

# The Public

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a Weekly Narrative of History in the Making.

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## EDITORIAL

### National Confessions of Guilt.

Every time the officials of a belligerent country suppress anti-war propaganda there is implied an admission that the arguments against participating in the war are irrefutable, and that the war is indefensible.

S. D.



### Something Should Be Done About It.

For the sake of the nervous old gentlemen in the United States Senate, drastic measures should be taken to suppress the reckless newspaper correspondents along the Mexican border. During three slowly dragging hours a declaration of war hung in the balance while the members waited with bated breath confirmation of the report that Mexican bandits had captured a detachment of United States cavalry. No men, not even United States Senators, should be subjected to this strain. Some day a thoughtless page will step on a parlor match and throw half the Senate into a state of nervous prostration. Let the correspondents have a heart.

S. C.



### Playing With Human Life.

It may seem to some a far cry to say that thousands of American lives are dependent upon the national election next November; but such is the case. Nothing in American politics has ever been clearer than that the Mexican trouble is being handled with a view to its political effect on the coming election. Notwithstanding that the worst of the trouble is over, and that we are arriving at a settlement, and in spite of the fact that there is now less occasion for trouble with our sister republic than at any time during the last three years, men in Congress frankly state that another massacre will be met with a declaration of war. During the first two years of the Administration opponents of President Wilson permitted him to carry out his policy; but now that the election draws near, and it is necessary for the Outs to

have campaign material with which to overthrow the Ins, politicians will hesitate at nothing in order to make political capital—not even a declaration of war upon exhausted Mexico. S. C.



### Our Superior Strategists.

Neither the Allies nor the Central Powers seem to possess a military genius equal to our own General Leonard Wood. General Wood has told the Senate committee that it is easier to attack a country by crossing the sea than to do so by land. It is fortunate for Turkey and unfortunate for Great Britain that General Wood was not in command of the recent Gallipoli expedition, or that he is not now directing an attack upon the German or Belgian coast. It is fortunate for Great Britain and unfortunate for the Central Powers that he is not in command of the German army, since he knows an easy way by which Great Britain may long ago have been successfully invaded. Is it any wonder that jingoism runs rampant, when we have this extraordinary genius for warfare wasting on the peaceful air?

S. D.



### One Sided Testimony.

If open-minded Americans who are accustomed to the extreme bias of American politicians and partizans when testifying as to the shortcomings of their opponents, and who appreciate the fact that nine-tenths of the charges are made purely for political purposes, will use the same caution in reading the testimony of American correspondents in Mexico, it will save them from becoming parties to a great wrong to a helpless people. Not only are Mexican leaders struggling for political control of that country, but the effort is marked by the bitterness of war, and the impatience of a volatile nature. Articles by Mark S. Watson, appearing in a syndicate of American newspapers, are so strongly tinctured with this bias that it discredits whatever of truth there may be in them. Mr. Watson was sent to Mexico by newspapers that have been hostile to President Wilson's policy, and that have constantly urged American intervention. He may not have been told to fortify his employers' position, and his bias may be unconscious; but had he been commanded to make out a case for intervention he could not have chosen a better course than he has. He found a poor and partially civilized country devastated by a cruel civil war, with all its attendant evil results. But he has chosen to weigh conditions from the viewpoint of the fifteen per cent of the rich and comparatively well-to-do,

rather than that of the eighty-five per cent of peons.



In an effort to prove that Americans have had no part in the spoliation of the Mexican people, Mr. Watson quotes upper-class Mexicans to the effect that American employers are spoiling the peons by treating them too well. His informant says:

Understand in the beginning that the Mexican peon is not an American or a European. He is a born thief, and a beggar, and a liar, and a murderer, and a pig. There is an old Spanish proverb to the effect that one button is enough for a sample. You need not examine every one of the 85 per cent of whom President Wilson speaks. Don Porfirio was a splendid exception, the one great man the whole Mexican Indian race has produced in our time. . . . He knew how to treat his people—to thrust them down, to rule them with an iron hand, and keep them subdued until slow education should fit them for government.

That may be taken as the common thought of the ruling class. It expresses their idea of political economy, sociology, and politics. And the condition of the country shows the result of the application of such principles. The peon is a born thief, beggar, liar, murderer, and pig. And his whole class must be held down with an iron hand until "slow education should fit them for government." Imagine the ages that would pass before the "slow education" meted out by the privileged class would filter through to their level.



The fault of the American in Mexico is not that he has treated the peons harshly, for in all probability he has been kinder than native employers; but that he has identified himself with the ruling class. He has schemed for and secured rich concessions from the government of the "iron hand." And when the break came he found himself on the side of the privileged class. Siding with the strong government class, and accepting the philosophy that the peon is a born thief, beggar, liar, murderer, and pig, it is not at all surprising that when this oppressed class secured the upper hand it showed a natural resentment; and since it knew no Americans except those it had seen allied with its oppressors, the same estimation was extended to our whole country. The peon class has good reason to fear that if the United States takes part in restoring order in Mexico, it will mean a restoration to power of the ruling class with whom the resident Americans have been allied. Since the correction of the policy of spoliation practiced throughout the rule of Porfirio Diaz involves the restoration to the

public domain of a vast area of agricultural and mineral lands, it is inevitable that Americans and other foreigners who profited by the policy will suffer. The course of this government will be controlled by public opinion; hence, it is for every American to determine for himself whether he wishes the peon to remain a peon indefinitely, or whether he is willing to see him freed from the oppressive laws and customs that deny him any share in the progress of the world. s. c.



### What President Wilson Should Answer.

Since President Wilson is about to tour the country in behalf of his preparedness plans, it is desirable that he give the public exact information on the following matters:

1. With what nation or nations does he think there is danger of war?
2. What cause of war exists with it or them?
3. If the cause is due to some fault of ours, why does he not urge its immediate removal? If it is the fault of the other side, why not publicly urge its submission to arbitration, if other peaceful means of adjustment seem hopeless. Or why not insist at once on calling a conference to discuss the matter instead of waiting for the end of the war to call one.
4. If he has no reason to believe that there is danger of war with any nation that he can name, what makes him afraid?

To argue for preparedness, while leaving these questions unanswered, or only partly answered, is to argue from unproven premises. Such an argument can demonstrate nothing. s. d.



### The Jingo's Contradictory Claims.

In view of the Jingo's contention that the army and navy are too small for defense, what logic is there in their criticism of President Wilson's refusal to involve the nation in war with Germany or Mexico? Or, if this criticism of Wilson's policy of sending notes, instead of waging war, be sound, why contradict it by the claim that lack of ships and soldiers prevent us from waging war? And, if a bigger army and navy are to ensure peace, why bewail the fact that we lacked them to avenge the Lusitania, or to stop Great Britain's rifling of the mails and interference with trade, or to force Mexicans to submit to American exploiters? If peace is desirable, there is nothing to regret in a policy that keeps us out of war, or in lack of means to get into it. If peace is not desirable, then we want no insurance against war, and the Jingo's should be candid enough to say so.

s. d.

### Militarism's Logical Conclusion.

An argument advanced by the Chicago Tribune on January 21 justifies every possible outrage that any warring country has inflicted or may inflict on neutrals. It is a refreshingly frank confession of the militarist position. Referring to the protest of the King of Greece against being drawn into the war the Tribune says:

The right of a fringe of Europe to keep itself out of the disaster which has overtaken the major part of the continent is dubious. The most highly civilized section of the world is in agony and distress. The agony is so great, the need so tremendous, that scrupulous regard for the precise rights, for the happiness and comforts of folk who have not thus far been drawn into the disaster, is not to be consulted at all.

Otherwise it would be like a steam roller considering that a snail was in its path, and for that reason either stopping in its progress or trying to go over a ditch. Europe is in a cataclysm trying to readjust itself. Small and favored parts of Europe, such as are contained in Scandinavia, Holland, Switzerland, etc., have escaped disaster, but that is merely their good fortune.

The right of any people to be immune in this struggle is not distinct. Too much of the whole fortune of the human race is being tested. Principles of fairness and humanity have ceased for the time to exist and control. Need commands. It must be obeyed.

But what applies to Greece also applies to Belgium. The mistake of the Germans in Belgium was not the disregard of the treaty, but the sophistry regarding the disregard; not the traversing and use of the country, but the application of harsh military rules to an outraged nation. Otherwise Greece and Belgium are one and the same.



So, according to the Tribune, neutrals have no rights which belligerents are bound to respect. Its argument implies that there was no more reason why the helpless passengers on the Lusitania should have been spared, than there would be for a steam roller to turn out of the path of a snail. It implies that there is no good reason why Great Britain should be asked to refrain from holding up American mail or interfering with American trade. It implies that Mexicans do right who capture and shoot Americans. But it is to be noted that whenever any report, true or false, came to hand of harm or injustice to Americans, The Tribune forgot to say that the right of a people to be immune is not distinct. It did not declare "principles of fairness and humanity have ceased for the time to exist and control." On the contrary. It is even now denouncing President Wilson—not for standing for rights which it alleges to be non-existent—but because he has not gone to the extreme of using violence in their de-

fense. However, reason and consistency need not be looked for in a militarist organ. In declaring that the right is "dubious" of one nation to remain sane when the rest of the world is crazy, it has proclaimed the logical conclusion of militarism.

S. D.



### Inconsistent Preparationists.

That two prominent men of Washington, one an ex-Secretary of the Navy and the other a brother-in-law of the Russian ambassador, attending a luncheon given in the interests of preparedness, should engage in a fist fight on the street before a leading club, shows again the inconsistency of these preparationists. Had these men followed their own advice they would have been armed, and would have been able to show their prowess before friends could interfere. Suppose this quick tempered former cabinet official were entrusted with an invincible navy!

S. C.



### Roosevelt's Poor Opinion of the United States.

Said Theodore Roosevelt at Philadelphia at the so-called "Americanization" meeting on January 20:

I'm a good straight democrat and don't intend to hire anyone else to do my fighting for me. I don't ask anyone to volunteer to do his duty any more than I ask him to volunteer to pay his taxes.

