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EDITORIAL

Objecting to Light.

Progressives who look for progressivism from Hughes' supporters would do well to observe the opposition of Republican senators to taking up at this session of the corrupt practices bill. The passage of this bill would make it possible to disclose before election the names of contributors and amount of contribution to the presidential campaign funds of all parties. The old guard senators, Penrose, Smoot and Gallagher, are fighting against its advancement. Has this opposition the endorsement of Mr. Hughes? And what is it that these standpat senators want to conceal?

S. D.



High-Priced Raw Materials.

Much of the expected slump in American industries at the close of the war may be avoided through the efforts of various interests to meet the shifting of demand for war materials to commercial needs. The potential program that any business man may have in mind admits of a great many alterations and modifications. By holding back such plans for the present, and launching them when the demands of war cease, the surplus labor discharged from munitions works may be diverted to legitimate business.



But a more far-reaching influence contributing to this end is the effort to cheapen raw materials. Wages must not be reduced; interest will not be lowered enough to relieve the pressure; but rent and raw materials can and must be reduced. The lawmaking bodies of the country are not likely to take this course at once, but the logic of events will force them to it. Why should iron or coal and similar things, in view of the cheapening processes of production, cost so much? Why should sites for factories, stores and other enterprises continue to rise in price? This is the real question for forward-looking business men and statesmen to meet. A careful adjustment of supply and demand at

the end of the war will do something toward meeting new conditions; but nothing will give permanent relief until raw materials have been reduced; and the only way this can be accomplished is by removing taxes from the process of production and placing them on the owners of sites and mineral lands. s. c.

What Congress Should Not Do.

Among the various suggestions for settling the railroad controversy the one that should not be adopted is the proposition to revive government by injunction and to enact legislation for regulation or prohibition of strikes. There are some things more important than transportation. One of these is whatever freedom existing laws may allow to workers. To surrender this in order to prevent a tieup would be too high a price as well as an unnecessary one. Because Congress is unwilling or is not ready to do the right thing in such an emergency it is not justified in doing the wrong thing. Apparently Congress does not care to take the position that it is the duty of the railroads to give service, no matter what they must concede to employes to do so, or surrender their special privilege to operate trains over certain roadbeds. But unwillingness to stand for public rights is no excuse for legislating against the rights of individual workers. s. d.

Railroad Wage Increases and Freight Rates.

A reasonable return upon railroad investments would not be jeopardized by granting of the employes' demand for eight hours. What would be jeopardized would be the unearned increment of lands owned by the corporations which constitutes a big part of the approximately 20 billions market value of their stocks and bonds. This increment is represented by watered stock. To save this if the eight-hour demand must be granted, the corporations would have permission to increase freight rates. Nothing of the sort should be allowed. The public, no more than the employes, should be mulcted to furnish dividends on monopoly values.

At the Real Preparedness conferences now being held in different centers Mr. Benjamin C. Marsh has given some idea of the extent to which this unearned increment figures in railway valuation. In a case decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1913 concerning the Northern Pacific railroad, the amount credited to land, right of way, terminals and yards was found to be \$21,-

\$24,562 out of a total valuation of \$74,209,789. In this case the court decided through Justice Hughes that the road was entitled to make charges sufficient to pay dividends on unearned increment. In spite of this judicial endorsement the principle is an unjust one. In so far as this \$21,000,000 does not include improvement values, it does not justly belong to the Northern Pacific, and its legal claims thereto should neither be a basis for denying employes a reduction of their working hours or for increasing the burdens of shippers. A similar situation exists in the case of other roads. It should be distinctly understood that an increase of rates is not to be tolerated. s. d.

Dehumanizing Labor.

Could some department officials at Washington have heard the indictment levied against them recently by a man in Yellowstone National Park, they might be disposed to alter their ways in at least one respect. True, the complainant was a laboring man, but he was a citizen, and his information and intelligence would compare favorably with that of many of his so-called superiors.

The man wore a brass check attached to a small chain; and when questioned as to its meaning answered that it bore his number, by which he was paid—no brass check, no pay. He resented the system, and he denounced the men who were guilty of the outrage upon his personality. He stood upon his right as a citizen to preserve his name and individuality.

Is this not a needless offense to the poor? No banker, lawyer, doctor or other person is thus humiliated. Even the officials and clerks at Washington enjoy the privilege of having names instead of numbers. Is it not savoring somewhat of the grotesque that the "servants of the people" should retain their individuality, while the "people" are consigned to mathematical impersonalities? It was bad enough to have private employers adopt the brass check; it is intolerable that the Government should lend itself to such an insult to manhood. Much needless friction and ill feeling can be saved by restoring workingmen's names in place of these numbers. s. c.

Militarism Established.

Militarism is recognized by a decision rendered by federal judge J. E. Sater at Columbus, Ohio, on August 26. The decision was in the case of the militia captain and sergeant who had as-

saulted Charles Baker, editor of a Socialist paper at Hamilton, Ohio. After a long delay and with great trouble they were finally arrested and were to be brought for trial before the municipal court. But habeas corpus proceedings were instituted and Judge Sater ordered the accused men released on the ground that even temporary confinement under civil restraint might interfere with their movements as United States soldiers in case Ohio soldiers were ordered to the border.



So it appears that under the impression that it was preparing for defense against foreign aggression, Congress has created a menace to the safety of peaceable civilians within the United States. Probably few of them knew what they were doing, or, had they known, would have supported such a measure. But the mischief seems to have been done. It is not merely the assailant of a Socialist editor who is thus rendered immune from prosecution in the civil courts. The protection applies to any one in the federal uniform who may become guilty of any crime. It is no longer a question of establishing militarism. Judge Sater's decision shows that it has been established, and established in a most extreme form. We must get rid of this evil as quickly as possible. A foreign invader could be no greater menace.

S. D.



Taxing Incomes of the Poor.

The United States Senate did right in refusing to sanction the proposed lowering of the income tax exemption limit. The suggestion was not justified, even from the standpoint of the fallacy that taxes should be levied according to ability to pay. The recipients of small incomes pay by far the greater part of tariff and excise taxes. These are equivalent to a tax of 5 per cent on the income of the average wage-earner, and, in some cases to a 10 per cent tax. It is clear that these pay out of all proportion to ability and out of even greater proportion to benefits received. To be entitled to any consideration at all, a proposition to reduce the income tax limit should be contingent upon abolition of all indirect taxes.

S. D.



Taxing High Prices.

Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska hopes to keep down the price of print paper by levying a tax upon it should it sell for more than \$40 a ton. To avoid this tax he figures the manufacturers will keep prices below that figure. He has intro-

duced a bill to levy such a tax. Has it not occurred to the Senator that the manufacturers might increase the price enough to put the burden on the consumer? That the price of print paper is high is due to one of two causes. Either the cost of production has increased so as to make the increased price necessary, or the manufacturers possess some privilege which enables them to exact monopoly prices. In either case Hitchcock's plan would hurt rather than help. It does not touch the cause.

S. D.



National Parks.

Some of the most striking examples illustrating the evils of our land system have arisen in connection with the formation of parks, local and national. Land that belonged to the people a generation or two ago was given to private individuals for a nominal price. These holdings in many instances have been put to no appropriate use; yet they have increased in value by the growth and industry of the community. And now that the public needs these lands for park purposes it is obliged to pay an exorbitant price for them. That is to say, the public that originally owned the land is now paying the individual owners for the value it has conferred upon their land.



But this must not be allowed to interfere with the work of creating breathing spots in the cities and recreation fields in the country. Had earlier legislators and Congressmen understood true economy, these things would have been provided automatically; but since this knowledge was denied them their children must bear the penalty—as the children must ever bear the sins of the fathers. The conservation of health is not less important than the conservation of any other national resource. And nothing is more conducive to this end than public fields and forests to which the public can go for an outdoor life without trespassing upon private holdings. If no higher consideration than profit were involved, still it would pay to pursue this course; for, just as sanitation has profited cities in decreasing sickness and the death rate, so outdoor life will still further add to its profit by promoting health and longevity.

S. C.



Admission Through Silence.

Singletaxers of the United States are justified in assuming that neither the Republican nor the Democratic party can explain how to carry out the conservation planks of their national plat-

forms through any other means than the Singletax. The Republican plank is as follows:

We believe in a careful husbandry of all the natural resources of the nation—a husbandry which means development without waste, use without abuse.

The Democratic statement is:

For the safeguarding and quickening of the life of our own people we favor the conservation and development of the natural resources of the country by means of a policy which shall be positive rather than negative, a policy which shall not withhold such resources from development, but which, while permitting and encouraging their use, shall prevent both waste and monopoly in their exploitation, and we earnestly favor the passage of acts which will accomplish these objects, and we reaffirm the declaration of the platform of 1912 on this subject. The policy of reclaiming our arid lands should be steadily adhered to.

The national chairmen of each party received an invitation to send a speaker to explain to the conference of singletaxers at Niagara Falls on August 19 to 21 how these objects can be obtained by any other method than the Singletax. Chairman Wilcox of the Republican committee must have realized that such an explanation is not possible for he sent no one, although there are many Republicans in Niagara Falls and near by who are quite competent to answer questions concerning their platform. The Democratic chairman authorized State Senator Burd of Buffalo to explain in behalf of his party. Senator Burd appeared and delivered an interesting address, but did not attempt to answer the question, and stated, moreover, that he could only give his personal views, not those of the party. Is it unfair to assume that if it were possible to show a method more satisfactory than the Singletax way of carrying out the platform declarations it would have been furnished? May not the side stepping of the issue fairly be considered equivalent to a tacit admission that there is no other way?

S. D.

How Legislation Is Smothered.

Why the last Illinois Legislature failed to place private banks under State supervision is explained by the Chicago Tribune in its issue of August 25. The reason was that members interested in private banks secured places on the Committee on Banks and smothered all bills for supervision. The Tribune tells this as though it were a new scheme, not applied before to any measure opposed by a business interest. The fact is that the private banking interest was but one of many

interests that protected itself in this way. Furthermore, the same tactics have been resorted to for years in every legislative body in the United States. That is one of the reasons why there is a pressing need for the Initiative and Referendum.

