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EDITORIAL

Arbitration Versus War.

The German reply to the President's note is not as satisfactory as it might be. But it makes peaceful settlement easier and would make it certain should the suggestion be adopted to arbitrate all unconceded points. Arbitration does not necessarily mean a correct solution, but neither does war. However, the chances are much better of finding a correct solution through arbitration than through war.

S. D.



How Further Raids May Be Stopped.

The bandit raid into Texas strengthens the suspicions aroused by the Columbus raid—that foreign exploiters of the Mexican people have instigated trouble, to secure intervention. The Texas affair occurred with suspicious promptness, after announcement of the Scott-Obregon agreement. If after the massacre of Santa Ysabel, Carranza had ordered the victims compensated with the proceeds of a heavy special tax on owners of lands, and ordered the expense of pursuing the criminals to be secured in the same way, the Columbus raid might not have taken place. And if it had, another tax laid to compensate the victims of that outrage and punish the perpetrators might easily have prevented the affair in Texas. Now if instead of sending troops President Wilson should send a note suggesting that Carranza take that course the border may be made more safe. s. d.



A Strange Unanimity.

Daily the false reports from Mexico and the border appear in the morning and evening papers, to be contradicted in succeeding issues. But why should all these rumors be of evil portent? Why should they always be of murder, pillage and the failure of orderly government? Why should there never appear a false report that the Mexicans had acquitted themselves worthily? Are these malicious attacks to be explained on the theory that the wish is the father of the rumor? s. c.

Changed Conditions.

Are not the editors who are devoting so much space to urging a great army to subdue Mexico, and a great navy to whip Germany, overlooking the reduction in the price of newspapers? In the days when five cents was the common price of a daily paper it was looked upon as a considerable expense, and few men saw more than one paper. But now that metropolitan papers are sold for one cent nearly every reader takes two, and some have several. Thus the intelligent reader sees both sides of public questions and notes the lengths to which partisans will go in behalf of a cause. But since this very intemperance tends to defeat the ends of the militarists the pacifists can view it with complacency.

S. C.



Objecting to Justice.

American owners of Mexican mines are reported to have lodged protests with the State Department against Carranza's new tax laws considerably increasing the rate on mining lands. The best answer that the State Department could give would be to encourage General Carranza to increase taxes further, until the entire rental value would be taken for public use. These mine owners are not asking for justice. They are protesting against it.

S. D.



Shooting of Prisoners.

Civilized nations are gradually learning that capital punishment, even in the case of brutal and hardened criminals, is nothing else morally than legal murder, and is practically of no benefit whatever. But when nations are at war civilized teachings are obscured or forgotten, and even some prisoners of war receive treatment that can not be justified or excused on any plea. This applies to the shooting of the captured leaders of the Dublin insurrection, as it does to the shooting of Edith Cavell and to the shooting of prisoners by Mexicans, and as it will apply should the reported sentence of death on Alice Mazyrak be carried out. The South African government is so far the only belligerent which has refrained from such barbarism when opportunity presented. None of the bigger nations seem to appreciate a chance to show itself more humane than its antagonist. It seems they prefer a reputation for barbarism to one for weakness.

S. D.



Conscription in Great Britain.

The decision of the Cabinet to apply universal conscription brings Great Britain, so far as military service is concerned, to the point where the

other European countries started. It is hailed by the Tories as a triumph; it has been accepted by the Liberals as a necessity and last resort. It will be seized upon by the Tories of this country to bolster their appeal for universal military service. They are saying that if England had been as well prepared as Germany there would have been no war. On the contrary, war would have come even sooner. For an England armed as Germany was armed would have aroused the same fear among her neighbors that Germany did; and European nations would have combined against her as they have combined against Germany.



In resorting to conscription the British Government has followed the course of the American Government during the Civil War. It appealed to voluntary enlistment, and secured more than 4,000,000 men. Another million men were secured through a modified form of compulsion. And now the remaining serviceable men are to be called. The course has been similar to what ours was. Compulsion at the beginning of the war would not have been possible; but successive events have led the way to each step, and the people now accept universal conscription as willingly as they did the declaration of war. It is in this step by step process that is to be found the difference between militarism and freedom. Universal military service would instill in the hearts of the young a toleration of war that would lead to its ready acceptance; whereas the voluntary service permits the young to grow up under different surroundings and in a different state of mind.



One of the sanest and ablest of the British writers, Arnold Bennett, replied to the challenge of the militarists that were it all to be done over he would still say that it was better for England that she pursue her peaceful course as she had than to live under universal military service. The same is true of this country. No nation or combination of nations can invade this country, except under enormous natural disadvantages. Our military establishment should be only such as to supplement our natural advantages. Such an armament will prevent other nations from invading the United States, and at the same time it will not be sufficient to invade other nations. Should a war be thrust upon us, we can then resort to the course that England has followed, and that we resorted to during the Civil War. As long as we have the choice between bearing the burdens of war in time of peace—in the form of a great armament

and universal service—and bearing them in time of war—with voluntary service, and compulsion when necessary—let us choose the latter. It is easier to remain unarmed than to disarm; and, while the unarmed man may get into trouble, the armed man is certain to.

s. c.



Why Not?

The finding of mines in the Black Sea inscribed with the words, "Christ has risen" is announced in the press dispatches as a ghastly joke. But why? Is there anything more incongruous about that than there is in twenty million Christians, professing a belief in the same God and worshipping the same Christ—the very essence of whose teachings is the brotherhood of man—fighting as no savages have ever fought? Accompanying every army is a chaplain praying to the one God for victory for his own troops and confusion upon the enemy. Since Christianity is to be made a mockery by its leading exponents, why not jest with its sacred words? Why not inscribe upon the shells hurled at the enemy, "Peace be unto you"? Or upon the torpedoes launched from a submarine, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of one of these"? Or upon the bombs dropped upon non-combatants, "Blessed are the peacemakers"? It is not a joke; it is a pathetic commentary upon the failure of the Christian church. The chaplains who today are cheering and enheartening men engaged in killing fellow Christians are no more inconsistent and are no more departing from the teachings of Jesus than they were yesterday, when they supported and blessed the social institutions that made a few inordinately rich, and the many hopelessly poor. Whatever condemnation falls upon the Christian church is due not to its support of organized murder, but to its failure to stand for conditions that would have made this murder impossible. It would be unfair to hold priests and ministers to greater responsibility, according to their light, than other members of society, but the hope is entertained that this rude awakening will not be forgotten when they resume their peaceful ministrations. For as long as they support, consciously or unconsciously, unjust social conditions in time of peace, they may be sure that soldiers will resort to war.

s. c.



Learning from Experience.

A mark of intelligence is avoidance of former mistakes. Yet men in this country aspiring to leadership are proposing a political course that is even at the present moment bringing Europe to disaster. European statesmen, in order to pre-

serve the integrity of their respective countries, engaged in a race of military armaments. A large amount of the wealth and a vast number of the people of each country were devoted to protecting it from the other countries. Whenever the overburdened people of any country protested against such a course, their statesmen silenced them with the one excuse: "Look at Germany," or "France," or "Russia," or "England," or whatever country might at the moment best serve as a bugaboo. Japanese jingoes already are calling the attention of their countrymen to our military program. Why, they ask, does America want a great navy, unless it be to attack the Monroe Doctrine of Japan? And they are urging upon their countrymen the policy of matching us, ship for ship. If we provoke Japan into this senseless rivalry, in what will we prove ourselves superior to the mistaken statesmen of Europe? The one inevitable result of a nation's great military armament is the creation of an enclosing circle of armed enemies?



No Use for Them?

One of the unappeasable opponents of the Administration, who imagines the Germans sacking New York every time he sees a pretzel, and hears Japanese guns laying San Francisco in ashes when a heavy truck rumbles by his door, wants to know what good it will do to add thirty new submarines to our fleet, if President Wilson succeeds in establishing the right of non-combatants to travel on the high seas? This is the same editor who confessed that he could not understand the President when he spoke for humanity. He knew what fighting for America meant, the acquisition of territory, or the extension of trade privileges; but a policy limiting American rights to the rights of humanity—that was incomprehensible to him.



Is it true that America in seeking to limit submarine activities is tying her own hands? Must we grant European belligerents the right to destroy non-combatants in order that we may do the same to prevent an invasion? It would seem to be a strange order of thought that drew such a conclusion. Submarines have their legitimate field of operation. They can strike enemy war vessels, without warning wherever found. They can strike any prohibited vessels that enter their own waters. But it is against the instincts of humanity that they should be used as commerce destroyers on the high seas. No weapon should be permitted in warfare, whether undersea or aerial, the use of which

destroys non-combatants engaged in their everyday affairs. The very fact that submarines are confined to legitimate warfare will tend to make wars less frequent by lessening the power of offense and increasing the power of defense. The more successful President Wilson is in curbing the submarine as a blind commerce raider, the more potent he will make it as a weapon of defense.

S. C.



Small Nations or Great Empires.

Was Joseph Chamberlain right when he said, twelve years ago, "The day of small nations has passed away; the day of empires has come"? If one is to judge by the expressions of opinion regarding the European war, and by the all but universal struggle for self-government, the answer must be, No. There is still the old struggle of democracy against autocracy, and the success of the one or the other in any given place may be a matter of years; but there is little doubt that democratic sentiment and ideals are steadily gaining. If this be true, it must follow that the sentiment in behalf of the rights of the individual, and of home rule, will also make for the national integrity of the smaller nations. Aside from military reasons, there is but one advantage the large nation has over the small one, that of a wider trade area, and this may be secured through free trade. The advantage of the United States lies not in the fact that there is a common Federal Government, or that the States have a common language and common institutions, but that there is free trade throughout the length and breadth of the land. The States might become independent governments, with different languages, laws and institutions; but as long as they maintained the present free trade practice there would be little if any difference in economic conditions.