When taxes are due we tell a man to come pay them. It ought to be the same when the country is at stake. I don't regard property as any more sacred than human life.

But we frequently tell a man to come and pay taxes, when he would be justified in refusing to pay them or in evading payment. When a man has paid for the benefits received from government he owes it nothing more. Whether he pays directly in taxes to the government or in rent to a landlord, the debt is morally cancelled with the payment. The government has no right to compel him to give more. Should it be in danger, the question of going to its defense should be for individuals to decide for themselves. Presumably every citizen knows what overthrow of the government would cost him. If he prefers the risk of paying that price to going to its defense, he is entitled to his choice. There will be few citizens of that kind where the government has proven its worth. To advocate compulsory service is to admit that reasons for refusal to volunteer are sound and irrefutable. The more violently Colonel Roosevelt demands compulsory service, the more emphatically does he proclaim that the government has not made to most citizens a very good showing of its worth.

S. D.

### Government Munition Plants.

The impressive silence on the part of preparationists, when confronted with the proposal that preparedness be divorced from private gain, by establishing government munition plants, has been broken by Mr. Roosevelt, who declared in his Philadelphia speech for "governmental encouragement and control of munition plants." The doughty Colonel is delightfully indefinite. Like Uncle Remus' Bre'r Rabbit when he approached Miss Cow, "He's gettin' close—but he ain't gettin' too close."

S. C.



### Tavener Strikes a Hard Blow.

In addition to urging establishment of a government munitions plant, Congressman Tavener of Illinois has subjected his preparationist colleagues to further embarrassment by introducing a resolution for investigation of expenditures on the army and navy. The resolution is embarrassing because the investigation, if properly carried out, must show either criminal waste of the vast sums heretofore appropriated for the army and navy, or the utter falsity of preparationist claims that we are "not prepared." It will strike either interests very friendly to preparationist agitation, or the preparationist propaganda itself. It may strike both. And every preparationist move to delay or prevent passage of the resolution, or to change its form, will be an admission of desire to conceal damaging facts from the public.

S. D.



### Honored by the Enemy.

For the second time in his career Professor Edward W. Bemis has been honored by dismissal from an important position, where his presence proved disagreeable to privileged business. In 1894 he was dismissed from the University of Chicago, at that time—but now no longer—under Rockefeller influence. His economic teachings had not been altogether favorable to private monopolies. Moreover, he had stated in speaking about the railroad strike of that year that the railroads could not come into court with clean hands. In those days such a statement was considered sacrilegious. On January 21, 1916, he was dismissed by Mayor Thompson of Chicago from his position on the city traction board. It is not surprising. He had held a similar position in Cleveland when Tom L. Johnson was Mayor. Johnson knew him to be competent and faithful. That meant that he would not sacrifice the public interest to please monopolistic corporations. How could such a man be satisfactory to the public

service monopolies of Chicago? And being unsatisfactory to them, how could Mayor William Hale Thompson be reasonably expected to retain him? Bemis deserves honor for the enemies he has made.

S. D.



### The Vice Commission's Report.

The report of the Illinois Vice Commission, headed by Lieutenant Governor O'Hara, places the principal blame for vice on low wages. That is a very old story and so obviously true that no expensive official investigation was needed to secure the information. In addition, the Commission reports another old story, but not so true a one. It places the blame for low wages on employers. Employers are no more responsible for low wages than are other citizens. Wages must be low as long as the number of willing workers exceeds the number of opportunities open. The average employer can not pay more than the market rate. Minimum wage laws must prove inefficient.



The Vice Commission might have made more useful recommendations had it studied the recent report of the Michigan Minimum Wage Commission. That report shows that artificial barriers make wages less than the entire product of labor; that employers as well as employees suffer from economic maladjustment, and that the remedy is to make it "possible for labor to employ itself and thereby give to industry and enterprise an opportunity to reap its full fruits." This Commission further urges the opening to labor of idle acres because then "the wage limit would tend to become what the worker could earn by working for himself," and then there will be "less necessity for minimum wage laws." The Michigan report is clearly the result of fundamental research. The Illinois Commission did not look beneath the surface. The result is that in Michigan a report was turned in containing recommendations which, in time, will prove to be correct. The Illinois report will turn out to be but another bit of utterly useless work.

S. D.



### Taxing Expatriates.

Senator Kenyon of Iowa has introduced a bill levying a heavy income tax on American expatriates. These incomes are mostly if not entirely unearned, consisting of ground rent in some form. The taxation of such incomes is not unjust. But there is no reason for distinguishing between unearned incomes drawn by American-Britons, American-Russians, American-Germans, and other

American-Europeans, and similar incomes drawn by resident citizens of the United States. Economically and morally there is no difference between the income drawn by Vincent Astor of New York City and that drawn by Baron Astor of Hever Castle, England. Both live by appropriating wealth which rightfully belongs to the people of New York. There is no reason for discrimination between them. Senator Kenyon's bill should be amended to apply to the rental value of all land, regardless of improvements, no matter by whom owned. That would return to the people what has been unjustly taken from them by residents, as well as what has been taken by expatriates. To such an amendment Senator Kenyon ought to agree.

S. D.



### Arizona Voters' Responsibility.

In explanation of the copper mining strike situation in Arizona, the Labor Clarion of San Francisco in its issue of December 17 puts the blame on absentee ownership. It says that the majority of stock is owned by capitalists in Scotland, who prefer keeping the mines idle to paying the heavy income tax caused by the war. "As a result," the Clarion says, "5,000 American miners are subjected to idleness and their families to misery." While all this may be true, the responsibility for such conditions rests, nevertheless, with the State of Arizona. These Scotch capitalists could not hold the mining lands out of use if the State were to tax land values properly. If that were done the owners would lose much more by keeping the mines closed than they would save through evasion of the British income tax. It is the plain duty of Arizona workers to use their political rights, so that valuable lands can not be withheld from use while there are unemployed men willing to use them.

S. D.



### Uncertain Taxes.

While it is true that taxes laid upon labor products are ultimately transferred to the consumer, it occasionally works an undesigned hardship in the meantime. Attention is called to the working of Schedule "B" of the Emergency War Revenue Act, which places a small stamp tax on perfumery, dentifrices, cold creams, etc. A tax of one-eighth of a cent on a 5-cent article is too small to warrant the addition of one cent to the selling price, and so is borne by the manufacturer. The result, according to A. M. Spiehler, President of The Manufacturing Perfumers' Association of the United States, is that the assumption of the stamp tax by the maker means a tax of 5 per cent on the

whole series of 5, 10, and 15-cent articles, and makes a serious inroad into his net earnings. If the tax were made permanent it could be met by cutting down the size of the package; but since it is put forth as an emergency tax, manufacturers hesitate to make the change. Should the change be made, and the tax be removed later, the consumer will continue to pay the tax in the shape of a smaller package for a long time. Taxes on labor products are evil in their effect, however levied, and by whomever paid. s. c.



### A Golden Opportunity.

New Orleans is contemplating the digging of a ship canal from the Mississippi River to Lake Pontchartrain, with a great land-locked harbor, and sites for warehouses and factories. The expense is to be met by an issue of bonds based on the general tax. Of the incidence of this work L. V. Cooley, one of the best known Mississippi steamboatmen, writes:

This will enrich the land owner without any effort on his part. I think the city should buy up all the land for 1,000 feet on each side of the route selected before starting the work. The leasing of this land for factory sites, warehouses, and other uses would soon pay the cost of the canal.

Will the city take advantage of this opportunity? Will it enrich itself with a canal that will shorten the route to the Gulf, and in other ways be of great service, without the payment of a dollar? Probably not. If the leading men and women of the city conduct this enterprise in the "good old way," they will issue a lot of bonds, construct the canal, and pay the bonds out of a tax on the property of the city. The building of the canal will be of great service; but no one will be able to derive benefit from it unless he is near it, and those who are nearest will derive the most benefit. No one, however, can use it, without occupying land; and since the land is now in private possession, the competition of would-be users will force up the price of the land until it absorbs all the benefit of the improvement.



The just and scientific way to pay for this improvement is the plan adopted for irrigation works in California, and for the reclamation of arid lands by the Federal Government; that is, by assessing the cost of the work upon the lands benefited, according to the amount of the benefit received. But if this be too much of a departure from the good old way, recourse can be had to the Massachusetts plan of excess condemnation. This allows the municipality to condemn and take pos-

session not only of the land immediately necessary for the improvement, but of additional land that will be increased in value by the improvement; and this rise in value of the land may be thus turned into the public treasury. To adopt the suggestion of Mr. Cooley will deprive no citizen of what he has created, but it will enrich the city. To pay for the canal with taxes means to burden industry. And when the work has been completed the merchants and manufacturers will have to pay to the owners of the land bordering the canal all that it is worth to do business there. Has New Orleans the spirit and the wisdom to keep for its own people the values that its own people have created? s. c.



### Professor Commons and the Manly Report.

The Survey in its issue of January 1 comes to the defense of Professor John R. Commons. It explains that he rejected the Manly report of the Commission on Industrial Relations because it "lacks first a philosophy, and, second, a constructive plan of action." This is news to those who have read it. The fact is that the Manly report made certain definite recommendations. It suggested certain legislation, some of a superficial character, but much of it fundamental. The latter suggestions at least look constructive to a large class of readers, including a number of university professors, students, and graduates. And they are based on a philosophy with which any professor of political economy may be presumed to be familiar. If neither the philosophy nor constructive nature satisfied Professor Commons, he owed it to the public to explain in his report. This he did not do. Perhaps it would have been awkward, for he might have been compelled to repudiate his own works publicly.



In an article by Emil O. Jorgenson, on page 929 of *The Public* of the past year, quotations are cited from Professor Commons' work on "The Distribution of Wealth," which are exactly in accord with the reasoning and recommendations of the Manly report. Therein Professor Commons found the laws unjust "which reduce the earth and all the opportunities for livelihood to the private possession of one-third of the race." He found that "the so-called conflict between Capital and Labor is at bottom a conflict between Capital and Labor on the one hand and the owners of opportunities on the other." And he suggested the following remedy:

Tax reforms should seek to remove all burdens from capital and labor and impose them on monop-

lies. Public policy should leave capital and labor and business ability free and untrammelled, but endeavor to widen and enlarge the opportunities for their employment.

