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EDITORIAL

Actions Speak Louder Than Words.

Before passing the Hay army bill the House of Representatives refused to allow proposed amendments to be voted on prohibiting use of the National Guard for strike duty. And still Preparationists deny that they harbor designs against the American people!

S. D.



The Real Issue.

In protesting against passage of the government armor plate manufacturing bill, the president of the Bethlehem Steel Company fails to take into consideration the principle argument in favor of that measure. He thinks cheaper armor plate the most important consideration, when a more obvious and important one is removal of temptation to encourage such unnecessary and harmful preparedness agitation, as that from which the country is now suffering. The offer to reduce prices if the bill should not pass, does not meet the real issue.

S. D.



Adequate Preparedness.

The military question, like Banquo's ghost, will not down. A staunch friend of The Public, who began with the first number and has continued till the present, and who is entitled by every consideration to be heard in the councils of democracy, protests against the paper's opposition to "Preparedness." He objects to Lincoln's boastful declaration in 1837 that all the armies of Europe, Asia, and Africa could not reach the Ohio River; and he questions the wisdom of Professor Dillard's suggestion that we "take our stand in the new dispensation of peace and good will." He fears this opposition to "Preparedness" is "predicated on a degree of human perfection . . . which there is no warrant in thinking can be attained for many generations."



Most of the disputes of this world—and nearly all of those among friends—arise from misunderstandings. Though language was not designed for

the purpose of concealing thought, as suggested by the witty Talleyrand, it too often has that effect. To say one thing is to leave all else unsaid, and if an opponent's thought be centered upon what remains unsaid, rather than upon what has been said, the issue has not been squarely joined, and confusion must result. The term "Pacifist" has come to have as varying shades of meaning as "Preparedness." The Public can speak only for itself. Though it may lean a little more toward Tolstoyan pacifism than some Pacifists, it recognizes human nature as it is, and looks upon nations as established facts, and considers them as going concerns. Notwithstanding that other nations have never shown any disposition to attack the United States wantonly, and utterly repudiating the analogy of China, The Public waives its faith in a pure pacific policy, and concedes the more militant brethren the right of self-defense.



Here is where the confusion begins. The timid and doubting, fearing an attack from Europe or Asia, pleaded for sufficient armament to protect the country from invasion, or, as some have put it, for "adequate protection." But it has been the old story of the camel that asked to put only his head inside the tent. No sooner had the campaign for adequate preparedness been fairly launched, than it began to assume all manner of distorted forms; till it included the most powerful navy, and universal military service. Thus, at a conference of mayors at St. Louis, resolutions were unanimously adopted declaring, "We believe that the navy should be increased with all speed until we shall have become the first naval power in the world, with strength on the Atlantic equal to that of any other power on that ocean, and with additional strength upon the Pacific such as to make of us the first naval power upon that ocean." Men who are leaders of public thought are actually declaring that compulsory military service is necessary in order to nationalize our population. This is the tendency of all movements; they must go forward or go backward. Either they will drift into the absolutism of the past, or achieve the democracy aspired to by America. Few Pacifists, certainly not The Public, have objected to sufficient armament to preserve this country from invasion; but they do object to turning the nation into an armed camp such as has cursed European nations.



American thought is confused. It is not necessary that the Militarists be proven to be the pawns of armament makers, or that it is the armed man

who starts the fight. Let it be conceded that, all things considered, government contracts pay no better than private contracts, and that the leaders of the militarist movement are as devoted to American ideals—as they see them—as any other citizens; still it is true that any unnecessary governmental activities militate against necessary activities. Every dollar put into an unnecessary battleship means one less dollar to reduce illiteracy in the Tennessee mountains; and every man devoted to goose-stepping makes one less for carrying out America's mission. This is the richest of all nations; it has the men and the wealth, if it so desires, to maintain the greatest navy, and the largest army. Yet it has not one man or one dollar to waste. We have only begun to solve the problems that confront democracy. We have barely started on the task of establishing economic freedom. Yet a powerful faction is clamorous for the very course that has brought Europe to the present pass.



Those persons who would have this a World Power, in the sense of dictating to other nations, consistently advocate a fleet of dreadnaughts second to none, and universal military service; but those who would make it a World Power in the sense of setting the other nations an example, and standing as the hope of the oppressed and downtrodden, must insist that its military forces be confined to reasonable measures of self-defense. If a defense of the Monroe Doctrine means the maintenance of a navy greater than Great Britain's, then shall we do liberty more harm by far in having such a navy than we could possibly do good by keeping European governments out of South America. If passive resistance is not sufficient, then is the end not worth the means. And who is warranted in saying passive resistance is not sufficient to maintain the integrity of the Americas? It has done so for more than a century. If Europe were of one mind some of the weaker American countries might be attacked. But Europe is not and cannot be of one mind. There have always been two opposing forces; and whichever should send its army to South or Central America, would have the other on its back.



It is not for The Public to lay out a military program; that is the work of experts; but it is its duty to uphold those ideals that give promise to American democracy. There can be no agreement on the armament question until the people have agreed upon our foreign policy. If "adequate preparedness" means an army and navy that

can dictate to other nations abroad, The Public is emphatically opposed to it; but if "adequate preparedness" means a sufficient defensive armament to repel possible invaders, and that defensive armament be defined by forward-looking democrats, and not by backward-looking Tories, then The Public is in favor of it. This is the time when men and women who have seen the vision of what is to be should stand firm, and not permit the hysteria of those who know only physical force to stampede them into trampling underfoot our ideals. It is not a question of preventing the invasion of this country; but it is a question of permitting militarists, under the guise of defending the country from invasion, to create a military establishment that sooner or later will force us into foreign aggression.

S. C.

Neglecting Home Duties.

Preparedness, like charity, should begin at home. If Congress could only spare time from its feverish hunt after "foreign invasion" mare's nests, and if it had some capable, forward-looking leaders, there are worth-while problems awaiting attention. The question of fuel and power has long past the best point of settlement. Coal and oil are approaching the prohibitive point, and water power will fall in line as an auxiliary, if some such measure as the Shields bill becomes law. The Government owns a large amount of coal and oil land, both in the States and in Alaska. If that were handled on a commercial basis it could be used as a curb upon these insatiable monopolies. Or if Congress cares to exercise its power over interstate commerce it can regulate the fuel supply business as it does the common carriers. And whether or not the enhanced value of fuel, as the natural supply approaches exhaustion, is to be conserved for the people of the country, the time is fast approaching when every ounce of water-power will be needed for the service of society. A little more attention, please, Mr. Congressman, to home affairs.

S. C.

Politics and Human Lives.

It is not long since The Public called attention to the possibility of mixing our Mexican relations with the issues of a Presidential campaign. That has already come to pass. President Wilson finds it necessary to issue a statement to assure the Mexicans that he adheres to the purpose originally announced of punishing Villa and withdrawing from the country. He calls upon the press to exercise the greatest care in publishing news, in order to avoid spreading unfounded stories orig-

inated for the purpose of causing trouble between the two countries. And he issues this solemn warning:

It is my duty to warn the people of the United States that there are persons all along the border who are actively engaged in originating and giving as wide currency as they can to rumors of the most sensational and disturbing sorts which are wholly unjustified by the facts. The object of this traffic in falsehoods is obvious. It is to create intolerable friction between the government of the United States and the de facto government of Mexico for the purpose of bringing about intervention in the interests of certain American owners of Mexican property.

But this is not the worst feature of the situation. Border tales are so crude and grotesque that they soon betray themselves. Not so, however, the better covered plans of national politicians. On the same day that the President's address to the people was given out, the press dispatches announced a meeting of Republican Senators in Washington for the purpose of deciding their position on the Mexican matter. Why Republican Senators? Is it more important to define the position of a Republican Senator than an American Senator? From a party point of view, yes. It must not be forgotten that this is a Presidential year, and that the Republicans have been out of office for three years—and they are not as used to feeding on husks as the Democrats are. It is highly essential that they win the next election; and it is almost certain that they cannot win if the President carries his own plan to a successful issue. The question with the opposition to the Administration, therefore, is how to interrupt the President's plans, and win the glory for themselves.

It is not at all likely that any of these Senators, or any other leaders in high places, would deliberately lead the American army into a trap in order to discredit the Administration; but there are some who would carry their nagging criticism to the point of interrupting the President's plans, and thereby bringing on disaster. To carry out his plan of capturing Villa and withdrawing from Mexico it is necessary that the President have the confidence of the Mexican people. Should he send to the border and into Mexico all the troops that his critics are urging, it would arouse the suspicion of the natives, and might precipitate the very evil he is trying so hard to avoid. For, should the Carranza forces oppose the American troops a war would follow. Critics of the Administration dare not openly advocate intervention, but

they are urging courses that will be almost certain to lead to intervention. There are great financial interests to be served by that course; and there are political interests to be served by a failure of the punitive expedition. The wise citizen considers the source of all information, and reads between the lines.

S. C.



An Easy Challenge.

Senator Fall of New Mexico challenges President Wilson to prove that American owners of Mexican lands have spread false reports about Mexican conditions. Does not Senator Fall ever read the papers published by his fellow Mexican-land-owning interventionist, William Randolph Hearst? Or does he hold that President Wilson is unable to prove that there have been reports under flaring headlines in these papers which must be classed as something else than the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth? S. D.



