

The Public

An International Journal
of
Fundamental Democracy

Official Timidity—or What? Our Caribbean Policy

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Editors, 1898-1913: LOUIS F. POST and ALICE TEACHER POST

EDITORS:

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 BUSINESS MANAGER: STANLEY BOWMAR

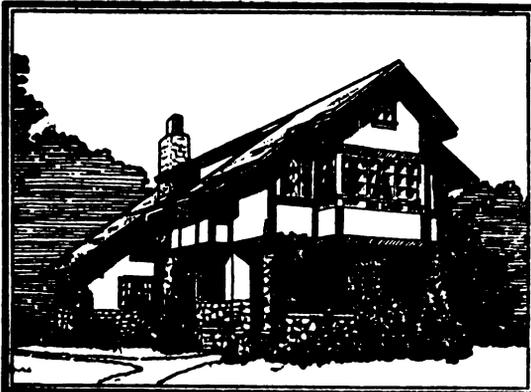
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THE PUBLIC

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NEW YORK

The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Editorial

Reports of anarchistic uprisings in Russia may or may not be exaggerated. But if all that is reported were true it need surprise no one. There, as in other countries, the demand for orderly economic and social reform has been met by the request to "wait until the war is over." Such postponement must create indignation and disgust among those who realize that they have already been compelled to wait too long, and have good reason to suspect that, the war once over, there will be further dilly-dallying in the interest of vested wrong. If indignation leads to violent outbreaks, the responsibility must be placed on those who would make the war a pretext for withholding justice from the people. Like causes produce like effect. Russia is not the only belligerent nation in which the people have been asked to endure needless injustice until peace comes. This policy may have disastrous consequences in these other nations also.

* * *

That imports of toys from Japan have increased 125 per cent disturbs the *American Economist*. In its issue of June 1 it reproduces approvingly a statement to that effect from the Tazewell, Virginia, *Republican*, which also speaks of the low wage paid Japanese toy makers and ends with this comment:

Heretofore Austria, Germany and Belgium have been our chief competitors in the toy trade. They have been temporarily eliminated by the war as trade rivals. Japan, paying a still smaller wage, is reaping the benefit.

From which we infer that in spite of lower wages the Japanese toy industry cannot compete with Germany, Austria or Belgium in a neutral market. It required a war which shut out European toys to give the Japanese product a chance. Lower wages can not necessarily imply lower cost of production. The *Republican's* statement shows that efficient labor needs no tariff protection.

Senator Broussard of Louisiana apparently is trying to claim descent from the famous horseleech family mentioned in Proverbs, whose two daughters cried: "Give, give." When the Senate Finance Committee, in its effort to finance the war, undertook to lay a small tax on sugar the Senator from the Pelican State protested. With a tax of half a cent a pound on domestic sugar the Senator said the Louisiana sugar industry would be hard hit. Such is the result of coddling. For more than half a century the people of this country have been paying millions of dollars every year to the sugar growers of Louisiana. This monstrous toll has been collected from the poor of the country—for sugar is the food of the poor—under Republican administrations and under Democratic administrations. It has amounted to hundreds of millions of dollars. And yet when the country is in trouble and must have money; when the cost of living is burdensome and the price of sugar has been more than doubled, the pampered industry is "hard hit" by a tax of half a cent a pound. Of such are the fruits of protection.

* * *

President John P. White of the United Mine Workers stands on firm ground when he insists on the propriety at this time of a campaign to organize the coal miners in Kentucky. Complaint is made by the operators that the union activities threaten to destroy harmony and interfere with coal production. Mr. White points out that there will be no discord and no interruption if the operators cease discharging men for joining the union. The Mine Workers have pledged their loyalty and co-operation to the Government in its war for democracy. They show real statesmanship in insisting at this time that no obstacle shall be raised to the application of democratic principles to the operation of the mines. The operators find themselves in

the position of calling for government aid and approval for a policy of denying to their employees a right that cannot be questioned without repudiating the principles for which the Nation is at war.

* * *

The proposed tax of \$5 on molasses and \$20 on grain used in the manufacture of distilled spirits will have the same effect upon the making of whiskey that the Federal tax of ten per cent. on State bank notes had on bank note circulation. Not a person in the United States doubts the effect of such a tax. Not a Congressman or a college professor will question it. Neither will they go on record as denying that the same principle will apply to vacant land; that is, that a tax of a hundred per cent. of the rental value will drive out of existence all vacant land that has value. And the only way to destroy vacant land is to put it to use. The tax on whiskey materials to conserve foodstuffs, therefore, should be supplemented by a similar tax on vacant land in town and country.

* * *

Republican Congressmen, under Mann's leadership, co-operating with a small band of true Democrats, defeated press censorship in the House. Mann and his followers were never in such good political company as when they stood by Keating, Crosser, Gordon, and others opposed to sacrifice of democracy on any pretext. In standing thus they have performed a valuable public service, helping to make the country safe for whatever democracy an uncensored press may still conserve.

* * *

Since there is little hope that Congress will refrain from imposing new taxes on industry, a suggestion offered by the Texas State Federation of Labor deserves consideration. The Federation urges relief of industry from State and local taxes. In that way the Federal burden can be more easily borne. Since Congress favors landowners by refraining from putting any tax on land values, the State can derive from that source whatever revenue may be needed to compensate for exemption of industry. This policy will have an additional advantage in that it will stimulate to a considerable extent the production of food.

Official Timidity—Or What?

The two most pressing problems at Washington are those of revenue and food. To mobilize agriculture expresses the purpose of much intense activity and prolonged agitation and discussion in the executive departments and in Congress.

We must feed the allied world. And we must raise about \$10,000,000,000 this year for the conduct of the war. Fully \$1,500,000,000 of this sum must be raised by taxation, in addition to the \$1,300,000,000 required for the ordinary purposes of government.

Ultimately and fundamentally, the food problem is one of production. This is recognized and proclaimed. Every effort has been made to induce the planting of larger areas, the growing of bigger crops. The shortage of farm labor is admitted, and elaborate plans are afoot providing for the enlisting of men and boys.

What are the facts with regard to the farm situation? Responsible government officials are authority for so stating them as to establish the following factors of controlling importance: a little more than half the farm land in the United States is being cultivated; farm tenantry is rapidly increasing—nearly half the acreage of the country is cultivated by tenant farmers, and therefore wastefully and poorly cultivated; farm land values have increased 300 per cent between 1900 and 1916; they increased 25.7 per cent between 1912 and 1916; the typical farm hand is today a homeless, migratory laborer, who cannot hope ever to own a farm; the man of small capital and a bent for farming cannot buy a farm and by working it earn a decent interest on his investment, because land prices are based on speculative value rather than present earning capacity.

With these facts in mind, it becomes easy to understand why a vast acreage is held out of use by owners who regard their holdings as speculation; why ambitious men and boys do not flock to the country for farm service; why, in spite of our great natural resources, we are threatened with a food shortage.

But apparently the facts here set down are not in mind. Apparently they are being ignored by those responsible to the nation for its agricultural mobilization. For no single measure has been proposed for dealing with the problem here involved. On the contrary,

by adopting systems of taxation that throw heavy burdens on industrial enterprise, the Government is moving in a direction that will still further inflate land values and still further stimulate the buying of farm lands, not for use, but as a speculation. What better device than to withdraw funds from productive industry, invest them in land, and hold the land idle until the growing community needs still further enhance its value? For the man who can afford to forego interest and dividends on his investment for a few years, this offers an easy means of evading the income tax and other taxes. And the reward will be sure. Land values are mounting at the rate of at least 5 per cent a year. This was the rate for the years preceding the war, and it is accelerated now.

Is there no remedy, then? And if so, are officials in Washington unaware of it? A remedy exists, and it is seen and appreciated by high government officials now occupying strategic positions from which they could procure its application.

That remedy is to tax land values and thereby to discourage the holding of land out of use, to penalize the speculator and the profiteer in favor of the actual farmer and producer, and to raise war revenues.

Official Washington's neglect of these controlling factors in the food problem and of the remedy, the efficacy of which is recognized, is one of the strangest political phenomena of the day. Such authoritative experts on agriculture as Commissioner Herbert Quick of the Federal Farm Loan Board and Assistant Secretary Carl Vrooman of the Department of Agriculture realize the need for action along the line of land value taxation. They are doing what they can. So does Secretary Lane of the Department of the Interior, who has stated that "no one is entitled to that which he does not use," and who upholds the wisdom of a tax on idle land at the present time.

Why, then, this amazing failure in attacking and dealing adequately with our most pressing internal problem? There are difficulties, it is true, in finding the best ways and means. But they are not serious. An investigation by the Tariff Commission or a Congressional committee would discover a practical and equitable method for the levying of a land tax. It is a time when the Constitution is being liberally construed when-

ever a narrow construction is found to stand in the way of national needs, and certainly the prohibition of direct taxes on other than a population basis was never intended to stand in the way of a federal land tax under the conditions that now prevail. Just the proclamation of the need for such a levy by those in power at Washington would go far toward accomplishment. State and local authorities could be induced to co-operate in shaping their tax programmes, and concerted action could be obtained even without act of Congress. The fact that American wage earners as represented by Mr. Gompers are urging a federal land tax, and that labor is joined in the demand by such an organization of farmers as the Washington State Grange, with 20,000 farmer members, should be only the least of the factors that call for official action.