S. D.

Will Hughes Denounce Senator Gallinger?

Since Mr. Hughes would make a campaign issue of the displacement for political reasons of certain officials, he might devote some time to the case of Federal Trade Commissioner George H. Rublee. Mr. Rublee has performed the duties of his position satisfactorily. But this good service has had little weight with 27 Republican and 15 Democratic Senators. They refused to confirm Rublee for no other reason than that his appointment was obnoxious to one of their number, Senator Gallinger. As a citizen of New Hampshire, Mr. Rublee has held that the public interest requires the retirement of Senator Gallinger to private life. So the Senator invoked Senatorial courtesy to secure rejection of Rublee. And, now that Mr. Rublee continues to serve without salary, Senator Gallinger is still endeavoring to oust him. No charge has been brought of inefficiency or neglect. It is not denied that Rublee is the right man in the right place. Politically he is not a Democrat, but a member of the Progressive party, for the support of which Mr. Hughes is bidding. The fight upon Rublee is clearly an application of the spoils system more vicious than any charged against President Wilson. What has Mr. Hughes to say about it?

S. D.

Seabury for Governor of New York.

An excellent candidate is assured the Democrats of New York State in the prospective nomination for Governor of Judge Samuel Seabury. The choice means that Governor Whitman, who has disgraced the State by signing the "bloody five" militarist measures, will be opposed for reelection by a genuine democrat. And it means more. Judge Seabury is as good an expert on economic law as on statute law. He has the knowledge required for successful constructive legislation. Moreover, he may be depended upon when given the opportunity, to put that knowledge to practical use.

S. D.

A Service to the Nation.

Democratic voters of Cleveland have done their duty well in renominating for Congress Robert

Crosser and William Gordon. Both have splendid democratic records. They were nominated over the opposition of a local reactionary group which finds it hard to tolerate advocacy of democracy by representatives of the Democratic party. The introduction of the Crosser bill—even though smothered in a committee controlled by bourbons—called attention to a practical way of relieving the unemployment situation. It offered a means of effective defense against the business depression that must sooner or later result from booming of land values. The return of Crosser and Gordon to Congress to continue their work for such a measure is a service to the whole nation, which voters of Cleveland have within their power to perform.

S. D.



Opposition to Republican Leader Mann.

A matter of national interest in the approaching primary election in Chicago is the fight against the renomination of Congressman Mann, Republican leader in the House. His opponent is M. P. Boynton, a splendid advocate of progressive principles. It is clear enough that the substitution of Boynton for Mann would be a public benefit. Mann's renomination will show beyond all doubt that toryism dominates in the Republican party, and that under its present leadership progressives have nothing to hope for from it.

S. D.



Adelman's Candidacy.

There is a chance for democratic voters of Chicago to nominate a democrat for municipal judge on the Democratic ticket. The possibility arises from the candidacy of Abram E. Adelman, an active member of the Chicago Singletax club, and a worker for all progressive principles.

S. D.



No question is ever settled until it is settled in accordance with justice.—Woodrow Wilson.



Law never made a man a whit more just; and by means of their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice. A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is that you may see a file of soldiers, colonel, captain, corporal, privates, powder-monkeys, and all, marching in admirable order over hill and dale to the wars, against their wills, aye, against their common sense and conscience, which makes it very steep marching indeed, and produces a palpitation of the heart. They have no doubt that it is a damnable business in which they are concerned; they are all peaceably inclined. Now, what are they? Men at all, or small movable forts and magazines, at the service of some unscrupulous man in power?—Henry David Thoreau.

MR. HUGHES 100-PER CENT CAMPAIGN.

A good many speeches have now been made by Mr. Hughes. He is not likely to add anything of consequence to what he has—after ample preparation—laid before the electorate. He has delivered his frontal attacks. We know the best, or the worst, he is capable of doing in his offensive. We are in a position to review his performances.

Mr. Hughes is without a real issue. He and his party may win, of course, both without an issue, or on false and trivial issues. Accidents may favor him. The partisan Republicans, reinforced by the ex-Progressive (so-called), may constitute a majority of the voting host. But the truly independent and thoughtful voters will stop to consider the alleged issues and cast their ballots with reference to such issues.

Let us dispose of the minor ones first. Mr. Hughes charges Wilson with inefficiency, with spoils politics, with wilful subordination of public interest to personal and partisan advantage. Wilson has dismissed fit employes and given their places to "deserving Democrats." Wilson has failed to extend the classified service, and has even taken certain officers out of that service.

Now, it is not charged that Wilson has violated the civil service law in a single instance. He has made a few concessions to the spoilsmen, he has made some weak and poor appointments. He has had to work with and through his party, and under our system the support of members of Congress has, at times, to be purchased with patronage. But it is idle and silly to try to produce the impression that Wilson is a spoilsman. Roosevelt was called a spoilsman by leading organs of his own party. Wilson has never been called a spoilsman even by his rabid enemies. The people know a spoilsman when they see one. Mr. Hughes in laying so much stress on Wilson's appointments and dismissals, is not 100 per cent efficient; he is barely 1 per cent efficient—and about 1 per cent honest. He is addressing himself to pinheads and to Pharisees.

Does he promise, if elected, to keep all the fit Democrats in the high offices that are not covered by the classified service? Will he ask for no resignations, or procure none, in order to create vacancies for deserving Republicans? No, indeed, he is careful to make no promise of this sort. He knows well that Wilson, in his dealings with important offices, has done nothing that Taft, Roosevelt, McKinley and Harrison had not done before him. There is no issue here at all. These

are hollow pretensions of superiority and utterly dishonest implications.

Mr. Hughes' second issue is Democratic Sectionalism and lack of breadth. Their view is not "national," we are told. Only from the Republicans can we expect a broad, a national view. But on this point we get no bill of particulars, no specifications. The 100 per cent candidate, who proudly says that on the bench he was 100 per cent a judge, refrains from putting and answering this natural question: What is the record of this "sectional," anti-national administration with reference to national issues? Several important measures have been enacted; are they sectional? What measures would Mr. Hughes have urged? And how does it happen that each of the measures passed received Republican votes—votes of the more progressive and independent Republicans?

In this connection it is pertinent to observe that the 100 per cent candidate fails to give Wilson credit for anything he has done, or for anything he has prevented Congress from doing. It is not good, 100 per cent politics to commend an opponent, to find merit in the party you are seeking to defeat. But a man who is for years a 100 per cent judge and likes it would not, one fancies, care to play the partisan game as the 100 per cent politicians play it. He would be too proud to fight in a mean, cheap way. He would praise and give credit where it is due even if that should lose some votes. Mr. Hughes must have found 100 per cent judicial ethics quite irksome. He prefers 100 per cent politics and feels more at home in an atmosphere of wholesale, unfair attacks, of misrepresentation, of suppression, of falsehood and of preposterous claims of infinitely superior virtue and efficiency.

Issue No. 3 is the tariff. Here Mr. Hughes is easily a 100 per cent "Republican" candidate. He talks nonsense as if to the manor born. He repeats the buncombe of the ignorant bourbons with a perfectly straight face. He is for more and higher protection. He will give the farmers more protection than they are getting, he will do wonders for the workmen, he will see to it that the benefits of protection are justly distributed, he will prevent exploitation; he will look after the interest of the consumers, meanwhile, and protect these while raising the tariff wall and shutting out foreign competition! All these things Mr. Hughes says "can be done." He doesn't tell us how. He does not give any particulars. He can't. He is simply repeating the absurdities and stupidities of the high protectionists. How do the real

progressives relish this sort of thing? How do the men and women who know that protection is robbery like the cheerful promise of more robbery? And how do they like the cant about the farmers' and workers' just share of this plunder?

It is true that the Democrats are not consistent tariff reformers. They have been too timid, too opportunist. But when they have made concessions they have apologized for them. They have not called black white. They have adhered to the principle of a reduced tariff even while allowing protective duties to stand and providing for a commission to inquire into costs of production, European tariffs, safe and gradual reductions of protective duties, etc. The tariff and subsidy grabbers instinctively distrust the Democratic party in spite of its sins and lapses, and they are right.

We, radicals, may fairly criticize the Democratic tariff policies. We may wish the party had more men of courage, of boldness, of foresight. But it does not lie in the mouth of a high protectionist to criticize or denounce the Democrats for their caution, their moderation, their respect for the interests that have grown up under a false system, their desire to avoid the dangers that the Republicans never tire of predicting.

In the tariff Mr. Hughes has an issue, but, ye gods, what an issue! It is the old, thrice-discredited issue of the reactionary Bourbons, the issue which led to insurgency and revolt within the party. Mr. Hughes, the ex-judge, the new leader, the redeemer of the party, swallows the nauseating buncombe and smacks his lips. We wish him joy over this particular issue, but can any enlightened radical miss the significance of this spectacle?

Finally, there is the general boast that the Republican party is the more progressive, the more intelligent, the more efficient, the more statesmanlike of the two great parties. Mr. Robins, a former Democrat, has endorsed this claim in a measure. And this in spite of high protection, of subsidy bills, of Hannanism and McKinleyism, of syndicated presidencies, of the needless war with Spain, of the rape of Colombia and the "taking" of the Panama zone, of the alliance with trusts, of the fact that the majority of the monopolists and wreckers, of the frenzied finance gamblers and looters, are loyal and enthusiastic Republicans!

This last "issue" is the comic relief of the campaign.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

ARGENTINE AFFAIRS.

Buenos Aires, July 22, 1916.

An increased number of American capitalists seem to be interesting themselves in Argentine. Business firms are pushing for trade, and getting quite a share of what's going. Trade is good, so long as it is conducted on sound lines—or does not involve long credits—for, speaking honestly, the present is no time for giving extended credits in this republic. Some of our leading private bankers have been up as far as New York looking for would-be investors. Argentine has seen that sort of thing before. In 1888-1890 a good deal of unloading was done by the local "shrewd crowd" on those not in "the know." Something of the same thing is going on at present. If American capitalists are wise they'll see that the unloading does not reach the figures of 1888-1890, when the weight brought down Baring Bros., considered till then one of the giants in finance.

