were Aram, Tigranes and Rhupen, and whose mountain land was long ago conquered by Persians, Russians and Turks. The old name of Armenia, it is said, was Haiastan; whenever you meet an Armenian use it, and see how it wakes him up.

The man who told me about more than one of his Armenian friends often spent his evenings in public libraries reading travels and histories—that was how he became so much at home with people from other regions. He really knew and was known by men of all sorts of races, oriental and occidental, such as Berbers, Maoris, Copts, Parsees and Tibetans. He liked them all, and sufficiently so to study the things in which they were interested.

One day this queer fellow who broke bread with every one he knew, whether rich or poor, told

me about his friend, the young Armenian-American bootblack, whose stand was at the east end of a Fresno alley-way.

"First," he said, "I noticed how well he blacked boots, and his cheerful way of doing it. I liked him, and so one day I divided a bunch of violets. Take them to your best girl, I told him. Hope she's from Haig—from your Lake Van country."

"Maybe!" he replied with a contagious grin.

"Then a beggar came along, stood by the stand, boned me for a dime—'Only a dime; I starve.' My bootblack friend shook his head at me with haste and violence.

"'Young man,' I said, 'I hate to slip a dime at you; wait five minutes and you shall eat a two-bit dinner around the corner.'

"'Give me the ten cents instead,' he replied, which I refused, and he departed, hurling an abusive epithet upon me (which did no harm). The bootblack laughed. 'No good, that man; you treat him jus right. He bodder all my eustomers. Some day I beat him good.'

"But aren't you sorry for him?" I said.

"That silly? What for?"

"Because he is so silly and so lazy, and so full of booze.

"That jus what my wife tell me bout such folks."

"You've got a good wife then, I answered.

"'You bet I have! She Haig family too. She work, she laugh; she talk so nice, everybody like her. Take such good care the baby.'

"He pulled a copper cent out of his pocket, and pinched it hard. "That way she hang on to the mon."

"You and she are all right, I told him. And so is the boy—it's a boy, isn't it?"

"'Sure, Mike!' he responded in modern slang—this coming American. Then he went on, the floodgates being up, and told about his parents, his boyhood, Turkish massacres, the coming to this country, his struggles and victories. It was a wonderful story if one could rightly visualize it. He had somehow kept straight, and had won through to a home of his own. That was big and fine. Sons of Americans, with high school or university training, and real luxuries about them every day, very often fail to get as much out of life as had my friend the Fresno bootblack.

"I talked a while with him, paid for the shine and went off. That evening I came past for another shine and brought a gift for the dark-eyed little two-year-old, who was named Nerses, after the greatest of the Armenian patriarchs.

"'You promise me what time you come tomorrow afternoon, get your shoes blacked, then I show you the boy.' So we made a date, and I kept it, of course. I had three or four illustrated books about Armenia in a small satchel, too.

"It was a few minutes after four, and my shoes were as clean and bright as possible. My friend

from the Mt. Ararat region rose, waved his hand to someone in the street, and the next moment a young, demure and pretty Armenian woman with a big, healthy child in her arms turned into the alley and went past. It was Mrs. Bootblack and the black-eyed Nerses. She cast a glance over her shoulder, and the baby waved his hand. The drama was very well staged.

"'Bravo! I said to him, you couldn't have done that better.

"'She told me,' was the unexpected answer, 'that she wanted to look at you. Then she tell me what she think!'

"Meanwhile the young Armenian wife had cast a look of smiling good-will back at me from the end of the alley, the boy had waved a hand, given me a flash of the dark eyes—and they were gone!

"The young Armenian searched my face eagerly, wistfully, to see whether or not he might make another remark. Finally it came out: 'My boy—he American?'

"Of course he is; now give him the best chance you can, especially a really good education.

"The bootblack's eyes flashed fire. 'He American; I American. B'long right here! Sure Mike!' We shook hands on that, and then with a mingling of audacity and diffidence he brought out his Big Idea. Would I go home and have supper with him? His wife had gone home to cook it. She had given him the nod as she went by. (I had passed the examination.) If I would, 'happiness would be theirs forever.' Did I go? Certainly, and gave the small boy an American flag."

CHARLES H. SHINN.



WHEN A NEGRO WANTS A BERTH.

William Pickens in The Crisis.