If the principle for which the war is being fought—that is, the integrity of the small nations—is established, Zollvereins may be formed; and, ultimately, universal free trade may come. Under such conditions the small nations will enjoy all the advantages of the empires, save one, military protection. But the very principle involved is the safeguarding of the small nations; so that it will not be necessary for them to maintain great military establishments. Thus with trade agreements, or free trade, yet without military burdens, the small nations will have an advantage over the empires until they, too, lay aside their useless burden by general disarmament. Autocratic sentiment is far from extinct, but it was

never in more general disrepute than at present; and there is every reason for the belief that it will continue to decline in the estimation of mankind, and that the principle of self-government will be more widely accepted.

S. C.



Misgoverned Porto Rico.

The Porto Rico government bill before Congress disfranchises all Porto Ricans paying less than three dollars a year in direct taxes. Having maintained, since annexation of the island, poverty-breeding conditions under which the great mass of workers are robbed of all they produce above a bare living, the United States government is about to withhold from the victims the chance to remedy the evil peacefully. Where are "the blessings of freedom" we were going to bestow upon them? What advantage does American rule confer upon these people? Why should they not welcome a chance to escape from it?



In commenting on the bill, Congressman London of New York said, according to the Congressional Record of May 5:

It seems that the Democratic party tries to do everything that is bad in the Republican platform. You attempted to do something good in the Philippines and sure enough they found enough of rotten Democrats in their own ranks to make the emancipation of the Filipino impossible. Your Porto Rican bill shows that you are incompetent to govern. . .

I say you assassinate the rights of these Porto Ricans by depriving three-fourths of these people of the right of franchise and I will tell you what you are accomplishing. You deny to a man the right to express his views through civilized methods, through the medium of the ballot.

Some tory members tried to dodge the issue presented by Mr. London by charging him with endorsing resistance by the disfranchised to American authority. Perhaps he did. That does not alter the fact that he told the truth about Congressmen responsible for the disfranchisement clause. It is no wonder that the henchmen of Privilege in both parties showed resentment—but no evidence that he was wrong. They showered abuse upon him. But his indictment of their action remains a true one nevertheless.

S. D.



What Preparedness Demonstration Demonstrates.

There is considerable evidence that the coercion methods prevalent in the presidential campaign of 1896 seem about to be repeated, in New York at least, in connection with the Preparedness parade of May 13. That is consistent enough.

Preparedness means militarism and militarism means tyranny and coercion. The only thing that the parade will demonstrate will be the power over citizens conferred by control of their jobs. And the greater the parade the stronger will be the proof of absence of economic freedom, and absence of what is most worth defending. S. D.



Ford's Victory.

Forced laughter at Henry Ford is no longer in order in militarist circles. He has compelled the Navy League to bring a suit against him. That alone is a victory which is well worth while. The suit is based on quotations from Congressman Tavenner's speech. Congressman Tavenner long ago introduced a resolution for a Congressional investigation which his militarist colleagues have not seen fit to let come to a vote. The suit gives the opportunity which militarist Congressmen have denied.

S. D.



One Mark To Its Credit.

The present House of Representatives has done so much deserving of condemnation that it is a pleasant relief to record one commendable act. That is rejection of Senator Chamberlain's militarist bill. To be sure, the House favors a bill of its own which is bad enough. But in view of the fact that the House bill provides an army of 140,000 men, while the Chamberlain bill would make the number 250,000, the House has at least made the situation better than it might be.

S. D.



Big Business and the Presidency.

The "Business Men's Presidential League," with headquarters in New York City, declares that it wants for President "a man who does big things in a big way; not a man who talks big words in a loud voice. Therefore a business man." But is not the League itself talking "big words in a loud voice"? Would it not immediately wilt if in strict compliance with the letter of its demand the nomination for the presidency should be conferred on Henry Ford? Yet he is a big business man, who "does big things in a big way" and never "talks big words in a loud voice." It would be hard to find another business man who comes nearer to the qualifications openly required by the "Business Men's Presidential League." But is it not safe to say that the League would rather not have a business man at all if it had to take Ford? Would it not even take gladly in preference an alleged "labor" representative, of the type of the Chicago Congress-

man, James T. McDermott, of Mulhall exposé fame? Or even the man to whom it refers as one "who talks big words in a loud voice"? Is this not because the real qualifications demanded by the League are not openly defined? Does it not really want a President who stands for Privilege, one who will use the power of his office to prevent any interference with legal robbery of the many by the few? Ford would not be that kind of President. He would aim to abolish predatory privileges. Is not that the reason why he would not suit? And has not the League in mind a certain big business man who, it has reason to believe, would consider the interests of predatory privilege of first importance? S. D.



Protecting American Labor.

Those strangely constituted persons who hold that Americans are the greatest people on earth, but that they must be protected from foreign labor, are wont to prove their contention by citing the fact that wages are lower abroad than here. If there is any virtue in this argument, it must follow that the lower the wages abroad the more we need protection; that is, we have least to fear from the higher wage countries, and most to fear from the lower wage countries. As the wages of India and Egypt are about the lowest in the world, it is interesting to compare their workmen with ours. For many years American cotton growers have been selling cotton in free competition with the cotton from Egypt. The reason why this Egyptian competition has not reduced American wages to the level of those of the Nile country may be inferred from a statement in the Indian Social Reformer, published at Bombay, February 20. Speaking of the progress made in the development of native labor, the paper quotes Mr. Churchill, in charge of the industrial institute at Ahmednagar, as saying:

We are increasing their skill in lathe work and milling machine work and carpentry work especially, and are learning how, in the foundry, to make use of modern economical shop methods. In an American foundry, a certain piece of the loom would be made in quantities of from 50 to 100 per day per workman. In an Indian foundry, the rate for the same piece would be about one per day per workman, or, at most, two. The Indian skilled workman is perfectly willing to work as hard as the American when properly paid and treated. The chief reason for the great difference in output between him and his American brother is that he usually lacks these requisites, and that he does not know how to make use of quick methods.



This explains why American farmers can sell wheat in the same market with Indian wheat, and

cotton in the same market with Egyptian cotton, without having his wages reduced to the level of his foreign competitors. It explains also why English manufacturers make cloth in Manchester instead of in Bombay, and why German manufacturers make textiles in Saxony instead of in Kiau-Chau. There is not an employer of labor in this country that does not pay some of his employes more than others. Yet he never thinks the higher priced men are dearer than the lower priced men. Nor does he wish a tariff to protect him from the competition of other States. The American protectionist views a city boundary with perfect composure, although it is a common practice for European cities to have their tariff walls; he can view State boundaries with indifference, though European states have their tariffs; but no sooner does he come to the international boundary than a strange obsession seizes him, and he becomes like one demented. It is still numbered among the incurable afflictions; but the hope is entertained that science will yet discover the bacillus, and produce a toxin that will end the terrible affliction.

s. c.



Democratic Democrats Nominated.

Maryland Democrats have made two admirable nominations at the primaries. For United States Senator they have selected David Lewis, a fundamental Democrat, one of the efficient group of Singletax Congressmen. Lewis has a splendid record in the House, where he has taken a progressive stand on every measure that has come up. To him more than any other member belongs the credit of establishment of the parcel post, and he has been active in fighting the underhanded schemes of railroads and express companies to cripple the service. He has made a strong fight for postalization of telegraphs and telephones and has been complimented with the enmity of predatory interests. That he deserves election does not admit of debate.



The other nomination is that of Jackson H. Ralston for Congress. Ralston's record as a fighter for democracy dates back to the days when he induced the town of Hyattsville to make its local tax system conform to rules of justice and common sense. As happened later in Houston, Texas, the courts compelled return to the old irrational method. As one of the Joseph Fels Fund Commission Mr. Ralston has occupied satisfactorily a place where his ability and knowledge have proven useful to democratic fighters throughout the nation. As attorney for the American Federation

of Labor he has contested successfully many legal battles against encroachments on constitutional rights. One of his notable victories was in defense of freedom of the press against Judge Wright and his injunction. Men like Lewis and Ralston are badly needed at Washington.



Iowa Democrats have also done well in nominating for Governor E. T. Meredith, publisher of *Successful Farming*, an ably edited, progressive agricultural paper of wide circulation. Should Mr. Meredith be elected, Iowa will have a Governor who thoroughly understands economic principles and the just and practical methods of solving the problems which come within the Governor's province to handle. City workers and business men would do well to join with farmers in ensuring his election.

s. d.



High Salaries and the Income Tax.

In reporting for the Newspaper Enterprise Association on the working of the income tax law, Basil M. Manly said in reference to a certain theatrical company:

Not one cent of salary tax had been withheld, nor had any report of salaries been made by this theatrical company. An examination of its payrolls showed more than 1,000 actors and actresses who should have paid the tax.

Then further on he added:

The same situation exists in the moving picture industry, which has grown to have an annual production of \$75,000,000. The net profits of the industry reach, it is estimated, \$25,000,000, upon only a small fraction of which the federal government receives any tax. . . . Mary Pickford's reported salary of \$600,000 would be liable to a total tax of \$34,510. Charlie Chaplin's alleged \$670,000 would have to pay a tax for 1916 of \$39,410.

That these salaries, if actually paid, are legally liable for the income tax is correct. But it is neither correct nor fair to speak of tax-dodging in such cases as "defrauding the government." The salaries are paid in return for service rendered. Mary Pickford and Charlie Chaplin could not get a larger salary than other actors and actresses if they did not furnish entertainment more pleasing to a greater number of people. For the ability to do this they do not seem in any way indebted to the government. Therefore the government can have no just claim upon their salaries, even though the law does say otherwise.