Who Is Manufacturing "News"?

A press opinion from The Blast of San Francisco, reproduced on page 229 of The Public, attributed to "an enterprising Associated Press man" the sending out of a fake interview in regard to the alleged poisoner, Jean Cronos, with Alexander Berkman in New York when he happened to be in San Francisco. The matter being brought to the attention of General Manager Melville E. Stone of the Associated Press by Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard of the New York Evening Post brought the following response:

I have your memorandum to Roy Martin transmitting copy of The Public with a clipping from The Blast at San Francisco, referring to an interview with Alexander Berkman, respecting Jean Cronos. We have investigated the matter and find that we did not interview Berkman nor did we carry any story in relation to it.

The Associated Press is thus absolved of responsibility. But the fact remains that papers throughout the country did report a false interview of that kind in the form of a New York dispatch. These papers must know the agency from which they obtained it. Since this agency was not the Associated Press, it is the duty of the papers to expose the guilty one. The Chicago Tribune of February 20, for instance, had the following included in a long dispatch under a New York date line:

That Cronos is a murderous maniac, following the impulses of his own disordered mentality is the belief not only of Emma Goldman, but also of Ben Reitman and Alexander Berkman.

Emma Goldman, as well as Berkman, has denied

that such an interview took place. The incident, while in itself of little importance, shows how "news" is manufactured to suit the real or supposed prejudices of newspaper readers and publishers. Perhaps one of the papers which published this false dispatch may be public-spirited enough to name its source.

S. D.



True Patriotism.

True patriotism was well described in Henry Ford's Washington's birthday editorial:

The people of the United States are patriotic. But it is time for all to realize that patriotism does not consist merely of dying for one's country. I believe that patriotism consists more in living for the benefit of the whole world, of giving others a chance to live for themselves, their country and the world. A man is naturally patriotic, and to cry patriotism at him as is now being done throughout the country is more of an insult than a compliment.

There is sound political economy as well as solid patriotism in that sentiment. It is more patriotic to strive for economic changes needed to give all "a chance to live for themselves, their country and the world," than to urge a policy that must mean cessation of the fight against unjust social conditions. In fact, the cry of danger from a foreign enemy has long been the favorite device of interests, profiting from injustice, to draw away attention from efforts to put an end to their predatory practices. That the present movement is no exception is demonstrated by the efforts of its leaders to sidestep propositions that would make preparedness financially unprofitable to certain interests.

S. D.



Dishonoring the Flag.

If disrespect to the American flag is a crime, then the Des Moines, Iowa, officials deserve punishment who would send an eleven year old Negro boy to the State Reformatory for adhering to conscientious scruples against saluting it. If the American flag stands for freedom, then it is desecrated every time any one is forced against his will to salute it. In this Des Moines case there was more respect for the flag shown by the boy, who had the courage of his convictions, than by the unpatriotic officials who are trying to make of it an emblem of intolerance and tyranny.

S. D.



Chicago Candidates.

Chicago voters should bear in mind on April 4 the aldermen up for re-election who refused to submit to a referendum the automatic telephone sale. On the Republican side are the following candidates who helped in this outrage: Norris,

Cross, Mulac, Healy, Rea and Michaelson. On the Democratic side are Coughlin, Doyle, McNichols, Smith, Szymkowski, Bowler, Walkowiak, Bauler, Haderlein, O'Toole, Bergen and Lynch. The following Republicans, who voted right on this issue and are honored with the enmity of Mayor Thompson, should be re-elected: Nance, Kimball, Kjellander, Link, Watson and Dempsey. It would be a misfortune to the city if Alderman Rodriguez Socialist candidate in the 15th ward, should fail to be re-elected. Democratic Aldermen Richert and Block stood the test on the telephone matter and deserve re-election as also does Alderman Ray, Independent, denied a Republican renomination through Thompson's influence. A deserving Democratic candidate is Frank M. Padden, opposing Michaelson for re-election in the 33rd Ward. Miss Ellen Gates Starr of Hull House, Socialist candidate in the 19th ward, should be elected. s. d.



College Professors.

Objection is sometimes heard to the disparaging references to college teachers; and the question is asked why they are scolded so much more than other men holding similar views. If too much impatience is shown towards the college men, the provocation should not be forgotten. Patience and toleration are commendable virtues when directed toward the victims of ignorance or of physical misfortune. But when the offender is conscious of his offense, and still more when he teaches error to those who come to him for instruction, too much tolerance ceases to be a virtue. It is a bold thing to accuse a man of knowing what he says he does not know; yet, when a new thought spreads over the world, such as the law of gravity, or the Copernican theory, there comes a time when not to accept it proclaims one an ignoramus or a bigot; and when there is added, as a reward for the denial, pecuniary profit and social preferment—as was the case of those who supported chattel slavery—the question of motive sooner or later will arise.



But there is no fear that colleges and universities would share the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah if called upon to produce ten comprehending men. Professors James H. Dillard, Charlottesville, Virginia; Lewis J. Johnson, Harvard; David Felmly, Illinois Normal; George Noble Carman, Lewis Institute; Robert B. Brinsmade, formerly of University of West Virginia; Charles J. Kullmer, Syracuse; Glenn L. Swigget, University of the South; John C. Granbery, Southwestern University; Walter Rauschenbusch, Rochester; Earl Barnes, Phil-

adelphia; William E. Dodd, University of Chicago, and many other college men could be named who know and teach that a tax on labor products raises prices, reduces consumption, curtails production, and throws labor out of employment; while a tax on land values cheapens land, increases consumption, stimulates production, and raises wages. It is readily seen that men who have made a reputation along a given line, and taken a public position on certain economic questions that have been brought into the political arena, hesitate to reverse themselves; but they must realize that if they hesitate too long to adopt what is so plain to those about them it will be attributed to something more than pride of opinion. Instructors of the young, as well as political leaders of the people, and teachers of morals, have a grave responsibility resting upon them. s. c.



Business Men Take Advanced Ground.

The Committee on Taxation of the Chamber of Commerce of Fall River, Massachusetts, is evidently composed of men who are not afraid to be sneered at as "Theorists," when their theory happens to be sound. The committee has turned in a report on taxation of a kind not often presented to chambers of commerce. Yet it presents the very ideas of most value to useful business.



Most commercial bodies have advanced far enough to realize the injustice and impracticability of the general property tax. But because they have not got rid of the "ability to pay" fallacy, or do not see the need of substituting a better theory on which to base a tax system, they helplessly flounder about in trying to find a suitable substitute. This does not apply to business men alone. The same may be observed in the proposals of such so-called experts as Professor E. R. Seligman, or in the reports of such official bodies as the Mills Tax Commission of New York.



The Fall River committee disposes of the general property tax and the "ability to pay" theory. It finds that the substitutes are equally unsound, which are usually proposed by those who flounder about without a theory. The income tax, inheritance tax and real estate tax are all shown to be ethically and practically unsound. The committee takes into consideration economic laws governing production, finds that the only forms of legitimate income are rent, interest and wages, notes that while interest and wages are due to individual exertion, rent is a community created value and reaches the logical conclusion that it is therefore

wrong to take any part of wages or interest for public use, and right to take economic rent. It therefore recommends the placing of all taxes on land values.



The Fall River report is important, not because it presents something new, for it does not. But because being made to a commercial organization by a committee of its own members it is not subject to the unreasonable prejudice, prevalent in some business circles, which refuses fair consideration to any proposition, however sound, not officially approved by a business organization. It must not be supposed that the tendency among business men to take advanced ground on tax matters is confined to one city. The Fall River report may reasonably be looked upon as the kind that within a short time will be frequently made to organizations elsewhere. And there is no reason why business men engaged in productive industry should not occupy at least as progressive a position in economic matters as organized labor is taking.

S. D.



To See Where It Goes.

One of the most marvelous exhibitions of complacency has been that of the people who have permitted themselves to be taxed, without knowing whether or not there was any reason or justice in it. For years it has been customary for men to go before Congress and ask the power to levy a tax on their fellow countrymen to recoup them for losses sustained in a business that they declare could not otherwise be conducted in this country. But when the people who are taxed have doubted the good faith of these appeals, and have asked to see the books, they have been brushed aside as impertinent busybodies. But a precedent has been set by a Chicago Court that may lead to better things. The Council reduced the price of gas, and the Company protested that the price fixed did not leave a legitimate profit. The City conceded a value of \$51,000,000, but the Company claimed that its property was worth \$70,000,000; but when the Council asked to see the Company's books the request was denied. Subsequent litigation has resulted in a decision by Circuit Judge Baldwin that the Company must submit its books to an examination by experts to be named by the Council.



That such a right should ever have been questioned shows the chaotic state of the public mind in differentiating between private and public rights. Private, competitive businesses may be

conducted without government interference, so long as they observe the rules of trade; but monopoly businesses, that is, businesses enjoying a favor or privilege from the public, should be subject to public control, and that control can be intelligent and efficient only when all the facts are known. The books and accounts of every franchise business should be open to the power granting the franchise. The same rule should apply to all forms of production claiming the assistance of a protective tariff, bounty, or other public largess. If the claim is made in good faith, these can be no valid reason for denial; if it is not made in good faith the public should have the protection that comes of open accounts. s. c.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

A PROGRESSIVE SOUTH DAKOTA CANDIDATE.