Mr. Spingarn and I were to speak in Louisville on Sunday, July 5. It was at a great sacrifice of home interests that I could be there at that time. But, notwithstanding that, I had to go at least twenty-four hours earlier because I could not get a berth than I should have had to go if I could have gotten a berth from Birmingham to Louisville. And so, going up, I left Birmingham on Friday and reached Nashville by night and stopped with friends in the city until Saturday. This made me lose twenty-four hours from very pressing work at home—the cost of discrimination.

From Nashville I went to Louisville on Saturday and as soon as I reached Louisville I began to plan how I could get a berth back to Birmingham, leaving Louisville Sunday night after speaking Sunday afternoon. I knew that it would be dangerous for me to sit up all night going back after standing on my feet and lecturing for several hours in Louisville (two engagements Sunday, P. M.), and I knew, too, that I must be back home on Monday for business reasons.

Sunday morning, as soon as I had eaten break-

fast, I started on the quest for Pullman accommodations, which quest, as you will see, lasted until after 9:40 that night.

First the secretary of the colored Y. M. C. A. and I went to the 10th St. Station and bought my railroad ticket. Then we went back to the Y. M. C. A. headquarters and summoned a messenger from the Western Union. We instructed the messenger to take my railway ticket to the station and purchase a Pullman ticket to Birmingham "for party," not giving name or color.

The boy came back empty handed, saying that they did not sell Pullman tickets in the station any more and that they must be gotten by the "party" as party got on the train. We suspected that perhaps the boy had struck the same agent who had just sold me the railway ticket.

We were baffled but not yet beaten: we formed several new plans, one of which was to send a "white Negro" for the ticket; another was to send another messenger boy later in the evening when that agent was off duty; and another was to look up the assistant passenger agent of the L. & N. Railroad, with whom the Y. M. C. A. secretary is acquainted.

Meanwhile, I had missed morning church services and Sunday school, in this Pullman ticket quest, and it was getting to be time for the afternoon mass meeting when Mr. Spingarn and I were to speak. I had spent all of Sunday morning with all the ingenuity I could summon, in efforts to cheat the prejudice of the white people out of the privilege of buying this plain necessity of travel.

As I sat waiting my turn to speak and seeing Mr. Spingarn delivering his great anti-segregation address with the light of battle in his eyes, a new idea and inspiration came to me. I said, "I will get this true man's assistance in my present struggle for a sleeping-car berth."

After meeting I laid the matter before him. We immediately set out for the station. Mr. Spingarn went in; I stepped outside on the corner, so as not to lend too much "color" to the situation. He came out with the same report, that Pullman tickets must be bought on the car from the Pullman conductor.

We knew that if a black man went to buy a Pullman ticket on the train the stereotyped lie would be told him—"all space is taken"—even though, as in my case, he had previously made a reservation by telephone. For early in the day I had taken the precaution to order over the telephone "lower number six for William Pickens." They could not tell the color of my voice so they made the reservation quite politely.

So it seemed that the battle was to be lost. Most men would have given up the fight at this stage but not Spingarn. He said, "I will go to my hotel and send through them for that ticket, and if they fail, look for me here at the depot twenty

minutes before the train leaves." They failed. I learned this from the hotel over the telephone.

At 9:20, therefore, with two other "conspirators," the Y. M. C. A. secretary and the colored pastor of the First Congregational Church, I entered the depot to await the appearance of our energetic confederate, Joe E. Spingarn. He was the most determined man I ever saw. With the fire of desperate battle on his countenance, he said, "There is just one way left—the great American proxy; you have your suitcase, hand me your ticket and follow me."

We passed the gateman, he said not a word to me: he saw me bearing a white man's burden as he thought. We went straight to the Pullman conductor: "Lower number six for William Pickens," said Spingarn. The conductor and porter politely admitted us—heeding not me, the burden bearer.

Inside my fellow conspirator handed me the tickets, chuckled a mixture of triumph and indignation and left the car. Certain passengers noticed and interpreted these last movements, as I observed. My berth was ready, so I retired. When the train was moving on the conductor, having been enlightened by these observers, pulled aside the curtains of my berth and with his diagram in his hand and insolence in his voice demanded: "What is your name?"

"William Pickens," said I, placidly.

"Well, you ain't the one that asked for this reservation at the door."

"No," said I, "but I *am* the one for whom it was asked, and I am the one who made the reservation over the telephone." This silenced him. He accepted my two dollars and fifty cents; I drew my curtains to and slept until seven A. M., within one hour and a half of Birmingham.