That things are not sweet here will be realized if the financial position of the National Government be examined. The income has not met the expenditures by a long way. The years 1914 and 1915 left enormous deficits. That of 1916 promises a like result. The whole of the Provinces (with you called States) are in a state of chronic bankruptcy. The Province of Buenos Aires has a debt of over \$500,000,000 and is meeting one-third of its interest charges—giving deferred debentures until 1918 for the other two-thirds. The Provinces of Santa Fé, Entre Rios, Corrientes and San Luis are all up to the neck, while in Mendoza and Tucuman they print off paper money by the bagful and trust to posterity to make good these obligations.

Municipal finance is, if possible, worse. The city of Buenos Aires is paying its creditors with deferred debentures. The employes have a mild 8 per cent discounted from their salaries to hold up the dignity of the municipality. The variety and severity of municipal taxation has destroyed enterprise. Building has stopped. Businesses are closing up in dozens. Poverty reigns in our midst, while discontent grows apace. Frankly speaking, it looks as if trouble was near at hand. To give a concrete example: The municipality has had three strikes during the past six weeks, not little affairs, but lockouts involving the whole of the city cleaning staff. Then there's been a traffic strike, and all autos and busses were off the streets for several days.

The municipality of Buenos Aires owes the gas company over \$1,250,000 (Argentine paper), the electric light company a like sum. The Rosario municipality owes \$350,000 to the gas company and has had supplies cut off. That city has been in darkness for the past week. Rosario is the second city in the Republic. These are only two examples—nearly every other municipality in the country is in a similar condition.

Northern investors looking for investments would be wise if they waited a little longer. They should not jump in just now. Of course, those that are in would be wise in holding on—in fact, they must do so—as they could not get out even if they would.

What kills everything in Argentine is the form of

taxation. Every form of industry or enterprise is ruthlessly attacked. Here is an example: A farmer pays, in Entre Rios, according to what he produces. Thus a farm uncultivated pays a small property tax. If the holding alongside be worked it will pay the same property tax (perhaps more, due to owner's keeping place in order); then there is a tax on each cart, on the sulky, on the threshing mill, on the wheat for use of roads, a tax for right to unload the wheat at the railway station, another for right to export from the Province, and a national export tax of 1 per cent on the value of the produce. Taken all round, it may be said that uncultivated, ordinary agricultural land pays one-tenth of what similarly cultivated land contributes.

In Mendoza the position is much worse. There taxation has practically destroyed the value of all property. Here is an example. A vine field of 125 acres will pay as follows:

Wine tax on production of 700,000 litres at	
2¼ cents	\$17,500
Property tax	1,200
Other taxes	1,200
	\$19,900

An adjoining field of 125 acres will perhaps be valued at \$160 (Argentine) per acre, instead of \$1,600 (Argentine), and pay, because it has never been cultivated, a mere \$120 (Argentine paper) per year. Thus the industrious man pays, on his property and labor, \$19,900, while his indolent neighbor—or the land speculator—pays but \$120 per year. A fine of 16,583 per cent. Not a bad rate to punish industry with. Any student of political economy—any business man—must know that a change, a radical change, is not far off, when things like this go on. It's just as well to keep out while a busy housewife is cleaning up—and a similar remark applies to a Latin-American country. Something is apt to get broken in the cleaning up—and it's just as well that that something does not refer to or belong to you, gentle investor. Put your nest egg in a safer basket. Some investors jumped into Mexico not long ago and now wish they had not. Values have shrunk somewhat since 1912. That's four years ago. Values will shrink in Argentine within four years—and that considerably.

C. N. MACINTOSH.



SOUTH AMERICAN PROGRESS.

New York, Aug. 26, 1916.

If Pennsylvania had enacted a law exempting all improvements from state taxation; if Oregon were certain to do the same this year; if New York would probably follow next year; if Ontario and Manitoba, Toronto and Winnipeg, were also on the eve of adopting the same reform for state and local purposes, respectively, it would be a fair parallel for actual conditions in South America today, where tax reform is now sweeping through Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and Southern Brazil with the speed of a prairie fire.

No other section of the globe shows the amazing progress which now is crowning the long and arduous labors and patient sacrifices of C. N. Macintosh and his associates.

WILL ATKINSON.

OHIO TAX SYSTEM BREAKING DOWN.

Cleveland, Ohio, August 26, 1916.

Personal property assessments in Franklin county, in which the capital of Ohio is situated, are and always have been a huge joke. Even under the system of State Assessors, not more than 4 per cent of intangible personal property of the county has been taxed.

When assessments had been completed in June, they were found to be ridiculously low. The banks alone in Franklin county contain \$75,000,000 in deposits, not more than 2 per cent of which are assessed.

Then the Franklin County Board of Review, claiming to act under instructions from the State Tax Commission, raised the personal property assessments of 15,000 citizens from 100 to 500 per cent. Notices were sent to the 15,000 citizens that they might call and prove that the assessments were not right. The burden of proof was placed on the citizen for all this wretched guesswork.

Rev. E. L. Rexford, a clergyman in Columbus, started the trouble by sending a passionate protest to the newspapers. He claimed that he had made oath to his tax return, and that the action of the Board of Review in raising his assessment 300 per cent was equivalent to calling him a liar. He demanded that the Board produce its proof.

Then the storm broke. Governor Willis is making speeches in Maine, but he telegraphed to the State Tax Commission to start an investigation. That is his invariable way of sidestepping trouble. The State Tax Commission denied having instructed the Boards of Review to increase assessments arbitrarily and to investigate afterwards. The prosecuting attorney began collecting evidence to bring the matter before a grand jury, for the law provides heavy penalties for willful or fraudulent assessments. The newspapers printed cartoons, letters and columns of articles on the subject. The local chief assessing officer declared he would not accept the work of the Board of Review. The State Tax Commission sent an order to the Board of Review practically reprimanding that body. One of the Commission, James Boyle, resigned, and then the two other commissioners made an order wiping out all the work of the Board of Review.

The principle is thus established that assessments may not be made without some proof. The burden of proof will not rest on the citizen. As the assessing officers are afraid to demand to see books, and, indeed, are not given time by law in which to examine all books of private citizens and corporations, there is little likelihood of getting more personal property on the assessment rolls.

Besides borrowing to the limit on short-time notes for current expenses, all the large and some of the small cities have for years deliberately violated the law which provides for placing a certain portion of the annual tax levies in the sinking fund. Instead of complying with the law, the cities used the money for current expenses. A recent decision of the Supreme Court has put a stop to that bad practice. Hereafter the full amount required by law must be placed in the sinking fund for the payment of interest and principal during the life of the bonds. It is a wise provision—one little piece of common sense in our bad revenue and finance system.

Face to face with this situation, and unable to borrow more money on short-time notes, most Ohio cities haven't money enough to keep their various activities going for the rest of the year. Columbus and Toledo, for instance, will be bankrupt by November 1. In many of the cities all street cleaning has been stopped, and policemen and firemen are being "laid off."

It seems likely that several city governments in Ohio will have to go out of business soon, unless a special session of the Legislature is called to deal with the situation.

The Governor has so far refused to call a special session, and all are waiting breathlessly for a Supreme Court decision which may declare the entire tax law unconstitutional and invalidate all of the assessment rolls in the State.

HOWARD M. HOLMES,
Secretary Cleveland Singletax Club.

CALIFORNIA PROGRESS AND REPUBLICANISM NOT IDENTICAL.

Lakeport, California, August 23, 1916.

Anent Raymond Robins' citation of California progress as a reason for support of candidate Hughes, as stated in your editorial in August 11th issue, there is no evidence to bolster it. The Republicans elected every governor in this state from 1898 until the Johnson administrations, and no reform of note was secured in that period. The Democrats have continually advocated reform measures, but won no opportunity to demonstrate their fitness. Governor Johnson unquestionably received the support of many Democrats, a number of prominent leaders openly urging his election in 1914, against the candidacy of their own party leader. In his second election, especially, and in his present campaign for the U. S. Senatorship, Governor Johnson, to whose administration can be credited practically all the reforms California enjoys, was strongly opposed by the reactionary Republicans. This crowd Candidate Hughes allied himself with in his recent tour of the state, virtually ignoring Governor Johnson and his progressive following. How can Mr. Robins reconcile his association of California progress and Hughes with Mr. Hughes' repudiation of this state's principal Progressive?

Mr. Hughes said nothing in his California speeches to confirm his reputed progressivism. Conservative observers believe California's choice will be Wilson and Johnson.

PERCY H. MILLBERRY.

The man who will not investigate both sides of a question is dishonest.—Abraham Lincoln.

Recently a prominent bishop said that low wages was never the cause of a woman's fall. She could, if she would, resist temptation. Admitting this fact, what has she or society gained by her meager existence and shortened life? Woman's first duty is the reproduction of the race. Society advances, not as she shows a power to resist the tendency for which she was created, but as it establishes conditions that permit her to become a mother. The material level necessary for health and child-bearing is the nation's responsibility.—Simon N. Patten.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

A PROGRESSIVE VIEW OF HUGHES.

August 22, 1916.

To My Fellow Progressives:

Raymond Robins has recently given his reasons for supporting Mr. Hughes. As Mr. Robins and I hold about the same views on economic questions, I ask you to consider the following reasons why all fundamental Progressives should support President Wilson:

The Republicans have not changed their spots. The party is just as much controlled by Privilege as ever. It is pledged to make the poor poorer, and the privileged more prosperous, at the expense of the victims of Privilege. The Republicans opposed the income tax for the Federal Government and frankly admit their purpose to raise more revenue by taxing the workers on what they eat and wear, by tariffs or internal revenue. They claim they want "Protection" for American industries. Well, the high protective tariffs which they want do not yield revenue to the government; they yield velvet to the manufacturers and other protected interests.

Mr. Hughes is personally honest, but has always favored Privilege against the rights of the workers. Mr. Hughes, as Governor of New York State, appointed a Public Service Commission, three of whose members were subservient to the public utility corporations. The chairman of that Commission, whom Mr. Hughes appointed, now represents the Edison Light Trust, operating illegally in New York City. Mr. Hughes made him his campaign manager. The Public Service Commission law contained no provision to safeguard the rights of employes of public utility corporations. Labor can see what Mr. Hughes thinks of workingmen.