These are the days when we are to test our democracy. They are the days when our leaders are to demonstrate whether the old habit of political timidity is to stand in the way of furthering at home the cause for which thousands are to die abroad. It is a time requiring more than lip-service from those in power. It is a time to prove that, with respect to our democratic ideal, our leaders are not like those villagers of Samuel Butler's novel, who would have been "equally outraged by the denial of Christianity or the practice of it."

Some Sinister Suggestions.

If the war is anyone's business it is that of the American people. And being their affair the question of peace terms must be also. But that does not seem to have occurred to the Federal Committee on Information headed by George Creel, for among other recent recommendations to the press is one to avoid "speculation about possible peace." The reason given is that "peace reports may be of enemy origin, put out to weaken the combination against Germany." Such an objection is easily urged though it be utterly baseless. A peace proposition, like any other, can and should be decided on its merits regardless of its origin.

Some time or other terms of peace will be agreed upon. Before such an agreement some one must propose them and they must be discussed. If the press should not talk about them the public must remain in ignor-

ance, and the final agreement will not be one in which the people have had any part. That would be incompatible with democracy. A war "to make the world safe for democracy" can not accomplish its end that way.

A suggestion worthy of consideration is that no mention be made of threats or plots against the President or other officials unless announced from authoritative sources. Since some papers insist on distorting the most trifling incident into a plot of that kind the suggestion is a fit one for times of peace, as well as war, for attacks on private individuals as well as on public officials. But such restraint should be voluntary. The most unrestrained, unscrupulous, sensational journalism is not so great an evil as official censorship.

Another suggestion is that in reporting arrests of persons alleged to be concerned in such plots, newspapers should misrepresent. They should say that the charge is "disorderly conduct." Unfortunately police and secret service men have been known, even in times of peace, to arrest innocent but obnoxious persons on trumped-up charges. Efforts have been made to railroad such persons to the penitentiary, or even to the gallows. Is it safe to increase opportunities for affairs of that kind by protecting them from publicity? On the whole such recommendations as these indicate what has been avoided by defeat of the censorship section of the Espionage bill.

An Unwise National Cleavage.

America has been peculiarly subject to harmful divisions of population. In addition to the rich and the poor, the whites and the blacks, the Protestants and the Catholics, which for the present seem almost inevitable, we have had the North and the South, the East and the West, the native and the foreign-born, and numerous other divisions; but a new division is now apparent that should receive the serious attention of those who have at heart the real welfare of the country, the nationalized and the non-nationalized. During the days of free land immigrants that came spread over the country and were quickly assimilated by those already nationalized. But since practically all the natural opportunities for self-employment have come under private control, and have been made matters of speculation, the new arrivals have

shown a marked tendency to gather in cities, manufacturing centers, or mining regions, where they have maintained such large and compact units of their own nationality that they have received less impress from native Americans.

Even the public school, that greatest of all melting pots, has in numerous cases failed of its due effect owing to the fact that in many instances the children are practically all foreign, and so tend to perpetuate the national characteristics of their parents. This condition was looked upon by far-seeing men and women before the war as unjust to these people. It is now becoming apparent that it is unjust, as well, to the natives. For it raises an unnecessary barrier between the two, preventing them from understanding each other, and leading them into antagonism instead of co-operation. This is quite apparent during the present confusion over registration, conscription, and the various movements in connection with the war. Large numbers of foreign-born citizens, who have but slight knowledge of the institutions of the country, are in doubt as to their duty in the present crisis. And because of the isolation in which they have lived they are seeking advice, not from natives who could give them the American point of view, but from aliens of their own race and religion who cannot as yet appreciate what is understood to be the American idea.

This is leading to needless friction. It is causing some to entertain thoughts of hatred toward the Nation. Though they have come from countries where heredity rules, where privilege comes of birth, where their religion is proscribed, where civil rights are abridged, the ballot denied, army service is universal, and education is denied them, it is all forgotten because they find here that Americans are not living up to their own ideals. "Is this a free country?" they ask sarcastically. No, it is not a free country. There can be no free country until there is a citizenship that is omniscient. But this country and other countries will approach freedom as the citizens grow in understanding. There is not a law nor a constitution in the country that is not subject to the will of the people of the country. Every law rests upon the ballot. And the ballot is given to citizens regardless of property qualifications, or even of intellectual or educational fitness. We have in

fact a popular government; and such abuses and injustices as we suffer are due to the ignorance of the voters.

This is the thought that should go to the critics of American institutions. Instead of looking upon the government as an oppressive agency laid upon us from without, as the Czar's rule was imposed upon the Russian people, it should be considered as the control of a stock company, where all the members have equal voice. But equal voice in the control of the company does not necessarily assure a wise policy; it will still be subject to the limitations of the stockholders.

The American Government cannot be perfect because it is composed of human beings. Yet it is not without merit, and it will grow better just in the degree that citizens acquire wisdom. It should not be forgotten either by the newcomers or by the native born that conditions in this country have undergone great changes in the last half century. The stories of America that went back to the oppressed peoples of Europe as late as the beginning of the last quarter of the last century were of a land of boundless opportunity, a land where every willing man could have a farm almost for the asking, and where industry was quickly rewarded with independence. That was really the condition here. In those days when man had not a tithe of the labor-saving devices of the present, it was a common thing to see a poor, ignorant immigrant, unable even to speak the language of the country, go upon a homestead, and by the time his children had gone through the public schools become a substantial citizen of the country.

But conditions have changed. There is no more free land for native or foreigner. And in spite of all that science and invention have added to the power of labor it becomes harder and harder to live. Hard for the native, it is doubly hard for the immigrant. It is natural that the later arrivals should feel keen disappointment over the reality, as compared with the stories that induced their coming. But they should not be permitted to cherish the belief that what they have found necessarily inheres in our government or in our institutions. These deficiencies are not conscious delinquencies. They are recognized by only a comparatively few citizens. As fast as they convince other citizens, native and foreign-born, of the truth the evils

will be cured, and the country will move on toward a further realization of its ideals.

The present duty of those who know is not to abuse the government for its failure to establish liberty, but to enlighten their fellow citizens as to how they may obtain liberty. The citizens have the power; all they lack is the knowledge.

No Royal Road to Liberty.

China is having her troubles no less than Russia. And both are paying the price demanded of all who would rise from a lower to a higher plane, that is, personal and individual experience. Leaders of the French Revolution devised all manner of wonderful constitutions to set up liberty, but none would work. It was only by long and bitter experience, an experience marked by bloodshed and many disappointments, that France achieved what she has today. And the United States though favored by situation and origin is still a long way from the realization of its ideals. How unreasonable then to expect these newer republics to set aside the institutions of ages, and launch forth in peace upon the untroubled waters of freedom.

It is not in the nature of things that the new should displace the old without disturbance. Particularly is this true of liberty. For liberty is not a material thing to be fashioned by the hand of man, an instrument to be made, a vegetable to be grown, or an object that can be created. It is an idea in the minds of men. Nor is it sufficient that it be in the minds of a few men. The mass of the people may not know anything about making shoes, yet the few who do can supply the Nation. But liberty prevails only in proportion to the number of persons who entertain the idea. So long as any man lacks the idea all others will suffer impairment of their liberties. The individual may be abstemious in drink and food, he may be a Christian or a vegetarian, regardless of what others are; but he cannot by himself be free.

A few people in both China and Russia understand the meaning of liberty; but the great mass even of those who desire a free form of government are ignorant as to its nature and the way to get it. The vast majority of the people of those countries know what oppression is; and their impulse is to strike at the oppressor. What they are slow to realize is the fact that oppression was

endured because of their ignorance, and that other oppressors will follow as long as the ignorance endures. The mere wish to be free no more brings freedom than the wish to swim or to fly brings command of the water or air. Knowledge must follow the wish, and knowledge is acquired by slow and laborious experience.

Occidentals are so imperfectly informed of the Oriental mind that it would be foolish to predict the course of the Chinese struggle for liberty, but Russia is in such close touch with European countries that it does not seem unreasonable to suppose her people will be somewhat influenced by their experience. The French Revolutionists had almost no precedents to guide them. Never before had the disinherited of a great nation acquired absolute power. Mistakes were inevitable. But those mistakes should be apparent to Russians, and a study of the French struggle should steady them in their purpose. It is not now a question of how much liberty doctrines can put into a paper constitution, but how much can be got into the heads of the Russian and Chinese people.

How to Evade the Income Tax.

In framing the revenue bill Congress has left a legal way open to evade proposed taxes on large incomes, without investing in Government bonds. The way is shown by a wide awake realty broker and exploited in the real estate column of the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* of May 30. After calling attention to heavy impending income taxes the broker says:

It would therefore seem good business for those having such incomes to switch their investments from revenue producing securities or to trade such securities for vacant lands. Vacant lands will produce no immediate income and therefore bear no Federal tax. State, county or municipal taxes that may be paid on vacant lands are allowed as a set-off in making up income tax returns. Nothing is more certain than the increasing value of vacant lands, particularly during a period of industrial and agricultural activity and high wages as must exist during the next few years. If the lands are not sold until after the present period of war taxes has passed, this large profit will escape heavy war taxes entirely.