By my fellow passengers I was eyed in that strange mysterious way, peculiar to Americans, as if a Negro was the rarest sight on this continent—but I was not accosted. I learned from the porter that they had gallantly informed the conductor of my intrusion, soon after Mr. Spingarn left, and that they had asked the porter how I could be put out. Being informed that I had the best of the game and that this was impracticable, they quieted down and discussed the "race question" in their various corners.

The berth cost me: a messenger's fee, thirteen hours of work, worry and strategy, my attendance at morning church services, part of my dinner, part of my time for evening address, the assistance of at least six other persons, three trips to the station, and *the regular fares*.

And yet they say that "Jim-Crowism" is no burden to the black man.



So long as society is founded on injustice the function of the laws will be to defend and sustain injustice. And the more unjust they are, the more respectable they will seem.—Anatole France.

BOOKS

TWO VIEWS OF A GREAT BOOK.

How Diplomats Make War. By a British Statesman.

Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York City. Price, \$1.50 net.

One View.

This is an astonishing book about the war. Men have been hung, drawn and quartered for less. And when the war has been the means of producing such nauseating gossip as that which Graves gives, or such wearisome newspaper strategy as Belloc hands out, it is good to have something straight from the shoulder. For here Makanna is unveiled, and there is revealed, in place of the silver statue of a just war, an ugly picture of munition rings, of pussy-footed diplomats, of secret national understandings, and plain unvarnished lies from the duly appointed Pooh-Bahs, bolstered up with manufactured martial sentiment and Jingoistic ravings, with the final result that millions are marched to bleed and die, innocent millions are hungered and bereaved, and the future of the country is marred for a generation.

Not that the author is pro-German, or pro-anything. He is too fair for that. He deals with no other side than that he knows. He simply shows that in democratic England the common people have been tricked into a war because the diplomats have muddled themselves into a tight place, and, in the correspondence preceding the war, were caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. Then there was an attempt at bluff which failed, and—hell broke loose.

The whole book leads one to believe that, in a way of speaking, nations have not advanced one step beyond the schoolboy age when Tom, Dick and Harry banded themselves in a friendship—not amity—but a friendship against Bill, Joe and Sam. Then, to prove it, Tom stepped on Bill's toe, just to see whether or not Dick would back him up, and meanwhile, Harry, Joe and Sam had secretly gathered a pile of rocks that they were anxious to use. But Lord help the neighbors' windows! Yet such is diplomacy and preparedness.

As the author says (page 60): "What is the good of diplomacy? What is the good of treaties, old or new, if distrust is to be the result of all effort at neutralization and the making of friendship? There is nothing quite so preposterous in the annals of foreign affairs as the arming of Belgium, this neutral state, against a nation which has guaranteed her neutrality. Does it not prove that the moral value of a treaty depends upon the weight of armament behind it?" Treaties are to blame for the desolation of Belgium, and treaties or alliances, or ententes, or engagements or what-

ever diplomatists call them, that have been the cause of all the dreadful havoc, are those which united France and Russia, and united Britain and France. These engagements have been feared from the first by men who looked beyond the point of their noses. The policy of the British Foreign Office, ever since secret arrangements were entered into with the French and Spanish governments in 1904, has been the most sinister menace to the peace of Europe.

But this short notice will give no adequate idea of the value of the book. It is a stirring story of the rotten result of a sinister, lying, bluffing diplomacy that despoiled the continent. And the final chapter, that makes a tremendous appeal for frankness and true democracy, is a notable one. But, after all, it only unconsciously restates what the author of Progress and Poverty has said—that with the trade boundaries abolished, national jealousies must cease, when with the brotherhood of man that must follow, the everlasting unarmed peace shall be established.

CHAS. J. FINGER.



Another View.

The other day I received a book, on the fly leaf of which was written New Year good wishes over the German name of the sender. I never saw the sender, but I love him, understand him. Does he not advance the chain, pure democracy, by which I myself am willingly bound?

The book was "How Diplomats Make War." The publisher has a German name, Huebsch. There was no author's name, but an introduction by Albert Jay Nock. I sat right down to read. I receive George Lansbury's Herald and the paper of the English Independent Labor Party, besides the London Weekly Times. So I was not afraid. Besides, Nock had earnestly said that every American should read this book, and gave reasons.

The book starts about 1904, and deals with treaties between European nations, armament expenditures of European nations, and the recorded statements made about these, and the status quo from year to year in Parliament, and in letters and the press by English statesmen, diplomats and public men. I read along all right, but it was not easy sledding.