Philip, South Dakota, March 16, 1916.

There is constantly accumulating evidence that light is breaking in some of the newer Western states on the iniquity of our present taxing system. Public men of first rate ability are adopting the fundamental principles, if not the entire program of the single taxers. It is refreshing, for example, to note the following in the announcement of Peter Norbeck of Redfield, South Dakota, Republican candidate for governor of that state:

"Under the present system of taxation, the burden of taxes falls most heavily upon the man who improves his property. Improvements on real property should not be discouraged by excessive taxation. The home builder should be encouraged."

This is known to be a rather mild statement of Mr. Norbeck's views of the present unjust taxing system of his state. He has come to business prominence through his business as a well driller, and has all his life been thus directly concerned in the improvement of real estate. Consequently he has had an opportunity to learn at first hand something of the unjust burden imposed upon the empire builder by our present tax on improvements. Mr. Norbeck has served several terms in the State Senate of South Dakota, and is at the present time Lieutenant Governor. Barring political accidents he will be the next Governor of this State, and the dry bones of an ancient taxation system are apt to get a rude shaking up.

Western South Dakota especially presents a fertile field for tax reform. Considerably more than three-fourths of the real estate of that locality is owned by non-residents, whose holdings are entirely unimproved and uncultivated. These amiable gentlemen are patiently awaiting the day when the efforts of the pioneer settlers will increase the real estate values of the entire region and afford a rich harvest of unearned increment. Here is the fat land hog waiting for the industry of others to make him richer. Here is land monopoly in the making.

ALVIN WAGGONER.

WHAT IS DOING IN CANADA.

Toronto, Ont., March 15.

While the Commission on Industrial Relations was making its investigations and preparing its report, at Washington, another Commission, one appointed by the Dominion Government, was preparing a report on the Cost of Living.

The contrast between these two commissions could not well be greater. The Canadian commission consisted of three gentlemen, who, however worthy they might be in integrity or ability, were unfitted for that work by one fatal objection, they were government employees, and therefore their work was discounted from the beginning. For two years they have labored compiling two huge volumes with the cost prices of well-nigh everything under the sun, with one exception, and that exception should have received the foremost consideration; for it is the most important factor in the cost of living, namely, the value of the land. The report is Hamlet with Hamlet left out.

Respecting the Tariff the following Solomon-like decision is given: "Whether any other practicable and satisfactory system of taxation can be found to replace the Customs Tariff system is an unsettled question. It is to be remembered that political economy is not an exact science, and that an investigation into the ultimate economic bearing of protection and free trade, for practical purposes, must take into consideration the question of unemployment and other factors bearing on the welfare of the community as a whole," and so on.

There is just one redeeming feature in this bulky document, namely, the printing of a communication forwarded by the Singletax Association of Toronto, which pointed out that, while there had been an advance of from 25 to 50 per cent in the market price of a great many commodities, the price of the land in this city had advanced from nothing, a little more than a hundred years ago, to \$261,000,000 a few years ago, and that the speculators had succeeded in putting up the price of the land in many cases faster than the builders with all their industry put up the value of the buildings, and that the assessment of the land in Calgary stood at upwards of \$100,000,000 while the value of the buildings was less than \$21,000,000, or five to one.

Another commission has also been sitting, appointed by the government of Ontario, to report on the question of unemployment. Mr. A. B. Farmer, the president of our association, and myself appeared before this commission and we are glad to state that the report of the commission contains the following recommendations: "The question of a change in the present method of taxing land, especially vacant land, is, in the opinion of your commission, deserving of consideration. It is evident that speculation in land and the withholding from use and monopolizing of land suitable for housing and gardening involve conditions detrimental to the community and to persons with small means. Further, land values are peculiarly the growth of population and public expenditures, etc."

Two or three years ago the Council of the city of Toronto, sent to the Ontario Legislature a Bill containing some clauses, which would give the council the power to reduce taxes on buildings, incomes and

personalty. The bill at that time was conveniently set aside by a committee. Now the Council has determined to send it back to the legislature, and we are hoping that this time there will be a better reception.

The war has compelled a revision of the methods of taxation. A year ago the Finance Minister added five per cent to the preferential tariff and seven and a half to the general tariff, bringing up the tariff on woolen goods, which are so important in this country, to 30 per cent, 37½ or 42½, according to the country from which they are imported. This year he has been compelled to look for more taxes and now he proposes to take one-fourth of the profit in excess of seven per cent from incorporated companies and one-fourth of the excess over ten per cent of private firms.

The Singletax Association of Toronto has not failed to point out to government the injustice of this method of taxation which strikes at the necessary businesses of the country, while not the first step is taken to reach the land speculators and the ground-lords.

Some of the municipal councils have petitioned the Ontario Legislature to place a head tax for war purposes on all young men without family cares at the rate of five dollars per head. As this was intended to reach the workmen who bear far too much already of the burden of the war, our Association at once communicated with the labor unions and asked them to sign petitions against this iniquitous proposal. Many of the unions have done this, and a few days ago a deputation from the Trades and Labor Council waited on the members of the government to press this matter on them. In this way the Association gets the co-operation of the unions to push for the proper method of taxation.

Our Finance Minister is now asking for authority to float a new loan of \$75,000,000. The everlasting indebtedness goes on. Since confederation in 1867 the indebtedness has increased at the rate of more than \$6,000,000 yearly. This refers to the federal government without counting the provincial and municipal indebtedness or the indebtedness under mortgages and otherwise. Some of the labor leaders are protesting against this method of mortgaging industry for the years to come; but the protest is not yet by any means so determined and emphatic as it should be.

W. A. DOUGLASS.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND BABIES.

Minneapolis, Minn., March 22.

When I read the notice in the street car: Three hundred thousand babies die every year before they reach one year of age, I thought "What's the use of worrying about 300,000 babies dying when 500,000 grown-ups are killed or crippled for life in the industries yearly? The babies are the lucky ones. They escape being killed in the industries when they grow up.

I got to wondering why 500,000 lives should be sacrificed—why 300,000 babies should die ever year, and I thought we don't care much for life here in

America. We had better not criticise Germany and the Allies for their wholesale murder. It is here on a smaller scale.

I had been in a railroad accident just a few days before, in which five people were killed and a great many injured. Do you think an accident like that could have happened if the life of an individual was considered of any value in the United States? Accidents like this are happening every day. I had never been in a railroad accident before, and it is only when you see coaches shattered into kindling wood and human beings crushed like pressed beef that you pause and think: Human life isn't worth much here in America.

While I was meditating on the value of life here in our country I recalled what Rosie Schniederman of New York stated in one of her lectures, when she was campaigning for suffrage in Ohio. She said: "In some of the factories of New York the doors are locked at noon so that the mothers cannot go home and nurse their babies." What value does our economic system put on a human life when conditions like this exist?

Atrocities are occurring to human beings every day here in America. What about the Ludlow massacre; when eleven women and children were smothered to death in a tent by the militia; and miners clubbed and put in prison because of free speech? Human life isn't worth any more here in the United States than in Europe. We will have a great war eventually unless the people as a whole wake up to the fact that their lives are valuable and must be respected as such.

Being interested in a work to save the babies is a mighty fine thing, but it is dealing with effects and not causes.

Most of these 300,000 babies do not die because of ignorance. They die because of poverty.

Under ideal conditions any mother can raise a baby and raise it right. If something comes up that the mother does not understand, there is always a grandmother or a good neighbor to go to for advice. If the baby is sick, the doctor is called; if it is necessary, a nurse is phoned for. If the baby needs other milk besides mother's milk, it can be bought.

How many mothers can raise their babies under ideal conditions? It takes money to have babies, doctors, nurses, food, clothing, etc.

Hundreds of babies die every year because mothers can't afford to have the above necessities. It isn't that they are ignorant. Something is wrong with our economic system, when some women can afford to bathe in milk, while babies die for lack of it.

I believe the time would be better spent studying causes and not effects. In other words, it would be better to find out why 300,000 babies die every year than to teach the people about the food, clothing and care of babies. That reform can follow later. Really nothing of great value can be accomplished until the cause—poverty—is removed.

Do you know there are a great many people who would not be poor if they could use the land, or if the rent was cheaper? Most everyone has dreamed of the time when he could own his own home and land, raise chickens, cows and have eggs, and so on. If all the people who had such dreams could get the land there would be just that many less poor people—just that many less babies to die.

It is poverty we want to eradicate. The people want work, and not charity, so they can take care of their babies. They want a system that will give everyone the right to work—the right to live—that will abolish the need of charity and give to the people the land created for them by God. When we have such economic conditions we won't have to worry about the annual death of 300,000 babies.

CHARLOTTE SMITH.



THE INCOME TAX AS A TEMPORARY EXPEDIENT.

Bryn Mawr, Pa., Feb. 20.