There seems to be no flaw in this argument, and the enterprising broker deserves all the business he may get thereby. It is the one method of evasion which may in all fairness be put down as not displeasing to those responsible for the revenue bill. In

spite of much urging they refused to insert any provision for land value taxation. It is not unreasonable to infer from this that Congress is as eager to stimulate investment in vacant land, as in war bonds. And it is no less unreasonable for the person to feel, who evades the income tax through such an investment, that he is carrying out some patriotic purpose which our statesmen in Washington have in view. Possibly they considered how stimulating would be the effect on land values of a widespread movement to invest therein. Possibly they have reasons for holding a land boom, with resultant discouragement of production, to be a benefit that would more than compensate for loss of public revenue. At any rate, if the exemption was not a disastrous mistake the Pittsburgh broker is serving the public interest in helping to carry out the intentions of the experts who drew the revenue bill. And if it was a mistake, he is doing good work in calling attention to its consequences. Or if it be pleaded that constitutional limitations are responsible for continued exemption of land values, has he not made clear the need of speedy amendment of the Constitution?

Must Democracy Surrender?

Apparently the *New York World* has fallen a victim to the insidious wiles of autocracy. The bogey of "war necessity" has rendered it so panicky that in its issue of June 3, it says:

In such a war as this democracy must surrender temporarily some of its liberties or take the chance of losing all of them permanently.

Consent to "temporary" abandonment of liberties is the first thing necessary to achievement of autocracy's purpose. No plotter in its behalf would be indiscreet enough to begin by openly urging permanent abandonment. And since no people in their senses would consent to a temporary surrender even, much flaunting of bogies is necessary to secure through fear, what reason would refuse. So far as the *World* is concerned these tactics seem to have proven successful, and in its terror-stricken condition it is acting this part of the individual who raises a false cry of "fire" in a crowded theater.

"Temporary" abandonment once secured, restoration can be postponed from time to time, on said pretext or other, until the "tem-

porary" policy has become permanent. It is always easy to create a bogey of some kind to give force to autocracy's warning against refusal to do as it wishes. To make the world safe for democracy, there must be no concessions to autocracy under any circumstances.

The *World's* confused state of mind is further shown by its quotation, in support of its position, of so strong an opponent of democracy as Senator Knox. He "has expressed the opinion that in time of war the Constitution is practically suspended—meaning, of course, not that the constitutional processes of government are suspended, but that most of the constitutional guarantees can be suspended if they conflict with military necessity." To concede Senator Knox's claim is to create a temptation for privileged interests to plunge the Nation into war whenever they may find constitutional guarantees an obstacle to their plans. Moreover Senator Knox, able corporation lawyer as he is, should concede some authority to the United States Supreme Court and recognize as of greater weight than his own opinion the following by the late Justice David Davis:

The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended by any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism. But the theory of necessity on which it is based is false; for the government, within the Constitution, has all the powers granted to it which are necessary to preserve its existence, as has been happily proved by the result of the great effort to throw its just authority.

If, however, Justice Davis was wrong and Senator Knox and the *New York World* in the right why may not the constitutional guarantees be disregarded, which have served to shield predatory privilege? Is it no longer unconstitutional to confiscate property without due process of law? Then why not let State Legislatures and Congress reenact the anti-monopoly legislation which the Supreme Court has repeatedly held contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment? And why should not Congress, in disregard of the Constitution's direct tax provision, levy a heavy uniform tax on land values? It is a poor rule which does not work both ways. If the war has suspended the Constitution let

democracy seize the opportunity which autocracy is trying to turn to its own purpose.

Tenants to Royalty.

New York tenants should not be unmindful of the honor conferred upon them by King George, in making Baron Astor into a Viscount. A few years ago these New York tenants paid rent to a fellow citizen, a mere American, for the privilege of living on Manhattan Island. This is not to imply that Mr. Astor was lacking in any of the virtues, moral, intellectual, or spiritual, possessed by his tenants; but merely to note the fact that one American citizen was empowered by law to collect toll from other American citizens for the right to live in America. When Mr. Astor became a British citizen, his American tenants paid to a British subject for the privilege of living on American soil. Later, when Mr. Astor, because of lavish contributions of American dollars to British institutions and parties, was made Baron of Hever Castle, his New York tenants experienced the satisfaction of English tenants who live on lords' estates. Now they have been raised to the exalted position of tenants of a Viscount. And the end is not yet. It is whispered in England that royalty must stop marrying into German royalty, and contract alliances with the commons. This opens up new possibilities. It is conceivable—the thought is put in this potential form to avoid an unwarranted raising of hopes—that with British princes contracting alliances with the commons, the children of Americans now living may pay rent to a British king for the privilege of living on American soil.

* * *

But does it so very much matter whether tenants on Manhattan Island pay toll to a baron, viscount, prince or king in some European country rather than to Diederich van Rensselaer or Abraham Margolies in this country? When one gives a day's labor for a blanket or for a pair of shoes there is the consciousness that one has paid the maker of the blanket or the shoes. The service given for a house raises the same thought, payment to the builder of the house. But when one gives labor for the use of land, what is the justification? Is it because the owner made the land? Can it be that Mr. Astor has rendered his former countrymen a rare service in visualizing iniquities of landlordism?

Our Caribbean Policy.

By John Willis Slaughter.

That imperialism in all its phases is abhorrent to the democratic ideal, that extension of rule to subject peoples is a kind of treachery—these are commonplaces accepted by all who take our essential political principle seriously. The democratic ideal involves a close focus of vision upon the relations of the individual citizen, and liberals are preeminently concerned with domestic questions. The result is that they either neglect foreign policy and thus permit the unscrupulous to have a free hand, or they sullenly oppose the extension of any national interest beyond their own borders. Both attitudes are wrong. At the present moment, if never before, international business is a democratic affair. And there are certain arrangements and commitments, delivered by our history, from which there is no retreat. The question with the liberal therefore is not whether such and such things shall be done, but whether they shall be done well or badly. British liberalism gave the British colonial possessions what they have of moderation and justice; this in spite of the fact that the agents of imperialistic enterprise have not generally been of liberal derivation. Those who think democratically in America must make their contribution toward solving the problem of dependencies and protectorates, and that contribution must be of a positive character.

American foreign policy has so far been simple. The Farewell Address and the Monroe Doctrine; no entangling alliances with Europe and the prevention of a European hold on this continent; "we won't meddle with your hemisphere and you mustn't meddle with ours." At the time of its foundation, the policy was designed to protect democracies from monarchies. Now this protective principle calls upon us to assist liberal political institutions even in Europe. From our long isolation to the battle front in France seems to be a leap over a chasm. It is not really so; the bridge has been there all the time and only now has the necessity arisen to cross it. That bridge is the fact of British maritime domination. Whether we like it or not, our fate as a world power is associated with the fate of the British sea power. The bare thought of the overthrow of England

uncovers the realities of the situation. For most of us the problem of sea power and freedom of the seas, is a sort of esoteric puzzle. This is because it is so completely taken for granted, a part of the order of nature. For England, control of the sea has been a vitally necessary protective policy. Because of this character, there has been a moderation, even sacrifice, in all its secondary uses. Aggression with the fleet might have provoked a maritime combination against it, dangerous from its primary point of view. Every one can see that Germany would be tempted to use her navy aggressively because it is not vital for her safety.

The sea power has been a quiet, constant, intimate and largely unrecognized part of our history. It is a large element in every aspect of our foreign policy. Only once have we been in conflict with it. West Indian sugar was once an intermediate term between our food products and European manufactured commodities. Beet sugar and our factories swept us off the sea, and removed the probability of further conflict with England.

Continental isolation, our policy for nearly a hundred years, has been a reality only through the British navy. Isolation happened to suit English interests as well as our own. As for South America, the Monroe Doctrine has been a British far more than an American principle. Our protection of those countries has been an imaginary function consonant with our vanity. There were, to be sure, excellent reasons for a concordant attitude. Canada was a serious hostage on one side, and our increasing commerce on the other. Our statesmen long ago laid it down as a settled policy that we should keep on good terms with the sea power. The Venezuelan incident was a piece of irony that must have made the gods laugh. By that time it had become a settled British policy that no difference with the United States should be allowed to reach a rupture. South American waters below the equator have been under undisputed British domination. One result is that South America below the equator is, economically speaking, a British colony.

Our political theorists have for many years looked vaguely but hopefully toward an in-

clusive political system on the Western hemisphere that might be described as Pan America. The necessary economic basis of such a system has been absent in the past and is improbable in the future. We grow most of our own food and can consume only a small proportion of South American products. Therefore, our trade will be small compared with that of a country like England. It is paradoxical but true that Pan-Americanism as a working political system can only be realized through the inclusion of England. Argentina, Brazil and Chile are large and important nations. They resent the implications of the Monroe Doctrine and are completely conscious of its emptiness. We could never be in a position to prevent an alliance between any one of them and England. Obviously, but in a different way, the participation of Canada in an American system is possible only through the mediation of England. One result of the war that may be confidently expected is a close working arrangement, equivalent to an alliance, between the British empire and the United States. In every field, from Europe to the Orient, there is an astonishing unity of interest. Let it be said, however, that such an assemblage of power has elements of danger and if dominated by the wrong ideas, may give an appalling outlook to the history of the world, even though it parades as a league to enforce peace.