But there are incomes for which the recipients are indebted to unfair help given them by the government. This applies altogether to incomes from ground rents. It applies to incomes from

protected industries to the extent that import duties increase prices or limit competition. It applies to all incomes from public service franchises to the extent that they exceed a fair return for service actually rendered. It applies to incomes from other forms of privilege. If the income tax were applied with justice there would be discrimination between unearned incomes obtained through privilege and earned incomes obtained in return for service rendered. All earned incomes would be exempt. Unearned incomes from monopolies fostered by tariffs and franchises would be abolished through abolition of the underlying privilege, and the rental value of land would be appropriated for public use. That is the only possible income tax that would be fair.

S. D.



Whither a Wrong Start Has Led.

The immigration bill has brought a protest from Japan. The situation thus presented is one of the effects of trying to remedy the results of unjust conditions with more injustice. An unjust land system has caused limitation of opportunities with increasing population. Instead of attacking the injustice, Congress proposes a new one in the form of an immigration bill to limit increase of population. This bit of pseudo-statesmanship having brought on the Japanese complaint, the pseudo-statesmen, with characteristic blindness, are attributing it to lack of preparedness, the German situation, the Mexican situation, and anything but the right cause. Why not go back to the original trouble and straighten it out properly?

S. D.



Wildcat Banking in Unexpected Quarters.

Time was when proposals to repeal the law of supply and demand and get something out of nothing were supposed to emanate from the "Wild and Woolly West"; and when a Colorado governor was so determined to have things done in the western way in spite of "Wall Street" that he threatened to ride, if necessary, through blood up to his bridles, less sanguinary-minded citizens endeavored to pacify him and his overwrought companions by calling their attention to their more orderly and conservative English cousins who conducted banking along scientific lines, rather than upon sentiment. But times change. The West is bursting with prosperity, and England is wondering how she is to finance the war. Possibly this stress has led the otherwise safe and sane A. G. Gardner, editor of the London Daily News and Leader, to comment approvingly upon the finan-

cial propositions advanced by one Oswald Stoll in a book entitled "The People's Credit."



Mr. Gardner lays bare what he considers the unfair banking privileges of the big capitalists, whom he charges with using the public credit for their private gain, and says of Mr. Stoll's scheme:

He wants to nationalize finance and to make the public credit available for every member of the public who is doing productive work and whose assets can be offered as security for his borrowings. If you have title deeds they shall be accepted by banks as equivalent to deposits of banking credit in terms of money up to half their value. No interest shall be charged on the banking credit so drawn upon, for it is his own credit he is really using, and the annual redemption instalments shall cover a period of thirty years. In this way he foresees the release of enormous potentialities which are at present idle. Things would become liquid, new streams of energy would irrigate the nation, and new resources on an incalculable scale would be available for the prosecution of the war. The increase in the people's credit would reduce our rates, lower our taxes, raise wages, enhance the value of securities—and do no harm to the banks.



It is discouraging to find such opinions held by men in conservative quarters. Has the teaching of the great economists so quickly been forgotten? What would happen to values if men could borrow without interest to the amount of half their credit? Would not this immense demand send prices soaring, as all money inflations do? And when the new credit had been absorbed by the advancing prices, one-half of the new values could in turn be pledged for credit, and so on indefinitely. And what would be the gain from it all? Aside from its unfairness in extending free credit to citizens with property, and not to those without property, every possible advantage would finally, and at no distant day, find its way to the common destination of all the economic advantages of the past, to the owners of the earth. It is not cheaper credit that the English business man needs, but cheaper land. It is not in paying lower interest that his relief lies, but in paying less rent. The banking laws and currency system of England, as in this country, may be improved, but the improvement lies in curbing privilege, not in inflating credits.

S. C. •



What to Vote For.

The Blast has such a blunt way of stating things that some readers pass it by as being too rude; nevertheless, it raises questions that should be weighed, even if it be necessary first to translate

them into gentler terms. Discussing the suffrage question, in a recent issue it says.

It is not woman as a sex that is the victim of existing conditions. It is only the working woman—exactly as it is the working man. Will the working woman gain anything by electing her boss's wife to office?

Giving the ballot to the working woman, as to all women, merely places in her hand the weapon by means of which she can help the race to obtain freedom. The mere fact that she has the weapon in her hand will give her political power and win her attention from the politicians; but that no more means economic independence for the working woman than the ballot has meant economic independence for the workingman.



The workingman in this country has had the ballot for more than a century. Yet, having the supreme power in his hands, the power to do all things political, he has had to resort to the trade union and the strike to obtain the moiety of liberty that he does enjoy. What more will woman secure? The fact is, the ballot is a power for good only when backed by intelligence. Unless the voter, whether man or woman, knows what to do, and how to do it, he is as helpless as a bull tethered by a ring in his nose. But given intelligence, given an understanding of the problem, and no bonds can bind him. This will be true of the working woman; and it is most devoutly to be hoped that she will profit by the workingman's mistakes, and thus avoid a great waste of time and strength. The labor problem is neither a sex question, a class question nor a race question; it is a question of mankind, and a recognition of natural law.

S. C.



The Right to Preach Wrong.

The moves that have been made to penalize Margaret Sanger, Emma Goldman, Bouck White and others for public expressions of opinion need not to be judged on the merits of these opinions. Interference with free speech is quite as reprehensible when the views sought to be suppressed are wrong and harmful as when they are right and beneficial. No one takes the position that beneficial speech should be suppressed. It is only the harmful kind, or the kind which those in authority consider harmful. There is consequently greater public danger in suppression of harmful speech than in the speech itself. And this danger is increased when judges, in their zeal to suppress, deny jury trials to the accused, besides quibbling away the constitutional right of free speech.

S. D.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE HOUSTON PLAN RESTORED.

Chicago, May 7.

After a brief experience with "constitutional" taxation, the Houston plan of taxation has been practically restored. The Houston plan provides for full assessment of land values for taxation, partial assessment of buildings and no assessment of bank deposits, credits and certain other forms of personal property. The constitution of Texas provides that all property, real, personal and mixed, be assessed for taxation at its full cash value.

When I took office as land and tax commissioner in 1911 tax dodging was as prevalent in Houston as it is in other places where the general property tax system prevails. Since each man did his own valuing the result was great inequality and unfairness. Big land holders were favored at the expense of small home owners, and of the few who made a comparatively fair return of personal property.

So we started to institute the Houston plan. Land and buildings were reassessed under the Somers system. Land was entered on the rolls at full value, improvements at 25 per cent of value and notes, bank deposits and household goods were omitted altogether. Street railway franchises were assessed for the first time in the history of the city.

Full publicity was given to this change. The knowledge that money in bank would not be taxed brought to the Houston banks many deposits from other cities, and local money that had been hoarded. A building boom set in. The population of the city increased, while house rents decreased. In 1910, the year before the Houston plan was put in operation, the city directory contained 50,490 names. In 1913 the directory contained 70,831 names, an estimated increase in population of over 25,000. From 1911 to 1913 bank deposits increased over \$7,000,000.

On the issue of continuing the Houston plan, in spite of the opposition of a few land speculators, I was re-elected in 1913 and again in 1915 by overwhelming majorities. The last time the vote was 3 to 1. A number of Texas cities began to imitate the Houston plan.

Notwithstanding the general satisfaction which the plan gave, a few land speculators declared they would destroy it. One of these filed a suit, claiming that it was unconstitutional, and obtained from the court a judgment, and an order that the city of Houston tax all forms of property, according to the constitution and laws of the state. The city appealed, but in the meantime felt compelled to comply with the order of the court. The assessment for 1915 had been practically completed, so a new one had to be made. The assessed value of improvements had to be quadrupled. We were also required to assess all cash, notes, mortgages, household goods and other personal property.

There was general dissatisfaction and complaint. The small taxpayers, as a rule, returned their property according to the order of the court. But the large ones and particularly the five who had brought the suit, refused to assess their buildings at over 50 cents on the dollar, and some returned them at less. All but one swore that they had no personal

property. The result was inequality as great as before the Houston plan went into operation.

But having power to equalize assessments, we proceeded to reduce all building assessments returned at full value to 50 cents on the dollar and to raise all to that figure which had been returned at less. So we had land assessed at full value, buildings at 50 per cent and some personal property assessed which had previously escaped. Out of \$40,000,000 bank deposits we had gotten but \$250,000 on the rolls, and out of untold millions in loans we only got a million in notes and mortgages. Much of this was the property of widows who had been left insurance money, of working men who had saved a little, and of idiots and lunatics under guardianship.

When we started to assess buildings at 100 per cent building activity ceased during the year up to the month of July. That month we let it be known that we would assess buildings at only 50 per cent and building activity increased.

As soon as we commenced to tax cash and notes at the beginning of 1915 our bank deposits fell and in 90 days had decreased \$3,864,000, according to report of the comptroller of the treasury. Building activity dropped off, building permits in 1915 being about \$2,444,000 as against \$5,432,000 for the year immediately following the one in which the Houston plan was adopted. The banks became frightened over the situation. Depositors were threatening to withdraw their money to evade payment of taxes. One banker told me that he had received orders to send \$300,000 east on that account. Another one said he had orders to send \$75,000 for deposit in Canada for the same reason.

Realizing that constitutional taxation was repugnant we mailed circulars to the taxpayers enclosing return postals on which was printed a request that the tax office refrain from taxation of cash or notes and promising to sustain me should I so decide. So many signed and returned those cards that we decided again to violate the taxation provision of the state constitution. We let it be known that cash, notes, mortgages and certain other forms of personal property would not be taxed in 1916. The assessment of buildings for 1916 will be at but 50 per cent, with depreciation for age and utility deducted. There is practically no danger of renewal of court proceedings, for the tax kickers in signing their assessments violated the law and by their act re-established the Houston plan in principle if not in exact percentage.

Thus the Houston plan has been restored in principle, though the building assessment has not been placed at as low a percentage as before. All that the kickers have accomplished is to make clearer than ever the impracticability of general property taxation, and the advantages and desirability of the Houston plan.