The formation of an association "for an equitable federal income tax," the membership of which includes the names of many well known Singletaxers, makes pertinent an inquiry into the justice and expediency of an income tax, and its bearing upon the Singletax movement.

The income tax is defended on the ground that a person's income is a measure of his ability to pay, but, although certain professional services are charged for on this basis, it is no criterion of justice. The incidence of the income tax is intricate and uncertain. Where it increases the cost of production, the tax is shifted to the consumer in higher prices, and wherever it interferes with industry it has a tendency to discourage effort and retard progress. In method it is inquisitorial and burdensome, subjecting citizens to bureaucratic interference with private affairs. Failing to appeal to the taxpayer's sense of justice, it encourages perjury and makes it profitable. To guard against this tendency requires an army of clerks and spies, and the enactment of severe penalties destined to be borne by small offenders who cannot afford legal advice. Instead of securing justice and extending liberty, the income tax (like every tax except that on land values), circumscribes personal rights, and strengthens the autocratic power of the State. Its influence is doubly dangerous at this time when the Prussian doctrine of State supremacy has gained wide acceptance, threatening the foundations of freedom.

It must be as a matter of expediency that so many Singletaxers have joined the advocates of the federal income tax. Presumably they argue that it is the lesser of two evils; that it is advisable to accept it in order to stave off a worse calamity in the shape of loans or increased customs taxes. It is doubtless true that a tax levied upon large incomes reaches some of the profits of privilege and monopoly; but, having paid for them in this way, the beneficiaries will be strengthened in the defense of vested interests, and will look to their partner, the State, for support. The more successful this method is in reaching unearned wealth, the harder will it become to supplant it with the only method which is four square with justice; the only one which offers (as its most important feature) a solution for the manifold social problems which confront society. However expedient it may seem at the present time to advocate the extension of the income tax, it would be well to count the cost; for it may prove that Singletaxers have made a vital mistake in giving their opponents an opportunity of calling to their assistance the general sense of justice and fair

play. Are we not surrendering the only invincible weapon?

Sir John Macdonell, in *The Land Question* (1873), gave this warning:

De Tocqueville has told us—and it scarcely needed a De Tocqueville to tell us—that a danger ahead in democratic times is the danger lest the power of the government should be employed by "our masters" in bleeding the rich, and absorbing the earnings of all those whose means tower above their neighbors. Communism, or some of its evils, may invade us under the guise of improved taxation or a democratic budget. Graduated income taxes may be gradients to it. And truly, when no principle governs the selection of taxes, or the amount to be taken by means of them, it is hard to convince the interested that they are pushing taxation to extremity. Let those, therefore, who regard the advent of democracy as inevitable, and who do not desire to see governments rulling by largess extorted from the wealthy by the proletariat, welcome a revenue system which seems to set natural limits and barriers to the demands of potent and rapacious poverty. Let them recollect that there is a peril lest future revenue come from the income tax; that the majority of the electors are not subject to it; that they may encourage resort to it; and that, indeed, this danger almost approaches a certainty, unless we manage to dispense with an income tax. Let them embrace with gladness a system which enlists justice on their side, or rather, what is different, a consciousness on the part of the rapacious that justice is against them. It may prove well hereafter if the share of the State is defined almost as sharply as the portion of the capitalist or the laborer.

England failed to heed this warning, and the rapid development of the income tax has doubtless delayed the reform whose first faltering advance has recently been halted by the reactionaries into whose hands the government fell as a result of the war.

In supporting the income tax are not Singletaxers committing the same mistake that they would make in advocating homestead laws or peasant proprietorship, or any other seeming approximation to the ideal which they have at heart; an approximation which, by denying the principle at stake, renders more remote the hope of final success?

FRANK W. GARRISON.



BASIS OF VALUE.

Indianapolis, March 21, 1916.

My economic investigations have led me to believe that the source of value is the same both as to labor products and land, both growing out of the development of society. Labor in itself does not produce value. It merely produces the things to which value attaches, demand only determining the amount of value (price) attaching to individual pieces of wealth. It is also true that demand also determines the price of each particular piece or parcel of land, but is not the social source of its value. The social expression of value is usefulness, human need and desires, personal gratifications, in a multitude of forms, all growing out of social development.

While there is no difference in the nature of value, whether attaching to land or labor products, there is a vital difference in its effect upon the distribution of wealth under present institutions. Values attaching to labor products are constantly being released by the consumption or the decay of such products and are as constantly reappearing in new

labor products. Here is the real market and basis of all prosperity.

But what happens to the value which attaches to land? It may shift from one locality to another, but land not being a labor product, and also fixed in quantity, and as it neither is consumed or decays, its value can not be distributed in the labor products market. It inevitably becomes merely a tribute to ownership. The only way this value can be distributed to society is in using its annual rental for public service.

Therefore, as it seems to me, this is the answer to the proposition that demand gives value to other things than land:

Demand does not GIVE value either to land or "other things." It only DETERMINES the amount of value (price) attaching to particular pieces of land or individual "things." Value attaching to "other things" than land is released by consumption of these "things" and immediately reappears in new "things" — all labor products. Value attaching to land may shift to different localities, but land being fixed in quantity and not consumable its value does not go into labor products but becomes merely a tribute from industry to land ownership. As a social product land value can only benefit society through the using of its annual rent for public service. By so using this annual rent land would be removed from the competitive market, its sale no longer being a private profit-bearing transaction. Demand for land would then be for occupancy and use only—not speculation—determined by its location and annual rent, and the value formerly attaching to land would merge into "other things," and therefore enormously extending the market for labor products. Annual land rent, as a tax, being used for all public services no other taxes would be needed, and industry would be free.

It also seems to me that the word "benefit" is often used as though it were synonymous with "value," which leads to confusion. Some given general public improvement, for instance, may be generally beneficial to the community, as to convenience or safety, but only to land owners would fall the value growing out of such improvement. Orderly government would be generally beneficial, but under such conditions the values of merchandise, houses, etc., would tend to cheapen rather than rise as compared with articles of same character where order was uncertain and life unsafe. Value of land in the former instance would tend upward and in the latter it would tend downward, thus reversing the effect as to labor products.

JOHN F. WHITE.



The despotism of heaven is the one absolutely perfect government. An earthly despotism would be the absolutely perfect earthly government, if the conditions were the same, namely, the despot the perfect individual of the human race, and his lease of life perpetual. But as a perishable perfect man must die, and leave his despotism in the hands of an imperfect successor, an earthly despotism is not merely a bad form of government, it is the worst form that is possible.—Mark Twain.



The true greatness of a nation is founded on principles of humanity, and not on conquest.—Thomas Paine.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, March 28, 1916.

Opposing Preparedness.

Under the heading, "A Challenge Accepted," the Anti-Preparedness Committee issued on March 27 the following:

Whereas, President Wilson, speaking recently in St. Louis, challenged those who differ with him as to the immediate need for unusual naval and military preparations to "hire large halls" and state their case to the public; and

Whereas, The various militarist organizations masquerading as "defense" societies and falsely claiming that they alone can speak for American patriotism are deliberately creating a widespread condition of hysteria as to the safety of this country, and the danger of foreign invasion; and

Whereas, This reckless propaganda of militarism and jingo-imperialism if allowed to go on unchecked will inevitably lead to the destruction of the principles of liberty and freedom upon which the hope of American democracy is based;

We hereby announce that we have accepted the President's challenge and have hired the largest halls in New York, April 6; Buffalo, April 7; Cleveland, April 8; Detroit, April 9; Chicago, April 10; Minneapolis, April 11; Des Moines, April 12; Kansas City, April 13; St. Louis, April 14; Cincinnati, April 15, and Pittsburgh, April 16, where the following American citizens, who have volunteered their services, will set forth the truth about preparedness: Stephen S. Wise, Washington Gladden, Scott Nearing, James H. Maurer, Herbert Bigelow, A. H. Weatherly, Gen. Isaac R. Sherwood, Amos Pinchot, A. A. Berle, John Haynes Holmes, John A. McSparran, Martin Hardin. Signed, Anti Preparedness Committee, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.



Congressional Doings.

The House passed on March 23 the Hay army bill by a vote of 402 to 2. The opposition votes were cast by London of New York, Socialist, and Britten of Illinois, Republican. Britten's opposition was due to the alleged inadequacy of the measure. The House rejected by 213 to 191 a proposed amendment by Congressman Kahn to increase the army to 220,000. On the preceding day, in committee of the whole, Congressman London offered the following amendment:

That no member of the National Guard shall be called upon to perform duty in connection with the suppression of strikes.

This was ruled out of order by the chairman on the ground that the word "strike" has not yet been defined by "a court of any responsible govern-

ment agency." Mr. London then re-introduced his amendment in the following form:

That no member of the National Guard shall be called upon to perform duty in connection with any controversy which may arise between capital and labor.

This was ruled out of order on the ground that there is "no legal definition of 'contests between capital and labor.'" Mr. Keating of Colorado then offered the following amendment:

That no member of the National Guard shall be called upon to perform duty in connection with controversies between employers and employes where the question at issue is one of hours of labor, wages, working conditions or the right of either side of the controversy to organize for the safeguarding of its legal interests.