Against this general background, of historical fact and future probability, our Caribbean policy is to be conceived and given effect. The Caribbean, too, is in a category of its own. We have never, since independence was achieved, been inclined to surrender its domination to Great Britain. The reason is obvious. To guard the entrance to the Mississippi Valley is a necessary part of our defensive strategy. It made our statesmen welcome the exodus of the French from Louisiana, and at a later date from Mexico. A successful Confederacy in alliance with England would have been a perpetual menace to the Northern states. In the Gulf and Caribbean, therefore, there has always been insistence upon our exceptional interest and an inclination to protect that interest with force. On the other hand, Great Britain, with important Caribbean possessions of her own, has regarded the assertion of our position with jealousy and hostility. A working arrange-

ment was found in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty which defined the interests of the two nations as equivalent.

Then another factor entered the situation. Germany began to challenge British supremacy of the sea. Until that menace could be destroyed, England's influence in the world had to be limited. Her fleets were withdrawn to the North Sea for home protection. She surrendered the domination of American waters to the United States, and the domination of the Pacific to Japan. These two nations entered upon a rapid naval expansion to take over their heritage, developed a mutual jealousy and were on the highroad to a trial of strength. America's entry into the war alters the situation. Japan's interest lies with the British-American political system. If she enters any other, she will risk being crushed.

When Britain withdrew from the Caribbean, we proceeded to take possession rapidly and decisively. The Canal has been constructed and fortified; positions guarding the Caribbean approaches have been occupied; precautions have been taken against a possible adversary on the Pacific side; naval dispositions have been perfected. We have arrived at that predominance toward which the interpreters of our national interest have worked for a century. If the Monroe Doctrine was only an empty and pretentious phrase as applied to the fully grown republics of South America, it is inadequate to express the realities of the situation as applied to the republics in or bordering on the Caribbean. It is no longer a question of extending our protection against a possible European aggressor, but of absolutely safeguarding a vital part of our defensive system. That modification of sovereignty which the Monroe Doctrine offensively pretends in Rio de Janeiro or Buenos Aires is a certainty in the West Indies and Central America. We fall into practical errors by attempting to gloss the fact. These small republics are protectorates suffering from an anomalous position. We maintain the fiction of their sovereignty, and are thus like a man playing with boys and pretending that they are men. Consequently, we show our power in a bullying way. We allow them to do as they like until they exasperate us, then we descend with the heavy fist. We shall face

the conditions of our problem in the Caribbean state when we decide to keep our marines out of them except for the gravest emergency, and keep our naval captains at their proper employment. If anything attests our incompetency to discharge our responsibilities in those regions, it is our quick resort to the pistol. We use the club instead of brains. We enforce a momentary order and remain ignorant of the causes of disorder. Incidentally we regard those countries as our legitimate economic prey. In truth we have taken on a vast responsibility and have devised no means of dealing with it. After nearly twenty years of practice, we are not yet able to manage a dependency. Who would venture to say that economic conditions in Porto Rico are much better than under the Spanish regime? And yet the best example of British crown colony administration was our model. We are beneficently maintaining order in Santo Domingo—while our international money power is fixing its grip on the country. Special interests dress themselves up as national interests, and, while our liberals maintain a doctrinaire opposition to imperialism, go and get what they want. Why not settle to the facts of the matter? We are in the Caribbean for all the future; we shall not, in any measurable time, withdraw from the Philippines. We have on our hands the problems of administering dependencies and guiding protectorates. That Americans suffer from any fundamental incapacity is nonsense. That they have no machinery and are vastly ignorant is obvious. That our dealings with the Latin Americans are clumsy and unworthy every fair critic must admit.

First of all, it is necessary that there be a policy and that this policy be consistent and continuous, and that it be an expression of our own democratic ideals. What is admirable in British colonial administration is due to the principle that government of a dependency must have primary regard for the welfare of the people governed. We can carry the principle further. Overlordship on the part of the United States is a guardianship of the rights and interests of the common people. We are to keep off the hyenas, their own and ours—not an easy task. A protectorate need in no way interfere with the exercise of sovereign rights,

barring foreign relations, and can be used to give self government security and dignity. It is our duty to eliminate dictators and thus forestall revolutions by insuring fairness in elections. Begin in Cuba where the political growth of nearly twenty years is now being undone. Insist that these republics play according to the rules of the game and make their constitutions a reality. End the era of personal rule, of political persecution and extortion. Put a stop to the military nonsense of these small nations. A police is the only armed force necessary, and I have never known a revolution to start with the police. Put their bonded indebtedness on a basis that will pay the interest and liquidate the principal. Put a restraining hand on the granting of concessions, and encourage legitimate investment. Work toward an agrarian reform that will break up the Latin-American land system and give the common people a chance to live. These are not idle dreams. In ten years we can place the bedraggled republics of Hispanola and Central America on the high road to prosperity and freedom. In proportion as they perfect self government, we are relieved of responsibility.

Obviously this is a piece of work that requires machinery. It can never be accomplished by politicians pensioned as diplomats, who go armed with nothing more than a sense of American superiority which forbids an understanding of native conditions. The service calls for men of the highest quality and each legation should have its staff of expert advisers. Each step should be taken with certain knowledge of the ground and in accordance with a definite prearranged purpose. Our President should have the advice of a permanent commission on dependencies and protectorates, which should see that the policy of our government is consistent with the principles of the American democracy. This is a necessary measure of protection, as any work abroad can be hampered or paralyzed by agitation at home. Moreover, it is a piece of administration for which neither the State nor the War Department is competent. To bring dependencies and protectorates under the same plan will evolve a trained service in which administration and diplomacy can form a wholesome combination. Needless to say, no one can be considered competent to play a part in Caribbean

affairs unless he is master of the Spanish language.

American citizens of liberal principles have a great duty of self-education. They must provide a guiding influence. But they must begin with the position in which events have placed us, and not refuse to see it be-

cause they dislike it. Again, it is most improbable that any of these countries will ever become states of the Union. In another generation the Caribbean nations will have reached a degree of development and importance beyond anyone's dreams. That future is now testing our statesmanship.

The Birth and Progress of the Short Ballot.

By C. F. Taylor.

The Short Ballot was used for the first time in this country, unwittingly, at Galveston, Texas, following the disaster there in 1901. The old government being unable to cope with the emergency conditions, a commission of a few leading citizens was formed which assumed all the authority necessary to bring order out of chaos. This commission proved to be so efficient that the legislature was asked to make that form of government for the city of Galveston permanent. Thus the commission form of municipal government was born, combining all the legislative and executive functions in a commission of five elected at large, all other officers being appointed by the commission.

The city rapidly recovered from this calamity, and soon the nearby cities in Texas noticed the superiority of the commission government plan of Galveston over their own bunglesome system. Hence other cities in Texas began to ask the legislature for commission government charters. In a few years this movement began to attract the attention of municipalities in other States, and the plan spread rapidly from State to State.

In 1907 something else of historic significance happened, this time in Iowa. Des Moines asked for and obtained from the legislature of Iowa a charter combining the Initiative, Referendum and Recall with the commission plan of city government. This was on the theory that it is dangerous to trust such great power and authority to a few men without the possibility of their control. By means of the Initiative and Referendum their legislative acts can be controlled in a way to suit the people, and the Recall enables the voters to withdraw them from office if their executive acts do not suit the voters.

This plan at once became known as the Des Moines plan, and it began to "sweep the country" even more vigorously than the un-

controlled commission government plan had done before.

In all this time not a word was said about the Short Ballot—indeed, the Short Ballot had not yet been known under that expressive title. It was not until about 1910 that Mr. Richard S. Childs formed the Short Ballot Organization. That was the beginning of an active propaganda for the Short Ballot, which idea has spread so rapidly in all parts of this country.

The chief objection to the Short Ballot is that it *might* give too much power to designing politicians. That is the reason that the control features, the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, should always be combined with the Short Ballot plan. These agencies entirely remove any danger from politicians, political machines, grafting, etc., etc. And as to the working of these agencies themselves, experience shows that they are not abused.

Of the 553 municipalities known to have obtained the commission, commission-manager or other new forms of government, at least 396 have charters providing for the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall, or for one or more of these instruments. Reports from these cities show that in 258 municipalities having these instruments there is not one instance of any one of them having been used. One hundred and thirty-eight (138) municipalities have used one or the other of these instruments. So that in only 138 municipalities out of a total of 396 has any use whatever been made of the tools of direct control at their disposal. It has also been found that the total number of *times* which the Initiative has been used in these cities is 128; the number of times the Referendum has been used is 103 (not including compulsory franchise Referenda or voluntary submissions by commissioners); and the num-

ber of times which the Recall has been used is 59. In no case has there been any sign of excessive use or abuse of the Initiative, Referendum or the Recall.