J. J. PASTORIZA.



TEXAS LABOR FOR SINGLE TAX.

San Antonio, Texas, May 1.

At the State Convention of Organized Labor at Houston, on April 26, a resolution was passed reciting the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation towards the Land & Loan Measure of Oregon; the action of Organized Labor towards

the singletax movement in California; and "Whereas, The Single Tax League of Texas, recently organized, is engaged in a campaign for the adoption of a constitutional amendment to the same effect in this State; be it

Resolved, That the Texas State Federation of Labor, in Nineteenth Convention assembled, most heartily endorses these various movements, firmly believing that if the principles advocated be enacted into law a heavy burden will be lifted from the shoulders of labor and useful enterprise; that a serious obstacle to the progress and development of the State will be removed; that demand for labor will be increased and higher wages will result; that the price of land will decrease, which will lower rents and enable laborers more easily to acquire homes; that manufacturing plants and industries employing labor will be encouraged; that the exemption of labor products from taxation will lower prices of commodities, decrease the cost of living, and at the same time give the workers the full proceeds of their toil and useful enterprises just compensation for their services to the public.

This resolution was reported from the committee and passed by the convention without a dissenting vote.

A great deal of interest was manifested by the labor men in this question. I was asked to speak before the convention and listened to with great interest. At the meeting a good many questions of interest to labor were up and no one of them monopolized their attention. This gives us a new vantage point from which we can reach labor men and is also an important thing in my judgment to go to the farmers with.

The League had its due share of publicity from the press of Houston with some additional recognition in the dispatches that were sent out.

In my visit to the cities of San Marcos, Austin, Waco, Corsicana and Houston, I found the people I met in a receptive mood. I reached a great many singletaxers who were not working at the job got a line on local conditions that can be used to advantage and enlisted a number of men who will give active interest to the work of the League. Our chief work right now is building up this organization. Getting the forces of the state co-ordinated and centering the thought of Singletaxers on the organized work of the League. Of the many thousands of Singletaxers scattered over this State a great majority of them seem to think that they are about the only singletaxers in the community. If these men will begin raising the question, make themselves known as singletaxers and stand for what they know to be right in this matter they will find men all around them ready to join in this work. I doubt if there is a State in the Union that is more promising than Texas today. Two years of patient, persistent and intelligent work will prepare the State for effective political action. Economic conditions are the real force that will bring this about. We only need to properly call attention to these conditions and direct this great irresistible force towards the desired end.

W. A. BLACK.



In a state of nature it is an invariable law that a man's acquisitions are in proportion to his labors. In a state of artificial society it is a law as constant and as invariable that those who labor most enjoy the fewest things, and that those who labor not at all have the greatest number of enjoyments.—Edmund Burke.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

DO DIPLOMATS MAKE WAR?

Zurich, Switzerland, March 8, 1916.

In *The Public* of January 14, I find two interesting reviews of a book entitled, "How Diplomats Make War," which presents a very strong indictment against the British government. But the friends of England in America, who are perhaps afraid that this book might rob England of the sympathies of the American people, may make their mind easy. There has appeared just such a book in Switzerland written by a German and giving irrefutable proof that exclusively the German and Austrian governments have brought about the war and that the governments of the Allies, especially the British government, are as innocent as a new-born baby. Though the book is very cleverly written and has been translated into several languages, I know of no newspaper that has changed its attitude on account of it. Practically all the people here are convinced of the same things of which they were convinced the first day of the war, and all the endless literature about it seems to have had no effect at all on public opinion.

If all the books and writings which try to prove that Germany is guilty or that England is guilty or any other power solely guilty of the war it is tacitly assumed that it is the diplomat in power who makes the war and who is responsible for the war. For the people do not want war; they want peace, justice and all good and noble things. They abhor militarism and slaughter. The press of all parties is unanimous in saying that the people everywhere are innocent of the war.

But if the people want peace and justice why, for heaven's sake, do they prefer to read newspapers which are trying to stir up hatred and contempt against other nations? Why are just those papers which are so madly crying for war to the utmost the most widely read? If the British people really want peace the "Labour Leader" should have a bigger circulation than the "Daily Mail." Let any one who really believes that the people want peace start a newspaper devoted to peace in one of the belligerent countries, a paper that will try to make the people understand that their enemies are also men, that they have their good qualities, too; let him, in a word, tell the people what Lord Courtney has told the British people the other day in the House of Lords, and by the success of his paper he will know if the people really want peace or something different. Yes, all people want peace, but on their own terms, and that is the trouble. Let nobody think that this is merely a work of the government which has incited the people to a senseless hatred. Here in Switzerland, a neutral country, the government does nothing to influence the press, but the attitude of the press of French Switzerland does not differ at all from the attitude of the French press controlled by the French government. It is as impossible to publish an article defending the cause of Germany in any of the French papers printed in Switzerland as in those printed in Paris. These papers are forced by their readers—that is, by the people—to adopt

this attitude, sometimes even against the will and wish of the editors. And the same holds true of the press in the United States. Are there not powerful papers working to stir up hatred against other nations, and are they not widely read by the people? Are those papers the most widely read which are trying to be strictly neutral, to be just and fair to all sides, or the papers which are partial and represent their own cause as the only good and just one?

The common people abhor military service because it is irksome and costly, and they abhor the battlefield because it is dangerous, but they would like to cause as much mishap and harm to the enemy as they can. There are very few people who gladly pay their taxes. If taxes are not paid the state will be destroyed and anarchy will follow, but are the majority of the people anarchists because they do not like paying taxes?

It is not only possible to flatter a king or a millionaire; it is also possible to flatter the people. Journalists and politicians know this art very well. They tell the people every day that it is immensely wise and good, possessed of all virtues and that there are only the bad men of other parties and other countries which are the causes of the misery in the world. Who has ever heard of a newspaper telling its readers that they were fools or knaves; of a politician who told his audience that their own wickedness was the cause of their suffering as well as that of others? They harangue the people, meaning, of course, their own people, their own readers or hearers and electors as infallible beings on which there is nothing to blame or to better. This subtle and unconscious flattery has worked the greatest mischief in this war, for it is the chief reason why the war has got so embittered and why it is so impossible to make the people understand the feelings of the other party. We can do no wrong for we are good and wise. Have we not been told this for so many decades by all our newspapers and politicians? That is the feeling of every nation involved in the war.

There may be diplomats who have been working to bring about the war, but if the people had not tacitly approved of their intentions they would have failed, as somebody would fail who tried to convert the European nations to Mohammedanism. Only he could tell us where the guilt is greatest who could look into and weigh every heart in a nation and say where hatred, envy and blindness are greatest.

GUSTAVE BUSCHER.

UNWISDOM OF THE INCOME TAX.

New York, May 3rd, 1916.

I would like to add a few words in support of the position taken by Mr. Garrison and Mr. Lustgarten on the subject of Income Tax as distinct from Mr. Marsh's position, which last I am rather surprised to see from so sound a Singletaxer and a man of basic principle as I know Mr. Marsh is. In this particular discussion, however, it seems to me that his argument is unsound whether from the viewpoint of principle or expediency. As far as the former is concerned it really makes no difference whether or not the Income Tax actually does strike chiefly at "fortunes based on land monopoly."

Apart from the fact that it taxes earned incomes as well as unearned (frequently through the surtax the former to a greater extent than the latter) the method of doing it is simply that of Robin Hood levying on the rich and distributing part of his thefts as alms to the poor, a point that Henry George emphasized most strongly.

On the ground of expediency the Income Tax is even more strongly to be condemned because it distracts attention from the evils of privilege and fools even those as well informed as Mr. Marsh into thinking that the injustices are being remedied in a rough and ready kind of way. As a matter of fact my observation is that those who are supposed to be specially burdened by the Income Tax are the very ones who are most ready to support it, and I would be suspicious of it for that reason alone.

The chief thing, however, is that the fundamental purpose of Singletax is not so much to redistribute the proceeds of industry as to open up opportunities to industry by making it unprofitable to keep these out of use, and for that purpose an income tax or inheritance tax is of no service whatever. It is not a question of taking a half loaf rather than no bread, nor of coming to results gradually, which is the case for instance in advocating free trade or the gradual reduction of taxes on improvements, but is a question of diverting energy from one line of effort to another that is not even parallel, and to a considerable extent at all events may even be an actual obstacle to what we really want to obtain.

E. J. SHRIVER.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, May 9, 1916.

Congressional Doings.

The Senate passed on March 4 the Hollis rural credit bill by a vote of 58 to 5. It provides for a system of at least twelve regional land banks to lend to land-owning farmers on mortgages. The borrowers must be guaranteed by local associations of farmers. There is to be a farm loan board, supported by the President, to exercise supervision over the system. The Government may furnish part of the capital to start the system, but this must be repaid. The bill contains a clause exempting employes of the board from civil service. The elimination of this by the House is asked by the National Civil Service Reform League. On May 8 the Senate passed without a record vote the Bankhead good roads bill to spend \$85,000,000 in construction of roads contingent on equal expenditure by the States. [See current volume, page 416.]

The Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce reported favorably on May 6 on the

appointment of George Rublee to the Federal Trade Commission. Though appointed when the Commission was former, action on his name has been deferred by the Senate as a personal favor to Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire, who dislikes Mr. Rublee. As a result he has so far served without pay.

In a letter to the Senate Judiciary Committee, President Wilson on May 2 declared the charges against Louis D. Brandeis to be incredible to any one who knew him, and attributed opposition to his confirmation to "Those who hated Mr. Brandeis because he had refused to be serviceable to them in promotion of their own selfish interests and from those who had been prejudiced and misled."