This was ruled out on the ground that it was not germane to the purpose of the bill. On appeal the decision was sustained. [See current volume, page 274.]



The Senate passed, on March 21 by 58 to 23, the Tillman bill to provide for a government armor plate factory to cost no more than \$11,000,000. This action caused a statement to be sent to the House Committee on Naval Affairs by Eugene C. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Steel Co. Mr. Grace said in part as follows:

The Senate has passed the bill to construct a Government armor plant at a cost of \$11,000,000. If the House should pass this bill it will mean that as soon as the new plant is constructed, the twenty odd million dollars now invested in privately owned plants will have been rendered practically valueless, for existing plants have ample capacity to meet all the needs of the Government.

The question, however, should not be determined merely with reference to the interests of private manufacturers; it should be decided with reference to the interests of the people as a whole, and especially with supreme regard for adequate national defense. . . .

We will manufacture one-third, or such additional quantity as may be awarded to us, of the armor-plate required for the contemplated five-year naval program (estimated at approximately 120,000 tons) at a price of \$395 for side armor, as compared with the price of \$425 now obtaining. The proposed price is lower than has been paid by the Government for more than ten years.

If the foregoing price is not satisfactory, we will agree to permit any well-known firm of chartered public accountants to inventory our plant and make careful estimates of the cost of manufacture; with that data in hand we will meet with the Secretary of the Navy and agree to manufacture armor at a price which will be entirely satisfactory to him. . . .

We are today selling armor to the United States Government at a lower price than any other large naval power in the world is paying, even where the government has itself embarked in the business. Not only is that true, but the specifications in the United States are much more rigid and the wages

paid are very much higher than those prevailing in any foreign country.

England buys its armor from five privately owned plants, and is now paying \$503 a ton. Germany has two privately owned plants, and is paying \$490 a ton. The United States pays \$425 a ton, and we now offer to reduce that figure by \$30 a ton.



The Senate Democratic caucus on March 27 decided, by a vote of 23 to 7, to present a substitute for the House bill repealing the free sugar clause. The substitute limits extension of the present duty of one cent a pound to 1920. The Louisiana Senators opposed the limitation.



Tax Reform News.

The Committee on Taxation of the Fall River, Massachusetts, Chamber of Commerce, after a year's deliberation, made a report on March 15. The Committee consists of C. R. Padelford, S. B. Chase and Dr. John Gilbert. Mr. Padelford is a prominent optician, Mr. Chase is president of the Metacomet National Bank and connected with several manufacturing enterprises, and Dr. Gilbert is a well-known physician. The Committee's conclusions are stated in part as follows:

That taxation of industry cannot be excused either on moral or economic grounds. That the land value tax can and should furnish the funds for public works. We recommend that the Chamber of Commerce assist in the passage of the constitutional amendment striking out the word "proportional;" that home rule taxation be advocated; that the plotting survey now being worked out be completed as soon as possible, and that the Somers system of realty valuation be instituted when the survey is completed. . . .

To tax in accordance with "ability to pay" without regard to benefits conferred is inconsistent with any principle of just government. We should no more think of taxing regardless of the "benefits which the contributors may severally derive" than a merchant should think of charging his customer in proportion to his ability to pay regardless of the value of the goods that he sold him. . . .

Objections, both ethical and practical, which apply to the general property tax, apply with equal force to the income tax. To tax a man in proportion to the wealth which he produces is really to fine him for benefiting the community—truly a nonsensical procedure. In the collection of an income tax, public officials, fully as much as in the case of the personal property tax, are dependent on declarations made by those who may be liable under the law.

An inheritance tax evidently cannot be depended upon as a source of steady and permanent revenue. It seems difficult to see justice in its application.

A tax on real estate includes a tax on land, and a tax also upon improvements. A tax upon improvements, so far as it has a direct effect, discourages the improvement of property; it is simply a fine imposed for industry. It lessens the demand for labor, and therefore tends to reduce wages, to increase un-

employment and to lessen materially the prosperity of our industrial system.

There are but three forms of legitimate income: rent, interest and wages. Production occurs through the combination of three factors: land, capital and labor. Rent is what is paid for the use of a natural agent, which may be land, water privileges or power, or deposits of minerals. Interest is the return given to capital. Wages are the earnings of labor, mental and physical. We have seen that to tax wealth and capital is wrong in principle and unworkable in practice. A tax levied upon interest is, of course, an income tax, and as objectionable, in many ways, as a tax on wages.

Rent is a community-created value. Fundamentally it is an income to which the community and the community alone has any just claim. In this conception there is no denial of an individual's right to own land, nor limitation of his property rights. A distinction must be made between land and its society-created value. The individual's right is to land; the community's right is to economic rent, which the community creates. The selling value of land is the capitalization of its ground rent.

As to the adequacy of a land-value tax, there can now be no question. If all other taxes were to be abolished, the tax which the average farmer would be called upon to pay would be but about 70 per cent of what he now pays. If the city of Boston were to assess only its land, and this on the basis of its present valuation, abolishing all other taxes, there would be required for public purposes less than 50 per cent of its ground rents.

The land value system of taxation is not dependent on abstract reasoning alone for a demonstration of its practical value. Many towns and cities in the provinces of western Canada and several political districts in New Zealand and Australia have adopted to a considerable extent this method of raising revenue. . . .

In cities of the second class in Pennsylvania, by special act of the legislature, the reduction of the taxation of improvements has already begun. Houston, Tex., in the few years that the land-value tax has been the chief means by which revenue has been raised, has experienced phenomenal growth. Galveston, San Antonio, Waco and Beaumont have taken steps toward the adoption of the same plan.



An initiative amendment proposed by Herbert S. Bigelow is about to be circulated for signatures in Ohio. It provides for pensions sufficient to assure one dollar a day to all persons over 60 years of age, and for support of dependent children. The funds may be raised either by income, inheritance, or land value taxes, and any municipality is to be empowered to decide for itself the manner by which it will raise this fund.



The Equitable Federal Income Tax League, in an address to Congress on March 27, objects to a Federal inheritance tax, holding that that method should be left to the states, and says further:

It is unwise to have conflicting and competing tax systems. By common consent, the States, excepting Wisconsin, Massachusetts and two or three southern

States, have left the income tax to the Federal Government. The income tax, the rates of which can easily be increased or reduced to meet fiscal exigencies, is best adapted for the Federal Government. Through the efforts of this and similar organizations, a bill providing for a State income tax in New York has been killed. The common sense of the people of this State revolted against this proposal to embarrass the Federal Government financially, but the levying of a Federal inheritance tax would seem to justify such an act of reprisal as levying a State income tax. The Federal income tax will yield all additional revenue the Federal Government needs, and permit the tax on sugar to be repealed May 1, 1917.



Dearth of Men Teachers in Philadelphia.

A situation developed in the public schools of Philadelphia is explained by the following public notice sent out by a woman teacher:

When the Pennsylvania legislature in April, 1915, passed the law providing for the establishment of continuation schools it created a much needed opportunity for minors to add to their equipment for a successful working out of their career as citizens.

The courses offered in "civics" and "hygiene" alone will put within the reach of the working minor whose regular school training has been too early brought to a pause certain groups of facts valuable to him, not only as an individual, but even more to the community in which he must live as worker, citizen and eventually, perhaps, parent.

When Philadelphia threw open her classes for the benefit of these pupils, registration figures showed that the sexes were equal. Even at the close of January, the first month in their operation, there were 1,900 boys and 1,901 girls. But at this point equality ceased.

The maximum salary offered to women teachers engaged in this work is \$1,200, to men \$1,500. Despite numerous invitations to men to avail themselves of the \$1,500 offer, only one man had responded up to the close of January. Therefore pedagogic experts who claim that adolescent boys should be taught by men found themselves face to face with a grave situation—only one man for nearly 2,000 boys.

And now that continuation schools have been in existence for nearly three months, the showing of male teachers is exceedingly small, only four or five at the most having joined the ranks.

Does it not therefore seem only a matter of justice that the women, upon whom has fallen the burden of organization and all the formidable tasks incidental to the new order of things are fully entitled to the maximum of \$1,500, which the great body of male teachers have seen fit to reject with scorn?



In Defense of the Magons.

Edgeumb Pinchon, secretary of the Workers' International Defense League, with headquarters at 621 American Bank building, Los Angeles, issued on March 10 a statement as follows:

On February 18 the Brothers Ricardo and Enrique Magon, editors of *El Regeneracion*, a weekly paper published in Los Angeles in the interests of the working class in Mexico, were arrested and jailed.

In the course of the arrest Enrique was beaten so severely as to require treatment at the Emergency hospital.

The Magons are charged with having used the mails to incite murder, arson and treason, the indictment being based upon certain passages in a recent issue of *El Regeneracion* in which the Mexican peons are warned against trusting in the good faith of the Carranza administration and counseled to continue the struggle for "land and liberty."

We may have our differences of opinion as to the wisdom of our comrades' propaganda, but we must admit that they have been fearless upholders of the ideal of free land and free men in Mexico. Already they have suffered three penitentiary sentences for the cause they represent; and at each release they have undauntedly resumed their work of agitation—amid ill health, hardship and the risk of death.