A few years ago a friend of mine told me of a conversation he had had in Boston with Emeritus President Eliot of Harvard on some phases of municipal reform. My friend incidentally asked President Eliot what he thought of the Short Ballot. He expressed himself as being warmly in favor of it, and was much pleased at its rapid introduction. My friend asked him what he meant, as he had thought of the Short Ballot only as an idea or theory. President Eliot referred to the rapid extension of the commission plan of municipal government—the Short Ballot in practice. My friend had not thought of it just that way before, nor had I until he related this incident.

The commission government does away with the election of city treasurer, city attorney, etc., etc. The Short Ballot is like the rose which "smells as sweet under any other name."

The commission-manager plan of municipal government is a second condensation of the Short Ballot. The ballot upon which the three or five commissioners are elected is radically shorter than the old-fashioned ballot in the same municipality. The commissioners when elected select a city manager—another short ballot. The city manager need not be a resident of the city when selected. The commission may search the entire country over to find a man with the administrative talents needed to successfully manage the affairs of a municipality. The city manager then selects the other city officers, and is responsible for the results to the commission, which retains and exercises the legislative powers.

The Short Ballot in the form of a commission or commission-manager plan of municipal government now exists in all the States except five—Rhode Island, Delaware, New Hampshire, Vermont and Indiana.

The process of obtaining the Short Ballot in this form is through the legislatures of the States by granting either special charters to individual cities or by passing general laws permitting cities of certain classes or of all classes to organize under the commission plan or the commission-manager plan of government. The Short Ballot is still rapidly spreading in these ways, but during the last

year or two the spread has been largely in the form of the commission-manager plan instead of the commission plan. There is no doubt but that this movement will continue until the above-mentioned five States are invaded, and until the Short Ballot is adopted by practically all of our municipalities.

There is another field for the Short Ballot which exists now only as a hope, not yet having made any progress. That is the field of state government. This must be done through the amending or revision of state constitutions. The proposed new constitution of New York in 1915 embodied the Short Ballot to some extent, but it failed of adoption for the supposed reason that the control agencies, the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, were omitted. The coming state constitutional conventions are looked forward to with the hope that they will adopt the Short Ballot idea to a greater or less extent. Anyone interested in the Short Ballot or in other phases of improvement for state government will be interested in the following remarkable roster of coming state constitutional conventions:

Massachusetts: Election of delegates on non-partisan plan in May; convention to meet on June 6, 1917.

Tennessee: Submission of proposal and choice of delegates at special election in July next; convention, if favored, to be held in October, 1917.

Arkansas: A convention definitely called by legislature to meet on November 19, 1917; election of delegates on June 26 next.

Indiana: A convention definitely called by legislative act to meet on January 8, 1918; election of delegates on non-partisan plan, September 18, 1917.

Texas: Submission of proposal and choice of delegates at election, November 17, next; convention, if favored, to be held in January, 1918.

New Hampshire: Convention ordered by voters at November, 1916, election, to meet in June, 1918.

Illinois: Submission of proposal at general election, November, 1917; convention, if favored, to meet in 1918.

North Dakota: By initiative petition a new constitution to be submitted to the voters in November, 1918.

Washington: Submission of proposal to voters at general election November, 1918; convention, if favored, to be held in 1919.

North Carolina: At the recent session of the legislature a bill was passed by almost unanimous vote, providing for the submission to the voters at the general election next year (1918), proposition to hold a constitutional convention in May, 1919.

The hope of the Short Ballot advocates is that these conventions will make such purely administrative or clerical state officers as state treasurer, secretary of state, etc., etc., appointive by the governor instead of being elected as at present. Then the governor can be held directly responsible for good government. At present the responsibility is divided, as an elected secretary of state gets his authority from and is as responsible to the voters as much as the governor. Hence, the divided authority and responsibility. Give the governor the power to appoint these state officers and he can be held responsible for the entire state government. If the president's cabinet were elective instead of appointive, he could not be held responsible for his administration.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending June 5

Congressional Doings.

By a vote of 184 to 144, the House refused on May 31 to accept the censorship section inserted in the espionage bill by the conference committee. On June 4 the committee finally agreed to eliminate the section. The House majority against censorship consisted of 143 Republicans under leadership of Congressman Mann, 37 Democrats and four independents. The minority consisted of 133 Democrats and one independent. The Democrats and independents with the majority were Ashbrook, Bell, Borland, Brand, Brodbeck, Burnett, Church, Claypool, Connolly, Crosser, Dill, Dominick, Evans, Gallagher, Gard, Gordon, Hamill, Hilliard, Huddleston, Humphreys, Keating, Kelly of Pennsylvania, Larsen, Maher, Olney, Overmyer, Overstreet, Rouse, Scully, Sherwood, Sisson, Slaydon, Charles B. Smith, Thompson, Van Dyke, Vinson and White of Ohio. The independents were London, Martin, Randall, and Schall. The Republicans who voted with the minority were Dyer, Elston, Griest, James, King, Little, Moores of Indiana, Morgan, Parker of New Jersey, and Volstead. The independent was Fuller. [See current volume, page 530.]

The Senate Finance Committee has agreed to exempt from the motion picture and amusement tax proposed in the war revenue bill all theatres where the admission charge does not exceed 25 cents. It has decided to levy a license tax on owners of automobiles used for pleasure only. The license will range from \$7.50 to \$25. It agreed to repeal of the present tax on munitions manufacturers and to put

this business on a par with others. Excise taxes have been fixed on sugar, cocoa, coffee and tea as follows: one-half cent a pound on sugar, 3 cents on cocoa, 2 cents on coffee, and 5 cents on tea. The proposed tax on transportation has been reduced from ten per cent to five. The tax on electric power, light and heat service for domestic use and local telephone calls has been eliminated, and the proposed increase of ten per cent in tariff duties. A tax has been inserted of \$20 a bushel on grain or other food stuffs used in distilling of whisky, which practically increases the present excise of \$2.20 a gallon to \$5 to \$9 a gallon. A clause has been added forbidding importation of distilled spirits.

* * *

The Senate passed on June 2 the food survey bill appropriating \$11,101,000 for investigation of the nation's food resources. A similar measure has passed the House.

* * *

Republican members of the House Committee on Committees named on June 1 a steering committee of five members to determine party policy in the House. The committee consists of Mann of Illinois, Gillett of Massachusetts, Mondell of Wyoming, Moore of Pennsylvania and Lenroot of Wisconsin.

Mine Workers Protest.

In a protest against the personnel and program of the Committee on Coal Production of the Council of National Defense, the Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America on June 2 declared that while willing to fight to establish a world democracy "We must insist as a matter of sincerity that we be allowed to retain some measure of that democracy of which we so proudly boast, in the mining region of our Nation." The resolutions then show that as a result of years of struggle the United Mine Workers have improved conditions of employment, increased wages and raised the standard of living. Now all this is endangered by the Committee on Coal Production, which contains not a single representative of the workers, is headed by Francis S. Peabody, a wealthy coal mine owner, and is filled through appointment by him with agents of other owners. Moreover this committee has issued a statement which the Mine Workers declare "would stifle the legitimate purposes of the Trade Union movement as represented by the United Mine Workers of America," and disrupt industrial peace. The Mine Workers state further:

We are anxious to co-operate with the Government in the maintenance of industrial peace in the coal industry, and have offered our services to the Government, but up to date little consideration has been given to our organization and the hundreds of thousands of men it represents, by those who have been entrusted with this work by the Federal Government.

We hereby renew our offer to co-operate with the Government in stimulating coal production and in preserving harmonious relations between employer and employee in the coal fields of the Nation, but hope the justice of our position will be recognized when we reiterate our demand for proportionate representation upon all commissions appointed to direct affairs in the coal industry.

We are unalterably opposed to the policy adopted whereby plans have been outlined and a statement has been issued by the Committee on Coal Production without the voice of labor having been heard.

We are opposed to the personnel of that committee and we protest the action that created it without giving recognition or consideration to the great army of men who produce the coal.

We cannot subscribe to such policy nor cooperate in the plans that such a committee has outlined for the government of affairs in the mining industry of our country.

Prospective Increase in Cost of Living.

In protesting on June 4 to the Interstate Commerce Commission against the proposed 15 per cent. increase in freight rates, S. H. Cowan, representing the National Livestock Shippers' Protective Association, declared it would increase the freight bills of producers of meat animals from \$8,000,000 to \$9,000,000, which would be shifted upon the consumers. Independent oil refiners also protested, saying the proposed increase would be in the interest of the Standard Oil Company. W. C. McEwan, speaking on this subject, said:

The Standard Oil Company, because of pipe lines, would suffer considerably less than its competitors. As our own prices are already dependent on those fixed by the Standard Oil, it would mean another blow to independent interests. Independent oil companies should not be required to contribute to the carriers' fund for better equipment. We now rent or own and maintain large numbers of tank cars which cost the railroads nothing.

[See current volume, page 405.]

Canadian Methodists Against Land Speculation.

The Toronto Central District of the Methodist Church of Canada on May 30 recommended the following resolutions for adoption by the Annual Conference:

Be it resolved that we affirm our belief that every effort should be made in our churches to arouse the consciences of the people, so that they will be led to bring to bear such influence on the legislatures, as will effect such a reform, that every man will be encouraged to put his land to the best use for honest production, and that the temptation to use land for extortion will be removed.