The report of the navy general board to the House Committee on Naval Affairs was made public on May 4. It recommended construction of 16 battleships, 6 dreadnaughts, 10 battle cruisers, 21 scout cruisers, 80 destroyers, 9 fleet submarines and 78 coast submarines. The entire cost is estimated at \$791,441,207, to be expended in three years, and this will put the navy in second place, provided there be no proportionate increase in the meantime in the German navy or that of any other nation besides Great Britain.

The House rejected on May 8 by a vote of 221 to 14 the Senate proposition to increase the standing army to 250,000 men, and by a vote of 251 to 109 the proposition to create a federal volunteer army of 261,000 men. A proposition to establish a Government nitrate plant was adopted. The army bill thus altered was sent to conference.

Investigate the L. & N.

President Smith of the Louisville & Nashville railroad testified before the Interstate Commerce Commission May 5 in regard to his road. He told of loans made by the road to a number of municipalities, including Lexington, Kentucky, Birmingham, Alabama, and Columbia, Tennessee. At the request of W. P. G. Harding, now a member of the Federal Reserve Board, the road had loaned about \$250,000 to his bank, the First National of Birmingham, in 1912 and again in 1913. In comment he said to the Commission's attorney, Mr. Folk:

Why shouldn't the Louisville and Nashville help the state of Alabama? We have millions invested in the state. We are more interested in its prosperity than anybody else, except, perhaps, the people themselves. Isn't it fit, proper and natural that we should try to aid it to be prosperous?

It is an exceedingly difficult matter to protect the property of a large corporation in states from confiscation by the people of those states, acting through their lawmaking bodies. You know all men are free and equal, but we couldn't get along without our

plutocrats. Under our form of government it is permissible to do anything necessary to get another's man property, providing you can keep out of jail.

All legislative bodies are a menace. In action they are a calamity. They are many and numerous, and we have trouble at times with all of them, beginning with Congress and going on down the line to the town council. We must do what we can to conciliate them all. We have to protect ourselves. [See current volume, page 417.]



Big Business and Preparedness.

The Committee on Industrial Relations has issued an address to the workers on militarism, of which the following is a part:

Why the workers and producers of America—who are fighting to make it a real democracy—should oppose war and resist appeal to the "patriotism" that means privilege, is told in clear and convincing fashion in the sensational new book by Frederic C. Howe, "Why War?"

Here, in chapter after chapter, is the whole story, told for the first time in America, of how Big Business manipulates the patriotic impulses of the people and uses government to back its schemes of exploitation with the treasure and blood of the nation.

"Everybody's Magazine" has attacked the Committee on Industrial Relations for warning the public against the conspiracy of the Rockefeller-Morgan group to use the nation's "surplus wealth," now heaped up in New York banks, for a campaign of financial imperialism in weak foreign countries where labor is cheap and rich natural resources may be plundered almost at will.

The committee had pointed out that the men who organized the American International Corporation are the same men who have been preaching cheap labor costs at home, attacking President Wilson for his refusal to conquer Mexico in their interest, and urging with all their might a great army and navy and an aggressive foreign policy.

In Dr. Howe's new book the editors of "Everybody's" and all the other shouters in behalf of financial imperialism, will find page after page of evidence showing the danger that threatens democracy in America from the conspiracy now masquerading as a program to increase foreign trade.

By relating some of the recent history of Europe Dr. Howe shows that the use of governmental authority to promote private schemes of spoliation, as Wall Street would like to have it used in Mexico, is the prime cause of a large percentage of the international troubles of the world.



Pinchot Exposes Conservation Congress.

The National Conservation Congress which met at Washington on May 3 was declared by Gifford Pinchot in a public statement to be packed with representatives of the water power trust and other special interests. Many of the delegates were persons who had lobbied for years for legislation desired by special interests. The convention endorsed both the Shields bill and the Myers bill turning over to private control the water power and other great natural resources still remaining in public hands.

Income Tax Investigation.

Continuing his investigation of the income tax situation for the Newspaper Enterprise Association, Basil M. Manly states:

How do we know that the income of the American people is \$46,000,000,000?

In order to answer this question we have to go back to 1910, the last year for which complete official statistics are available. A very conservative analysis of these statistics shows that in 1910 the national income was \$36,769,000,000. This figure differs from the previous estimates of national income, which have placed the total at from 30 to 31 billion chiefly because these previous estimates have entirely omitted the enormous income derived from the increase in the value of land and other property. This so-called unearned increment is one of the largest single sources of income.

When we know the amount of the national income for 1910, it is very easy to calculate the figure for 1914. The best single index of the increase of the national income is the amount of individual deposits, which increased 26 per cent between 1910 and 1914. As a check on this, we know that the value of agricultural products increased 30 per cent, and the net value of manufactured products increased 20 per cent during this period. In order to be well within the facts, however, we will figure on an increase for 1914 of only 25 per cent over 1910, which makes the national income for 1914 \$46,000,000,000.

The items which go to make up the national income cannot be stated in detail for 1914, but in 1910 they were as follows:

AMOUNT AND SOURCES OF THE INCOME OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN 1910.

Raw Materials--

Farm products	\$ 5,869,938,000
Mining and quarrying.....	1,491,582,000
Forest products, except as included with farms	447,080,000
Fisheries	50,000,000
Furs	5,000,000
Manufacture (value added to raw materials)	8,529,261,000
Transportation and communication.....	3,207,042,000
Electric light and power (gas included with manufacture)	100,000,000
Trade, wholesale and retail.....	5,464,000,000
Construction	1,500,000,000
Land—Value increment	3,036,000,000
Business—Value increment	2,150,000,000
Rent—Residences only, other rent already included	930,000,000
Insurance	719,398,000
Banking services—Other bank income already included	20,000,000
Professional services	1,750,000,000
Domestic and personal services.....	1,500,000,000

Total\$36,769,301,000

Although the general character of each of the above items is sufficiently clear, a brief explanation on the method of calculation is necessary.

First, labor incomes, both wages and salaries, are in each case included with the industries to which they apply. They are an item of expense to the employer, but a source of income to the employees.

It will also be noted that no items appear either for interest or any form of rent except the rent of

residences. This is because both of these items, while constituting income for the money lender and landlord, are deductible expenses for the corporation or individual that has to pay them. The same is true of advertising.

The increment in the value of land has been calculated to include only the profit which is actually realized through the sale and transfer of land. Furthermore the depreciation of land values is offset against the value increment.

The increment in business values refers to the appreciation arising from good will, organization, etc., which is regularly realized upon in the sale and transfer of businesses or in their recapitalization. The whole basis and method of calculation of this business value-increment is too complex to be explained in detail, but the essential facts may be stated. This value-increment is established in two ways; first, the increase in the price of securities, and second, the issue of stock dividends.

[See current volume, page 417.]



Anti-War League.

The Anti-War League of the District of Columbia has been formed at Washington with headquarters at 622 Bond Building, with William V. Mahoney, secretary, in charge. The platform demands removal of the economic causes of war, formation of the United States of Europe and shows that preparedness has brought on war in Europe instead of preventing it.



Teachers Organize.

The American Federation of Teachers to be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor was organized on May 2 at Chicago. It consists of the various teachers' organizations in Chicago, New York, Washington, Scranton, Pa., Oklahoma City, Gary, Indiana, and Waycross, Georgia. Organization work in other cities is contemplated. The officers are Charles B. Stillman, president; Mrs. Ida Fursman, vice-president; Margaret Snodgrass, corresponding secretary; Miss Mary Dwyer, recording secretary; F. G. Stecker, financial secretary; James A. Mead, treasurer, and Miss Margaret A. Haley, Mrs. Amelia Prendergast, Mrs. Ida Halpin, R. D. Chadwick and Miss Hedwig Hochbaum, trustees. [See current volume, page 419.]



Labor Notes.

Strikes continue to spread throughout the United States. At the Westinghouse Electric Company in Pittsburgh 15,000 men struck for an eight-hour day on May 1 and troops were promptly requested by the local authorities and sent there by the governor. A riot on May 2 resulted in fatal shooting of three strikers. Garment workers in New York to the estimated number of 100,000 struck for an increase on the same day. There has been no serious violence. The street car strike in Pittsburgh was settled after a brief tieup by

granting of the men's demands. [See current volume, page 418.]



Birth Control Movement.

The meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York, on May 5 to welcome Emma Goldman upon her release from prison was attended by more than 3,500 persons. Literature on the subject was given to all who asked for it. The speakers were Rose Pastor Stokes, Harry Weinberger, Theodore Schroeder and others. On May 8 Dr. Ben L. Reitman, who had been arrested for distribution of birth control literature, was sentenced to 60 days in the workhouse. [See current volume, page 418.]



Home Rule in California.

The California Home Rule in Taxation League has prepared and is circulating for signatures the following initiative measure:

Section 2 of Article XVII of this Constitution, which now reads: "The holding of large tracts of land, uncultivated and unimproved, by individuals or corporations, is against the public interest, and shall be discouraged by all means not inconsistent with the rights of private property," is for the purpose of carrying the foregoing declared principle into effect, hereby amended by adding thereto the following new paragraph:

Any county, city and county, city or town, may raise its revenues for local purposes by a tax on the value of land within such county, city and county, city or town, and may exempt from taxation in whole or in part, any one or more of the following classes of property: Household furniture, farm implements, livestock, machinery, tools, shipping, merchandise, vehicles, improvements in, on or over land; other personal property except the franchises of public service corporations.

Any ordinance or resolution of any county, city and county, city or town, exempting property from taxation as in this section provided, may be proposed by initiative petition, and shall be subject to a referendum vote, as by law provided for ordinances and resolutions. Taxes levied upon property not exempt from taxation shall be uniform.

The work is in charge of the Secretary, Clarence E. Todd, 150 Pine St., San Francisco. [See current volume, page 394.]



Canada's Rising Cost of Living.

The examination into the cost of living in Canada from 1900 to 1913, by a Dominion Commission, has resulted in an exhaustive two-volume report. Analyzing the figures of the report, The Single Taxer, Winnipeg, says:

Between 1900-1913 wages increased on the average 42 per cent; retail prices 28 per cent; and rents 62 per cent.