Since their last release they have labored with a group of comrades on a little co-operative ranch near Los Angeles. Here with a rude hand-printing press and a barn for offices they have published *El Regeneracion*, and it was here that they were arrested—to face another long term in jail while yet in broken health from many years of persecution and excessive work.

Recent events should put us keenly on our guard. There is no doubt that the financial powers of this country are eager for an era of commercial imperialism backed by the bayonets of "preparedness." To these ambitions there is no serious opposition save that voiced by the labor and radical press. And it would seem that we are now at the beginning of a most determined attack upon our liberties of speech and press, the first trench in our defense—and one that must be well guarded.

A Workers' International Defense League of Los Angeles has been organized in affiliation with similar leagues in San Francisco, Chicago and New York, with headquarters at 621 American Bank building. The first meeting was held February 25 of the present year, when a form of organization was agreed upon and a full list of officers elected. . . .

The league has set itself to raise the \$10,000 bail required for the Magons; and has retained Attorneys J. H. Ryckman and E. E. Kirk as counsel.

Funds are urgently needed to carry on the defense. Send contributions to P. D. Noel, financial secretary, 621 American Bank building, Los Angeles, Cal.



Mexico and the United States.

A week of arduous campaigning on the part of the American troops composing the punitive expedition in Mexico has brought the advance column within a half day's march of Villa's band, which is reported as south of Madera, and fleeing toward the foothills of the Sierras. General Pershing established his first base at Casas Grandes, and has established a new base 120 miles south, or 230 miles from the border. He has been using the Mexico Northwestern Railroad between Casas Grandes and Madera, but the use of the road to El Paso is delayed by the negotiations between the two governments. An agreement is expected shortly. [See current volume, page 278.]

Villa is said to have defeated a small Carranza garrison at Namiquipa, at which point his command embraced about 400. He is recruiting by forcing boys into his ranks as he moves through the country. Dead and starving horses left in his wake indicate desperate straits. Increasing friendliness and confidence on the part of the natives is apparent as they become accustomed to the presence of the troops. The presence of the American dollar where the people have so long had an all but worthless currency, and a respect for property is having a wholesome effect. The buying of supplies of the natives is the first legitimate commerce seen by them since the war began, and is establishing more wholesome relations with the Mexican populace. "We need missionaries as much as we do fighting men," said one staff officer to a correspondent. And General Pershing adds:

American money and the exemplary behavior of our troops are working wonders. In towns where a few days ago not a soul was to be seen on the streets when our troops passed men, women and children now mingle freely with the troops, and the more intelligent of them are spreading the word that we have not come to invade Mexico, but solely to capture Villa.



The reports and rumors of Carranza desertions to Villa, of Mexican murders of Americans, of invasions, and of uprisings, that have been such a disgrace to the American press news service, are subsiding. So bad did this condition become that President Wilson issued to the American public on the 25th, and had telegraphed to American Consuls in Mexico, the following statement:

As has already been announced, the expedition into Mexico was ordered under an agreement with the de facto government of Mexico for the single purpose of taking the bandit, Villa, whose forces had invaded the territory of the United States, and is in no sense intended as invasion of that republic, or as infringement of its sovereignty.

I have therefore asked the several news services to be good enough to assist the Administration in keeping this view of the expedition constantly before both the people of this country and the distressed and sensitive people of Mexico, who are very susceptible, indeed, to impressions received from the American press not only, but also very ready to believe that these impressions proceed from the views and object of our government itself. Such conclusions, it must be said, are not unnatural, because the main if not the only source of information for the people on both sides of the border is the public press of the United States.

In order to avoid the creation of erroneous and dangerous impressions in this way, I have called upon the several news agencies to use the utmost care not to give news stories regarding this expedition the color of war, to withhold stories of troop movements and military preparations which might be given that interpretation, and to refrain from publishing unverified rumors of unrest in Mexico.

I feel that it is most desirable to impress upon both our own people and the people of Mexico the fact that the expedition is simply a necessary punitive measure, aimed solely at the elimination of the marauders who raided Columbus and who infest an unprotected district near the border, which they use as a base in making attacks upon the lives and property of our citizens within our own territory.

It is the purpose of our commanders to co-operate in every possible way with the forces of General Carranza in removing this cause of irritation to both governments and retire from Mexican territory as soon as that object is accomplished.

It is my duty to warn the people of the United States that there are persons all along the border who are actively engaged in originating and giving as wide currency as they can to rumors of the most sensational and disturbing sorts which are wholly unjustified by the facts. The object of this traffic in falsehoods is obvious.

It is to create intolerable friction between the government of the United States and the de facto government of Mexico for the purpose of bringing about intervention in the interests of certain American owners of Mexican property. This object cannot be obtained so long as sane and honorable men are in control of this government, but very serious conditions may be created, unnecessary bloodshed may result and the relations between the two republics may be very much embarrassed.

The people of the United States should know the sinister and unscrupulous influences that are afoot and should be on their guard against crediting any story coming from the border; and those who disseminate the news should make it a matter of patriotism and of conscience to test the source and authenticity of every report they receive from that quarter.



Reports from Vera Cruz state that the forces of Diaz and Zapata have joined in the State of Morelos, about a hundred miles south of Mexico City, and that their combined forces, numbering 10,000, expect to march on the capital. General Carranza is said to have a large force to meet them.



European War.

Verdun is losing its pre-eminence as a center of interest. The deadly assaults of infantry are giving way to artillery duels; and even these show a tendency to slacken. Bombardment of the city has led to fires and to some destruction of buildings; but as the inhabitants are practically all out of the city, the casualties are slight. Heavy assaults were made by the German forces west of the Meuse with sustained determination; but although small gains were made they did not materially affect the general situation. Military critics now hold that it is impractical for the Germans to take Verdun. Artillery duels occur at various points on the western front. The British exploded a mine near St. Eloi, south of Ypres, on the 27th, and

took 500 yards of the first and second line trenches. [See current volume, page 278.]



On the eastern front the Russians continue to press their attacks with increasing vigor. Petrograd reports successes at several points on the line between Riga and Dvinsk, and south of Dvinsk, taking prisoners, and pressing back the German line. The Germans claim to be repulsing all attacks. The breaking up of winter, with bad weather and soft ground, hamper operations on a large scale. Reports of movements north of Saloniki are interpreted as portending an attack by the troops of the Central Powers. Continuous fighting between the Austrians and Italians along the Isonzo front is reported, but as yet without material effect on the general situation. In the East, Russia is reported as bombarding Trebizond, and as pushing her armies southward and westward. In Mesopotamia the British are reported as assuming the offensive south of Bagdad.



Both aerial and submarine warfare are assuming more importance. British seaplanes, taken to the coast of Schleswig-Holstein by small war vessels, raided the German airship sheds. Three of the five planes were lost. One German torpedo boat and two armed coast patrol boats were lost; and one British destroyer was sunk by a collision in a snowstorm, which hampered operations. Several ships have been sunk, but as no warning was given it is unknown whether they were destroyed by mines or by torpedoes. The packet *Sussex*, running between Calais and Dover, was torpedoed by a submarine. An undertermined number of forty to fifty persons were killed by the explosion or were drowned. The remaining large passenger list were saved, and the vessel towed into Boulogne. The Dominion Line Steamer *Englishman* was sunk within the war zone, and several of the crew are still missing, among whom it is supposed are some Americans. It is unknown whether the sinking was due to a mine or to a torpedo. The United States Government is taking every means to find out whether any Americans have lost their lives on these vessels before taking action. Neither of these vessels was armed. Other vessels have been reported torpedoed in the North Sea and in the Mediterranean. The British government gives out a report, withheld since February 29, of a battle between a German raider and a British merchantman with light armament. Both vessels were sunk. The arrival of British cruisers saved such of the crews as had not been killed.

A conference of the leaders of the Entente Allies met in Paris on the 27th. This conference, which includes the premiers and political and military leaders of Great Britain, France and Serbia, and representatives and generals from Italy, Russia, Belgium and Japan, is mapping a program

in which the several countries can work toward a common end. The purpose in view is to establish such a complete understanding that there will be no working at cross purposes during the continuance of the war, or in the political settlement that follows.



China.

The magnitude of the Chinese uprising, though slightly treated in foreign dispatches, may be measured by its effect upon the central government. The state department at Peking announced on the 22nd the abandonment of the monarchy, and the resumption of the Republic. The mandate says the revolution shows that the demand for a monarchical form of government is not unanimous, and that therefore Yuan Shi Kai rejects the emperorship and resumes the presidency. Hsu Shih Chang, who left the cabinet because of the change to the monarchical form of government, signed the mandate as secretary of state. [See vol. xviii, p. 1221; current volume, pages 36, 279.]