European War.

The same heavy fighting of the preceding week on the west front has prevailed during the past week. The attacks and counter attacks of the stupendous armies have been incessant, but have resulted in very slight changes in the general lines. What changes have occurred appear to favor the Allies. London announces that since April 1 the Allies have taken 52,000 prisoners, 446 heavy guns, and 1,000 machine guns. The Kaiser has issued an address declaring the Allied offensive to have broken down in failure. Heavy artillery firing on the Belgian front is taken by critics to presage an attack in that quarter. The Germans profess to be expecting an attack on the Roumanian front. Elsewhere on the Russian front there has been no movement of forces. The Russian armies appear to be still divided in their sentiment, but there is an apparent crystallization that will

soon compel a decision. Italy's advance toward Trieste has slowed up for the time being while readjustments are made in the captured territory, but she has held all that was taken, and has made slight gains during the week. [See current volume, page 537.]

* *

The losses by mines and submarines announced by the British Admiralty on the 30th were 18 ships of more than 1,600 tons, and 1 under that register. The arrivals at British ports were 2,719; sailings, 2,768. A comparative statement shows losses reported from April 16 to May 6 inclusive:

Week Ended.	Ships Over 1,600 Tons	Ships Under 1,600 Tons.	Ships Movements.
April 22....	40	15	5,207
April 29....	38	13	5,406
May 6.....	24	22	4,873
Totals ...	102	50	15,486

Ratio of ship movements to sinkings, 102 to 1.

The losses reported from May 7 to 27 inclusive:

Week Ended.	Ships Over 1,600 Tons	Ships Under 1,600 Tons.	Ships Movements.
May 13.....	18	5	5,120
May 20.....	18	9	5,423
May 27.....	18	1	5,487
Totals ...	54	15	16,030

Ratio of ship movements to sinkings, 231 to 1.

* *

The approaching Socialist peace conference at Stockholm continues to be a center of interest. The German press is reported to be treating the conference as the main topic of discussion, some papers expressing great hope that the meeting will result in a practical peace movement, and others maintaining that peace must be had only on German terms. The French Socialists have named delegates to meet with Russian Socialists, and the British Government will grant passports for British Socialists to meet Russians, but not to meet Germans. The German Socialist delegates, headed by Phillip Scheidemann, leader of the conservative Socialists who are supporting the Government's policy, have arrived in Stockholm. They are announced by press dispatches as hoping for the best, but having little enthusiasm. One of the German leaders who was told by the Dutch and Scandinavian delegates that they did not think the rehabilitation of Belgium came under the no indemnity declaration, replied that that was a question that would have to be settled by the conference. He would not state the German Socialist position.

* *

The work of American preparation continues, but no announcement has been made of the movement of ships or men. France has been loaned another \$100,000,000, which makes \$200,000,000 loaned to that country, and a total of \$845,000,000 to the Allies.

Russia.

Conditions at Petrograd continue to excite apprehension. No single authority has yet been able to establish itself. The Workmen's and Soldiers' Dele-

gates decided by a large vote on the 1st to take possession of Kronstadt, the great fortress that defends Petrograd, which they hold as a sort of federated state. The Provisional Government refuses however to recognize such a political unit, and demands that the Delegates submit to the authority of the ministerial government. Part of the men in the army and navy favor one side and part the other, but no summary action has been taken by either. Anarchistic outbreaks are reported to be of frequent occurrence in various parts of the country; but it is charged by friends of the Revolution that much of this information is sent out by enemies. Minister of War Kerensky continues his work among the men at the front, where his reception has been so enthusiastic that enemies at the capital are taking advantage of it to warn the people that he contemplates a Napoleonic role. General Alexieff, Commander in Chief of the Russian Armies, has resigned, and General Brusiloff, Commander in Chief of the Armies of the Southwestern Front, has been appointed to succeed him. The American commission headed by Elihu Root is reported at "a Russian port," and is expected to be at the capital in a few days. [See current volume, page 533.]

China.

Eleven of the eighteen Provinces, including Chili, in which Peking is situated, are reported to have broken off relations with the Central Government. Vice President Feng Kwo Chang has resigned. And President Li Yuan Hung has issued a proclamation calling upon the factions to adjust differences that threaten to split the republic. No fighting is reported. The allegiance of generals and troops is in doubt, making the Central Government uncertain as to its course. Martial law has been declared at various points, but friends of the republic still hope for an amicable settlement. [See current volume, page 278.]

NOTES

—Governor Whitman of New York vetoed on June 4 the Brown bill authorizing suspension of labor laws.

—Land owners and friends of the Torrens System have organized a Torrens Title League to carry on the fight for a true Torrens law in New York.

—That the Cuban revolt is completely under control may be inferred by the fact that President Menocal has ordered the reduction of the militia from 25,000 to 12,000. [See current volume, page 508.]

—The trial at San Francisco of Mrs. Rena Mooney for complicity in the bomb throwing of last July, was interrupted on May 31 by the discovery that one of the jurors had been drawn irregularly. [See current volume, page 508.]

—The Executive Council of the California State Federation of Labor has endorsed the Constitutional Amendment submitted by the Equity Tax League of California. This amendment has for its object the shifting of taxes from labor values to land values.

—Masters of vessels using the Panama Canal note the fact that boarding officers of the customs

service meeting ships at Balboa and Cristobal are very expeditious and have less "red tape" in their management than any other large ports they have ever visited.

—A meeting of progressive Democrats of New York City to oppose re-election of Mayor Mitchel, was held at the Hotel Astor on June 2. Dr. Jonathan C. Day of the Labor Temple was made chairman. The meeting declared for home rule for the city, municipal ownership and submission to the referendum of important matters.

—A writ of habeas corpus was denied by the Federal Court of Appeals at Kansas City on June 4 in the case of six persons arrested for opposing draft registration. The court decided it had no jurisdiction, although the Federal Constitution provides that "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it."

—Dr. Charles L. Logan, a noted Singletaxer and student of social and political conditions, died at Chicago, May 29. Dr. Logan had drawn cartoons for THE PUBLIC, and made other contributions. His genial wit and inexhaustible humor won a hearing when others failed; and he was particularly successful in making conversions among his fellow Osteopaths.

—The National Conference on Foreign Relations of the United States at Long Beach, New York, on May 30 and 31 was addressed by both progressive and reactionary speakers. Among the former were Congressman Meyer London and Frederic C. Howe. Among the latter was Professor William R. Shepherd of Columbia University and Professor Philip Marshall Brown.

—Automobiles, according to Van. H. Manning, Director of the United States Bureau of Mines, increased from 400,000 in the United States in 1910 to 2,750,000 in 1916, using 28,000,000 more barrels of gasoline in the latter year than in the former. Between 55 and 60 per cent of the gasoline produced in the country is used in automobiles, 20 to 25 per cent is exported, and the rest is used in stationary engines, tractors and motor boats.

—Approximately 300,000 acres of land within the Uintah Indian reservation will be sold to the highest bidders by the Federal Government on June 18 at Provo, Utah. The minimum price is 50 cents an acre. The Government reserves, however, the right to coal or other minerals beneath the surface. About 16,000 acres of land within the Cœur d'Alene reservation in Idaho will be sold at auction on August 16. The minimum price is \$1 an acre. A sale of 26,000 acres on the Flathead reservation in Montana will take place on August 20 at Kalispell, and on August 30 at Missoula. No person may buy more than 640 acres.

—The Legislative Assembly of British Columbia passed on May 19th a bill allowing municipalities the option of adopting proportional representation for their local elections. The system of proportional representation prescribed is that known as the "single transferable vote," otherwise called the Hare system, which was adopted by Ashtabula, Ohio, in 1915, and by Calgary, Alberta, in December, 1916. The rules and regulations for counting the ballots are to

be prescribed, according to the Act, by the "Lieutenant-Governor in Council," which practically means the Cabinet.

—The Bureau of Census has estimated that there are in the United States 10,079,500 men between the ages of 21 and 30, and therefore subject to military duty under the present law. Of those eligible for military duty 5,729,400 are single men, 4,554,900 are married, 120,900 are divorced or widowers, and 40,300 unknown. As to occupations, 500,500 are not gainfully employed; 2,864,000 are engaged in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry; 364,000 mining; 3,036,000 manufacturing; 967,000 transportation; 1,054,000 general trade; 144,000 public service; 335,000 professional service; 441,000 domestic and personal service; 374,000 clerical occupations.

—The Sixth Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League of America, at Kansas City, Missouri, June 4 to 9, is attended by women delegates from England, France and Australia. Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the League, in her opening address said the world was being tested on three great principles, democracy, the worth of labor, and the rise of woman. She pleaded for loyalty to country in support of its war for democracy, and counseled vigilance in behalf of our own freedom. We must unite to maintain and extend our hard-won standards in industry. And we must everywhere and at every opportunity demand the full enfranchisement of women.

—In a round robin to Senator Calder of New York 30 sailors of the United States hospital ship *Solace* on May 29 told of bad conditions thereon. They complained that blankets used by patients suffering from contagious diseases were handed out indiscriminately to others without being first disinfected. Dishes used by these same patients are said to be washed in a lavatory under most unsanitary conditions. Men suffering from fever, it is claimed, are compelled to carry their own baggage. Ice water is said to be lacking. Secretary Daniels named on June 1 the following committee to investigate: Dr. William H. Welsh of Johns Hopkins Hospital, Dr. Abraham Flexner and Nathan Strauss.