This conveys practically the same constructive suggestions and the same philosophical reasoning as in the Manly report.



While philosophy and constructive plans are apparent in the Manly report, both seem to be lacking in the Commons report. The principle feature of that report is a recommendation for creation of a permanent commission to exercise a despotic control over industry. It throws aside the principles of political economy, of human rights, and of democracy in industry. In disregard of all experience, it insists on a wider application of a principle already shown by lesser applications to be fallacious and harmful. We have had for nearly 30 years a commission to regulate the railroads, but the railroad question remains unsettled. The State public service commissions have had no better success. We have had other commissions to deal with other problems. That they have failed is no reflection on their members. Any effort to abolish an evil must fail, if power be not given to do away with the cause. Professor Commons has ignored this fact, and practically all other economic facts, besides ignoring the teachings of his own books. And The Survey says he objected to the Manly report on account of its alleged lack of philosophy and a constructive plan of action!

S. D.



### Henry L. Bliss.

Henry L. Bliss died in Chicago January 21st. Poor health had been his portion for some time past, and his closing days were clouded by loss of sight. Mr. Bliss was a paperhanger by trade, but he was known to a wide circle of readers as a statistician. He was a frequent contributor to the press, and during the free silver agitation he wrote a book answering "Coin's Financial School." It was as a newspaper controversialist, however, that he distinguished himself. No one, from the Superintendent of the United States Census down to the densest protectionist, was immune from his criticism; and it was rare indeed that he failed to make his point. Mr. Bliss was a fundamental democrat, and devoted all his spare energies to the propagation of Free Trade and Singletax. s. c.



Why should any profess the ideas of Jesus, if it is not possible to carry them right through life and politics?—Walter Walsh.

### Father Thomas E. Cox.

There died in Chicago last week a clergyman of the Catholic Church, known, honored, and loved by myriads of friends of many diverse faiths, of diverse nationalities, and of very diverse social and political groupings. To most of those readers of The Public who are believers in the economic and political theories of Henry George—to all the Chicago Singletaxers, certainly—the name of Father Thomas E. Cox will not be unfamiliar, despite the modest and self-effacing spirit in which he carried on for the twenty-six years that he was a faithful, devoted, and indefatigable priest, the good works which so fitted his calling and his nature. For Father Cox was an early convert to "the gospel of economic freedom." In dark days, as in pleasant ones, for Catholic Singletaxers, he was an outspoken and ardent defender of the rights of all men to the use of natural opportunities and of the effectiveness, justice, and expediency of the means that Henry George had pointed out for their attainment. One of his latest appearances outside the immediate work of his parish was to preside at an evening meeting of the Singletaxers of Chicago, at which the Protestant Bishop of Michigan was the chief speaker. Very shortly before his death he arranged a meeting for his parishioners under the auspices of one of the parish societies and invited an advocate of the Singletax to address it, saying that he felt it his duty to his people to have explained to them the great economic truths which would tend to abolish poverty and destroy those yawning gulfs which divide men into classes in our social organization. But perhaps some of those who knew him as a co-worker in the cause of economic emancipation and knew also of his enthusiasm in the struggle against intemperance which led him into close relationship in the Total Abstinence movement with many not of his own church or of his own political party, do not know the extent to which devotion to the "faith" led him to the championship of causes in which he believed he added the "good works" of indefatigable labor for the poor, the weak, and the young.



Father Cox was an Illinoisan born. From its prairies he went to the school and college at Mount St. Mary, Emmetsburg, Maryland, which is the alma mater of many distinguished Catholic clergymen and laymen. And from St. Mary's—after some years as a student and more as an instructor—he returned to Illinois to take up his life work. Ordained a priest in Chicago about 1889, he became at once one of the clergy of St. Jarlath's

parish, which includes within its boundaries the County Hospital and other smaller ones. To Father Cox, the physical, mental, and spiritual care of the patients in those hospitals, especially of those in the County Hospital who were Catholics, became his most absorbing pursuit. In season and out of season, night and day, he was at their call and service, encouraging, comforting and soothing the living and giving the last offices of the church to the dying and the dead. For fourteen years this was his chief work, remembered gratefully by many thousands who profited by it. From St. Jarlath's he was transferred for a time to the cathedral, and then given the charge of the newly organized parish of St. Basil in the southwest portion of the city. In eleven years he saw it grow under his untiring labor from a mere handful of people to a congregation of six thousand parishioners, from which he had gathered a school under the charge of the Dominican Sisters of over a thousand children. This school and its children were very near his heart, for one of his chief characteristics was a loving fondness for the young.



Overworked and overstrained he died at the too early age of 55. We doubt not that in his last moments there sounded in his ears the words of everlasting comfort: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN.

## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

### I AM A ROMAN.

Denver, Col., Jan. 19.

On January 16, 1916, a Sunday paper offered Acts xxii: 22-29 as "The Lesson for the Day."

These verses give an account of how Paul escaped being "examined by scourging;" he announced himself a Roman.

This lesson was assumed to be appropriate for that day because some Americans had been killed in Mexico a day or two before and we had not revenged their deaths as this editor would have us.

"The lesson" closes as follows:

It meant something to be a Roman. What does it mean to be an American?

Did it occur to that editor to ask himself why he must use the past tense in alluding to the bold and favored Roman? What does it mean to be a Roman today, and why does it mean so much less now than in Paul's day?

I think we can find the answer to this in another scripture lesson. In the xxv, chapter of Matthew, beginning with the 31st verse we read as follows:

When the Son of Man shall come in all His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory.

And before Him shall be gathered all nations—[“nations,” mind you; not individuals.]

Claiming the right of "private interpretation," I carry the word nation through to the end of the chapter, so that when it is said "I was hungry and naked and sick and in prison and ye ministered not unto me," the address is to nations, not to individuals. So, also, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me," was said to nations, not to individuals.

This lesson has been perverted by translators and commentators, but there is still enough of the original meaning left to show why Rome fell. She did not have the "righteousness that exalteth a nation." She devoted herself to "military preparedness" and left the masses of her people in hopeless poverty.

Is Rome a good example for America to copy? Beware lest America, too, go "into everlasting punishment."

CELIA BALDWIN WHITEHEAD.



### AN ANSWER TO THE POINT.

Batavia, N. Y., Jan. 21.

The following was suggested by an inquiry from a friend who said: "How can you make a man more prosperous by taxing him?"

If you were a member and director of a big joint stock company, owning by inheritance a certain number of shares in this company;

If this joint stock company hired a certain number of men to protect and conserve the life and the property of all of its many members, which otherwise were endangered by certain lawless persons;

If this joint stock company furnished a supply of pure water, of gas and of electric power for your home;

If this joint stock company conducted a gigantic transportation business, carrying messages and merchandise to all parts of the country;

If this joint stock company conducted the best possible educational institutions for yourself and your children,

Then wouldn't you attend the stockholders' and directors' meetings and take an interest in the conduct of the company?

Wouldn't you be sure to do so if your stock, instead of drawing dividends, was subject to two or three assessments every year, which you found you must pay to the company?

There is such a joint stock company.

It is our government.

This joint stock company owns all the mines, all the forests, all the water powers, all city lots occupied and unoccupied, and all valuable agricultural lands situated near centers of population. It owns all the materials out of which all wealth must be created.

Owning all these sources of wealth, why should the joint stock company permit them to be seized and monopolized by only a few of its members? Why should it permit some of its members, who have been born lucky, or who have been shrewd and unscrupulous, to control for their own advantage these vast sources of wealth, without money and without price?

Should it not rather recognize the common ownership of all its members in these sources of wealth

and require those who use them for their own private benefit and profit to pay into the common treasury of the joint stock company the annual value of the privileges they enjoy?

This is the Singletax.

And this one, just and equitable, tax would yield enough to pay the cost of preparedness, to build all our State roads and barge canals, to support all schools and universities and pay the expenses of the government of all our cities and towns.

CHESTER C. PLATT.



## THE KAUFMAN EFFECTIVE, GRADED BALLOT.

Bellingham, Wash., Jan. 9.

We already have the Hare system of voting; the Bucklin and other forms of ballot.

Permit me to offer the following as an improvement over forms of ballot hitherto proposed. It seems to me perfect, but he would be a very audacious man who would propose, for example, "The Kaufman Perfect Graded Ballot." Instead of "perfect" I limit myself to "effective"!

An ideal ballot will give an effective record of every voter's idea of every candidate; putting into office the candidate who, on the whole, stands highest in the opinion of all the voters combined.

What I call The Kaufman Effective, Graded Ballot, does exactly this, for it puts into the final count every voter's opinion of every candidate.

My idea would be accomplished by permitting every voter to mark every candidate; grading from 5 for, down to "0," and then on down to minus 5, that is, 5 against.

The objection to this is that a voter might fail to put the minus sign before a candidate, thereby voting 5 for him, instead of 5 against him.

Also a clerk could easily put the minus sign on the ballot, thus altering the voter's expression of his will.

Also, in counting the ballots, it would be awkward to keep the minus and plus votes for the same candidate separated.

This may be obviated by adopting the following form of ballot:

Instructions to voters: In the square at the right of each name place such figure as will express your opinion of said candidate, remembering that 10 means 5 votes for a candidate; 9 means 4 votes for; 8 means 3 votes for; 7 means 2 votes for, and 6 one vote for; that 5 means utter indifference; so that in all squares left vacant by you the election clerks will put a figure 5; 4 means 1 vote against a candidate; 3 means 2 votes against; 2 means 3 votes against; 1 means 4 votes against, and 0 means 5 votes against the candidate. There is no objection to putting the same figure opposite several names.

For President:

Berger, Soc.

Bryan, Dem.

Cummins, Rep.

Debs, Soc.