Proportionately to the value of the finished product (in the manufacturing industries) the wages bill has been decreasing. In 1900 it was 23.5 per cent of the product, in 1910 20.6 per cent.

A weekly family budget which would have cost \$6.97 in 1900 cost \$9.63 in 1913.

House rents for the great mass of the people have increased 60 or 70 per cent.

The number of families living in one room has increased 74 per cent. In 1901, 62 per cent of the population of Canada was rural, in 1911, 55 per cent.

Eighty per cent of all farm lands (in Saskatchewan) are mortgaged. The price of electric lighting to the consumer in Canada may be said to be down by nearly one-half since 1900. The reduction in electric light charges has accompanied the growth of public ownership.

Canada's interest payment to the United Kingdom amounted to \$135,000,000 in the year 1914.



Mexico and the United States.

The conference between General Scott, representing the United States, and General Obregon, representing the de facto government of Mexico, resulted in an agreement on the 3d. President Wilson has approved the terms of the agreement, and it awaits only the approval of General Carranza to go into effect. The terms will not be published until both parties have accepted it; but it has been announced that in substance the agreement provides for an active campaign by the Carranza troops against the bandit forces south of the territory occupied by the American troops. The American forces will gradually withdraw to the northward as the de facto forces demonstrate their ability to control the situation. Mexican railroads are to be placed at the disposal of the Americans for the movement of supplies. Acceptance of the agreement may be delayed by complications arising out of a Mexican raid on American territory at Glenn Springs and Boquillas, Texas, in which nine American soldiers were attacked. Three were killed and five wounded. American troops are in pursuit of the bandits. [See current volume, page 419.]



An engagement occurred at Ojos Azules, southwest of Chihuahua, between six troops of American cavalry and a band of 140 bandits. The brief action resulted in 55 Mexicans killed and 60 wounded. Several officers who have been active Villa leaders are among the slain. General Pershing's force accounts for 125 bandits killed since entering Mexico, and from two to three hundred wounded. No casualties are reported among the Americans at the Ojos Azules fight. The superior effectiveness of the American marksmanship has been very pronounced in all engagements, until now the bandits will not defend a position, even when they have superior numbers.



Haiti.

The Haitian cabinet, which has been at cross-purposes with Parliament over the question of framing a new constitution, has resigned. Parlia-

ment persisted in holding a meeting in spite of a warning from Rear Admiral Caperton, in command of the American forces, and was dispersed by a detachment of marines. The Senators protested but offered no resistance. Read Admiral Caperton is supporting President Dartiguenave. [See current volume, page 419.]



Santo Domingo Trouble.

The conflict between President Juan I. Jimenes led to his impeachment by the chamber of deputies on May 2. He has declared the capital in a state of siege, and removed the seat of government to San Geronimo, a suburb of Santo Domingo. American marines were landed on the 8th, and are encamped on the outskirts of the city. Admiral Caperton has full authority to preserve order. [See vol. xviii, p. 740.]



China.

Press dispatches from Peking announce the formation of a southern republic at Canton. The new organization includes the provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwangtung, and Kwangsi. Chen Chun-Hsuan is president, Tang Chi-Yao vice-president, and Liang Chi-Chao premier. [See current volume, page 348.]



European War.

Fighting on all fronts appears to be increasing in intensity, but nowhere has there been a decisive action during the week. The French have taken, lost, and retaken trenches north and northwest of Verdun. The later attacks of the Germans indicate a renewal of the offensive in force. A fifth allotment of Russian troops is reported at Marseilles, raising the number in France, according to reports, to 100,000 men. The Russians report gains from the Turks in Armenia, and the Italians claim small advantages over the Austrians. [See current volume, page 420.]



Lack of decisive actions in the field has brought other matters into greater prominence. The Irish rebellion proves to have been a very small and ill-advised affair, in which a few foolish leaders tricked the Sinn Fein members in and about Dublin into open revolt. The outbreak subsided immediately upon the surrender of the leaders. Eight of the more active spirits, including J. H. Pearce, the "president," have been shot, and a number have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment. The conscription bill passed its second reading in Parliament by a vote of 328 to 36. It is estimated that it will send 200,000 men from the shops to the ranks.



A congress of surgeons at Warsaw is attended by 1,500 men, including the chief surgeons of the

German, Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Bulgarian armies. Dr. Schjering, chief surgeon of the German army, said there were more than 24,000 surgeons in the army, in addition to 3,000 Red Cross physicians, 400 dentists, 1,800 pharmacists, and 92,000 soldiers in the sanitary corps in the field, 72,000 in Germany and 22,000 at army bases back of the lines.

Germany's reply to the United States on the submarine question was given to the public on the 5th. The note protests Germany's friendship for this country, and its fervent desire that the two nations may remain at peace. It states a willingness to examine anew the case of the Sussex and, if her submarine commander be at fault, to accept the responsibility, and make amends. Germany professes to have acted in good faith throughout, and to have kept the principles of humanity in view. She charges that Great Britain has disregarded the rules of international warfare, and professes a willingness "to use the submarine weapon in strict conformity with the rules of international laws, as recognized before the outbreak of the war, if Great Britain likewise was ready to adapt the conduct of warfare to these rules." Continuing the note says:

If the German government, nevertheless, is resolved to go to the utmost limit of concessions, it has been guided not alone by the friendship connecting the two great nations for over 100 years, but also by the thought of the great doom which threatens the entire civilized world should the cruel and sanguinary war be extended and prolonged.

The German government, conscious of Germany's strength, twice within the last few months, announced before the world its readiness to make peace on a basis safeguarding Germany's vital interests, thus indicating that it is not Germany's fault if peace is still withheld from the nations of Europe. The German government feels all the more justified in declaring that responsibility could not be borne before the forum of mankind and in history if after twenty-one months of the war's duration the submarine question under discussion between the German government and the government of the United States were to take a turn seriously threatening the maintenance of peace between the two nations. . . .

The German government, guided by this idea, notifies the government of the United States that German naval forces have received the following order:

"In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance." . . .

Accordingly the German government is confident that in consequence of the new orders issued to the naval forces the government of the United States will also now consider all impediments removed which may have been in the way of mutual co-operation toward restoration of the freedom of the seas during the war, as suggested in the note of July 23, 1915, and it does not doubt that the government of

the United States will now demand and insist that the British government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war, as are laid down in the notes presented by the government of the United States to the British government Dec. 28, 1914, and Nov. 5, 1915.

Should steps taken by the government of the United States not attain the object it desires, to have the laws of humanity observed by all belligerent nations, the German government would then be facing a new situation in which it must reserve to itself complete liberty of decision.



Under date of May 8, Secretary of State Robert Lansing dispatched to Ambassador Gerard at Berlin the following reply:

The note of the imperial German government under date of May 4, 1916, has received careful consideration by the government of the United States. It is especially noted, as indicating the purpose of the imperial government as to the future, that it "is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operation of the war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents," and that it is determined to impose upon all its commanders at sea the limitations of the recognized rules of international law upon which the government of the United States has insisted.

Throughout the months which have elapsed since the imperial government announced on Feb. 4, 1915, its submarine policy, now happily abandoned, the government of the United States has been constantly guided and restrained by motives of friendship in its patient efforts to bring to an amicable settlement the critical question arising from that policy. Accepting the imperial government's declaration of its abandonment of the policy which has so seriously menaced the good relations between the two countries, the government of the United States will rely upon a scrupulous execution henceforth of the now altered policy of the imperial government such as will remove the principal danger to an interruption of the good relations existing between the United States and Germany.

The government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the imperial German government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the government of the United States and any other belligerent government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the imperial government's note of the 4th instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction.

In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding the government of the United States notifies the imperial government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other government affecting the rights of neutrals and non-combatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

NEWS NOTES

—The fourth annual convention of the National Cremation Association will be held in Cincinnati on August 24 and 25. Inquiries should be directed to A. T. Roever, 30 Wiggins Block, Cincinnati.

—Chile nitrate industry is handicapped despite the demand of munitions manufacturers on account of lack of shipping and the high price of fuel for the nitrate refining plants. Coal now costs in the nitrate fields \$25 per ton.

—Of 29 articles of food and household consumption in Zurich, Switzerland, the prices of 26 show an average increase of 71 per cent, March 1, 1916, as compared with June 1, 1914. Honey decreased slightly, and cooking chocolate and tea remained the same.

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see current volume, page 256) for the nine months ending March, 1916, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for March, 1916:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	\$2,995,875,232	\$1,504,614,718	\$1,491,260,514*
Gold	58,515,929	337,831,231	279,315,302†
Silver	44,079,565	26,070,382	18,009,183*

Total \$3,998,470,726 \$1,868,516,331 \$1,229,954,395*
*Exp. †Imp.

The exports for March, 1916, the twentieth month of the war, were \$409,850,425, as compared with \$296,611,852, in March, 1915, and \$187,499,237 in 1914. The imports for March, 1916, were \$213,589,785, as compared with \$157,982,016 in March, 1915, and \$182,555,304 in 1914. The exports of merchandise for March, 1916, are reported by the Department of Commerce to be the largest ever made by any nation in any one month.

PRESS OPINIONS

Baker Attacks One Cause of War.

New York Call, May 1.—The other day Secretary of War Baker delivered an address before the Newspaper Publishers' Association, in which he . . . uttered the following blasphemies in speculating on war that might come to the United States:

We must gain this knowledge and arrange for this co-operation in such a fashion as to take away from it all profit in war. If the hour of trial should ever come, there must be no war stocks, no war brides, no war fortunes made out of the national danger, nor must there be built up in America interests which could even be suspected of preparing to profit by the creation of a national emergency.