The Chinese Republic resulted from the revolution of 1911, which followed the struggle for constitutional reform that began in 1906. Concessions were made by the Emperor, giving the people a Constitution and a Parliament, but always with enough lacking to irritate the people and keep them in a state of unrest. In the middle of October, 1911, the rebels captured Wuchang, which led to the culmination of the revolution in the election of Sun Yat Sun provisional President of the Chinese Republic. December 29, 1911, and the abdication of the Emperor, February 12, 1912. Yuan Shi Kai was elected President February 15, 1912. But his administration was so arbitrary and tyrannical that the rebellion was continued, but finally ended in the triumph of Yuan's forces. Constitutional government was encroached upon, and finally set aside. The dictatorship led finally to a pretended popular decision in December, 1915, to convert the Republic into a monarchy, with Yuan Shi Kai as Emperor. Great Britain, Russia, and Japan protested against the change during the war; but the President persisted in his determination. When, however, a new uprising in protest took place and continued to gain headway, the whole procedure was reversed, and the Republic was restored under Yuan Shi Kai as President, instead of as Emperor.



The state council, at a special session on the 28th, rescinded all monarchical legislation, and restored the laws of the Republic affected by the monarchical movement. The council then adjourned permanently, as an evidence of admission of error. No progress has been made in the negotiations between the Peking government and the revolutionists in the southern provinces. Former Prime Minister Tang Shao-Yi, now at Shanghai,

urges President Yuan Shi Kai, as a means of restoring order, to retire in favor of Vice-President Li Yuan Hung.

NEWS NOTES

—All the fortifications for the Panama Canal are nearing completion. The 14-inch guns are on the Isthmus, and will soon be in place at either end of the canal.

—The second annual convention of the Vocational Educational Association of the Middle West will meet at the Hotel La Salle, Chicago, on March 30 and 31 and April 1.

—Dr. Karl Helfferich, secretary of the imperial treasury, told the Reichstag on the 24th that the fourth German loan had been a complete success. The subscriptions exceeded \$2,650,000,000.

—Sir George Paish, a well known British financial authority, says that Great Britain's annual income amounts to \$15,000,000,000; and in spite of the withdrawal of 4,000,000 men from the industries the country has almost maintained its productive power.

—Judge Charles F. Clemons of the United States District Court, sitting in Honolulu, in a test case denied Takao Ozawa, a Japanese, citizenship. The court ruled that the Japanese are Mongolians, and that the word "white" does not include Mongolians.

—Sir Edward Grey announced to the House of Commons that a guarantee had been given Belgium that the Entente Powers would not cease hostilities until it had been reinstated in its political and economic independence, and largely indemnified "for the wrongs it had suffered."

—At the city primary in Milwaukee on March 22 the highest vote for mayor was given to D. W. Hoan, Socialist, who received 22,336 votes as against 16,871 for present Mayor Bading, 11,371 for Carney, nonpartisan, and 1,234 for Muth, also a nonpartisan. Hoan and Bading must now contest at the regular election.

—By a vote of more than three to one, Senator Robert M. LaFollette was endorsed for President on March 21 by North Dakota Republicans at the State-wide primaries. His leading opponent was Henry D. Estabrook of New York. There was no opposition to the endorsement of President Wilson by the Democrats.

—The government of Uruguay promulgated on January 13 a law requiring non-resident land owners to pay double taxes, and revoking contracts by which tenants are bound to pay taxes in addition to rent. Foreign corporations holding concessions from the government are exempted, as are also citizens of Uruguay studying abroad.

—Ninety-six Norwegian ships have been lost during the war, according to a Copenhagen newspaper, through mines and submarines. Twenty steamers have been destroyed by German submarines and seventy-seven Norwegians have lost their lives. Germany has settled for four steamers. Sweden during the same time has lost forty vessels, and one hundred and twenty-eight lives.

—Hubert Eaves, an eleven-year-old Negro boy of Des Moines, Ia., was ordered excluded from the public schools by Juvenile Judge Charles A. Dudley on March 22, and his parents given the choice of sending him to the State reformatory or to a private school. The boy's offense was that he had refused to salute the flag, explaining that his religion requires that he salute no one but God.

—Pittsburgh Singletaxers have suffered the loss through death of two active co-workers, Nathaniel Green and J. K. McBride. Mr. Green's death occurred on March 21 at his home at Gibsonia, Pa., at the age of 75. He helped to promote the educational campaign, which has borne fruit in legislation reducing taxation in Pittsburgh of improvements at the rate of 10 per cent every three years. Mr. McBride was also a pioneer in the local movement.

—A wireless message from the auxiliary ship Aurora, which went to Ross Sea to bring back Lieutenant Ernest Shackleton's party after it had crossed the South Polar region, reported the ship damaged, and proceeding to New Zealand for repairs. Alarm is felt because the message makes no mention of the Shackleton party, which was expected to complete the Transpolar trip in March, 1916. [See vol. xviii, p. 161.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Preparationists Say "Yes."

Greenfield Bulletin (Pittsburgh), March 23.—If the Scaredness howlers spend the value of all the buildings of three cities the size of Pittsburgh on the navy alone, in ten years, and we are yet not prepared—would you trust them with more money?



Brotherhood Amidst War.

The Single Taxer (Winnipeg), February.—The broad, liberal, brotherly spirit of the Singletax philosophy is beautifully illustrated in the action of the German Bodenreform, the name by which the Singletax is known in Germany. The Bodenreformers have applied for and obtained permission to distribute literature printed in English among the English-speaking prisoners and interned civilians. This will give English prisoners in Germany an opportunity to study the Singletax. In this act the German Singletaxers are doing a great kindness to the British people which will be appreciated by British Singletaxers. Everywhere the spirit of the Singletax is one of broad democracy and goodwill to all peoples.



The Cause and Cure of War.

Kansas City Post, March 20.—Mexico's internal troubles which finally produced her difficulties with the United States are due, in the last analysis, to land monopoly. The common people cannot get a foothold on the land. The native aristocrats hold it in immense estates. Foreign capital has snatched the most valuable parts in great blocks. The poorer classes feel that they are being robbed. Revolution is easily set going under such conditions, either

by outside or inside influences. Land monopoly has caused half the revolutions of history. Land monopoly begins in landlordism. And the history of landlordism has a thousand lessons for the people of the United States today. Most of the present values of land have grown out of social progress. Growth in population and growth in average wealth of a community are two of the things which raise rents. But the citizens who create the new values have no part in the profits! Even the most subtle of the economists have never attempted to abolish some system of rents. Henry George did not make this proposal. What he desired was to do away with the private receipt of rents. In this country we have a notion that we have actual ownership of the land. But if we fail to pay our taxes, the land which we think we own is confiscated by the government! We are all, in the end, simply renters, who can be put off the land, if we fail to pay our rents, known to the government as taxes! By following this road, economists tell us, we may finally arrive at some cure for landlordism and land monopoly. And they add that if the government controlled all land and took over the rentals in the form of taxes, there would be no need of tariffs, internal revenues and the multiplicity of special taxes which we are at present cursed with.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A QUESTION.

For The Public.

The skipper of the Yorkshire trawler "King Stephen" recently found a Zeppelin crew drowning in the North Sea, and let them drown. The Bishop of London declared that the whole English people ought to stand by the skipper of the trawler.—Current News Dispatch.

Like an eagle caught in the tempest's snare,
Stricken down ere its goal is won,
The cloud-ship fell through the wintry air
To the heaving sea-waste, chill and bare,
And a score of men in its wreckage lay;
The fishing vessel that found them there
Refused them succor and sailed away—
And the Bishop of London said "Well done!"

How will they fare at the Judgment Throne?

Will there be mercy for all, or none—
Those who had cast their death-bombs down
On women and babes in London town;
The skipper and crew who sailed away,
Leaving a score of men to drown

In the icy sea that winter's day;
And the Bishop of Christ who said "Well done"?

WALDO R. BROWNE.

❁ ❁

Conservatism is a good thing as a guard against unthinking impulse; but when it stands in the way of reason, when it lumbers up our churches, filling the skin of Christianity with a stuffing of vile paganism; when it binds the shackles on the slave; when it bolsters up the tyrant and evil-doer, conservatism becomes retrogressive.—Dan Beard.

SOME REMARKS BY OLD TOM HARDER.

PREPAREDNESS.

For The Public.

"The trouble with Dobson? Well, it wasn't very great, but considerable noisy. Dr. Squibbs said it was a new disease. He called it 'alarmitis,' and cautioned me about catching it. Terribly infectious? Certainly! Makes folks go ahead an' endure the troubles that never come. Like Jones' wife that bought a door plate with Smith on it. Said she was afraid Jones would die an' she'd marry a man named Smith and they wouldn't have any door plate handy. No! I didn't catch it. Dobson hired a man to feed his cattle over a couple o' days an' tried to get me scared.

"He said, 'Now Tom, it's time we should get ready to fight a good an' plenty. We must have a navy that'll scare the stuffin' out o' the old world whenever they start to make a list of our war ships. That's the only way to keep 'em good. No use o' bein' civil to 'em, an' they won't be civil to us if we don't scare 'em. The only way to live in peace with your neighbors is to keep 'em scared. The only way to be at peace inwardly with yerself is to keep fightin' mad an' well armed.'

"I says, 'That sounds mighty loud. Con't you tone it down a little bit?'

"'Not a little teeny bit,' he says. 'It comes from the biggest man on earth, an' it's right. He lived long enough to be President an' go to war an' never had a square stand up fight yet. He was always prepared an' everybody was afraid of him.'