Roosevelt, Rep.

Wilson, Dem.

Under the ordinary method we have, first, a party primary; then the general election; the voters at the primary having nothing to say as to nominations in other parties, although manifestly every voter is interested in every nomination in every party.

Under the Kaufman Effective, Graded Ballot, there

will be but one election, nominations being by petition, as is now the case for the party primary—no new details being required.

The essential idea in the ballot I propose is that every voter can vote for or against every candidate of every party; grading each candidate from 5 for, down through utter indifference to 5 against; and that this expressed will of every voter is absolutely effective until and including the final count at the state capital, with no change or alteration or substitution whatever.

Suppose a Taft Republican comes to vote. We can imagine him marking his ballot something like this: Berger.

Bryan, 0.

Cummins, 6.

Debs.

Roosevelt, 0.

Wilson, 2.

Ignoring the Socialists; knifing Roosevelt; Cummins barely better than Wilson.

A Progressive of a certain shade might vote thus: Berger, 8.

Bryan, 10.

Cummins, 6.

Debs, 6.

Roosevelt, 0.

Wilson, 7.

Some Progressives look on Roosevelt as the hoodoo of the movement, and would vote accordingly.

The point of this form of ballot is that it will faithfully record a composite of the popular will.

The trouble with our national constitution and many proposed alterations is that they seek to make government somewhat better than the average voter. The ballot I propose is not so utopian.

It will make officials exactly represent the consensus of public opinion. Every voter's ballot will be effective in the choice of the official finally selected; for the voter has had an opportunity to grade that candidate.

In counting the ballots the procedure is simplicity itself.

Every vacancy is filled with a figure 5; all ballots are counted in order; the candidate having the largest number of votes is elected.

It is essentially non-partisan, though not nominally so, unless the party designations be left off.

If there be any good thing connected with an election that is not accomplished by this form of ballot, that good thing has not occurred to me.

This form of ballot is, of course, for administrative officials, and would need to be adapted to proportional representation, where several legislative officials are to be chosen.

Of course, allowing a voter to "grade" the candidates 0 to 10, would answer. But many men want to vote "against" a candidate, and putting 5 in all vacant squares permits this. The essential idea is to let every voter grade every candidate and pass his verdict up without alteration or elimination to the final count at the State Capital.

I will be glad to have sent to me suggestions, criticism or approval from those interested.

W. H. KAUFMAN.



History has always been distorted by the victor.—Ferrero.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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Week ending Tuesday, January 25., 1916.

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### Congressional Doings.

The House passed on January 19 the Ferris bill allowing the homesteading in 640-acre tracts of lands designated by the Secretary of the Interior as "stock-raising lands." Such lands must be usable for grazing purposes only. They must contain no timber, and the government reserves the right to all minerals that may be found upon them. The Senate on the same day adopted an amendment to the pending Philippine self-government bill providing for prohibition of the liquor traffic in the islands. Developments on the preparedness question were a declaration by Senator Cummins of Iowa in favor of government manufacture of munitions and armor plate, the introduction of a bill by Congressman Sherwood of Ohio for establishment of a \$5,000,000 government munition plant at Toledo, and introduction of a resolution on January 19 by Tavenner of Illinois for investigation of expenditures made for army and navy purposes. [See current volume, page 58.]



On January 22 Comptroller of the Treasury John Skelton Williams urged the House Committee on Rules to promptly report for passage a resolution for investigation of usurious charges by national banks. The Senate confirmed on January 18 the appointment of Judge Samuel Alschuler as circuit judge of the Chicago circuit.



### Mrs. Pankhurst Admitted Unconditionally.

The case of Mrs. Pankhurst, who was detained at Ellis Island and later admitted to the United States on parole, has been passed upon by the Department of Labor. The Department has decided that the offences for which she was imprisoned in England were political, and did not involve moral turpitude, and that she therefore had a right to enter the country unconditionally. [See current volume, page 60.]



### The Americanization Meeting.

At the Americanization meeting held in Philadelphia on January 20 as a close to the Immigration and Americanization Congress, the principle address was delivered by Theodore Roosevelt, who repeated therein his preparationist arguments and denunciations of pacifism and the policy of the

administration. A letter was sent by Frank P. Walsh to the committee having the matter in charge. He said in part:

The problem of the immigrant is the problem of the wage earner. Yet I have studied your literature carefully without finding therein the merest suggestion of a plan that offers relief to the wage earner from the unspeakably wretched conditions that prevail among the underpaid workers on the New York subway, financed largely by the firm of which Mr. Stotesbury is a member.

The letter named a number of other employing corporations maintaining similar conditions and those at the head. These were the Pennsylvania railroad, headed by Samuel Rea; Western Union Telegraph Company, of which Jacob Schiff is director; The Postal Telegraph, headed by Clarence Mackay, and others. It said further in part:

Nor can I find any slightest indication on your part that you intend to Americanize the immigrant by striking at the system which permits the idle few to mass huge fortunes through their control of natural resources, by which they are enabled to exact a heavy toll in rents and other unearned revenues from the foreign-born workers who inhabit the tenements of our cities and who are dependent for food, clothing and shelter on the natural resources thus controlled and plundered by men who perform no service. Nor do I see much hope of such action on your part when some of your most active members are among the most notorious recipients of unearned incomes obtained through the exploitation of land and other natural resources. I refer in particular to Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt and Mrs. Edward T. Stotesbury. . . You propose to sanctify and confirm oppression by waving the American flag in the face of its victims, and by insidiously stigmatizing as unpatriotic any attempts they may make to throw off the yoke of the exploiting interests you represent. . . . You admit frankly that your problem is "the economic problem of giving the immigrant a chance as a piece of benevolent paternalism," and it does not seem to occur to you that the arbitrary control over the lives of others which permits this paternalism is, together with the economic exploitation and injustice which accompany it, the greatest foe of those things which our forefathers loved and for which America stands. . . . Americanization means a state of satisfaction with bad industrial conditions, and bad industrial conditions are distinctly American. No other country in the world except this one has its workmen driven so hard, nor is there any other country in the world where private individuals and private corporations are so in control that soldiers of industry may be shot down at their will. We should do our "Americanizing" at the top as well as at the bottom.



### Income Tax Law Upheld.

The United States Supreme Court upheld the Federal income tax law by a unanimous decision on January 24. The decision is the outcome of a suit attacking the constitutionality of the Sixteenth Amendment, and also the exemption clause in the present law.

**Taxable Incomes.**

The Treasury Department reported on January 24 that there are 357,515 incomes in the United States subject to income tax during the next fiscal year. They are divided as follows:

\$1,000,000 and more.....	60
\$500,000-\$1,000,000 .....	114
\$400,000-\$500,000 .....	69
\$300,000-\$400,000 .....	147
\$250,000-\$300,000 .....	130
\$200,000-\$250,000 .....	233
\$150,000-\$200,000 .....	406
\$100,000-\$150,000 .....	1,189
\$75,000-\$100,000 .....	1,501
\$50,000-\$75,000 .....	3,660
\$40,000-\$50,000 .....	3,185
\$30,000-\$40,000 .....	6,008
\$25,000-\$30,000 .....	5,483
\$20,000-\$25,000 .....	8,672
\$15,000-\$20,000 .....	15,790
\$10,000-\$15,000 .....	34,141
\$5,000 to \$10,000.....	127,448
\$4,000-\$5,000 .....	66,525
\$3,000-\$4,000 .....	82,754



**Tax Reform News.**

Two reports were filed on January 17 by the Committee on Taxation appointed by Mayor Mitchell of New York. The majority report recommends abolition of the personal property tax, and suggests instead an occupation tax, a tax on salaries, and a habitation tax, to be assessed against all rent-paying residents, and graded according to the rent they pay. A tax of one per cent on future increase of land values is also recommended. The report is signed by Alfred E. Marling, Edwin R. A. Seligman, Frank H. Field, Joseph W. Francomi, John J. Halloran, Hamilton Holt, Jeremiah W. Jenks, Adolph L. Kline, Walter Lindner, Cyrus C. Miller, George V. Mullan, Louis H. Pink, David Rumsey, Oscar R. Seitz, Robert E. Simon, Charles T. White and Colin W. Woodward. [See volume xviii, page 1054.]



The minority report was signed by Lawson Purdy, Frederic C. Leubuscher, Delos F. Wilcox, Frederic C. Howe, Robert S. Binkerd, F. S. Tomlin and Frederic B. Shipley. These advocate un-taxing of improvements as well as of personal property, and placing of the burden on land values instead. They dissent from the majority recommendation in regard to occupation, income and habitation taxes.



The publication of the report of proceedings of the meeting at Columbus on December 14 of the Ohio Manufacturers' Association shows that recommendations were made and adopted of the Committee on Taxation favoring submission of an amendment to the state constitution providing for classification of property. As a first step the re-

port adopted recommends that the association promote a conference of all interested in the question to develop "sufficient force to make possible fair and lasting legislation," since "it seems out of the question for one body or for one interest alone, such as the manufacturers, to make any headway by taking it up direct and only on its own account with the Legislature or electors." It is further proposed that the committee be "instructed to co-operate with such organizations as are vitally interested in the question of realty appraisal, to the end that sure fundamental principles shall be laid down and presented to the various organizations for approval." The arguments presented in favor of this action are principally based on the failure of manufacturing and commercial interests alone to secure adoption of amendments which they have had drawn up and submitted without consultation with other elements. [See volume xviii, pp. 1098, 1141, 1172.]



The Trades Council of Birmingham, Alabama, on January 8 adopted a resolution calling for appointment of a committee to enter actively into formation of a tax reform league, having for its object a change in the taxing system of the State so as to put 75 per cent of taxation on land values alone.