Mr. Hughes found an excuse for opposing the income tax.

Mr. Hughes vetoed the full crew bill, and the two-cent mileage bill, though doing nothing to squeeze the water out of the railroads.

Mr. Hughes ran away from his job because he wasn't man enough to fight Privilege—and I told him so at the time.

As Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Hughes, in the Minnesota Rate Case, repudiated the practice of Massachusetts and primary justice; and, writing the opinion, held that railroads are entitled to capitalize increases in land values, even when the land has been given them. He thereby fastened exorbitant passenger and freight rates upon the people of the country. How can we hear what Mr. Hughes says when what he is thunders so loud in our ears?

As candidate for the Presidency, Mr. Hughes avows his intention to use our army and navy to enable the greedy capitalists of the country to exploit the Mexicans, and his purpose to tax the workers for military and naval preparedness.

As President, Mr. Hughes would doubtless be the same honest, but pliant, agent of Privilege that he was as Governor.

As President, Mr. Wilson has kept this country out of the maelstrom of war, and out of the crime of international exploitation by keeping us out of the

Six Power Loan to China. He has reduced tariffs on consumption; started governmental control of credit through the Federal Reserve Bank law; begun to tax Privilege, instead of Poverty, by the income tax; and fostered the conservation of childhood—to mention only a few of his achievements.

Because I am not willing to throw away what gains we have secured, and wish to make more, I intend to vote for President Wilson and urge all true Progressives to do so. For the same reason, I shall vote for Justice Seabury for Governor of New York State, as I'm sure most Progressives of the State will.

BENJAMIN C. MARSH.



WARS AND TARIFFS.

Boston, Aug. 4.

The output of energy in many different forms to construct post-bellum plans for the preservation of peace is so admirably motived that no mere personal opinion ought to be pronounced upon it. Yet it is self-evident, since the plans for the application of this energy are so various and so contradictory that much of it is being wasted; as it always must be, humanly speaking, when head and heart are driven tandem and are not evenly mated. It is doubtless true that in the great plan of the universe righteous energy somehow is never wasted, but to the limited purview of mankind, when misdirected, it seems to delay real progress more than indifference or active opposition to it.

One fundamental objection to the formulation of such plans in the United States is obviously that as outsiders we are apparently purposing to intrude advice upon those nations that are fighting to establish and secure peace and which are doubtless making plans to carry out their designs, for assistance in whose consummation we may or may not be invited. It can hardly be that any group of our citizens really desires to enforce its plans to enforce peace, unasked, upon the conquerors!

There is one simple and solid foundation for world harmony, the laying of which is in our power to assist by the proper exercise of a home duty whose teaching and example may have a wide effect and a practical influence—the foundation of economic peace, a firm and straightforward movement towards Free Trade.

We know what it means between the states of this Union. The nations have discovered the virtue of "zollvereins" in their affiliated or dependent provinces but the international economic sense has never yet been aroused. The opportunity for its development is coming at the end of the war; such an one as may not recur for centuries.

At first the movement would be naturally adverse. Self-protection of individual nations, the quicker restoration of industry and finance, punitive measures against a former enemy, the effort to prevent its control of domestic manufacture, all will be urging tariff creations or advancements. The "Spectator," always a staunch free trade organ, is now claiming that free trade means freedom for England to secure her own trade by discriminating tariff. In the United States, of course, a reaction is taking place towards protection for the increase of revenue and especially for the benefit of the manufacture of products which have been shut out by the war. National selfishness everywhere in short will plead "the

present distress" for limitation or prohibition of imports. Yet the fact remains that, if a little patience could be had for the painful readjustment, inevitable in any case when the war ends, all this hasty and futile patchwork might be dispensed with and a solid establishment secured of a lasting world union.

Whatever diplomatic methods may be adopted, whatever arrangements of armies and navies may be established, every Custom House erected will be a fortress, bristling with deadly artillery, outposts for defense and attack, with a crop of officials like that sowed by Agenor's son to grow up into a harvest of warriors, leaders for future armies recruited from their beneficiaries and dependents.

Under-statement and restraint are urged even to gain attention, more than to secure conviction, but those whose hearts have long burned within them concerning this great matter, when at last they speak with their tongue, can hardly moderate the passionate expression of their prayer that some voices like those of the giants of old may be roused to make themselves heard by the great and willing groups, which exist as we know in the nations of the world, effectively to preach the true Gospel of peace and good will.

ERVING WINSLOW.



EVILS WORSE THAN BILLBOARDS.

New York, August 26, 1916.

We sympathize with Mr. Wilhelm Miller, who criticises the New York State Singletax League's billboard propaganda.

American scenic beauty should be preserved, and Singletaxers are striving harder for its preservation than all the "Friends of Our Landscape" and "American Civic Associations" combined.

Billboards possibly offend some esthetic tastes, but more repugnant than billboards are the potential farms, homes and factories withheld from use by land monopoly.

Why pick on billboards, while homeless families wander by vacant sites and disemployed labor tramps a weary search through a land of limitless unused natural opportunities?

The Singletax will end the ugliness of thwarted use of man and nature, and thus promote true beauty.

BENJAMIN DOBLIN.



TALKING TOO MUCH.

Kansas City, Aug. 4, 1916.

Nearly all real estate agents talk too much. They do not know when to stop. They create in the mind of their customer the desire to buy; then, instead of stopping and closing the contract, they keep on talking, raise some point of doubt or uncertainty, and spoil the sale.

If they would state the essential features and then let the purchaser do the talking, answering only the points he raises, they would meet with much greater success.

The Singletax, like the well-planned, up-to-date, well-built house, possesses so many points of merit that we singletaxers likewise talk too much. We overdo the job. We convince our listener, then continue until we have raised some point beyond his imagination or comprehension—the average man has

little of either—and leave him a "doubting Thomas." This in my opinion is why the Singletax has not been more generally adopted.

In presenting the subject why not simply say that "the rent belongs to the people" and show why; then state that all forms of taxation should be abolished and show why; then simply answer any objections which may occur to the listener? I have tried this plan and it works.

Singletax, site value, land value, the incidence of taxation, the taxation of rents—all are beside the point. What we propose, is to take the rent and abolish taxation. Then why not say so?

After the rent is taken there will be no taxes to discuss. The law of rent is a beneficent natural law—evidently intended to bear public burdens. Rent will continue under any and all forms of taxation, and with taxation eliminated.

If Henry George, Sherman and Fillebrown had treated the subject as above indicated their books would have been smaller and simpler. In fact Progress and Poverty would have been somewhat abridged; Natural Taxation and The A B C of Taxation would have been small pamphlets. E. R. A. Seligman's Incidence of Taxation with its 427 pages and two and a quarter pounds of weight need not have been published at all.

Read Progress and Poverty with my formula in mind and see how it works. Primarily the Singletax is a moral issue. It is either right or not right to take the rent for public use. If right, the squarer that issue is brought before the people the quicker will they see its justice and adopt it.

As has often been said, the name "Singletax" has done much to retard the growth of the movement. Suppose instead we had been dubbed Land Renters or Anti-taxers. Wouldn't it have been different? I think it would.

A. A. WHIPPLE.

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, August 29, 1916.

Labor Troubles.

After days of dilatory tactics the railroad presidents on August 28 practically rejected President Wilson's suggestions for settlement of their controversy with the employes. The President consulted with Senate leaders during the day in regard to addressing Congress on the situation. In the meantime it appears that the order to the men to strike has already been issued. It is to go into effect on September 4 at 7 a. m. [See current volume, page 803.]

The effort has failed to bring about the deportation of George Andreytchine, a Bulgarian, formerly employed by the United States Steel Cor-

poration on the Mesaba iron range of Minnesota. Andreytchine was active in organizing the miners and in helping carrying on the present strike. Holding Tolstoy's principles, an effort was made to deport him on the ground that he is an anarchist. But the United States Department of Labor has ruled through its solicitor John C. Densmore, that he is not a dangerous or undesirable alien under the meaning of the law. The Committee on Industrial Relations comments on the case as follows:

Andreytchine's release marks the final defeat of the Steel Corporation and their agents in and out of office in their attempt to destroy Andreytchine because he used his exceptional ability as a speaker and linguist on the side of his fellow workers, and against the tyranny maintained by the Steel Corporation with the aid of gun men and surservient officials. Acting Secretary Densmore's decision is a decision against the Steel Corporation on a clean-cut issue between that corporation and justice. Among the many who were active on Andreytchine's behalf were Isaac McBride, Senator Harry Lane of Oregon, Frank J. Hayes, vice president of the United Mine Workers, and Andrew Furnseth.

The Committee on Industrial Relations has issued the following report in regard to labor conditions on the Mesaba range:

Every charge brought against the United States Steel Corporation by the striking iron miners of northern Minnesota is sustained in a report just submitted to Governor Burnquist by his own State Labor Commissioner.

Miners have been exploited by the contract system, cheated, oppressed, forced to give bribes to their mine captains, arrested without warrants, given unfair trials, and subjected to "serious injustices" at the hands of the mine guards and police. This is the substance of the findings.

Mine guards employed by the company, deputized by Sheriff Meining without investigation, and supported by Governor Burnquist, are to blame for all disorder. The report says:

We are not entirely in sympathy with the belief that vigorous measures were necessary to maintain peace and safety in this strike. We are entirely satisfied that the mine guards have exceeded their legal rights and duties and invaded the citizenship rights of the strikers; that such violence as has occurred has been more chargeable to the mine guards and police than to the strikers; and that the public police departments have entirely exceeded the needs of the situation, and have perpetrated serious injustice upon the strikers.

Numerous cases of arrest without warrant, and unfair trials in the justices' courts were brought to our attention. We will not go into these cases in detail, as the federal men have promised a thorough investigation, but we are seriously impressed that the mine guards should have been compelled to remain on mine property or disarm when they left it.