PRESS OPINIONS

A Financial Writer's View.

Market letter of Goodbody and Co. (New York), May 25.—We will enumerate some of the important changes that are now affecting market values:

1. The war, with its great demands for men, food, munitions, ships, motors, aeroplanes, etc.
2. The doubling of the cost of living in three years, thus necessitating higher wages, higher cost of doing business, etc.
3. The labor shortage, making it impossible to raise good crops, in many countries, and necessitating a shortage in the world's food supply.
4. The sinking of ships, grain, etc., by submarines.
5. The breaking down of our railroads and their pooling for war purposes.
6. The appointment of a food commissioner with power to fix prices, etc.
7. One purchasing agent for all war supplies.

8. Conscription, to take a million men from our industries and leave them short of efficient help.

9. War taxes that will kill some industries, cripple many others and probably give us, this year, the biggest crop of failures that we have had for years.

10. Changes in transportation and distribution that are rapidly wiping out the middle men,

11. Prohibition, that is destroying property values in stills, breweries and saloons.

12. Woman Suffrage, Socialism and Singletaxism becoming more disturbing.

13. Inflation in the prices of many products, and stocks that will result from the expenditure of billions, this year, in this country, for war purposes.

Out of these cataclysmic changes we may expect to see a new world with revolutions, not all of which will be bloody.

Where to Get Food and Revenue.

St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, May 30.—The food crisis has brought the world to a keen realization of the value of land and the evil of land monopolization. It has made the question of land cultivation acute everywhere. . . . In the United States there are 254,945,589 acres of unappropriated and unreserved public lands. We may set aside most of the land as unavailable on account of surface location and lack of roads or other transportation facilities. Some of it may be available. On the other hand, according to the 1910 census, there were 400,346,575 acres of unimproved farm lands. These lands are either parts of farms that are unimproved or are fertile farm lands held in an unimproved state for speculative purposes. The greater part now are undoubtedly speculative holdings. Add to these unimproved farm lands held for speculation the vast acreage of valuable lands in cities and their suburbs, unused and unimproved, which are held for speculation, and we have a domain for cultivation which, with capable labor, would supply ample food for the world's need. . . . Why not tax the unearned increment of landlords, who neither toil nor spin, but draw their riches from the labor of others? Why not levy surtaxes on unused lands, which would make it impossible to hold them out of use for speculation. Taxes on land values and surtaxes on unused land would supply all the revenue the Government needs without injury to or check on business and improvements, and without burdening labor or increasing the hardships of the earners of moderate salaries. It would do more—it would lift the burdens from industry, commerce and improvements and thus reduce the cost of living. It would reduce the cost of food by opening a vast acreage of unused lands and encouraging production. Congress may not levy direct taxes on land, but it can tax land through state apportionments. We are overlooking the greatest source of unburdensome taxation and the greatest cause of limited production and high living cost. The war and the food problem should awaken us to the truth about land.

Conscription of Land Values in Canada.

Toronto *Globe*, May 24.—The debate on Tuesday in the House of Commons on the Budget was more than usually interesting and important, because it dealt very largely with one phase of conscription which is apt to be overlooked: the necessity for

mobilizing the whole of the material resources of this country as well as selectively conscripting its men. No opposition to the Government proposal to call men to military service was offered, but it was pointed out by several Liberals that accumulated wealth invested in securities and land held for mere speculative purposes should be made sources of revenue, the former by an income tax and the latter by a special tax on unproductive land. It was pointed out also that such a tax on unproductive land would tend to force its owners to sell it to those who would devote it to agricultural purposes, and thus increase the supply of food. The Minister of Finance, instead of emphatically opposing the income tax suggestion, as he used to do when it was advocated, contented himself with the assertion that the time had not come to impose it, accompanied by the admission that it might come later if the war continued. Sir Thomas did not furnish reasons to support his assumption, that the net revenue from an income tax would at present be too small to make the innovation worth while, as the cost of collecting it would be very great in proportion to the receipts. Probably he has not been giving the matter the amount of attention it deserves and requires; it is a safe prediction that he will give it a great deal more before he has to meet Parliament again. There is an enormous amount of land held all over the West by individual speculators, by railway corporations, and by the Hudson Bay Company. A tax on this, and, if made as heavy as it should be, would work out a great social and economic change for the better throughout the Western Provinces: a betterment which is precisely what that vast region needs, and which would go on increasingly if the tax is continued after the war, as it should be.

A Warning Worth Recording.

New York *Call*, June 2.—Socialists, radicals, pacifists and all who desire to publicly discuss the legal aspect of conscription and other questions pertaining to militarism in these days need to walk warily and keep their wits about them. The Madison Square Garden meeting of Thursday night, and the comments of the capitalist press upon it yesterday morning, give ominous warning of what may happen, and what the powers that be are seemingly not at all averse to have happen. Everything there was apparently ready for a massacre. Searchlights playing from autos on the entrances, field telephones strung as in the European trenches, hundreds of policemen with "high-powered rifles," swarms of detectives and secret service men—all probably armed—and uniformed soldiers acting as agents provocateurs, forcing their way to the platform and threatening the speakers with physical violence. . . . No, it is not a "conspiracy." That could never be proven. But the magazine is there, and one spark can touch it off. The soldier boy who threatened to "knock the block" off one of the platform speakers at Madison Square Garden could easily have started it if he had attempted to carry out his threat. It is not hard to figure out the chain of events in such a case—the nearest friends of the speaker intervening to restrain the soldier; his comrades coming to his "rescue." More of the audience personally try to restore order; more soldiers join in; policemen with clubs

and detectives with blackjacks; head smashing and general chaos; the frightened mass tearing out of the exits for safety; the searchlights and the high-powered rifles at work, and the field telephones calling up reserves, held in readiness, with more high-powered rifles and perhaps machine guns. And then—Next day the press descriptions of the patriotic soldier being throttled by the "frenzied, treasonable mob." Heroic attempts at his rescue. Patriots being overpowered, until the secret service men and police come to their aid. Mob breaks out of the building, threatening to set the city afire. High-powered rifles get to work. It was a "great moral lesson"; a much needed one. But society is saved! Selah! Also, Hallelujah! This is by no means a fanciful speculation. These preparations for man killing en masse are not idle dreams. It is not mere chance that soldiers invade our meetings and push themselves on our platforms. They did it at the *Call* ball; they did it at Madison Square Garden; they are going to put in an appearance at every meeting we hold and enact the same role. And the "high-powered rifles" will be ready on the outside. This is the time to walk warily, brethren! Watch your step! You have no desire to kill anybody or anything. But the others? Well, they have no such scruples. Again, look out.

CORRESPONDENCE

FAREWELL TO MEAT.

Vegetarians have always been rare in the United States. People have taken it for granted that in India or in China a meat diet was out of the question—but in the United States—have not our ancestors eaten meat from a time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary? True enough, but our descendants must stop it.

From 1860 to 1917 the population of the United States increased a little more than three-fold, and from 1880 to 1917 it doubled almost exactly. Contrast with this increase in population the increase in the production of meat, for which the working-man spends one-third of his food budget. The meat supply is absolutely limited by the number of meat animals in a community. The figures showing the number of live meat animals in the United States indicate an alarming failure of the meat supplies to keep pace with the increasing population. Between 1860 and 1917 the number of cattle in the United States more than doubled. In 1860 there were 25 million cattle and in 1917 there were 63 million. From 1880 to 1917 there was an increase of ninety per cent in the number of cattle in the United States. The increase in the number of people in the United States is therefore more rapid than the increase in the potential supply of beef. Bearing in mind the fact that dairying has increased very rapidly during the period under consideration, it becomes evident that beef demand has increased entirely out of proportion to the beef supply. During the fifty years from 1860 to 1917, while the population more than trebled the supply of cattle merely doubled. Practically the same thing is true of sheep and swine, the two other principal sources of meat supply. There were twenty-two million sheep in the

United States in 1860, forty-two million in 1880 and 48 million in 1917. The swine in 1860 numbered thirty-three million; in 1880 forty-nine million; and in 1917 sixty-seven million, showing a slight progressive increase. In no one of these cases, however, has the increase in the number of animals corresponded with the increase in the population.

As for meat prices, of course they are high, and unless the ratio between the number of meat animals and the number of people in the country can be radically changed, of course meat prices will be higher. The increase in the land values; the disappearance of great unclaimed stretches of free grazing land, and the growing conviction that money can be made in forms of agriculture other than stock-farming are all playing a part, and the American meat supply is diminishing.

Two-thirds of the people of the world are vegetarians. The proportional decrease in the number of available meat animals, with the consequent increase in the price of meat products means vegetarianism for the low-paid American wage earners. The rich and well-to-do will continue to be meat eaters, but those who do the bulk of the work in the United States must abandon a meat diet. The next generation will see a growing line of distinction between those who eat meat and those who do not eat it.

SCOTT NEARING.

Toledo, Ohio.