**Appreciation of Ex-Mayor Baker.**

The City Club of Cleveland gave on January 15 a banquet in honor of ex-Mayor Newton D. Baker in recognition of his services to the city. The Club's report of the meeting is as follows:

The great banquet room of the Hollenden Hotel was early filled to overflowing, and more than 150 persons had to be cared for in adjacent rooms. After the simple meal, the tables were removed and the entire throng crowded into the assembly room to hear laudatory speeches by the most prominent men of the city—none of them, however, identified with the political party of Mr. Baker. After these men had spoken briefly—the President of the Chamber of Commerce, the President of the Cleveland Trust Company, the head of the Political Science Department of Western Reserve University, one or two prominent lawyers, a popular Rabbi—Mr. Baker responded in what many term the ablest utterance of his public career. In a masterful way he reviewed the changes that have occurred in the last fourteen years—the passing of dark-lantern political methods, the awakening of a civic conscience, the increasing part of the people in their government.



**Margaret Sanger's Case.**

The trial of Mrs. Margaret Sanger which was set for January 18 was postponed to January 24 and then again postponed to the February term. A statement regarding her case was made by Miss

Fola La Follette, daughter of Senator Robert La Follette, as follows:

The right of freedom of speech and of freedom of pen is questioned in the indictment found against Mrs. Sanger. That is why so many persons are rallying to her support. The indictment of Mrs. Sanger is a striking illustration of how the law and its interpretation frequently lag behind scientific knowledge and social needs. In practically every civilized country in the world the dissemination of information as to family limitation is regarded not as a crime but as a social service.

In most European countries birth control is regarded only as one of the important steps in racial betterment. As many distinguished scientists have maintained in Europe and as a few brave physicians have publicly stated in this country, it is a social crime that mothers should be forced, through lack of knowledge, to bear more children than they can endow with health and can properly rear and educate.

Knowledge concerning birth control is vitally connected with the partial solution of our problem of child labor, of the increase in the diseases springing from malnutrition, and the increase in defectives, subnormals, and cripples.

Decrease in the birth rate does not necessarily mean a decrease in the ultimate number of a nation's adult population. This has been demonstrated in the countries where has been the freest dissemination of knowledge as to the limitation of offspring. When there has been a falling off in the birth rate there has been a corresponding increase in the number of children who live to maturity.

Mrs. Sanger is not indicted for the dissemination of information regarding birth control, however. She is indicted for advocating the right of free discussion of the question. Her present trial is, therefore, really a test of the freedom of speech and the freedom of pen in this country.

[See current volume, page 35.]



### Mexico.

General Carranza formally proclaimed Generals Francisco Villa, Pablo Lopez and Rafael Castro outlaws on account of the massacre of Santa Ysabel, and authorized their summary execution by whomever might capture them. General Villa, who is still at large in western Chihuahua, disclaims all responsibility for the massacre. [See current volume, page 61.]



Yucatan is the first state under the Carranza regime to apply the new agrarian law involving the principles for which the Constitutionalists have been fighting. The law as promulgated by General Salvador Alvarado, military governor of Yucatan, revokes private property in land, and substitutes leases for 999 years, subject to certain specified conditions. Article 6, Chapter II, provides that:

Every Mexican or foreigner more than 17 years old living in the State has the right, always provided that he intends personally to cultivate it, a

piece of land where, by means of his labor, he may obtain what is necessary to maintain his family, thus acquiring economic independence and the comforts necessary to live quietly according to his social position. Foreigners receiving lots under this law may not claim any rights because of being foreigners, nor may they under any circumstances seek consular or diplomatic aid, regarding the application of this regulation.

Article 24, Chapter III, provides that:

The land that may be required in case the ejidos [public lands] are insufficient will be acquired in conformity with the decree of January 6, 1915, by the necessary expropriation of adjoining land, not under cultivation, if it be private property or not.

These lands so allotted cannot be sold, mortgaged, or rented.



### European War.

Renewed activity is announced on the Russian front in the Riga region, where it is reported the Germans are making another attempt to take Dvinsk. Heavy fighting is also reported on the southern end of the line in the province of Volhynia, and in Eastern Galicia and Bukowina; but Petrograd and Vienna make conflicting claims as to results. On the Western front the Germans have maintained a heavy cannonading at the mouth of the Yser, in an effort to break through to Calais; but no material gain is announced. [See current volume, page 61.]



The Montenegrin forces have ceased to offer effective resistance to the invading Austrians, who now hold the whole country, and have moved southward into Albania as far as Scutari, which they occupied without resistance. The remainder of the Montenegrin and Serbian armies has retreated southward in Albania. King Nicholas and staff of Montenegro are in Lyons, France. The Austrians are disarming his people. It is announced in Italy that no effort will be made at present by that country to aid Montenegro. Members of the Serbian government are at Corfu. Nothing certain can be gathered from the conflicting rumors from Greece. The threatened attack on Saloniki has not taken place. The fleet of the Allies has bombarded the Bulgarian port of Dedeagatch, and made a temporary landing at Porto Lagos. These movements are supposed to be for the purpose of hindering an attack on Saloniki from the East. Nothing further is reported of the temporary landing of Allied troops near Athens. The blockade limiting Greek imports to the immediate needs of Greece, and to prevent supplies from getting to the Teutonic allies, continues.



Activities in Turkey and Persia continue to attract attention. On the Caucasian front the Russians have pressed the Turks as far as Erzerum, which stronghold they are besieging. Ex-

treme cold in the mountains hampers the offensive. In the Bagdad region the British relief expedition is in touch with the beleaguered force at Kut-el-Amara. Nothing further is reported of the threatened invasion of Egypt, but it is unlikely that any move will be made in that direction until the Russians at Erzerum and in central Persia, and the British on the Tigris River, have been stopped.



The British conscription bill passed its final reading in the House of Commons on the 24th, by a vote of 383 to 36. It is expected to get through the Lords and become a law by February 1. There is still some opposition on the part of organized labor because of their fear that the measure will be used to their hurt. Bonar Law, who had charge of the bill in the Commons, made the definite promise that it would not be used against labor, and said the promise was binding upon the whole cabinet. A movement is under way to add 50,000 men to the British navy, which is taken to mean a more vigorous enforcement of the German blockade. A deal has been closed by which Britain gets 80,000 wagon loads of grain of Roumania, which otherwise would have been available for Germany.



Aerial warfare is increasing in importance. The use of aeroplanes for dropping bombs on the enemy is daily growing more frequent. A large number of bombs have been dropped on Monastir, and on the Teutonic forces near the Greek border. Large numbers of planes are in use on the western front. A new and swift flying machine, known as the "Fokker," visited England and dropped bombs near Dover.



A note on the Lusitania case has been received from Germany, but not yet made public, that is said to meet the demands of the American Government. Both Germany and Austria have disavowed responsibility for the sinking of the Persia in the Mediterranean Sea. As no submarine was seen, this leaves the whole case enveloped in mystery.

## NEWS NOTES

—Preparedness was endorsed by the National Civic Federation at its meeting at Washington on January 18.

—Herbert S. Bigelow will speak at Kansas City on January 31 in the auditorium of the Manual Training High School.

—Because of the uprising in southern China, the coronation of Yuau Shi Kai as emperor of China has been postponed indefinitely.

—Secretary of War Garrison's continental army

plan was endorsed by the National Security League at Washington on January 22.

—Manuel Estrada Cabrera, who has served three successive terms of six years as president of Guatemala, has been re-elected for a fourth term.

—Alfredo Baquerizo Moreno has been re-elected president of Ecuador. Some rioting attended the election, and it is reported 50 persons were killed and 180 wounded.

—Nels Nickles, an ardent believer in fundamental democracy, died in Chicago January 19th. Mr. Nickles was long an active member of the Chicago Singletax Club.

—Judge Henry Neil, originator of the Mothers' Pension movement, is urging Congress to authorize appointment of a commission to investigate the relation of child poverty to preparedness.

—The Manhattan Single Tax Club will give a dinner at the Fifth Avenue Restaurant, Fifth avenue and 23d street, New York City, on January 29. James R. Brown will be the principal speaker.

—The annual child labor conference will be held in Asheville, North Carolina, February 3 to 6. Safeguarding American childhood will be the general topic, with discussions of the effect of child labor on health, education and industry.

—A referendum vote is being taken by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Order of Railway Conductors and Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen on the question of presenting to the roads a demand for an eight-hour day. An affirmative vote may result in a strike of 400,000 men.

—The annual meeting of the American Secular Union will be held in Chicago at the Auditorium hotel on January 29 and 30. On January 30, the birthday of Thomas Paine, will be observed with a banquet at \$1 per plate. Among the speakers will be Clarence Darrow, Scott Bennett of New Zealand and Arthur M. Lewis. Headquarters for information will be at 79 W. South Water street.

—The official report of the New York State census gives the State a population of 9,687,744. Of this 74.8 per cent or 7,249,602 are residents of the 57 cities. Of the city population 28.1 per cent are un-naturalized aliens. The 466 incorporated villages have a population of 863,894. The rural communities have a population of 1,607,327. There are eight Indian reservations containing 4,845 inhabitants, a decrease of 161 in ten years.

—The second Spingarn medal to the Negro selected as having made the most distinguished achievement during the past 12 months will be presented on February 22 by Governor McCall of Massachusetts at a mass meeting to be held at Tremont Temple, Boston. The recipient will not be announced until the time for presentation. The first medal was awarded last year to Dr. Edward E. Just, professor in the Howard Medical School, for distinguished work in biological research.



Necessity is the argument of tyrants, it is the creed of slaves.—William Pitt,

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### A Wise Conclusion.

Chicago Daily News, January 24.—Advocates of intervention in Mexico are usually also advocates of despotism for Mexico. And our own Uncle Sam is asked to go into the neighboring republic and play the despot! One writer, who has been through the country, now lauds Porfirio Diaz as the greatest man that Mexico ever produced and says the need of the present time is another leader of the same type. But evidently no native Diaz is in sight. Therefore, according to this correspondent, Mexico should be provided with "a despotism such as an enlightened foreign power could give it until it is prepared for government." The greatest trouble with Mexico today is its debasement under the prolonged rule of the tyrant Diaz. Another ruler of the same type would merely postpone the day of improvement. Certainly citizens of the United States who still cherish the ideals upon which this republic has been built cannot look with favor upon the suggestion that this nation should go into Mexico and there perform the services of another Diaz.