Every shooting affray that has occurred on the range has occurred on public property. In no case have the so-called riots occurred on or even near company property.

The parades of the miners have been peaceful, the public police have had no trouble in maintaining order,

and if the private mine guards had been compelled to remain on the company property we do not believe that there would ever have been any bloodshed on the range.

Governor Burnquist, whose telegram to Sheriff Meining was generally accepted as an order to go the limit in breaking the strike, is now on the defensive. In the face of reports from the Committee on Industrial Relations and from his own state labor department, he can no longer escape a reckoning for the part he has played in aiding the Steel Corporation to maintain industrial tyranny. After reading the report of his own State Labor Department he issued a statement saying:

As an official I am interested only in the enforcement of the law. Personally I have had four men up there to investigate conditions and none of the four has ever reported to me any undue violence on the part of officials.

Apparently Burnquist's investigators were carefully selected.

At Bridgeport, Connecticut, on August 24, T. F. Duffy, an official of the International Iron Molders' Union of North America, was arrested on a body writ as the result of four suits brought by local foundries against their employes who are on a strike, and union officials. Duffy is in charge of a keeper, being unable to furnish bail, which was set at \$50,000. It is claimed by the manufacturers that union officials and foundry employes conspired to prevent operation of the foundries.

Congressional Doings.

The army appropriation bill revised to meet President Wilson's objections, passed the House on August 22 and the Senate on the 23d. This brings the total expense of sea and land preparedness to \$645,475,840. The army appropriation bill alone carries \$257,596,530. [See current volume, page 803.]

An Appeal to the Press.

An open letter and appeal to the press of the United States was issued by the Peace Committee of Philadelphia meeting of Friends on August 21. The appeal deals with the Mexican situation and declares in part:

Mexico suffers from the misgovernment of centuries. The land has been, and is, held in vast tracts by private owners, of whom many are foreigners. While there are exceptions, nearly all these landholders have for generations reduced their tenants to peonage, or practical serfdom, and have forced them into ignorance and depraved conditions of life.

The vast natural resources of Mexico, in oil and minerals, have been made over by concessions to English, German, French, Dutch and American owners on such terms that the national wealth flows to other lands, and the native Mexican labor is exploited so that the workers continue impoverished and unenlightened. . . .

Education, marriage and other social institutions have been church monopolies, and there have result-

ed ignorance and general neglect of what we consider common duties of decent living. Insurrection, revolution and local anarchy have prevailed for a period of years.

From the chaos some order is gradually appearing. . . . A large number of the states are at peace. As rapidly and justly as possible land is allotted to small holders on terms that guarantee continued cultivation of the soil and the independence of the workers. The local political autocrats of the earlier regime are being gradually supplanted by duly constituted civil officers, who represent the best element in their communities. The church monopolies are abridged and education and other important matters are placed under civil authority. In a number of states traffic in alcoholic drinks has been abolished with immediate good results.

There has developed an intense rivalry among the different states to see which can organize the greatest number of schools. Already there are said to be twenty times as many schools as in the last epoch of President Diaz, and under the influence of Carranza five hundred teachers have been sent to the United States to study modern pedagogy and school administration.

Several of the states, chiefly in the north, near the United States border, are unsettled and in insurrection. Roving bands of outlaws are abroad and lawless leaders are making trouble.

For a time such men will make raids and commit depredations not only in Mexico, but occasionally over the border in the United States.

The boundary between the United States and Mexico is 1756 miles long, as far as from New York to Denver. Most of this distance is wild mountain and desert country, without roads and with very little water. For hundreds of miles there is no railroad on the Mexican side, and troops of either country must be transported on the United States railroad. Such a border cannot be patrolled so as to prevent occasional incursions by outlaw bands, and it is more criminal than foolish for the press to urge such chance acts of outlawry as a cause of war.

These in briefest form are some of the facts the people of the United States are entitled to know. If properly presented and supplemented, they will revolutionize public opinion.

Although there is need of co-operation with Mexico for police and patrol duty, our country does not need a large force of young and inexperienced troops on the border.



Mexico and the United States.

The American members of the international commission to settle differences with Mexico were announced on August 22 by Secretary of State Lansing. They are Franklin K. Lane, ex-Judge George Gray of Delaware, and Dr. John R. Mott of New York City. They will meet at some place, still to be selected, with three Mexican commissioners. [See current volume, page 806.]



General Pablo Gonzales, Governor of the Mexican state of Morelos, has issued a decree establishing an agrarian commission "to impart justice

to the inhabitants." The decree states further:

Considering, that in order to comply with articles 1, 2 and 3 of the Veracruz decree of January 6 of last year, it is made indispensable to establish a local agrarian commission in the state of Morelos, also private executive commissions, with residences at the heads of the districts, that each and all in accord with the national commission may proceed to impart justice to the inhabitants of the state who have so severely suffered by reason of the revolution.

Considering, that in the state of Morelos this problem is of first importance because the lands, waters and forests are in the hands of a few exploiters who are not interested in the good of the people, and that the government is obliged to render assistance in that which is just, therefore I have thought fit to decree the following:

Article I.—There shall be created in the state of Morelos a local agrarian commission with residence in the city of Guernavaca, composed of five persons whose duties are outlined in a decree issued in Veracruz on January 6, 1915, by the first chief, which enumerates the respective laws dictated at his convenience, by the secretary of Fomento:

Article II.—There shall be created a private executive commission at the head of each district, composed of three persons each, whose duties are shown by the anterior laws:

Article III.—The executive commission shall be subordinate to the local commission established in Guernavaca, and it in turn to the national agrarian commission.



Municipal Abattoirs in Australasia.

An official report on municipal ownership of abattoirs in Australia and New Zealand has been made by Philip B. Kennedy, American Commercial Attache at Melbourne. He says in part:

With two exceptions, where municipalities have delegated their powers to freezing companies as is provided for in the slaughtering and inspection act, all abattoirs in New Zealand are municipally owned and controlled. These are utilized principally for the slaughtering of stock for consumption within the Dominion. With the exception of a few animals slaughtered for export at the principal abattoirs, all meat exported is from stock slaughtered at licensed export slaughterhouses. The municipal ownership of the abattoirs has worked satisfactorily in every way. The butchers have found that having their stock slaughtered at an abattoir does not entail any special inconvenience or expense to them, and the public is assured that its meat supply is free from disease and that it is dressed and handled under the best sanitary conditions.



The Danish Treaty.

The Danish Landsting definitely rejected on August 25 the treaty with the United States for sale of the Danish West Indies. The treaty will, however, be an issue at the election for a new Parliament soon to be held under the new constitution. [See current volume, page 804.]

European War.

The most important developments of the past week are the declaration of war by Roumania against Austria on August 28, and by Italy against Germany on the 27th. Roumania's declaration is based on the assertion that the interests of the country require its entrance into the war on the side of the Allies. Italy's declaration charges Germany with having given aid to Austria. Reports of fighting on all the fronts except the Greek-Bulgarian border, tell of some gains by the Allies, but whether of importance can not be told. Reports from Berlin usually deny these claims. On the Greek border the Bulgarians appear to have successfully advanced into Greece driving the allied troops toward the Aegean. The Allies gains are reported made by the British on the Somme, the capture of Maurepas by the French, advance by the Italians in the Alps and by the Russians in the Carpathians and the Caucasus region. [See current volume, page 803.]



The German submarine merchantman "Deutschland," which left Baltimore on its return trip on August 1, arrived safely at Bremen on August 23 with its cargo of rubber. It had to elude eight British warships at the mouth of the Chesapeake, as well as a hostile fleet lying in wait in the English channel and the North sea.



The inquiry was begun on August 23 at Dublin into the shooting without trial of three men in Ireland as a result of the insurrection of last spring. The men shot were F. Sheehy Skeffington, Fred McIntyre and Thomas Dickson. They were shot at the order of Captain Bowen-Colthurst, later declared insane. The attorney general for Ireland, who appeared, he explained, to "place the material facts about which there is no controversy before the commission," related incidents of the week of the revolution and of the arrest of Skeffington. After his arrest Skeffington, the attorney general stated, said he was not a Sinn Feiner, but was in sympathy with the organization. The next morning, continued the witness, Skeffington and his companions were taken from the guardroom by Captain Bowen-Colthurst, who said: "I am taking out these men to shoot them as it seems to me it is the best thing to do." The execution of the three men followed. The attorney general added that the men were entitled to a fair trial, which they did not get, they being innocent persons who took no part in the rebellion.



Because he appealed against his conviction for treason Dr. Karl Liebknecht has had his sentence increased to four years' imprisonment and denial of civil rights for six years. He has the right to

appeal from this. The original sentence was 30 months' imprisonment and dismissal from the army.



Announcement was made at Washington on August 24 that the German government has refused to advise the United States of the punishment meted out to the German submarine commander who torpedoed the channel liner *Sussex* last spring or to make any explanation of the action of a submarine commander in firing upon the American steamer *Owego*.

NEWS NOTES

—Archbishop John Spaulding of Peoria, Illinois, died in that city on August 25 at the age of 76.

—The Sociological Study of the Bible, by Louis Wallis, has been made a text-book in the Biblical Department of Lawrence College at Appleton, Wisconsin.

—The National Woman Suffrage Association is to hold its convention at Atlantic City on September 6 to 10. Both President Wilson and Charles E. Hughes have been invited to address the convention.

—Texas primaries on August 26 resulted in re-nomination by the Democrats of Senator Charles A. Culberson over ex-Governor Oscar B. Colquitt by about 60,000 majority. The issue was endorsement of President Wilson's Mexican policy, which Culberson upheld and Colquitt condemned.

—Hearing of charges against the Chicago Telephone Company before United States Assistant Attorney General Todd began in Washington on August 28. The charges relate to the proposed purchase of the local automatic telephone plant, which is alleged to be a violation of the anti-trust law and a violation of the agreement under which the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, three years ago, escaped prosecution.

PRESS OPINIONS

Hughes' Bad Blunder.