But let it not be supposed that this dangerous heresy went unnoticed and unrebuked. Among others, the Evening Sun got on to it instantly and came to the editorial defense of profit without a moment's delay. Declaring that Mr. Baker weakened his argument by assuming the role of a prophet dictating to the future, it goes on to say, while "the hearts of men cherished continual hopes" of an advent of this and other ideals, yet

motives of self-interest are not necessarily absent from patriotic action, and it is not inconceivable that in time of war a man whose business it is to furnish supplies might realize large profits and still serve the nation better than any new created agency or department might do.

Even if self-interest and patriotic activities are not necessarily divorced from each other, isn't it much more easily conceivable that a man who furnishes supplies without profit, and at the cost of production, serves the government better than one who takes profit, even the smallest. . . . The Sun further accuses Mr. Baker of

talking vaguely about a distant future in which men shall be willing to expend their skill without hope of reward.

There is no "distant future" whatever about this—except for profit-mongers. The millions who go into the trenches always give their skill, and often their lives, too, without hope of reward. But the Sun dare not make the same argument to them that it does to the profit-mongers. All others except them, the elect, the sanctified, the chosen of the Ark of the Covenant—Profit—are expected to do this, and more, without reward. The Sun concludes:

This kind of talk leaves things exactly where they were. It leaves the nation in a state of weakness which invites the very war that is bound to result in the fortunes the Secretary so positively forbids men to make.

This is a somewhat confused sentence. Baker's talk leaves everything as it was. Why, then, does the Sun trouble to controvert him? The nation is in the same state of weakness as before but it is out of that weakness that profit through war comes. Or it may mean that because the people are intellectually weak, they allow profit to be made out of war. Or that wars are made because of profit. It may mean anything or nothing, but what is plain is that Baker has spoken irreverently, lightly, or, perhaps, dangerously, about the one thing in which capitalism lives and moves and has its being, and the Sun does not propose that he shall get by with it unnoticed.



Government Loans and Land Speculation.

Nebraska Farmer (Lincoln), May 3.—Government loans on land at a low rate of interest, instead of helping tenants mainly, would be of chief benefit to land owners who had land to sell. Suppose the government began loaning money at 3 per cent to tenants to buy land. Immediately there would be a very large increase in the price of land—an increase proportionate to the reduction in the interest rate. A tenant would then have to borrow more money to purchase a given tract of land, so that his total interest bill would not be reduced much, if any at all. Those who had land to sell would be in clover. Why should the government go to the aid of land speculators in this fashion? Of course any system of land mortgage credit that will reduce interest rates will cause land values to increase, and thus benefit those who have land to sell more than those who wish to buy land. This is not an argument against perfecting a co-operative system that will reduce the cost of loans, but it is an argument against Uncle Sam loaning money at a loss.



Does Leslie's Approve the Suggestion?

Greenfield Bulletin (Pittsburgh), May 4.—Leslie's bobs up with the old saying commonly attributed to Lincoln that, "When foreign-made goods are bought in the United States the people of this country get the goods, but the foreigners get the money, while when American-made goods are bought,

Americans not only get the goods but keep the money also." The editor of Leslie's buys sox. He gets sox and parts with his money. If he knitted his own sox he would have not only his sox but he would keep his money also.



The Work of Near-Statesmen.

Farm, Stock and Home (Minneapolis), May 1.—Congress, possessed with the usual unwisdom of congresses, is apparently determined to push the literacy test bill into law over the president's veto. Wilson, Taft and Cleveland have all vetoed such a test, and on the apparently simple American ground that knowing how to read a sentence in "English or some other language" does not signify very much one way or the other as to a man's fitness for the privileges of American responsibility and opportunity. In this particular bill exceptions are made in favor of Russian Jews and certain others to whom educational opportunities have been expressly denied, thus making the measure more palatable to those who see no farther than the surface. Illiteracy never has been, it never will be, a test for a man's fitness to share in American life. There are more American than foreign-born illiterates. The children of American illiterates are far less likely to become educated than the children of foreign-born illiterates. It is a matter of nation-wide experience, which may be demonstrated in any neighborhood of the Northwest, that the foreigner who has not had educational opportunities is eager to give them to his children. Congress is dodging the point. It is trying to substitute for sound principles of action the loose reasoning that the possession of education implies an understanding of democracy. If that were true one might still cavil about the amount of democracy one would imbibe from thirty words read in "English or some foreign language or dialect." One's democracy, however, has very little to do with one's schooling, more especially if that schooling has been along lines adverse to democracy. President Wilson will be justified, and abundantly so, in again vetoing this measure as inadequate, un-American and highly prejudicial to our sense of justice. Indications are that Congress will ignore the veto and set its own standards. That is no doubt the business of a Congress which will not, in all human probability, be very largely responsible for legislation at the next session.



Big Business and Crooked Politics.

The Day Book (Chicago), April 29.—A bunch of big business men have banded together in what they call the Business Men's Presidential League, with headquarters in New York, and they are conducting a newspaper advertising campaign to place a big business man in the White House. One of the striking sentences in the advertisement is this one:

In a business-like government there would be neither ignorance as to method, nor public graft.

Yet nobody will believe that lie except big business men themselves. . . . Practically all of the rottenness in city government is traceable to big business men—the owners of public utilities seeking special privileges. There never was a gray wolf in the Chicago council who didn't earn that

title doing just what some of the biggest business men in Chicago wanted him to do. There never was a crooked political boss who didn't serve business men when he robbed the public. There never was a crooked legislator who didn't do his crooked work in the interest of special privilege and big business. There never was a crooked legislator who fought humane laws in the interest of the working class who didn't do it in the interest of big business men. All of the laws now in State or Federal statutes for the protection of women and children were put there by the efforts of the working class and in spite of the boodle of big business men.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

EAGLES AND SPARROWS.

From the Spanish of the South American Poet José Santos Chocano. Translated by Alice Stone Blackwell.

Without avail the flocks of sparrows try
Some lofty tower to level with the plain;
They strike it with their little wings in vain.
So pants the envious crowd, in frenzy high.
Let selfishness league all stupidity
Against one peak of Thought's vast mountain chain;
What matter? Their assaults it can disdain.
A cloud can never make the ocean dry.

Fretful and ambitious in their zeal unite,
Like a massed handful of the light sea-sands,
Then, smitten by the waves, abroad are thrown.
To journey through the blue of heaven's height,
The little sparrows join themselves in bands,
While the great eagles take their flight alone.



THE CHESTNUTS.

For The Public.

Our guide was a wit of the vintage of 1850. We called him Munchausen, but he says he is Truthful James, and indeed his stories did get more serious as he went along.

"Did you notice that old man at the church?" he asked. "The one with the white hair?" "Yes." "Well he has buried seventeen wives already, and is engaged now—" "What, seventeen wives!" "Yes, sir; and he is now engaged—in the undertaking business."

"Pueblo has seventy-nine churches," added Munchausen, and only five saloons—"How splendid," gasped the clergyman. "Yes, as I was saying, only five saloons—to every church."

"That is the house of a son of Elder Smith, the Mormon. He has married a hundred and eighty wives, besides spiritual ones." "Why, I thought all that was done away with," exclaimed the old lady. "No, ma'am," said Munchausen, "the last one he married was yesterday—he is the registrar."

"The owner of that house has made twenty

thousand dollars a year all his life," said Munchausen. "Though he is in an asylum, so feeble minded that he has to be fed with a spoon."

"How is that, he's an idiot?"

"Yes, but he makes twenty thousand dollars every year—by owning the land."

BOLTON HALL.



BODENREFORM IN AUSTRIA.

Translation of part of a letter from Vienna in the New York Staats Zeitung.

There is as much work done in Vienna as formerly and everything is done in relation to the war or in preparation for peace. Adolph Damaschke, President of the German Land Reformers, came to Vienna at the right time to deliver a lecture on the creation of soldiers' homesteads. He spoke as guest of the German National Union before a wholly select and well read audience. The ministers, of course, had excused themselves, but many representatives of the ministry and of the house of representatives were present; the first burgomaster, Dr. Weiskirchner, also was present. He spoke after Damaschke's eloquent lecture, which carried everything with it. The burgomaster not only acknowledged himself a supporter of the efforts of the German Land Reformers, but reported that the municipality of Vienna was then constructing and preparing seven hundred homesteads for soldiers, and that this settlement was to be designated as No. 1. Other settlements would follow. If Vienna is hurrying this work, it must be because it had an enlightening precedent before it. Damaschke after this spoke at Buda-Pest. Then he was invited by the Stattholder of the Steiermark to speak at Graz, and very likely to other provincial capitals. Never was a great cause received with so many open hearts as now the cause of land reform. Adolph Damaschke handled his subject not only with reason, but he knew also how to move and shake the hearts and minds of his hearers, and he showed, based on the experience after the war of 1870, a picture of the future full of dark possibilities. As a saving thought comes his demand that millions who through modern development have become homeless be again connected with Mother Earth, to give them a piece of the Fatherland which they have so heroically defended. Every economic improvement in which they do not share would be an injustice and a social danger. In the last decades much has been neglected by us and we needed a warning. After the war new life will also bloom here and the fundamental principles of the German Land Reformers will be honored and receive consideration.



There can be no such thing as a nation flourishing alone in commerce; she can only participate; and the destruction of it in any part must necessarily affect all.—Thomas Paine.

THE BANNER CRY OF HELL.

"As if every field from Heaven that fell
Had peeled the banner-cry of Hell."

Preparedness for What?

The world with blood to drench,
The reek and slime of trench,
Unnumbered corpses stench

Where cannon harvests rot!

Preparedness for What?

A world of woe and fears,
Of wounds and groans and tears—
A frightfulness that cheers

The hellions in their plot!

Preparedness for What?

Scan Europe's monstrous tale—
Blood-lust and hate assail,
Greed, madness, crimes prevail,

In hellishness begot!