"Well, Dobson," I says, "the pint o' them observations is somewhere in the application on em."

"'Sure thing!' says he. 'We must put a million or maybe three million men under arms, an' fence the seacoast all round with fortifications, an' big guns, an' we must have a million submarines, an' flyin' machines, an' auto steel protected guns. I shudder to think what will happen if we don't prepare.'

"I remarked, 'There wouldn't be any danger of our beginnin' a fracas.'

"Well, of course we wouldn't allow any of them foreigners to slap us in the face.'

"'Sure thing,' says I. 'But all these war things will cost a heap o' money. Where we goin' to get it?'

"'Levy some more taxes,' says Dobson. 'Nothin' easier.'

"'On what?'

"'Easy enough,' says he. 'Put up the tariff some higher. Tax them foreign fellers that dumps things onto us, and deprives us o' the chance o' makin' them ourselves. Put some more stamp taxes onto things. There's a lot o' things that have no stamps on 'em. Tax more incomes little an' big. Tax inheritances more. The widows an'

orphans can't help themselves. Tax the butcher an' the milkman some more. Tax every feller that does anything to earn a livin'.

"Why not tax the farmer some more?" I says.

"Well, he's taxed a plenty now. We'd better tax the banks that are so full o' money. Also the money loaners that rob us with big interest. The railroads don't pay half enough taxes. Plenty o' places to tax. No trouble about that."

"Sure thing, Dobson!" I says. 'Plenty of 'em. What about issuin' a lot o' bonds?"

"All right," says he. "That's easy. The bankers will buy them right up. Easiest way in the world to get money."

"Then," says I, 'we can tax the bankers some more. They're not much account to the community.'

"Well, now, I don't know about that," says Dobson. "They might object to buyin' the bonds an' kick at the taxes. Maybe we shouldn't go that far."

"Now, Dobson," I says, 'that's the first intelligent thing you've said. S'pose we follow it up. Taxes are slippery things. You don't know whether they'll go where you want 'em to or not. There are so many ways that taxes are shifted along from one to another without the feller that really pays knowin' what hurts him, that we should be careful. If taxes were perfumed like garlic, the indirect ones that you pay would smell so loud your wife wouldn't live with you. If taxes smelled as loud as some other things, old aged eggs for instance, all the people would have to be disinfected every day to relieve the misery o' bein' alive an' together, on account o' the indirect taxes they think they don't pay. If all the taxes remained where they are first placed, so the people would know what they pay, they would get up an' fight the lawmakers that levy the taxes, instead o' worryin' about foreigners comin' over to attack us. You might as well go home an' try to get some sleep. By the time these foreign nations are through with the present war, they'll be so exhausted they won't want to fight any more for the next thirty or forty years.'

GEORGE V. WELLS.

LET THERE BE LIGHT.

For The Public.

And God said: "Let there be light," and there was light.

Let there be light e'en in earth's darkest places,
Where hungry children gather in the gloom;
Where women roam with fever smitten faces,
That shame the shadows with their hectic bloom.

Let there be light where weary children toiling,
Tread the cold mill floor, choked with dust and lint;
Youth's golden hour marred and maimed with molling,
Molded and coined to gold in Greed's own mint.

Let there be light on battle places gory,
Where mad men, smoke-begrimed, slay other men;
All that a few may boast of gain and glory,
Re-forge our chains and rivet them again.

Let there be light in crooked lane and alley,
Let there be light on mountain top and hill;
Let there be light in every fruitful valley,
Where men dream dreams that they are freemen still.

Let there be light within smug souls and holy,
Who say a god will bring the world to book,
Will mete out justice to the high and lowly
And strike down Wrong with avenging look.

Let there be light on us amid the struggle
To wrest a portion of our daily bread,
By strife and cunning, where we smite and juggle
With endless striving and benumbing dread.

Let there be light of Justice and of Reason,
The flame of Freedom and Truth's warming glow,
Let there be light in this, our little season,
Where in our halting footsteps come and go.

Let there be light upon our dark foreboding,
The courage of the daybreak and the sun,
To purify the hate and the corrodin',
And blend earth's warring races into one.

ELSIE JEWETT WEBSTER.

BOOKS

ANOTHER APPEAL TO HYSTERIA.

Are We Ready? By H. D. Wheeler. Published by Houghton-Mifflin & Co., Boston. Price, \$1.50 net.

Here is another book with "preparedness" as a theme. The author is a good advocate, and makes a fine showing for his subject. He supplements persuasion with threat, by way of a fanciful account of an attack on the east coast, giving a vivid picture of the effects of an aeroplane raid on New York. The book contains an interesting recital of the various plans adopted by nations to teach the young idea to shoot, and there is frequent reference to the "gun-toting" ideal.

When the present madness for armaments shall have been classed with the South Sea Bubble, the Tulip Mania, the Darien Scheme, the Crusades insanity and other national aberrations, men will wonder why the "gun-toting" simile was supposed to carry such weight, and why men like Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Huidekoper so misjudged the current general thought as to find therein desire for a change in national ideas. For the popular view is emphatically not one of feverish fear of a hypothetical enemy, but is a conviction that the present outcry for preparedness is artificial, and manufactured by those with ulterior motives, and that a policy of non-interference, plus our geographical position, are safeguards entirely suffi-

cient. It is also generally felt that the interests and ideals of the warring nations, and the interests and ideals of the United States, are not identical, and there is a widespread thankfulness that we are not directly concerned in the brutalizing exhibition of force that prevails across the Atlantic. Above all, there is a sincere belief that the further we keep away from edged tools, the less will be our chance of trouble. But when it comes to the much lauded "splendid spirit of martial pride" the common man is cynical—his attitude is akin to that of the philosopher of Archie Road: "I'll niver go down agin to see th' sojers off to th' war. But ye'll see me at th' depot with a brass band whin th' min that causes the wars starts f'r th' scene iv carnage."

CHAS. J. FINGER.



POPULAR GOVERNMENT ANALYZED.

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

A biased discussion of direct legislation by either an opponent or advocate must lack weight with an impartial investigator. Even a fair presentation of the subject by one known in advance to hold pronounced views is sure to be received with some reserve. So Professor Barnett did well in carefully refraining from expressing his own views while writing on Oregon's experience with the Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

He presents all the objections urged as a result of the actual working of these measures. A very large part of these are hostile comments of the *Portland Oregonian*. He also presents the counter arguments of advocates. And he presents the facts so that the reader may form his own judgment without reference to what these others have to say. Occasionally he suggests how some minor defect may be remedied. It would not be strange should Professor Barnett find himself classed by prejudiced opponents of popular government as a secret advocate, or by biased advocates as a veiled opponent. Such conflicting judgments are usually passed regarding one who tries to impartially discuss a subject of such bitter dispute.

Professor Barnett presents incidents of the practical working of direct legislation. He narrates occurrences in the preparation of certain measures, in the securing of petitions and in other activities. He tells how legislatures have tried in some cases to resist the people, and in others have submitted to the inevitable. A chapter is devoted to the Recall, concerning which he says, "Our experience is yet too limited to justify any positive general conclusions."

Not the least valuable part of the book is the appendix containing a bibliography of direct legislation, election returns on a number of measures

submitted from 1904 to 1914, reproductions of some Initiative measures and of Recall petitions, a sample ballot, actual size, of the election of 1914, and similar interesting matter.

In summing up Professor Barnett presents the fact that all opposition to direct legislation in Oregon "is probably comparatively insignificant and the general popularity of the system well established. It is universally admitted that there are faults in the system, but the principle of the system is very generally accepted." He further quotes from the hostile *Portland Oregonian* the admission that "the Oregon system is not in the balance. It is here to stay. The people rule in Oregon through the Oregon system, and they have no wish or desire to go back to old methods."

S. D.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Modernizing the Monroe Doctrine. Charles H. Sherrill. Published by Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston. 1916. Price, \$1.25 net.

—Germany vs. Civilization. By William Roscoe Thayer. Published by Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston. 1916. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Boys and Girls in Commercial Work. By Bertha M. Stevens. Published by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, O. 1916. Price, 25 cents, postpaid.

—Proceedings at the Unveiling of a Memorial to Horace Greeley at Chappaqua, N. Y., Feb. 3, 1914. Published under the auspices of the State Historian, Albany, N. Y., by the University of the State of New York. 1915.

PERIODICALS

The Argentine "Singletax."

"Hunger," by C. Rossi in the "Single Tax," Buenos Aires, Feb. 3. This country has been visited by this terrible guest. Sad to say, people die of hunger in Argentine.

What is to blame? Land monopoly! In a country with a superficial area of 2,887,400 square kilometers and with a population of less than 7,000,000—three persons to the square kilometer—it is absurd that a strong healthy person anxious to work should be denied the right to employ himself and for this reason be forced to starve to death. And the numbers that perish thus are legion. . . . Schemes without number have been put forth to remedy this evil, but all have failed. The only cure is clearly indicated—socialize the land values.

C. L. LOGAN.



A 7-year-old girl on being asked her father's business, replied:

"My father is a doctor, but he isn't a quack! My father's got a license, so if he kills anyone they can't arrest him!"—*Chicago Herald*. !