Philadelphia North American (Progressive), Aug. 16.—Every Presidential candidate, when making campaign tours of the country, is bound to be confronted in various States with embarrassing political conditions, involving problems which demand from him an immediate solution. Mr. Hughes has just passed through such an experience in California; and it must be admitted that he bore himself very badly, although as a fact the situation demanded from him only a little candor, courage and common sense. The candidate was met at the border by a committee made up of survivors of the old Southern Pacific Railroad machine, which had robbed and disgraced the State and had been driven to cover by Governor Johnson. And they not only surrounded him then, but continued to do so, pointedly excluding Progressives from all association with the candidate

they were expected to support. The affront was so deliberate and so dangerous to the harmony plan that a vigorous protest was made. The spokesman for the Progressives was Chester H. Rowell, one of California's most influential newspaper editors and a man of exceptional force and ability, formerly Progressive National Committeeman from the State. Like Governor Johnson, he had had a personal talk with Mr. Hughes in New York, and had been so favorably impressed that he had telegraphed for publication in his paper a cordial appreciation of the candidate. This indorsement was of such weight that it was reprinted by the Republican national managers and sent broadcast among Progressives throughout the country. Mr. Rowell's standing was further recognized by his appointment as a member of the Republican National Campaign Committee. His protest, therefore, had the force of a declaration by the Progressive party of the State. Mr. Hughes made his answer that evening, in a speech at a great mass meeting, in these terms:

I come here as spokesman of the national Republican party. With local differences I have no concern.

This was his comment upon a situation which had filled the Progressives with distrust and resentment, in a State where they constitute the dominant party, in a State which Mr. Wilson failed of carrying in 1912 by only 174 votes out of a total of 571,000. No one will doubt the accuracy of Mr. Rowell's description of the meeting:

With such a magnificent audience, the roof should have been torn off; but the meeting was a frost. One of the most prominent Progressives on the coast told me the only thing that kept him from declaring for Wilson was his attachment to Governor Johnson. It was very unfortunate that Mr. Hughes made his statement about keeping his hands off local conditions. The fight here is more than local; it will have a nation-wide effect. The remark was exactly what the old guard element was looking for. The crowd realized it, too. . . .

But Mr. Hughes' astonishing announcement that he was the Republican candidate exclusively will have an influence far beyond the borders of California. It has been read by Progressives everywhere with amazement and disgust—except by those who said from the beginning that Mr. Hughes offered nothing for Progressive voters. . . . If Mr. Hughes had uttered such a sentiment before Colonel Roosevelt declined the Progressive nomination, it would have been impossible for the Colonel to withdraw his name. In truth, if the Progressives had been told in this manner that the issue was merely between the Democratic and Republican parties—an issue of partisanship and not of patriotism—those who failed to turn in for Wilson would not have voted at all. For, if the sole choice lay between the two old parties, most Progressives would prefer the Democracy.



Wherein Yucatan Leads the World.

Herbert S. Bigelow in People's Bulletin (Cincinnati) August 26.—The Bulletin has come into possession of a confidential report made to certain powerful interests concerning the new land laws of Yucatan, Mexico. The document complains of General Alvarado because of his alleged attack upon religion. "Religion is ignorance." "God goes down as the revolution triumphs." These are statements attributed to the General. The document denounces

the General's land laws because, as alleged, they are based on a false principle. The false principle referred to is this, namely, "that nobody is exclusive owner of the land as no one is of the light and air." Proceeding on this "false principle," the General, it seems, is reducing the size of holdings in land and giving to the landless farms of their own. This procedure is characterized as "unheard of robbery." It is said that the General has ordered the immediate execution of any one criticizing this law. The General has passed some "labor laws" relating to accidents, hours of work, the employment of women and children, etc., but while these laws are admitted to be good, in some respects, they indicate tendencies which are described as "extremely radical." It seems that the General is an unsafe person who is lacking in respect for property rights. That he has an interest in the downtrodden is clear enough. He has forbidden the sale of all alcoholic liquors except beer. The report says that it is all well enough for the General to suppress drunkenness among the Indians, but that this temperance legislation goes too far and that there is a fear lest the General, with his antagonism to religion, intends to prevent the use of wine at church ceremonies. One would think that if the land could only be restored to the people the church would be willing to forego the use of the wine. But it is possible that some are more concerned about losing the land than the ceremonial wine. Of course the French revolutionists were foolish when they proclaimed the reign of an irreligious Goddess of Reason. If the General interferes with the right of churches to conduct their ceremonies as they see fit, he is in this respect a reactionary. He is turning the hands of the clock back. But we are bound to make some allowance for prejudice in this report, particularly as the report betrays its vehement opposition to the Yucatan reforms. If the Government of Yucatan believes that a man has as much right to land as to air and light, it is in that respect the most enlightened government on earth. . . . Either men are equal in the eyes of God or they are not. If they are equally worthy of a chance in life, then they all have the same right to breathe, and if that is so, they have the same right to use land. . . . Let's give Yucatan a chance. If they do actually restore the land to the producers and if it stays restored, they will have solved the greatest of all the social problems and conferred upon mankind a greater blessing even than when America proclaimed the doctrine of popular sovereignty. To the people sitting in darkness in America and elsewhere a light is breaking in Yucatan. At least, we hope so.



Whom the Gods Would Destroy.

Capper's Weekly (Topeka, Kans.), Aug. 26.—If one man in five in this country six months ago favored government ownership of railroads, it is probably not far off to say that one man in four feels that way now. If the mediation of the President in the present difficulty fails, if the deadlock becomes a strike and traffic is tied up from one end of the continent to the other, two men in three in the United States will be in favor of government ownership of railroads. In other words, not all the argument for half a generation has had the influence on public

opinion in regard to this question of railroad ownership that the threatened general tieup is having. The country can not tolerate a situation in railroad management which at any time may stop business from one ocean to the other.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

CONCERNING THE FIRE ON THE HEARTH.

Far back among the earliest recollections of an old man who was once a little red-headed boy on a Texan homestead, is the great chimney of the cabin, fed with logs of oak and pecan from the adjacent "creek-bottom." "But," as the boy's father used to say, when he built up those roaring fires of more than half a century ago, "you really ought to see the big chimney on the old Ohio farm!"

That little boy knew none of the poetry and romance that cluster around the hearthstone, but it was the joy of his heart, and the center of the home. Once as he rode with his father across the rolling Texan country about Round Rock, they saw an old leaning chimney in the woods, and, going closer, looked upon its blackened sides and melancholy hearthstone, where some young mother might have rocked her baby in the cabin (long ago burned to the ground) when this forlorn chimney was new.

"Boy," his father said, "as long as you live keep the fires alive on your hearthstone; don't let them die out!"

It took the boy a great many years of eager, busy life to understand his father's deeper meanings, but once in after-times, as he rode through the forests of the Californian Sierras he found another such abandoned hearthstone, and broken chimney, near a spring, under a huge, neglected old pear tree. Only one of the foundation logs of the cabin was left, but beside it was a broken bit of china from a child's doll, and near it wall-flowers and marigolds still grew. He had a clear vision of the past; of the Mariposan pioneers who took up the land, built the chimney and cabin, reared children, and went away, letting the hearth-fires die, the cabin fall into ruins. He gathered some of the wall-flowers to take to his own cabin across the southward ridges, among the pines.

Wise and loving are those who have kept the real spirit of the old-time hearthstones and open-wood fires glowing in their hearts. It is not a thing of plains and prairies, nor yet of cities; true chimney-fires belong to places where there are surpluses of many sorts of wood.

"Come in," the mountaineer, the forest-dweller, the owner of a few food-giving acres and a big wood-lot, calls out to the tired wayfarer as he

passes by trail or road—"Come in, stranger, set by the fire, an' pass the time of day." He throws on another big dry log, flames leap, the warm glow of hospitality fills the room, gladdens the wayfarer's heart; his welcome is good for an hour or for a week!

This may happen in an old-time cabin, a rude sort of a place, with an uneven floor of rough boards, with undressed rocks in chimney, hearthstone and mantel-piece. Homely, and guiltless of paint, paper, or cloth hangings are the walls, and there is no ceiling between the unplanned floor and the fire-riven shakes of the roof. If such a greeting is given to the wayfarer from the doorway of a larger, more costly place it is because there also the home-spirit, plus genial comradeship with "all the world and his cousin" lives there just as truly as in the mountaineer's cabin.

Somehow, methinks the mansion cannot easily be as homelike as the cabin, unless it has a big fireplace, a wide-throated chimney through which one can see the stars pass overhead, and a woodpile not many rods distant wherein are logs of ash, oak, alder, apple, peach, pine, manzanita, and about ten more shrubs and trees of ancient chimney-warming species. The woodpile must be shedded over against winter rain and snow; it must be piled so high within that 'tis often a perilous and exciting game to snake out the logs one requires to set the right home-song to music.

Furthermore (for this time shall secrets be told), it is needful that the woodpile shall be attacked all winter long, and that the hearth-fire be built, lit and seen to, by some one who loves the forest, the home, and the hearthstone, with great, even extravagant loyalty. Boughten service of neither man nor maid is able to rise beyond the useful domestic fires in kitchen and laundry. From this text one may draw the iron-clad conclusion that if the hearth-fire in the mansion is to have the beauty and fitness of the cabin-dweller's homely hearth-fire, it must be created by the joyous labor of the man who owns the mansion. This rule is absolute, unless he is a cripple or invalid, in which case he must at least bring in some pitch-pine splinters and cones from the mightier forests on the mountain ridges, and certainly he must be the officiating high priest, who kneels on the hearth, blows the embers, or lights the sacred and symbolic match; he must laugh as the flame answers him, calling some dear child to stand beside him and witness that Promethean gift of which the legends of every tribe and people under heaven have told.

Can it be possible that benighted householders exist anywhere whose ignorance and laziness so master them that they touch a button, ring a bell, or shout over the telephone to the stables: "Jonas, put a log on this fire of mine"?

A man in possession of his bodily powers who would be guilty of such malfeasance, even though

he owned ten mansions, a league-wide deer park, thousand-ten yachts, three legislatures, and several governors, is what a neighbor of mine calls "but a piddling creature at best."