### Intelligent Officials and Stupid Laws.

William L. Chenery in The Chicago Herald, Jan. 23: The recent effort of the immigration officials at New York to keep Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst out of the country shows what a valuable thing it is to have an intelligent man in office. Under the existing laws a political revolutionist such as Mrs. Pankhurst can be considered guilty of "moral turpitude" because she happens to have been in jail. With a man of the character of Louis F. Post in the Department of Labor, stupid bureaucracy is not permitted to rule. Mr. Post is able to "parole" Mrs. Pankhurst while she tours the United States. All of which recalls some one's saying that even laws made by Lucifer are harmless if we have Gabriel to enforce them.



### Argument Leading Logically to Singletax.

Chicago Tribune, January 23.—Every suggestion of sound finance urges that great fortunes be brought under control. They represent a monopoly of opportunity and, although they may be directed toward the accomplishment of tremendous results for humanity, they may also be used to restrict the rightful chance of the ordinary American to make his way toward a competence and comfort. This is no longer the land of grand and inviting opportunity. The doors of adventure are closing if not closed. We know that resources are not lying on the surface of unexplored territory for the explorer to find them. They are mapped, estimated, and accounted for. The problem is one of equitable distribution. Many if not all of the great fortunes represent accomplishment in the old time of adventure, discovery, and exploitation. Consider the estate of Astor, now a British baron, an estate for which he did not work, a value made for him by millions of Americans who do work. His right to

become an expatriate we Americans, who built a nation upon the desire of men to leave their native country, cannot deny, although we may hold his motive in detestation. His right to draw upon the resources of this land unlimitedly we can deny and his privilege we can restrict.



### Will Extension of Free Trade Follow the War?

The Electrical Review (London), Nov. 5: In the House of Commons last week the Government was asked whether it was willing to adopt M. Sazonoff's suggestion for the complete removal of all the fiscal barriers that existed between the Powers now co-operating against Prussian militarism. In reply, Lord Robert Cecil said that there had not yet been time to consider schemes to take effect after a peace which was not yet in sight. A member suggested the unwisdom of being unprepared with some scheme of Customs Union and asked Lord Cecil to consider the matter beforehand. His lordship succeeded in drawing ironical cheers and laughter by saying: "The Government always thinks out every question beforehand," but that response, seriously considered, can bring only cold comfort to those who, viewing the future trade outlook with apprehension, think that some steps should be taken at once.




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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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### THE MARCH OF THE WOMEN.

#### A Suffragist Song.

#### From Richmond (Va.) Square Deal.

Shout, shout, up with your song!  
 Cry with the wind, for the dawn is breaking:  
 March, march, swing you along,  
 Wide blows our banner and hope is waking.  
 Song with its story, dreams with their glory;  
 Lo! they call, and glad is their word!  
 Loud and louder it swells—  
 Thunder of freedom, the voice of the Lord.

Long, long we in the past,  
 Cowered in dread from the light of heaven;  
 Strong, strong stand we at last,  
 Fearless in faith and with sight new-given.  
 Strength with its beauty, life with its duty,  
 Hear the voice, oh, hear and obey!  
 These, these beckon us on,  
 Open your eyes to the light of day.

Comrades, ye who have dared  
 First in the battle to strive and sorrow!  
 Scorned, spurned, naught have ye cared,  
 Raising your eyes to a wider morrow.  
 Ways that are weary, days that are dreary,  
 Toil and pain by faith ye have borne.  
 Hail, hail! victors ye stand,  
 Wearing the wreath that the brave have won.

Life, strife, these two are one—  
 Naught can ye win but by faith and daring;  
 On, on—that ye have done,

But for the work of today preparing.  
 Firm in reliance, laugh a defiance,  
 Laugh in hope, for sure is the end;  
 March, march, many as one,  
 Shoulder to shoulder and friend to friend.



## WOMEN OF PAN-AMERICA IN CONFERENCE.\*

A demand for the organization of a permanent Pan-American Union of Women sprang spontaneously from the deeply moved audience of Latin-American and United States women sitting side by side in the first of the meetings of the Women's Auxiliary Conference of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, in session in Washington from December 27 to January 8.

That some organization might result from a friendly acquaintance of Pan-American women had been hoped for. The idea of taking advantage of the holding of the Pan-American Scientific Congress for the fostering of such an acquaintance, had its inception last spring. In November a committee of twenty-five women was gathered in Washington, with the wife of the Secretary of State, Mrs. Robert Lansing, at its head; and word was sent by the Secretary of State to United States officials everywhere in Latin America, directing them to inform the Governments to which they were accredited, that it was hoped that the delegates to the approaching Congress would be generally accompanied by their wives and daughters, for whom social functions and program meetings would be arranged.

Language difficulties had to be overcome. The expected guests would speak Spanish, Portuguese and French. An introducing and interpreting committee, composed largely of young women resident in Washington who at least spoke Spanish in addition to English, was gathered together. The hostesses of Washington threw open their homes, and dinners and receptions multiplied for every day of the gay fortnight. Morning programs to be given in the D. A. R. Memorial Building were scheduled for four days of each week, with a special chairman and four or five speakers for each day. Abstracts of the papers, obtained in advance, were published in Spanish for distribution at each meeting. As it turned out, these were not seriously needed, for most of the Southern guests understood English at least fairly well. Translations of Spanish speeches into English, which were also furnished, were more needed for the less linguistically accomplished Northern women, a generalization which does not include the chief hostess, for Mrs. Lansing was able to welcome the guests on the opening morning with a graceful speech in Spanish.

Seventy or eighty women had come up to the

Congress. Of course not all of them attended the program meetings; but some came—it could not be known quite how many. As they pressed gaily up the stairs the first morning a vivacious dark-eyed girl said with the soft sweetness of the Latin accents: "We would not miss it for anything!" Two days later a beautiful young Central American said of the meetings: "We are crazy about them!" With others of the women in attendance on the Congress, and also Washington women, the audiences were so large that after the first quarter of an hour of the first meeting, which began in an upstairs hall, the sessions had to be held in the large D. A. R. Hall, with the exception of one at which films were shown and an interesting demonstration was given of the oral teaching of the deaf. The programs chiefly dealt with welfare of women, the education of children, sanitation and domestic science. Among the speakers were such well known women as Mrs. Percy V. Pennypacker, Mrs. William Cumming Story, Miss Zona Gale, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Miss Mabel T. Boardman, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton, Mrs. Florence Kelly, Mrs. John Dewey, Mrs. Charles R. Crane and Miss Jane Addams. The hostesses had gathered for their guests the best that their country had to offer.

Would the Latin-American women care for speeches and papers? This had been the crucial question with the committee. They had been advised that the courtesy of being good listeners was the greatest co-operation they could possibly expect from their guests. Imagine their delight, then, when women from the Latin-American countries rose in their places or came to the platform, and spoke easily and gracefully in Spanish or French or English.

It was under the inspiration of this unlooked for and capable response that on the first morning, after charming and illuminating addresses from Senora Blanche Z. de Baralt of Cuba, and Senora Helen Holmberg de Ambrosetti of Argentina, Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon offered a resolution asking that steps should be taken toward creating a permanent union between the women of all the Americas. A committee was immediately appointed, to report before the close of the conference.

The activities of this committee and the flowing tides of a new friendliness and sympathy culminated on the last day. After speeches from five United States women including Miss Jane Addams, and from Senora Carmen Torres Calderon de Pinillos of Peru, and Senora Sanchez de Fuentes of Cuba, in Spanish, and from Senora Monteverde of Uruguay, in English, Mrs. Lansing presented from the organization committee plans for the creation of an informal international committee, to be composed of those women from Latin-American countries and the United States, in at-

\*This article appeared in a somewhat more condensed form in *The Survey* of January 22.

tendance upon the Conference, who desired to lend the movement their support—not more than two or three women from any one country to be on this preliminary committee. The duties of this committee would be, first, the intelligent distribution of the proceedings of the Conference in the countries represented; and, second, the keeping alive of the objects of the Conference by correspondence, or otherwise, so that if in future a more permanent women's organization can be arranged there will be a group of women ready to act as a nucleus of activity.

These plans will have to be worked out in co-operation with the Executive Committee of the recent Congress, which still remains in active charge. But at least the first steps have been taken, to use the words of Mr. John Barrett, Director General of the Pan-American Union: "towards calling together a few years hence a great Pan-American Women's Conference that will become a powerful factor in the development of fraternity and solidarity among the American nations."

Alice THACHER POST.



## WHAT BUSINESS NEEDS.

Replies to Questions of the Federal Trade Commission by George A. Briggs, of the Chicago Telephone Supply Co., Elkhart, Ind.

Question: Do you think it would be an advantage or a disadvantage to you in your business to participate in some form of combination or co-operative selling agency for export trade, and why?

Answer: It would depend on the nature of the combination, the efficiency and honesty of its administration and the intelligence of those identified with it.

Q. Please give the reasons why you think combinations or co-operative organizations, solely for export business, among American manufacturers or producers by common selling agencies, or by other means, are or are not in the public interest.

A. Combinations per se are not dangerous; legal monopoly is. The primary object of business, although not the primary motive of business men, is to render service. I believe in any combination which promotes that object.

If Government could be induced to remove its hand from business; if it would impose no restrictions and grant no special favors; in short, if it would permit business to return to those natural channels from which it has been diverted by the ignorance of past legislation, then, by such a course, the permanent prosperity of the American people would be a certainty.

It is unthinkable that our legislators will consider such a suggestion. It is too simple, too full of common sense, too obviously the thing to do.

Q. If you think export combinations desirable, please state your opinion, with your reasons, as to whether they should:

(a) Be open to all manufacturers or producers in the United States in their respective lines, or have the right to exclude any concern at pleasure?

(b) Be open to all American-owned concerns, but have the right to exclude any concerns that are controlled by foreign interests?

(c) Be restricted to trade in non-competing products, or cover competing products also?

A. Combinations, whether for export or domestic trade, should be open to all manufacturers and producers except those who directly or indirectly are the beneficiaries of special legal authority to exact tribute from consumers.