Then I got to the year 1911, a little over half way through the book. I caved; I yelled "OUCH"; I stood up in my den and laid the book down. Then I declared to my audience—I was alone—that now at last I did believe the Times did not lie, and that Prussia was the subtlest of all in gaining favorable opinion for its cause. Why public Englishmen were herein exhibited as either dupes or knaves, and certainly cowards, by their own tongues. The nothing said about Germany made Germany look radiantly white beside them.

Now to stand up in my den is to see Louis

Tie-to Post, Tom Johnson, Herbert Bigelow, Ernest Crosby, with Henry George in their midst. The mere arrangement is so clever that you have to go on, and then you see John Z. White, my Trinity, Berens, Kiefer and Fels, and then others of the chain gang. Somehow as I stood there my "OUCH" would not stay hitched. This author was not talking about England or Germany save incidentally. He was proving how diplomats make war. To believe in justice, to understand—to love—natural laws, to desire the advancement of pure democracy is not to stop trying to know if diplomats do start war. And how they work for privilege, and either consciously or unconsciously against the producers, whose interests yield no fame of the kind that counts, when you dress for dinner without thinking, and yield no money but just a salary. This unknown author was surely making English statesmen and diplomats, by recorded sayings and writings, show how this horrid blasphemy in Europe resulted from the secret work of Foreign Offices. I finished the book.

Now I am going to thank the giver with sincerity, forgetting the conventional things about enjoyment. In the future, when land values shall enrich their producers alone, and pure democracy shall make all humans aristocrats—the best owing to freedom of opportunity to produce, live and enjoy—there will still be advertising. In this fair future when a service has a peculiar virtue the consumers of it alone will say so, out loud where it will count. I am trying to use the advertising of the glorious future. If dwellers upon the American continent who believe in justice and freedom desire to ward off a repetition of this European blasphemy; if Americans, horrified at our near approach to the Armament monopolistic race, would avert this vast outlay of wealth and energy for the devil's cause, then let them buy and read "How Diplomats Make War." Be the author German or English, he will serve them to an intelligent comprehension of how Foreign Offices make war—largely by the use of the recorded words of English public men. Better still, he will give them a weapon with which to meet the many deluded but virtuous exponents of defending our sacred hearths by explosives and drunken courage, rather than by justice and strict adherence to contract when made.

G. HUGHES.

In general the act of government consists in taking as much money as possible from one part of the citizens to give it to another.—Voltaire.

Now, boys, this is my lesson to you today. You cannot be as good as your fathers unless you are better. . . . We have invented a telegraph, but what of that? I expect, if I live forty years, to see a telegraph that will send messages without wire, both ways at the same time. If you do not invent it, you are not so good as we are.—Wendell Phillips.

PERIODICALS

Economic Facts.

A weekly service to newspapers entitled "Winks and Sights at Economic Facts" has been started by Judson Grenell of the Detroit Journal. The charge for the service is one dollar a week, and supplies the editors with a dozen ready made, thoughtful and splendidly written editorials on matters in which the public is interested. An assortment of short paragraphs are also furnished. The paper using the service is sure to have an interesting editorial page presenting the democratic point of view.

S. D.

"Dead men tell no tales," observed the Sage. "Maybe not," replied the Fool. "But their tombstones are awful liars."—San Francisco Star.

A clergyman tells the following tale. One day he noticed a woman whom he much disliked coming up his front steps. Taking refuge in his study, he left his wife to entertain the caller. Half an hour later he emerged from his retreat, listened carefully on the landing, and, hearing nothing below, called down to his wife, "Has that horrible old bore gone?"

The objectionable woman was still in the drawing room, but the minister's wife proved equal to the occasion.

"Yes, dear," she called back, "she went long ago! Mrs. Parker is here now."—New York Times.

A Flying Start

On Christmas eve seven or eight hundred letters were mailed to as many friends of The Public, asking them to help us get more new subscriptions the first week of 1916 than had been received the first week of any other year since The Public was founded in 1898.

Six hundred and eighty-eight new subscriptions were received as the result of that letter—not quite as many as we aimed at, but more than enough to establish a New Year's record.

With this advantageous flying start, we must drive the circulation of The Public (which lost a little last year) to a point higher than it has ever been. Everything is in our favor: The Public will be used extensively as a big gun in the Anti-preparedness campaign, and the Presidential election will create an interest which we can capitalize.

Our Circulation Department is grateful for the help given it last year by so many friends in the face of much discouragement, and we will surely show our appreciation by seeing that they and new workers are not allowed to rust in 1916.

STANLEY BOWMAR, Mgr.