If you manage your own fire that way, dear reader, please accept my heartfelt regrets for all that you lose by delegating your priestship over the fire-altar of home to an indifferent menial, the while you snuggle down in your library chair and read your newspaper.

The true master of his own hearthstone knows what he wants long months before the Autumnal frosts begin. He need not cut all the firewood himself, but he must at least select and mark the trees. It were well, also, that he be man enough to swing a ceremonial axe against one or two, or even fell the first tree of the coming hearth-fire's jubilation.

Further, he must so classify his various forest-treasures that he can create in due season and succession a score of classic Great Fires, and half-a-hundred lesser ones, each of them different from all the others. Easy this for the true expert, who never makes a mere confusion of a fire behind his hearth; his art is to have symphonies of pine, oak, fir, ash, and other woods, one at a time, with softer undertones and fragrances from spicy shrubs and lesser trees. Around such a fire congregate the five literal senses and the numerous others which each of us now and then discover; whole Morrisian romances reveal themselves in the flames. You hear the songs of jongleurs and troubadours, red flame-roses scent the room, and you feast at fairy-land banquets with red-haired Queen Maeve.

It is well worth while to live in a cabin and go forth to one's daily toil if when you come home to a frugal meal you may sit down on a home-made bench in your chimney corner and see the vision of the year's glorious round from spring's first blossom to autumn's last red apple, reflected in the joyous flames.

'Tis also told me that Shakespeare's tricky Puck, no longer bound by any magician's cruel spells, loves to hide for a moment in such a cheerful cabin-fire, and fill it brim-full of the wisdom of another thousand Arabian Nights, so that the children who sit before the fire cannot help becoming poets, musicians, inventors.

It once befell that a fire-building mountaineer, persuaded by loving friends, went with his wife into mysterious, high-built stone palaces of one of the mightiest of man-made metropolises. Here they found domestic worlds strangely heated by hidden contrivances, useful but uninteresting. Also they were introduced to the merest simula-cra of fireplaces—small hollows in tiled walls, wherein lay pseudo-logs of metal perpetually lit by flames of gas or electricity, and turned on by a switch! Unenviously they admired, and thought with enlarged happiness of their own far-off for-

ests and unexhausted woodpiles with their cheerful accompaniments of toil.

They returned at last, brim-full of new experiences, and rejoiced in their cabin, their own chimney. "Welcome! dear winter camp-fire of ours!" the wife said, as they sat before it, the first cold night.

"Surely!" he answered, as he cast cones of sugar pine upon it, "here is where we belong, not among those pale eidolons of hearthstone fires in the metropolis! Do you remember," he added, "that young couple out in the suburbs who invited us to see their 'real chimney,' with a real fire in it? They had an iridescent chimney, made of costly copper ore—a baby of a chimney; they broke up a candle-box and added several parcel post paste-board packages, and there you were! 'Makes us think of the wilderness,' the young man cried!"

"Ah," the wife of the mountaineer said, "the miracle of life is in the fact that his pile of kindling in his copper-ore chimney, built and lit by himself, really put him in possession of the fire-kingdom!"

"So it did!" the mountaineer replied, "your outlook is finer and better than mine."

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



A CHARACTER SKETCH.

The Great Banker was seated in his private office when there entered a Gentleman who wanted to borrow money.

"I need ten thousand dollars," announced the Gentleman without delay. "I have some very good security here."

"My dear fellow," replied the Great Banker in a fatherly tone for which he made no extra charge, "lending money is not a question of security alone. In fact, security is the last thing we consider. The most important thing that a borrower should possess is character. Have you any character?"

"That is something I am rather embarrassed to discuss," responded the other modestly. "Perhaps, however, I may say this without conceit: I have always tried to be square with everybody. I have tried to be true to my duties and responsibilities and, in my dealings with friend and foe alike, I have endeavored to give one hundred cents on the dollar."

"A hundred cents, eh?"

"Yes, I suppose I could have made a good deal more money if I had been a little more grasping, if I had adulterated my goods and given short measure. But I must say I could never bring myself to take advantage of a customer. On several occasions I could have made very large sums of money by betraying my friends, but I just couldn't do it. You may call it character, if you wish. I wasn't built that way. That's all."

"Um, ah, I see," said the Great Banker cautiously. "You understand, of course, that I wouldn't think of finding fault with a character of that sort, but, ah, well, the fact is, you know, that money is a little tight these days, and I am very sorry that I will be unable to accommodate you. Good day, sir."

An hour or so later another Gentleman was shown into the presence of the Great Banker.

"Want to borrow half a million dollars," declared the Gentleman. "Now, you see, it's this way: I have a little scheme on hand that will pay—pay big for both of us. But it will take money. And that's the one thing I haven't got just now. Understand? And I haven't any security, either. I might as well tell you that before we go any further."

"That doesn't matter. Doesn't matter at all," vociferated the Great Banker. "Security is relatively unimportant. Character is the thing that I look at principally. What sort of a character have you?"

"Character! The best in the world. Ask anybody that knows me. Character's my long suit. I never played square with a friend in my life when there was a chance to make a little money. I've got a record to be proud of, I have. I am only forty-two, but I have already looted three railroads and four industrial corporations. I'll bet I have bribed more aldermen than any other six men in America. In fact, skinning the public is my specialty. I hate the public."

"Do you take any interest in religious matters?"

The caller winked significantly. "Only enough to avert suspicion when I have a big deal on."

"Bully for you!" said the Great Banker. "I see you have a character that is to be relied on. You can have anything you want. From now on I want you to make my bank your headquarters."

ELLIS O. JONES.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE.

A memorandum of observations at the gathering of Singletaxers in Convention and Conference at Niagara Falls, August 19, 20 and 21, 1916.

I was startled at the changes in certain persons through the effects of time and age. Changes in persons whom I had not seen for ten, fifteen or twenty years. Faces at that time expressing vitality, strength, assurance, vision—glowing then with rugged and ruddy health; now drawn, pale and wrinkled; lips and ears now colorless and heads crowned with dry gray hair. A startling certificate of the passage of the years.

Alas! there is so much to be done in this world of humanity and so little time to do it!

As I looked into the faces of these men and women with great souls and self-giving devotion

to the service of their fellow men, and noticed the evidences of long struggle and partly spent vigor—in a war for Justice and Righteousness—just for a moment my courage weakened and the vision of the glorious future dimmed before my eyes. Yet in the earnest, strained, firm faces I saw also the unrelenting bent toward the overthrow of all cruelty, injustice and unkindliness among men, and the vision brightened; but the sadness remained.

I would not remind these good people of the effects of time and struggle upon them. Better help them to ignore or forget it; these, whose faces are writ deep into my memory; some of these who were my close companions in work, before the "Anti-Poverty" days, in the struggle for human freedom and human rights, and who have never faltered nor lost hope to this August 19, 1916.

This observation oppressed and pained me at the opening of the Conference on the morning of Saturday, August 19, 1916.

* * * * *

Now, again—after three days of conference; eight sessions of exchanging views, fraternal helpfulness; with enlightened vision, renewed hope—our ninth session is "The Great Banquet"; a feast for the body, the intellect and the soul. Here has been heard speech that addressed itself to the soul of "the great issue," analyzed and made plain "The Great Truth," the verities of life, cleared the vision and pointed the way.

Now, little differences of method, due to the free exercise of personal choice, are all smoothed away or harmonized; and hands only momentarily hostile are being grasped in affectionate good will at this closing hour of the greatest, best and most profitable Conference of Singletaxers.

I look again now over the faces that were so lately aged, careworn and in some degree listless, and without exception as to anyone—forms that were bent are erect; faces that were dull are beaming; wrinkles are nearly all wiped away and the atmosphere is vibrant with hope renewed and haloed with a sparkling magnetism, as joyous as it is confident of the future. And THIS is the psychology of the Conference of August, 1916. Indeed it IS good to be here.

E. STILLMAN DOUBLEDAY.

"WE" STUFF.

M. J. Foyer in The Day Book.

By which is meant the state of mind in the individual who approaches the larger problems of life under the hallucination that he is a partner. Of course he isn't a partner, but he imagines he is.

Tom and Bill are discussing the Mexican situation. "We ought to go down there and clean those greasers up," says Tom. Bill agrees, but neither of them has any idea of enlisting. They

don't mean "We" at all, they mean "they," the poor hods that march behind the band in the hot sun, and live on hard tack.

"Mexico will never amount to anything till we own it," says Bill. "Betcherlife," agrees Tom. Now, neither of them has the least idea that he will ever own a foot of Mexican soil. Their minds slipped and they fell into partnership with the owners of Mexican land.

"We ought to make our own dyes," says Tom, "and we ought to have a tariff high enough to keep out foreign dyes." Bill agrees. Yet neither of them has any use for dyes, probably never saw any, and they have no idea of making any. If they told it as it really is it would make a different impression on them. Thus: Schlapsky and Platschsky ought to make the dyes used in America, and the government ought to "encourage" them to do it by compelling Americans to pay so high a tax on foreign dyes that they would have to buy from Schlapsky and Platschsky.

"We have the greatest country on earth," says Bill, and Tom agrees. But neither of them has any more right in the country than a Chinaman, except the right to vote. And because neither of them gives much more thought to questions of government than does a street car horse to the profits of the line, the value of the vote to them is doubtful. When they go to the polls on election day they are like a baby with a butcher knife—more apt to cut themselves than anybody else.

"We" have no great country. The landlords have. "We" are not members of the firm—not yet.

Moral: Cut out the "We" stuff and you will learn to think straighter.



THE OLD ANTAGONISTS.

There be two forces in eternal strife,
Who seek possession from Man's earliest breath,
Contesting a person's or a nation's life—
The laws of progress and the laws of death.

And Man, the perverse, careless of life's worth,
Allies himself with death that seeks his fall,
Setting in metes and bounds the generous earth
The kind God gave to all.

Blinded by passion, Man seems not to know
The latent empire in an infant's cry;
A mother's love more than a navy's show,
True justice more than armies marching by.

With ape-like ignorance crying, "Destroy," achieves
Man, as death's agent, a harvest of hunger and hate;
Covering raw graves with grass, torn trees with leaves,
Nature, the patient, answers, "Create, create."