Q. Do you think such export organizations of manufacturers or producers as you have indicated in your answer to the preceding questions would be used to restrain trade in the domestic market? Please give the reasons for your answer. How would you prevent their being so used?

A. The desire of such organizations to control their field both at home and abroad would always be present. Their ability to do so would depend on the aid of government through special legislation. Without that aid in some form, no combination can restrain trade.

The data for this position has been available, since the middle of the nineteenth century. The conclusions based on such data are as inevitable to candid inquiry as the law of gravitation.

Some sixty years ago Henry Thomas Buckle made a scientific examination of the facts of history. He examined the acts of men and nations over long periods with exhaustive thoroughness. His inferences from those facts are so simple. I am optimistic enough to believe, that even the dark fastnesses of legislative ignorance might be penetrated by them. But I am unable to believe that any great number of legislators will read Buckle's History of Civilization, or seek knowledge or inspiration on any subject whatever except political fences and campaign subscriptions.

Q. Have you any further suggestions as to what is needed to help you develop foreign trade?

A. Decidedly. Every item of raw material used in this factory costs us from twenty to one hundred per cent more than it should. This is true because our sources of supply are protected by governmental tariffs on imports. If that protection was removed we could easily undersell foreign competition both at home and abroad. We could do this because American labor, when considered on the basis of the relation between pay and production, rather than on the crude and unscientific basis of pay per day, is the cheapest labor in the world.

Q. If you do not engage in foreign trade,

please explain what conditions have determined your policy in this respect.

A. We have some export trade in South America, Mexico, Central America, Europe, India and Canada.

Q. Please give briefly any facts you may have concerning foreign cartels, syndicates, or combinations in any form whose competition you or other Americans encounter in export business.

A. Our experience in the Argentine is typical. Foreign capital owns the public service corporations and many other legal monopolies. This places it in a position of power to influence the channels of all trade.

Then the Argentine tariff on imports, and other restrictions to trade, by increasing the cost to consumers, limits artificially the consuming power of Argentinos.

These two influences limit our foreign market.

Q. Please give what facts you can in regard to foreign concerns or combinations "dumping" either in the United States or in other markets. By "dumping" is meant selling to another country below the price prevailing in the concern's home country in order to market a surplus or drive out competitors.

A. Dumping, in those rare cases where it exists, is made possible by our own asinine interference with American business. If our raw materials were relieved of the tariff burdens which increase the costs of this factory and of the great majority of factories; then, because of the superior intelligence of American labor, the superior organization of American productive forces, and the resultant advantages they insure, we could sell our product at the cost price of foreign competitors and still make a satisfactory profit.

Under such circumstances dumping would disappear. It is not probable, except to the legislative mind, that foreigners would sell to us at a loss.

Q. Please give the names, business positions and addresses of any other persons especially qualified to give information concerning the topics indicated by the preceding questions.

A. C. H. Ingersoll, Robert H. Ingersoll & Bro., New York City; J. H. McGill, manufacturer, Valparaiso, Ind.

Q. What are the principal classes of products that you sell and export?

A. (a) Sell: Telephones, switchboards and electrical equipment.

(b) Sell for export: Telephones, switchboards and electrical equipment.

Q. Please give a brief statement of any special experience, investigation, or responsibility contributing to your interest in the subject matter of this schedule or to your information thereon.

A. An extended visit to South America.

## A PRAYER WORTH REMEMBERING

At the inauguration exercises of the Gloucester, Massachusetts, Municipal Council on January 17, the following prayer was offered by Rev. Levi M. Powers of the Gloucester, Independent Christian Church:

Almighty Father, the love of our city calls us here this morning. We begin today a new year of civic life. We know it is useless to ask thy blessing unless we want it and are anxious for it. No matter how much you may want to bless this city, you cannot do it unless the citizens are willing to be blest.

We pray therefore first of all for the voters of this city. There are some too lazy to vote but not too lazy to grumble. Bless them.

We pray for the taxpayers who want good streets, good schools, good fire and police protection and good health officers but who wish other people to pay for their cost.

We pray for the business men whose votes are always determined by the expectation of special favors for themselves. Bless them if you can.

We pray for those who believe that all laws should be enforced except the laws which they do not like or which if enforced would trouble them.

We pray for the comfortable who do not care about anything so long as they are left at ease.

We pray for political managers who swap votes and sell out their friends and let bad candidates go unopposed.

We pray for those who vote for the saloons simply because they have property that rents for more for that than for any other purpose.

We pray for men so mean they are not willing to give their sisters the same privilege they have themselves.

We pray for ministers if there are any in this city—I do not believe there are—who say what is pleasant to hear rather than what is true.

We pray for all connected with newspapers who openly advocate civic righteousness and secretly promote crooked politics.

We pray for the lawyers to whom law means only a knowledge of helping those who wish to evade the law to do so safely and so enable themselves and others to get something for nothing.

We wish, O God, that all these people might be blessed, but perhaps we are asking too much, for we know that even you cannot bless them unless they mend their ways. It may be that the only thing you can do is to let them go to hell where they belong. You know best.

But, O God, before thee are those who can be blest, those who may be a blessing to themselves and to the world. Here today are hundreds of young men who soon will be voters. Bless them with a vision of the world that ought to be and will be when we are wise to our own good. May

each one think of his home not merely as the house in which he lives but as a city of which he is a part. May they see how much finer and better life will be for all when each one works for all and thinks for all and all for each. We dare to hope, O Lord, that these young men will have the sense to see that to get the most out of life for themselves they must think of how to make life good for all, and that to be good to themselves they must be good to others. So shall a cleaner, fairer, better Gloucester some day come.

We ask thy blessing also upon these young women. Some day they too will vote. May they have understanding minds and sympathetic hearts, so that when the time comes they may be fitted for the larger things of life in which it will then be their privilege and duty to share.

We are here this morning for the special purpose of inducting five men into office, where for a year it will be their duty to work for the common good. They are to think and plan not for any one class but for all of us, not for the best citizens only but for all the citizens, not for those who pay the taxes merely, but for those who earn the money to pay the taxes. We the people have chosen these men to represent us. Help them, O God, to plan and act honestly, bravely and efficiently for the good of all. Amen.



### A VISION OF THE FLAG.

(An International Anthem.)

For The Public.

I gazed beyond the strife of alien brothers,  
And saw a vision of the glories yet to come.  
I saw a flag in the breeze unfurl—  
A blessed flag—  
That unfurled, and unfurled, and unfurled,  
And I gazed in rapture, in realization, and in wonder.  
I saw one star unfurl—  
And then another, in the blue,  
The blessed blue of the sky;  
Stars of a golden light;  
And of the soul's magnitude.  
One star for each land and country  
Was in this flag that covered all—  
And then I looked again—  
And knew that I was gazing at the Heavens.  
Not that we should love our country less,  
But that we should love our whole world more.

JULIAN P. SCOTT.



Virtue consists, not in abstaining from vice, but in not desiring it.—Bernard Shaw.



I painfully reflect that in almost every political controversy of the last fifty years the leisured classes, the educated classes, the wealthy classes, the titled classes, have been in the wrong. The common people—the toilers, the men of uncommon sense—these have been responsible for nearly all of the social reform measures which the world accepts today.—W. E. Gladstone.

## BOOKS

### A VOICE FROM THE WIGWAM.

The Indian of To-Day. By Charles A. Eastman.  
Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.  
1915. Price 60 cents net.

In these days when the American who calls himself an American criticises the hyphenated American it may not come amiss for both of them to bestow a moment's attention on the pre-American, the Indian. This little book of 185 pages, written by a Sioux who spent his early life in a wigwam of his tribe in Minnesota, and afterward acquired the degree of doctor of philosophy in eastern schools, gives one a view of the Redman from the Indian's point of view.

Dr. Eastman, whose Indian name was Ohiyesa, considers the Indian as he was, the reason for his wars, the agency system and its abuses, and the new Indian policy. Then he gives some sketches of the Indian at school, at home, as a citizen, in college, and in the professions. He also deals with the Indian's health problem, his native arts and industries, and his gifts to the Nation.

In treating of the Indian wars Dr. Eastman makes it clear that the Indian was conscious of the land question before his white brother. Priority of possession was his title, which rested on his tomahawk and bow and arrow, when he had to resist trespass; but they were overborne by the superior arms of the white man. When the country had been settled to an extent that made living by the chase impracticable, the Indian's attempts to master the ways of his white brother were retarded by an ill-advised agency system, made worse by political corruption; but the race persisted, and it is now making a fair showing, and seems destined to catch step with modern progress.

It is interesting to know that although American citizenship was conferred upon the Negroes in 1866 by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, the door was not open to the Indian in general until 1887, when the Dawes Act conferred citizenship upon Indians accepting allotments of land in severalty. This act also provided that the land thus patented to the individual Indian could not be alienated or taxed for twenty-five years after the allotment. This law has been modified and confused by later enactments. Of the 330,000 Indians in the United States more than one-half, Dr. Eastman says, have been allotted, and 70,000 hold patents in fee.

One sketch that may be read with profit by all is Dr. Eastman's description of the Indian mothers in their primitive society. The whole book, indeed, has its application to our own civilization.

s. c.

## RING'S LAST MESSAGE

**The Problem of the Unemployed.** Anonymous. J. J. Pastoriza, Trustee, Houston, Texas. Price \$1 net.

The village in which I live (Ripley, Ohio), of 2800 inhabitants, does not know poverty. As each family averages five, Malthusianism is not the cause. Trade unions do not exist, and the average rate of wage is not high. Strikes and unemployment are unknown, and the high cost of living has barely interested us. It is a progressive community; a school house has just been built, a library is nearing completion; the town owns its waterworks, gas and electric plant; its streets are paved and tree lined. A beggar on the street would be surrounded by a crowd of surprised children.