Preparedness for What?

The Belial-Berserk crowd
With mouthings, coarse and loud,
Boast Reason has been cowed!

May be, but Truth is not.

Preparedness for What?

Sore Labor's strain and sweat,
A mountain load of debt,
The money-merchants' net

Where toiling thrift is caught!

Preparedness for What?

This: To try for higher things,
The Peace that justice brings,
The brotherhood that springs

From fellowship in thought!

Preparedness for What?

To put away the sword—
Be it a thing abhorred—
By fiends alone adored,

Perdition be their lot!

Preparedness for What?

The light that's from above
The commonwealth of love—
Preparedness should approve

No million-murder blot.

DOM DIRRA.



There were two "Reigns of Terror," if we would but remember it and consider it; the one lasted mere months, the other, lasted a thousand years; the one inflicted death upon ten thousand persons, the other upon a hundred millions; but our shudders are all for the "horrors" of the minor Terror, the momentary Terror, so to speak; whereas, what is the horror of swift death by the axe, compared with life-long death from hunger, cold, insult, cruelty and heart-break? What is swift death by lightning compared with death by slow fire at the stake? A city cemetery could contain the coffins filled by that brief Terror which we have all been so diligently taught to shiver at and mourn over; but all France could hardly contain the coffins filled by that older and real Terror—that unspeakably bitter and awful Terror which none of us has been taught to see in its vastness, or pity as it deserves.—Mark Twain.

BOOKS

DISCLOSING THE OBVIOUS.

Economics of Efficiency. By Norris A. Brisco. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Price, \$1.50 net.

The well-known author of "Economics of Business" comes with a book on Efficiency, which is a subject apparently as attractive to writers as the War itself. The upshot of the work is, that to enable employers to pay higher wages when margins are so narrow, the productive power of the worker must be raised and wastage reduced. The resultant margin is to accrue in part to the worker, presuming of course that there is anything left over after the Efficiency engineer gets his fee. The Economics of Efficiency also determines that workers shall be acceptable only insofar as their powers of production are at a maximum, or at least are within certain age limits. The dead line is then set at 45 years. One wonders what is to become of the vast majority of men thus discarded when "efficiency" in business methods shall reign supreme.

The truth is that most of the "efficiency" game is superheated atmosphere. Every man running a small business is quite conscious of the fact that, could he discount his bills, buy when raw material was cheapest, and operate with improved methods, he might show better results, but he is kept too busy paying taxes and the land owner. As far as big business is concerned, the system of getting the most out of men has always been well perfected from the days when the brick-making Israelites had to furnish their own straw on the old basis. If the efficiency expert will but turn his attention to fundamentals, and discover how, under our present system, industry and production itself is discouraged by taxation, he will have located the nigger in the wood pile.

CHARLES J. FINGER.

AN AMERICAN DIPLOMAT.

The Life of John Hay. By William Roscoe Thayer. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 1915. Two volumes. Price, net, \$5 the set.

John Hay was one of the prominent Americans whose life spanned the widest range of his country's history and illustrated in its various vicissitudes the opportunities that came to men of that period. His boyhood was passed amid the stirring scenes of the anti-slavery agitation; his early manhood was in and of the armed clash that followed; and his maturer years were spent during the reconstructive period that followed the Civil War, reaching almost to the economic readjustment of the present day. And during it all it was his lot to occupy conspicuous posts. Beginning his political services as an active, though

humble, assistant during President Lincoln's campaign for the Presidency, he occupied successively the positions of assistant private secretary to the President, representative to foreign countries, ambassador to Great Britain, and Secretary of State.

Such a career offers great opportunities for the biographer, and it may be said that Mr. Thayer has made an entertaining story. The familiar and chatty narrative, copiously interlarded with extracts of letters, serves as a sort of reminiscent review of one's knowledge of the history of the times. Just how much service it will be to the reader may depend largely upon his state of mind, or point of view.

Mr. Hay was essentially a tory. Like President Lincoln's son, he seemed to have been unimpressed by the democracy of that great democrat. He loved the man, but he failed to grasp his philosophy. When Mr. Hay came to the period of life in which he took the initiative, American politics were in the hands of reactionaries, and it was only natural that he should add his force to the prevailing trend of affairs. He was an able and conscientious public official, and from the tory point of view he served the public well. But that he was out of touch with the new democracy is evident from the many manifestations extending all the way from his comments on the labor troubles of 1877 to the "rape of Colombia." The conservative, or standpat, mind will find in John Hay's career, as unfolded by his sympathetic biographer, a life of conscientious and consistent endeavor, marked by brilliant exploits. The democrat will see in it able and faithful service directed to maintaining and fortifying the House of Have in its resistance to the demands of the House of Want.

s. c.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—We. By Gerald Stanley Lee. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1916. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Next Step in Democracy. By R. W. Sellars. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1916. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The War in Eastern Europe. By John Reed. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1916. Price, \$2 net.

—Industrial Arbitration. By Carl H. Mote. Published by the Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind. 1916. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Martyr's Return. By Percival W. Wells. Published by the Bartlett Publishing Co., Wantagh, N. Y. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Transportation Rates and Their Regulation. By Harry Gunnison Brown. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1916. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Schools and Classes for Exceptional Children. By David Mitchell. Published by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, O. 1916. Price, 25 cents postpaid.

—Railroad and Street Transportation. By Ralph D. Fleming. Published by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, O. 1916. Price, 25 cents, postpaid.



"Uncle Moses, how did de Lawd make de berry first man?"

"Why, he done make him out of de earf."

"Den why don't he make 'em out of earf now?"

"Cause de Lawd nebber do anyt'ing extrabagant. Land aint as cheap as it used ter be. Fust thing you know, Massa Rockefellah would buy up all de mud and put a stop to de popellation, and den where'd we be? De Lawd am de best jedge ob how to go about his own bizness."—Unidentified.



Visitor (at private hospital)—Can I see Lieut. Barker, please?

Matron—We do not allow ordinary visiting. May I ask if you're a relative?

Visitor (boldly)—O, yes! I'm his sister.

Matron—Dear me! I'm very glad to meet you. I'm his mother.—Punch.



"A previous witness testified that the man vanished as completely as if the earth had opened and swallowed him up."

"More so, your honor. He vanished as completely as if he had run over somebody with his car."—Puck.

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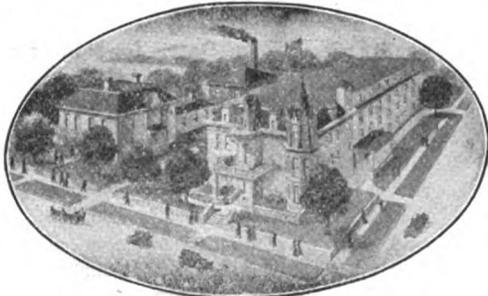
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Do you tie your cravat by the calendar's date?
Do you follow a cue?

Are you a writer, or that which is worded?
Are you a shepherd, or one of the herded?
Which are you—a What or a Who?
It sounds well to call yourself "one of the flock,"
But a sheep is a sheep after all. At the block
You're nothing but mutton, or possibly stock.
Would you flavor a stew?

Are you a being and boss of your soul?
Or are you a mummy to carry a scroll?
Are you Somebody Else, or You?
When you finally pass to the heavenly wicket,
Where Peter the Scrutinous stands on his picket,
Are you going to give him a blank for a ticket?
Do you think it will do?

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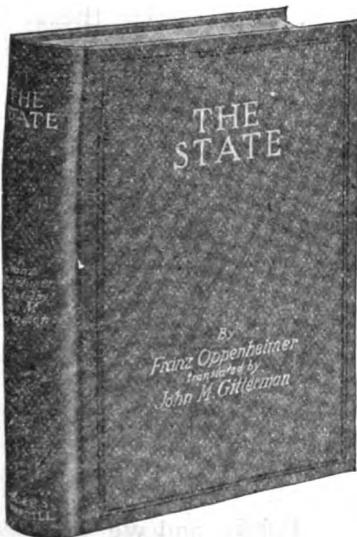
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Write "Justice" Across the Map of Texas

Last Summer an appeal (reprinted in the next four paragraphs) was made for a fund to send The Public to all editors in Texas.

Send Texas Your Message

On The Public's subscription list there are some who though doggedly determined to push the propaganda work find it more convenient to pay for a number of subscriptions themselves than to get new readers by persuasion.

To these we have a suggestion. We have a list of 104 daily and 844 country weekly newspapers in the State of Texas. The Public should go to these 948 newspaper men. It is they who make public opinion in the State, which, to quote from the report of the hearings of the Commission on Industrial Relations at Dallas, "is the greatest opportunity on the American Continent for a happy, home-owning civilization."

The Texan field is ready for the sowing. Instead of a "happy, home-owning civilization," there are within the state's boundaries "100,000,000 acres of arable land that have never felt the touch of the plow," and—"200,000 tenant farmers"!

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Checks received in response were sufficient to cover nearly four hundred of the nine hundred editors.

"Good," you say, "but what of it? How many of them took hold?"

That is just the point we are coming to. In a letter dated May 1, Wm. A. Black, Secretary of the Singletax League of Texas, San Antonio, says:

"A large number of country papers have not only opened their columns to the discussion of the land values tax, but many editors are avowed advocates of this fundamental belief. I think the circulation of The Public to the press of Texas has been a great factor, and I sincerely wish it could go regularly to every editor's desk in the State. A number of editors have personally expressed their indebtedness to The Public and many of the clippings that reach me show your influence."

As I have said, four hundred editors are now receiving The Public, and we want a check large enough (or a number of small ones) to cover the five hundred who have not yet received it. These subscriptions will be accepted at 65c each—\$325 in all.

This appeal is not made for a charity or a church, but to help a great educational campaign which must be made before Justice can be written into the laws of Texas.

STANLEY BOWMAR, Manager.