FOR "SHORT-TERM" BONDS IF ANY.

THE PUBLIC readers will be pleased to note the following expression of opinion in the (just issued) *War Finance Primer* of such a "Wall Street" authority as the "National Bank of Commerce in New York":

The terms on which the loan is to be issued are not fixed in the bill, but are left entirely to the discretion of the authorities. This is true, even of the length of the loan. It is obvious that the longer the loan, the more favorable the conditions under which it can be marketed; but it is true also that long term bonds, say for thirty or fifty years, are of questionable advisability in other respects. In the case of countries which have no objection to perpetual debt, such bonds may be defensible; but there have always been and are to-day valid objections to perpetual debts in the United States. Since every generation may be expected to have troubles of its own, it is clearly a part of wisdom for any nation, which can possibly afford to do so, to pay off its debt within the generation which contracted it. Our experience, moreover, with the bonds which were issued during the great refunding operations after the Civil War, even though their length was only thirty years, were sufficiently disheartening. Although there was a large balance in the Treasury during the '80's, we were unable to pay off the debt except through the very costly medium of buying long-term four per cent. bonds in the market, often at a premium of from twenty-eight to thirty per cent. The government should profit from this experience, and should issue bonds to run for not more than ten years, or, at the outside, twenty years.

We ought to keep the way open to early payment or early "refunding" on better terms as to interest, etc.

CHARLES FREDERICK ADAMS.

New York.

THE GREAT SHIP SPEAKS.

By Grace Isabel Colbron in *The Evening Mail*,
New York.

Idle I lie and useless,
And the years go by . . .

Around me flows the river with its teeming life,
Once all a-quiver at my coming.
As slow I moved amid the smaller craft
That greeted me with noisy welcome.
Men knew me then for what I was
The Soul of Brotherhood, in steel and iron shaped,
Linking the Peoples, conquering sea and distance.

Idle I lie and useless,
And the years go by . . .

For Brotherhood is dead.

How strange are men . . .

What strength and weakness intermingled.
A race of pygmies, bodies frail and weak
Crushing to pulp beneath my lightest hammer,
Yet with the brain that can conceive a thing like me
And so control and order all the pulsing power
That the tiny finger of a little child
Might set the mighty heart of me in motion
And send me forth to laugh the waves to scorn.

How sad that men

Who can conceive of Brotherhood in shape material,
Cannot yet grasp the essence of the Thought,
The soaring beauty of the high Ideal,
And in its radiance still their petty hates
And jarring envies.

That great brain of man
That conquers Earth and Sea and Sky
Bending their forces to his sov'reign will,
Has not yet learned to fetter Man himself
Nor conquer man's own soul.

Idle I lie and useless,
And the years go by . . .

BOOKS

ENFORCING PEACE.

A League to Enforce Peace. By Robert Goldsmith. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. Price \$1.50.

This book, as stated by the author in the preface, is addressed not to the scholar in diplomacy, but to the general reader. It provides what probably many general readers urgently want, a clear statement of the aims and purposes of the League to enforce peace, and of the limits within which it is intended to confine its operations. These are presented with succinctness and clarity, and supported by argument which loses none of its force through lack of literary technique.

The first feeling with which many readers will close the book is that the programme set forth by the League is so modest as to contain little promise of a new civilization arising from the ashes of that which is now in flames. Towards the close of the book, Mr. Goldsmith anticipates this criticism by admitting that "it may be discouraging that more is not to be

attempted, but if this . . . is achieved it is infinitely better than the present anarchy." To which it may be replied that desperate ills require desperate remedies, and that obviously inadequate remedies may possibly be worse than none, in that they induce a false sense of security.

On p. 145, Mr. Goldsmith in defending the idea of force as a means to ensure peace, says, "So long as there are gunmen in New York ready to shoot a man for two and a half dollars, that city must continue to support a police force of over ten thousand men," without apparently perceiving all the implications of the analogy. Had the proposals of the League contained any suggestion of a pooling of the armaments of the member-nations, with the conversion of these into an international police force, manned by representatives of each country, and the forbidding of any member-nation to carry arms on its own account, the analogy would have been complete, and some hope would have gilded the horizon that the dawn of the day so eagerly longed for is at hand. Doubtless our author would reply that to attempt the impossible is sheer waste of energy; to which the appropriate rejoinder is that the impossible can never be known until it is tried, and that the part of wisdom is to take advantage of any changing conditions which may make possible that which was before impossible. That changes in the entire balance of world forces are rapidly emerging, changes political, economic, psychological, moral and spiritual, none but the blindest reactionary can deny. The world is ready to entertain any proposal that promises to be effective towards making a recurrence of war cataclysms impossible. The proposals of the league give no such promise. They suggest the building of ramparts made of lath and plaster. They remind us of what Mr. H. G. Wells calls the Gawdsakers,—those who say "things are in a bad way, for Gawd's sake let us do something"; and who do *something*.

One may be pardoned for having assumed that a League to enforce peace was intended to enforce it, to forbid nations even in the last resort settling their quarrels after the manner of hooligans on the public thoroughfare. But any such assumption has been sadly wide of the mark. The four proposals adopted at the organization meeting provide for a judicial tribunal, and a council of conciliation, before one of which contending nations must bring their grievance *before* resorting to war. Failing to do so, the fighters will be dealt with by the combined military forces of the League, who will compel them to delay their fighting until they have submitted their grievances to the proper tribunals. If, however, the contesting nations do bring their quarrel before these tribunals, but fail to get a decision to which both willingly agree, then "the appeal to arms would remain available." Looking backward to the negotiations and efforts at conciliation which preceded August, 1914, is it possible to imagine that a league armed with the toy weapons here suggested would have "enforced" peace or have been otherwise than helpless to prevent war?

It will strike many readers as strangely incongruous that while the author seems here and there to recognize a Parliament of Nations and an international police force as the ultimate solution of the

war problem, he should so cordially support the League's assumption that individual national armies must remain, with their right in the last resort to take up arms even against the enleagued nations. On p. 57 we read that "we have democratized everything else but foreign affairs, religion, education, domestic politics. The divine right of the diplomat to prevent or precipitate war remains as a sort of socio-political appendix." Yet this "divine right" is just what the League apparently wishes to conserve!

But what is perhaps more disappointing than all in the proposals of the League, and the comments of Mr. Goldsmith thereon, is the entire absence of any suggestion as to eliminating the economic causes of war. If the League had started out with the bold proposal that all the signatory powers shall throw down their tariff walls, allowing absolute liberty to their respective citizens to trade freely with each other; and if each of the powers were required to pledge itself to give the unmolested privilege of transportation from inland or ice-bound countries to seaports, the most prolific cause of the quarrels that lead to war would at once disappear. Such a proposal endorsed by the chief commercial nations would capture the support even of the most conservative protectionists. If ever there was a tide in the affairs of men which might be taken at its flood, surely it is now when all the world recognizes that back of the proximate causes of the European war the demand for open markets has been the real and ultimate one.

The chapter entitled "Do Christians Want War?" is good reading, and we shall all agree that the time has come when the accent in our religious teaching must be shifted from personal to social righteousness. Those, however, who, through a patient study of sociological science have caught sight of the basic truth that justice in relation to the natural resources of a country determine whether or not its internal conditions will be conducive to peace, will experience a certain dissatisfaction with some of Mr. Goldsmith's utterances. "Christianity," he says, "must come to grips with all the practical problems of this life: it must take a real interest in searching for an answer to the immigrant question, the liquor question, and the labor question;" to all of which we heartily agree. But why not, we ask, with the land question, the taxation question, the question of unjust privileges, if these are the questions which determine whether men shall earn livings with ease or with difficulty; whether noisome heaps of wealth and frightful cesspools of poverty are to continue to disfigure our civilization? To speak frankly, the book is profoundly disappointing because of the lack of any admission that in the last analysis of things, the ultimate guarantee of peace lies in the internal condition of each nation; even though it be recognized that this consideration is outside the possible jurisdiction of an International League. When every citizen of every country "sits under his own vine and fig-tree, none daring to make him afraid," then and then only may we hope that "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more."

ALEX. MACKENDRICK.

* * *

Jests that give pain are no jests.—Cervantes.

The following conversation was overheard on a street car the other day: "I think card playing is terrible." "Well, it is just like anything else. If you go too far with it, it is wicked. The same is true of music. Some people get so crazy about music they worship it. That's wicked, too." "But music is an art." "Yes, and card playing is a science." "But some people make a living with music." "And some make a living playing cards." "Well, I think you are unreasonable." "Well, that is what I think of you."—*Coast Seamen's Journal*.

* * *

She—Well, not many policemen this warm weather would have done what the paper says a kind policeman did to the poor drunken man he found asleep on a doorstep.

He—What did the the kind policeman do to the poor drunken man?

She—The paper says he fanned him.—*Baltimore American*.

* * *

Little Mabel, who belonged to a very religious family, asked for a second helping of her favorite dessert. "Mabel, where would you put it?" asked her mother.

The child, aged three, answered reverently, bowing her head, "My Heavenly Father will prepare a place for it."—*Missouri Woman*.

* * *

Wife—Big checks for dresses will not be in demand this season.

Husband—Thank heaven!—*Puck*.

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