The village lies in the Ohio Valley, and a good deal of land is subject to overflow, and therefore useless for building. The landless laborer farms this idle tract, and that is the explanation of Ripley's condition. It is all so very easy that it is as if one picked up a treatise on the correctness of the multiplication table. When one reads on page 193 that unemployment exists "because individuals withhold land from use" and the remedy for unemployment is "a simple change in the application of the taxing power of government." The cure for unemployment is, not public works, or private charities, but access to the land.

If, by riding an elephant from Maine to Texas, every one along the route could be induced to read this work, the last production of Henry F. Ring, I would start the trip tomorrow, and, having reached Houston, turn the trunk of my steed northwest and keep on going. For, assuredly, Singletax literature has few books to its credit as convincingly written as this. And returning on my steed to my starting point, I would retrace my steps and have my readers follow up with Louis F. Post's "Taxation of Land Values." For it is inconceivable that anyone reading these books should not see the light. And one almost despairs of the aggregate intellect, to know that a book like this has not the popularity nor advertisement it deserves. For its 277 pages have not one dull period, while for a clear and concise statement of facts and conditions, with a logical conclusion, the author has Herbert Spencer and Henry James beaten to a stand still. Especially should it be recommended to those waverers who truthfully believe that Singletax spells confiscation.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

—**Empire and Armament.** By Jennings C. Wise. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—**The Future of Democracy.** By H. M. Hyndman. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1916. Price, \$1 net.

—**The Struggle for Justice.** By Louis Wallis. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1916. Price, paper, 25 cents; postage, 2 cents.

—**The Beloved Physician,** Edward Livingston Trudeau. By Stephen Chalmers. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1916. Price, \$1 net.

—**The Healing of Nations and the Hidden Sources of Their Strife.** By Edward Carpenter. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1915. Price, \$1 net.

—**Free Speech for Radicals.** Enlarged Edition. By Theodore Schroeder. Published for the Free Speech League at the Hillacre Bookhouse, Riverside, Conn. 1916. Price, \$1.50.

## PERIODICALS

### The American Magazine.

A Congressman's personal experiences, told in the January issue of the American Magazine, do not show the career of a national solon to be particularly alluring. After serving several terms this Congressman finds that he dare not return to private life because he fears he will have no chance to make a living, and living expenses in Washington are so high that he has been unable to save much out of his salary. In other words this Congressman has been in personal contact with the most important problem with which he, as a legislator, ought to deal. He has had occasion to note that Washington is a city of high rents and inflated land values; that it is a haven for the idle rich, and that snobbery of a most offensive kind prevails. Has it never occurred to him that these evils are the result of conditions which laws passed by Congress have helped to create, and which Congress can do much to destroy? Apparently not. The story is anonymous, but the author has evidently been in Congress continuously since 1902. Has any member who answers to that description been working for a fundamental proposition? Not so far as is known. He has colleagues such as Bailey of Pennsylvania or Kent of California, from whom he might have learned the cause of his predicament, and of the much worse predicament of many of his constituents. But he has evidently failed to take advantage of his opportunities to learn. He faces the prospect of losing his job as Congressman, and suffering, as one of the involuntarily unemployed, the consequences of economic mal-adjustment against which he, as a legislator and representative was obligated to fight. Not knowing that his neglect of public duty is partly responsible he pathetically closes his article with the question and answer: "What am I going to do about it? I don't know. I don't know." May he learn, while he may still be useful, of the neglected opportunity and duty.

S. D.

"I have often stood in a slaughter house," observed the man from Chicago, "while the butchers were killing hogs on all sides of me."

"Oh," exclaimed the tender-hearted girl, "weren't you dreadfully afraid?"—Puck.

Mistress—What do we need for dinner?

Servant—Sure, ma'am, and I've tripped over the rug an' we need a new set of dishes.—Philadelphia Evening Ledger.



The manager of a factory inquired whether a new man was progressing with his work. The foreman, who had not agreed very well with the man in question, exclaimed: "Progressing! I have taught him everything I know, and he is still an ignorant fool."—Sacred Heart Review.



"Reggie would tango perfectly but for two things."

"Yes? What are they?"

"His feet."—San Francisco Star.

## The Magazine of American History

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## Send The Public to Your College Fraternities

A few weeks ago attention was called to the need of sending The Public to the thirty-nine schools of journalism connected with the universities of the country. Mention was also made that a list of picked assistant professors in the universities was being compiled.

One friend in Pennsylvania who wants to reach institutions of learning, sends a check to cover all the college fraternities of his university (thirty-four) and urges that other college men subscribe for The Public to be sent to the fraternities of their universities. "My experience in fraternity life," he writes, "tells me that almost every member will read all available periodicals from cover to cover. As a rule periodicals are scarce and the boys all want to read at once—when waiting for dinner, for instance."

Universities should not be ignored. They contain a lot of good raw material. Are there any further suggestions—also checks?

Whether you want to cover (1) The few schools of journalism not yet subscribed for, (2) A picked list of instructors and assistant professors or (3) Fraternities, subscriptions will be accepted at our "club" rate; that is, at the rate of two dollars for every three subscriptions.

# THE SURVEY

## The National Social Service Weekly

The Gist of it from the Issue of January 22:

**T**HE labor lid blew off in East Youngstown without apparent cause and whole blocks of smoldering ruins mark the course of the brief, fiery strike. An increase of wages sent the men back to work in the steel mills. All of the pet theories of the cause of the strike are disposed of. But John A. Fitch found rich soil for unrest in the long hours, the low pay, the bad houses, garbage-strewn streets and general indifference of a community which made no attempt to Americanize its foreign population and furnished no social agencies beyond the 22 saloons in a population of 10,000. Page 477.

**P**LAYROOMS and schoolrooms, corridors and entries so arranged as to keep each erring youngster and his mother from the gaze of the others, are features of the new children's court buildings in Seattle, San Francisco and New York. Page 486.

**I**NTRODUCING Officer Lafferty, "who would justify any settlement." Page 476.

**N**OT long ago someone objected to including the Y. W. C. A. among social agencies on the ground that "those people do nothing but run boarding houses and pray." Now, on their 50th anniversary, Dr. MacLean finds that they still run boarding houses "and thank heaven they still pray," but there are a thousand and one other things they do, too, which have won the association a place in American life. Page 481.

**B**RITISH, Dutch and French Guiana and the Dominion of Canada were the only Americans absent from the big Hemisphere Party at Washington. All 21 of the American republics sent delegates to the Pan-American Scientific Congress, which met jointly with the economists, sociologists, political scientists, civic reformers and pacifists.

**B**USINESS men of the country, voting through the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, are strongly for economic pressure to prevent war—in a word, for the boycott. But they failed to carry the referendum as to using military force if non-intercourse failed. Page 473.

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"Carl," said the teacher, "can you tell me what an inebriate is?"

"Yes, ma'am," replied Carl. "It is an animal that does not have a backbone."—Sacred Heart Review.

Now, wife, if we are going into the poultry business here is an opportunity. Neighbor Wombat has some hens he will sell us cheap."

"Oh, I wouldn't get second-hand fowls. Better start with new models, I say."—Louisville Courier-Journal.

## Frederic C. Howe On Germany

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

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

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

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

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

- The Modern City and Its Problems.....\$1.50
- European Cities at Work.....\$1.75
- Wisconsin: An Experiment in Democracy...\$1.25
- The City, the Hope of Democracy.....\$1.00
- Privilege and Democracy in America.....\$1.50
- The British City.....\$1.50

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## William Marion Reedy's Review of "He Shall Speak Peace"

UNIQUE among the books evoked by the war is "He Shall Speak Peace," published by William F. Butler, of Milwaukee. It is a compilation by one signing himself *Dignus Non Sum*—"I am not worthy"—though such work would worthen anyone.

This compiler has gathered a garland of the most fervent expressions for peace from the poets and philosophers and preachers and statesmen of the world. These are printed on the even-numbered pages, and are faced upon the odd-numbered pages by a continuous stream of quotations from the Bible in all the historic versions. This Biblical arrangement is a curiosity of itself as an exposition of the doctrine of "love thy neighbor." It is a rich and sonorous main theme upon which the quotations opposite afford an indefinitely various minor accompaniment. Most interesting is the extensive rearrangement of splendid passages from Milton in both "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained." For the rest, these variations upon the swelling and imperial theme constitute an anthology of beautiful verse and prose, showing how the heart of man at its highest echoes the admonition of the Divine Will.

The path to peace, where lies it? This sumptuous book says it is to be won through man's effort for oneness with God, who is Love. Fittingly enough one finds somewhat extensively quoted, "The Light of Asia," with its gospel of obedience, pity and renunciation, with its proclamation of Nirvana, though Nirvana is no fecundating peace.

*Dignus Non Sum* has winnowed Holy Writ of its most magical passages in support of his purpose. His acceptance of Milton is indicative of his theological acceptances, but it is the humanity and the poetry of "the lady of Christ's," as he was called when a youth at Oxford, and not this theology exactly, that harmonize Milton with the glorious loving symphony whose strophes ring and sing on the odd-numbered pages.

It is a splendid, glowing faith has *Dignus Non Sum* in the ultimate return of man to that state whence, we are told, he has fallen. The lost paradise will be regained by love of man for man, reaching out until that same love shall bind the nations. And Christ is man's exemplar. By following Him shall we come unto the happy garden whence our own disobedience banished us.

No new message this, but is it true? The answer is to each: you know it, for it sings in your heart what time you manage to forget yourself. All is, we must not be afraid to march to that music and heed none other summons to the glory of this world as autolaters conceive it.

A noble piece of pacifist propaganda, "He shall Speak Peace." If only some fifteen nations of the earth could hear its message amid the hell-tumult, could see the white, sad, kind Christ in their confronting brothers! But maybe Babylon is falling even now and the end of "Revelations" is upon us, and the new earth is come, purified, even so as by fire, into a semblance of the new heaven. Man's hope is invincible and he will not believe it yearns to a phantom of his own brain.

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Aside from the growing and probably healthy prejudice in the cities against the myriads of display sheets, cards and dodgers, in the excitement that goes to make city life, a thousand posters are very much like as many grains of sand on the sea shore.

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