I hold men kindred in all vital things,
From groping savage to most learnedly versed.

If men be murdered at the will of kings,
If women starve—then is the race accursed.

GEORGE W. PRIEST.



CALL OF THE LAND.

Lewis R. Freeman in *New York Times*.
Millions of folk will not go back to their commercial life when they lay down their arms, but to the land. Never will the call of the land have been so insistent as after the war.—John Masefield in *Recent Interview*.

"It throbs through the noontide crushes
Where the gaunt street canyons yawn;
It thrills in the traffic's hushes,
In the dark before the dawn;
Now vibrant and tense with pity,
Now ringing with sharp command,
Summoning souls from the city—
Hark to the Call of the Land!

"I have fed your mouths from my bounty
Since the days when you toiled alone,
And turned up my virgin meadows
With your spades of wood and bone.
I have watched your eyes grow restless,
I have seen you pause and part.
Drawn from your ancient mother
By the lure of the court and mart.

"Engulfed in the sordid city,
And deaf to my warning cry,
I have seen you reel and stumble,
I have seen you faint and die;
I have heard your sobs and anguish,
I have heard your groans of pain,
And I raise my voice to warn you,
I reach you my arms again.

"Are you broken in heart and body?
Are you shrunken in mind and soul?
Hasten back to me, your mother,
And my touch will make you whole.
Are you shaken in faith, discouraged?
Are you buffeted, bruised and sore?
Creep out to me from the gutters,
And I'll make you men once more.

"Come out to me from the trenches,
From the dark where you cringe and grope;
Let your thews grow hard with labor,
While your hearts grow great with hope.
You shall stand with your heads in the sunshine,
You shall stand with your feet on the sod,
And your faith in me shall lead you
To a surer faith in God."



A people half democratic and half plutocratic can not permanently endure.—Henry D. Lloyd.



We see great corporations buying up mines and mineral deposits which they can not use now, and do not intend to use for the present, but whose purchase price goes into their financial reckonings and constitutes part of the basis upon which we have to pay the prices charged for their products. In this way one generation is paying for what the next generation will use.—Woodrow Wilson.

BOOKS

STATUTES AND PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

On the Enforcement of Law in Cities. By Brand Whitlock. The Public Book Dept., Chicago. Price 50c.

The heavy dullness of most books on political and social questions has been often noted. The writers of such books, like the writers of school text-books, have generally managed to divest themselves of all humanity and living personality before perfecting their productions. This prevailing dullness has helped to bring out all the more the living qualities of such books as Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Carlyle's *Past and Present*, and George's *Progress and Poverty*.

Brand Whitlock's little book *On the Enforcement of Laws in Cities* would not lay claim to being set beside the great classics just mentioned, but in its way it is a work of genius and is indeed a classic. It has one of the sure marks of a classic in the fact that when you have read it once you want to read it a second time. It is worth reading a second and a third time, and so it is a book to be owned.

It is in the form of an open letter to certain gentlemen of Toledo, representatives of the Federation of Churches, who had written to Mr. Whitlock, then Mayor of the city, on the subject of the enforcement of the laws. This letter from these good citizens gave the Mayor the opportunity of showing what he had done locally along the line of the enforcement of the statutes, and it also gave him the larger opportunity of discussing the whole question of the relation between statutes and public sentiment and of the distinctions between statutes and what is really law. This brief review will not give the discussion, for the book itself is short.

The author quotes most effectively from the great work of the famous New York lawyer, Mr. James C. Carter, entitled "*Law: Its Origin, Growth and Function.*" Not the least value of Mr. Whitlock's little book will consist in making known to many readers these thoughts of the man who was sometimes called the head of the bar in America, whose larger book will naturally have a smaller number of readers. It would be well indeed if every American citizen could read and ponder what Mr. Carter has said about what is really law and about the relation of law to conduct.

In America our good people have spasms of reform, and pass through periods when they want to make people good in a hurry by statutes. Of course other peoples have had similar spasms. The Romans were famous in this line. It is a

pity that our good modern people do not know history better, for if they did they might save themselves and their victims a great deal of trouble, and would in fact make surer advances along the lines in which they wish to follow. Mayor Whitlock in his open letter makes no appeal to history, but simply writes about things as he sees them now in this present time and in his own experience. The inevitable conclusion from all experience, ancient and modern, is that the attempted enforcement of statutes which have got on the books in one way or another, and do not conform with the public sentiment of the community in which the enforcement is attempted, is not only not effective and permanent, but is likely to do more harm than good. Experience also teaches the further fact that all the people never want all the statutes enforced that are on the books. These two lessons of experience can be understood if we ponder Mr. Carter's seemingly radical saying that "it is not possible to make law by legislative action," and if we thus bring ourselves to realize the distinction between statutes and what should really be called law.

Every mayor and city official ought especially to read this little book. The two practical problems with which it mainly deals are the enforcement of Sunday laws and of laws affecting the so-called social evil. Nowhere else can there be found a fairer, wiser, more humane and more interesting discussion of these subjects. And, as I have said, the whole question of law and its enforcement is discussed with such a fine touch of humanity and with such breadth of view that this little work is entitled to be classed among the tractates which are a possession for all time.

J. H. DILLARD.



INVESTIGATORS OFF THE TRACK

Report of the Senate Vice Commission of Illinois. Sent free on application to the Chairman, Lieutenant Governor Barratt O'Hara, Springfield, Illinois.

The Little Girl Next Door. A motion picture play produced under the auspices of the Commission.

One body cannot be in two different places at the same time—so say the laws of physics. One commission cannot issue two contradicting reports on the same investigation at the same time—so would dictate the laws of common sense. But the Illinois Senate Vice Commission seems to feel subject to no laws, save those of the State Government, and issues its reports accordingly.

The Commission was instructed by the Illinois Legislature and endowed with sufficient powers and funds to investigate the causes of and to find possible remedies for prostitution. Hearings were held in the principal cities of the State, and witnesses were called from all ranks of life. The Commission heard from working girls, foremen,

superintendents and department store owners, from college professors and social reformers, from prostitution.

reports of similar bodies in other States. It made a special trip to Washington. Then it issued

Report No. 1 (to the Illinois Senate)—Poverty is the principal cause, direct and indirect, of prostitution.

Report No. 2 (to patrons of moving picture shows)—The principal cause of prostitution is the kidnaping of innocent girls by white slavers.

The remedy suggested to the moving picture audience is so simple that even a child could have made it: Chastise the sinners till they learn to behave.

The recommendations presented to the Illinois Senate are more "cultured." The Commission announces, as though it were a remarkable discovery, that poverty is due to low wages. And wages are low because the wicked employers, the conscienceless capitalists refuse to pay more than the current rates. For example, the 5 and 10-cent stores of Illinois have a rule that only 7 per cent of the sales may be paid out in wages.

Q. (by Chairman O'Hara)—How much is allowed for rent?

A. (by L. R. Steele, manager of the Knox 5 and 10-cent stores)—That all depends on local conditions.

Q.—There is no rule so far as rent is concerned?

A.—You can't fix a rule. For instance, as rents are advancing on State street today, if it keeps on, they will soon be 20 per cent of the sales.

Are low wages due to high rents? Has land monopoly any relation to poverty? The Commission hadn't thought of that, and it therefore recommends that the unwilling employers be forced to pay a legal minimum living wage.

And so, gentle reader, you may take your choice between the minimum wage and a flogging at the stake.

*HYMAN LEVINE.



Robbie, walking across the fields with father, saw a cow for the first time.

"What is that, father?" he asked.

"That is a cow," was the response.

"And what are those things on her head?"

"Horns," replied his father.

The two walked on. Presently the cow moaned. Robbie was surprised.

"Which horn did she blow, father?" he asked.—Sacred Heart Review.



The captain of industry was addressing the students of the business college.

"All my success in life," he declared proudly, "all my enormous financial prestige, I owe to one thing alone—pluck. Just take that for your motto—pluck, pluck, pluck!"

He paused impressively, and a meek little student in the front row said:

"Yes, sir, but please tell us whom did you pluck?"

—Ladies' Home Journal.

The judge was passing sentence on a very defiant looking culprit.

"This is a sad case," his honor said. "You, who remained honest until you were 40, have tarnished your name and dishonored your family, all for the sake of three miserable dollars."

"Please be fair," said the prisoner. "Was it my fault there were so few?"—Chicago Herald.

Ray Stannard Baker

writes of Brand Whitlock's little book "On the Enforcement of Law in Cities":

"I am pleased to have the fine edition of "On the Enforcement of Law in Cities." I had already read it. Soon after it was published Mr. Whitlock gave me a copy. I was so deeply impressed with it that I obtained quite a number for distribution. It is one of the best and most compact statements of the fundamentals of this problem that can anywhere be found, and it ought to be read by all those who are thinking on Social questions, and especially Ministers."

"On the Enforcement of Law in Cities" is a peculiarly valuable little volume. It answers with fine balance, and in brilliant style, that section of the community (usually led by clergymen of the old school) who have faith in vice crusades and the policeman's strong arm generally. Brand Whitlock goes to the root of the matter and asks a number of pertinent questions.

Every minister who is preaching justice should have a copy of this book. He will find it a mine of something more valuable than gold.

Every mayor or public official who is honestly trying to face the difficulties of his public office should have the advantage of Brand Whitlock's experience, first as Golden Rule Jones' right hand man, and later as his successor as Mayor of Toledo.

"On the Enforcement of Law in Cities" should be in every public library and the library of every City Club. And of course it is just the book for the fundamental democrat who finds it difficult to meet all the plausible arguments advanced by folk who are "inexpressibly" shocked at the effect of vicious saloons, of gambling, and the old, old vice, but don't know the underpinning of it all.

The publisher's price has been 75c a copy. It is a small book. Though it is beautifully printed and handsomely bound in boards, we will reduce the price to 50c—and make money. Order a copy at 50c today.

"On the Enforcement of Law in Cities" is an ideal presentation volume. Would you like a quotation on ten copies?

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Do you believe that

FREE TRADE

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Los Angeles Single Tax League, 230 Douglas Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal.