

The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

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Published Weekly

Five Cents a Copy

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March 9, 1917

Number 988

NEW YORK

Volume XX

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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Editorial

A strong argument for the referendum is implied in President Wilson's condemnation of the Senate filibuster. If it is wrong for a minority of the Senate to prevent action on a measure then it is even more wrong in principle to deny to the people an opportunity to pass directly on matters of vital interest. A filibustering minority is but a miniature illustration of a whole legislative body which refuses to consult the popular will.

* * *

That was a suggestive bit of news that came from Bayonne, France, where a munitions factory increased its output of shells from three per day per person at the beginning of the war to 7.2 in April, 1916, and 9.2 in August. The increase in product is due, it is said, to improvement in the quality of material, and the increased employment of female labor. Efforts have been made since November, 1915, to increase the proportion of women workers, which is now 65 per cent. The old objection that a woman should not vote because she cannot fight has less force than formerly. With women voting in the central and western States of this country, and the leading statesmen of Great Britain declaring for the suffrage in that country because of women's service in the war, one wonders how long the smug citizen and ward heeler in New York will join in refusing woman the right to vote in this State.

* * *

The reflection that more good would have been accomplished had the press given columns to showing up evasion of the safety laws, instead of pages to a General Slocum disaster or an Iroquois fire is suggested by the space given by the New York newspapers to the food riots and the Exhibit on the High

Cost of Living. Let it be said that they did not boycott the Exhibit; they gave it, indeed, liberal notices; but they did not analyze the data presented, and enlarge upon it as they did food prices on the East Side. This shows a lack of discernment and enterprise. The fact that this exhibition showing where the earnings of labor and the increased production of science and invention go was held at the very time and within a few blocks of the food riots, should have furnished the dramatic element necessary to make facts news. Starvation is more "sensational" than economic law, it is true; but, there is a connection between the two that society must sooner or later recognize. And the sooner the recognition, the less will be the starvation.

* * *

The most dangerous enemies of the United States at the present moment are the interests trying to secure compulsory military service, passage of the "spy" bill, and a declaration of war. The most alarming feature of the situation is that some of these enemies have seats in the Senate and House of Representatives. They may even be represented in the Cabinet.

* * *

Theodore Roosevelt refuses to debate the preparedness issue with William J. Bryan. He says the question is non-debatable, and as evidence of his faith in that assertion supplements it with about three-quarters of a newspaper column of debate. Moreover, he urges those who are unconvinced to read a book by James M. Beck. Why recommend controversial literature on a "non-debatable" subject? He says one might as well debate "the advantage of the reintroduction of slavery," or "the duty of submission to

the divine right of kings." Yet preparedness means compulsory service, a form of slavery which Roosevelt would introduce. And "the duty of submission to the divine right of kings" is defended by reasoning similar to that offered in behalf of the duty of a conscript to submit to the will of a superior officer. In the days of slavery the abolitionists were ever ready to debate with its advocates. The pro-slavery men usually exercised the same wise discretion which Colonel Roosevelt now does. And probably for similar reasons. Where the doctrine of divine right of kings prevails, it is the advocates, not the opponents, who hold the question to be non-debatable—and provide legal penalties for the questioning of that assertion. Colonel Roosevelt puts himself and the preparedness issue in discreditable company.

* * *

Persons harboring conscientious scruples against murder will find in the *Chicago Tribune* of February 14 some suggestions as to how they may become accessory to such a crime and still keep their consciences clear. The *Tribune's* suggestions are for those who object to military service. It says "A conscientious objector on a mine sweeper is not taking a destructive part in the war." It also suggests: "A conscientious objector in stretcher service for a field hospital is performing heroic and purely humanitarian duty." The *Tribune* neglects, however, to add that a conscientious objector on a mine sweeper or in stretcher service would be relieving for active duty on the firing line some one less troubled with a conscience, who might otherwise be detailed on less destructive work. He would be sending a substitute to do what he would not do himself. He would need such a conscience for this as was possessed by those Chicago newspaper publishers who sent out thugs to assault newsboys, while a strike was on, but were prevented by conscientious scruples from doing any slugging themselves. Instead they devoted their efforts to the more humane work of advocating law and order in their editorial columns. Or, it would require the kind of conscience which balks at urging the election of a notorious gray wolf to council, but accepts a midnight lease from an obliging school board. Is that the kind which commends itself to the *Tribune*?

The *New Bedford Standard* in attempting to carry water on both shoulders gives itself a bad drenching. In a half page advertisement it repeats Senator Weeks' warning that the close of the war will see irresistible competition from European manufacturers under government direction. In the news columns on the same page appears the annual statement of the Pierce mill showing profits of 66 per cent. The editor attempts to explain away what he says will be used by Democrats and labor agitators to discredit the protective tariff by saying this large profit is due to faulty bookkeeping; that if the company would increase its capital to what it should be the profit would not be more than one-third of what is shown. Possibly the editor is right; but if he is, it might be in order to inquire what dependence can be placed upon manufacturers' statements in their own favor when those against them are wrong. It is evident that if any protection is given by the government it should be done only after the recipients have shown their need in explicit and detailed public statements of their business verified by the Government. Charity organizations insist upon knowing the financial condition of the people they aid. The Federal government should do no less with such applicants for charity as the Pierce Cotton Mill, the Sugar Trust and the United States Steel Company.

* * *

Governor McCall of Massachusetts was unfortunate in selecting as a board to investigate the high cost of living, men so little able to observe obvious facts that they have actually reported as one cause of the trouble the absurd theory that population is pressing on natural resources. It is not necessary to go outside of Massachusetts to find natural resources against which no population is pressing. If the Commission had not been blind to this fact it might have realized that the way to increase the food supply is to remove the legal barriers that prevent people from making use of these resources. Until this has been done any claim that population presses on subsistence is without warrant.

* * *

According to a dispatch from Kansas City dated February 24, Miss Leonora Warneson, a school teacher, is to be disciplined for writing the following on her blackboard:

Why enlist? You have nothing to gain and your life to lose. I refuse to kill my brother and hide my fists in the folds of any flag.

The action against Miss Warneson is quite proper provided it is based on a rule that would be enforced as rigidly against expression of sentiment in favor of enlistment. But if only due to partisan objections to the position she has taken it is a different matter. If teachers who uphold enlistment may freely express their views to their pupils, then those opposed should be allowed the same freedom. And if the sentiment expressed by Miss Warneson is wrong, it should be shown to be so in open discussion. Otherwise the effort to suppress it will appear as an admission of its truth.

Back to the Land.

One incident of the war worthy of note is the eagerness with which the people of the belligerent countries are turning idle plots of ground to the growing of food. Germany set about it at the beginning of hostilities; but England gave the matter little heed until the submarine warfare began to make itself felt. The land situation in Great Britain has for years been the shame of the nation. The few owned the ground upon which the many had to live. And so princely were the incomes of those who owned mineral lands and city property that they were able to devote great areas to pleasure purposes. But the pinch of necessity is reversing this order. The families who were driven from the land to make room for sheep walks, deer parks, and shooting lodges are going back to raise food for the nation.

It is gratifying to Singletaxers both of this country and of Great Britain to know that the London Vacant Land Cultivation Society founded by Joseph Fels in 1908 has received the official endorsement of the Government, and has been given charge of all the vacant land in the London district. It was one of the anomalies of modern civilization that the largest city in the world should have starving families and idle lands in its very midst; and it may be accepted as one drop of gain from the ocean of loss that everybody in England now realizes that all people live on land. If they have none of their own they must hire it of those who have. It is to be hoped that they will not forget it when peace returns.

S. C.

Old and New Tax Systems.

To American cities, as well as to Birmingham, England, applies the comparison of conditions with Sydney, Australia, presented in a tract issued by the Midland Land Values League. The comparison speaks for itself:

Birmingham Ratepayers pay 9s. in the £ as rates on the annual (assessed) values of Houses, Shops, Factories, Workshops, and Offices, as well as rates on Machinery.

A Birmingham manufacturer puts up a Factory (with machinery) at a cost of £10,000, and pays about £300 in rates each year on this improvement.

A Birmingham shopkeeper rents a shop costing £2,000, and pays about £60 in rates each year on this improvement.

A Birmingham resident rents or buys a House costing £500, and pays about £15 in rates each year on this improvement.

Sydney Ratepayers pay no rates on the values of Houses, Shops, Factories, Workshops, Offices, or Machinery.

A Sydney manufacturer puts up a Factory (with machinery) at a cost of £10,000, and pays not a penny in rates on this improvement.

A Sydney shopkeeper rents a shop costing £2,000, and pays not a penny in rates on this improvement.

A Sydney resident rents or buys a House costing £500, and pays not a penny in rates on this improvement.

All municipal expenses in Sydney are met by a rate of 4d. in the £ on the capital value of the land whether the land is kept idle or used as a site for a Factory, a Shop, a Home, an Office, or a Workshop.

The population of Sydney, now 714,000, will be increased to 800,000 when the forty suburban municipalities are included in the scheme for a Greater Sydney. From henceforth, as it grows and the value of land increases, the citizens will share in that public value which arises because of the growth of population. The users and non-users of land are on an equal footing. Each owner pays rates for the city services, not upon his industry, but upon the bare value of the portion of land he holds or occupies.

But Sydney must not rest upon its laurels, or its present advantage may lose much of its strength. A tax rate of four pence on the pound is less than two per cent. That leaves to the land speculator a large margin of land values. Prosperity produced by untaxing of industry may easily bring to Sydney a boom. The experience of Vancouver and other cities of Western Canada has shown that there is danger in such a situation. That danger was pointed out by Henry George, Jr., in THE PUBLIC of March 31, 1911. The margin left to land speculation will cause inflation and a resulting depression. What George predicted has come about in Vancouver, Edmonton and other places in Western Canada.

Furthermore, arbitrary limitation of the tax rate in some of these cities together with the unscientific methods of assessment and unjustifiable leniency with delinquents have worked against proper application of the system. Then instead of trying to correct these defects some officials, spurred on by landed interests, are endeavoring to take a backward step by reimposition of taxes on industry. And as might have been expected reactionary papers in the United States, such as the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, have taken advantage of the situation to misrepresent matters and declare the Singletax a failure.

Sydney should guard against such a possibility by proper assessments and by leaving the way open to increase the rating on land values until the whole rental value may be taken for public use. In that way its present advantage will become permanent. The cities of Western Canada, and all other places which untax industry in the future, should take similar steps and ensure to their people the values they create.

S. D.

The Enemy Within.

Conditions maintained by our own government are driving women in a number of cities to rioting to obtain food for their children. In the face of such a situation we are being worked into a frenzy over so comparatively insignificant a matter as the right of travel over a distant part of the Atlantic. We are being urged to go to war over the lesser evil even though that means disregard of the greater. Congress, thoughtlessly, appropriates \$700,000,000 for an army and navy, and begrudges \$400,000 for an investigation of the food situation. And this policy has been misbranded "patriotism"!

Which enemy deserves first attention—the one that would deny ocean travelers safe passage or the one that drives to starvation citizens who stay at home? Which course is most in accordance with patriotism: to urge disregard of internal wrongs that we may unite to wage war on the lesser enemy; or to insist that the nation devote its attention first to the far greater enemy within our gates?

S. D.

Filibustering and Democracy.

President Wilson is right in demanding a change in the Senate rules to put an end to filibustering. The practice is wrong in prin-

ciple, and—assuming the Senate to be a representative body—is a denial of democracy. But wrong as the practice is, it is less so than the measure which Senator La Follette succeeded in blocking. There would not have been so much cause for his resistance to the armed ship bill had it simply authorized defense of peaceful merchantmen against unprovoked attacks by submarines. That was practically all that the House bill provided. There is room for difference of opinion as to the advisability of such action, but it involved no surrender of authority on the part of Congress. Of a different nature was the provision of the Senate bill giving the President unrestricted power to use whatever measures he might choose. That was a surrender of power. It established a precedent which, however harmless it might have been with President Wilson, would be a dangerous thing with which to entrust a Roosevelt. To surrender power in that way would have been betrayal of a trust. La Follette's filibuster prevented that betrayal.

But democracy requires something more than abolition of filibustering. With its abolition provision should be made to prevent stampeding of the Senate majority into voting away popular rights and liberties. The passage of the spy bill, the favorable report on the compulsory military service bill, the effort to smuggle through compulsory service as a rider on an appropriation bill, as well as the effort to confer blanket power on the President, were all measures to deprive the people of rights without asking their consent. That is in principle as much a denial of democracy as filibustering. Along with abolition of filibustering there should be provision for the referendum. Democracy must be protected against the filibuster, but it must also be protected against a tendency on the part of some representatives to make improper use of delegated power. Those who appeal to democracy against one evil should be willing to empower it to deal with all others.

S. D.

The President.

In summing up President Wilson's first term consideration should be given to the forces over which he has had no control, as well as to those that served his purpose. The proselyte, the advocate, or the crusader may stand upon abstract principle without being

weighed in judgment, for he is contributing his effort to a continuous movement; but the man chosen to an executive position is judged not by what he contributes toward the general movement, but by his success or failure in directing practical affairs at that particular moment. His ideals, which ultimately will be realized, may far transcend the possible of the present. The successful executive therefore is not one who insists upon applying in the present ideals that may be meant for the future, and so wrecks his administration, but one who, deriving his inspiration from his ideals, makes the greatest progress toward them in the present. It is this recognition of physical limitation that marks the distinction between Abraham Lincoln and John Brown. Inspired alike by the same ideals, the one sought to attain them by following the orderly course of things; the other thought to find a short cut to liberty.

President Wilson appears to combine in large degree the hope and inspiration of the idealist with the practical of the man of affairs. He has not satisfied the radical reformers or the pacifists; neither has he carried out the wishes of the conservatives or the militarists. But holding to the principles of democracy, and having ever in mind the advantages of peace, he has shaped a course that has aided in some degree an approach to greater liberty, and thus far at least has kept the country out of war.

It is not necessary in approving the President's course to claim that it has been free from error, that he has committed no mistakes, or that he should not have taken different action at various times. It is not his failures alone, however, any more than his successes, that should be considered, but the alternative. Who would have done better? What public man before the people in the past five years offers promise of better results? There may be abler men for the Presidency, but the deep hold that Mr. Wilson has upon the American people shows that the mass-judgment of the country is with him.

Mere fault-finding is easy. Nimble-witted persons, free from responsibility, glibly outline policies. Any editor or public man or woman in the United States can tell the President what should be done in the present crisis. Most of them have told him. But the one man who probably knows most about

the whole situation, and who will bear the praise or blame for success or failure must still make his individual decision. His four years in the White House under such exceptional conditions have brought out traits of character that promise able service in the future. For it is a singular fact that during this long continued world upheaval, when so many men have broken loose from their moorings, and thrown themselves into a life and death struggle, President Wilson should have raised American idealism to its highest point. And whatever may be his success or failure in handling the impending crisis, it must be acknowledged that he has made a distinct contribution to the moral and spiritual growth of the country.

The crowning test now lies before the President. War threatens; but it only threatens. Fortune favors this country in that it may still pursue the course of honor without humiliation. Our rights have been challenged, it is true, but war is not necessary for their vindication. Germany cannot strike us as she can Holland or the Scandinavian countries. She may sink a few of our ships, even after they have been armed. That will be deeply regretted, but it will not be cause for war. War could give our ships no additional protection; and as for punishing the offender, that will be swift and certain. The judgment of mankind has already been rendered. The Government that has set aside the rules of society rather than admit failure is destined to suffer both condemnation and defeat.

The war in Europe is not our war. It is the logical outcome of centuries of error and injustice. But it contains within itself its own corrective. It is not necessary for this country to enter the fight in order to decide the result. Our contribution of arms at this time would be small, but our strength in restoring the orderly processes of peace at the conclusion of the war will be colossal. And to lead us in this work will be the peculiarly appropriate mission of Woodrow Wilson.

S. C.

* * *

. . . We must some day . . . cross the line between Nonsense and Common Sense. And on that day we shall pass from Class Paternalism, originally derived from fetish fiction in times of universal ignorance, to Human Brotherhood in accordance with the nature of things and our growing knowledge of it, . . . from War and Despotism, in any form, to Peace and Liberty.—*Thomas Carlyle.*

Entanglements.

By John Willis Slaughter.

Events seem to vindicate those who asserted that America could no longer maintain her splendid isolation, that she must inevitably take a hand in the game of *Welt-politik*. From hour to hour we await some act that will bring about a state, if not a declaration, of war. Nobody in America wants war, even a nominal one. The need of safeguards, however, was never more clearly demonstrated. The greatest nation in the world is at the mercy of a submarine commander. It is certain that President Wilson did his utmost to avoid that system of iron-bound conventions that makes of national rights and honor mere trap doors to the pit of disaster. We are preparing for war and expecting it.

The German point of view is not easy to estimate. It is said that the unrestricted use of submarines can effectively blockade England and force the war to a speedy and favorable conclusion. If this is so, it will be proved, if not justified, by the event. It is difficult to see what more the submarine can do to Allied shipping than has been done for the past two years. England cannot be starved into submission by frightening off neutral vessels. She happens to possess a very considerable number in spite of her losses. That Germany has enough submarines to make the so-called blockade effectual is highly improbable. It looks very like an attack on neutrals. For what purpose?

Speculation has a very inadequate basis, but it seems safe to say that it was intended to put pressure upon President Wilson to intervene in the interest of peace. The plan was successful, but the intervention was a failure. Failure to open negotiations, and being menaced by a shortage of food, the German authorities had to prepare for a peace on less favorable terms than the nation had been led to expect. The German people apparently believe that they can win the starvation race as against England. So serious a matter interferes as a threatened or actual war with America. This would explain the failure of the blockade. America becomes the goat. The additional war would be a small affair, but politically important. Incidentally, we shall have the full brunt of German hatred for a generation to come. The peculiar malignancy of her feeling for the English was due to the fact that the traditional holders of the balance of power had turned the scale against her. By exertions that have amazed the world she righted the balance, and must now be defeated by a fail-

ure of crops. After all, starvation wins a most inglorious victory. The people believe that they have come to the final life-and-death clinch with their enemy, and can win. They apparently believe that American supplies have prevented their earlier success. They are prepared to believe that America is a skulking enemy, who waits until the moment of final desperate exertion and then springs. Their sentiment will be shaped into accordance with this belief.

The American position is that the combatants may use the knife if they like, in what was presumably another kind of fight, but that they must absolutely refrain from deliberately knifing the by-standers. An occasional accidental slash could be forgiven.

Our national destiny is at the mercy of the irrelevant. No eleventh-hour action can reverse the commitments into which the Government was forced. It is the system that is wrong, and a system cannot be changed in the moment of impending danger. But it can be seen to be wrong and the lesson carried over to the time when a change can be made. If the referendum on a declaration of war is a method by which the people can retain a mastery of its fate, by all means let it be adopted as a safeguard for the future. It takes all power from the hands of diplomats and abolishes the system of defined enforceable rights. War could come only by breaking down the forbearance of a whole people. Democratic control of foreign policy is the final and most important conquest to be made in the interest of rule by the people. But it is the antithesis of the enforcement of peace, compulsory or even voluntary arbitration, settlement through tribunals and the whole feudalistic scheme of things in which officials can flick nations into the fire. But too often the lesson learned in the moment of crisis is forgotten on the morrow. Besides, there is a House of Lords to veto the measure—our international financiers.

A war with Germany, in the present military situation of Europe, would have few important material consequences, and, as war, presents little to excite apprehension. But the moral, and therefore social and political effects on this country may be appalling. Even if incalculable, they impose upon us the duty of exercising foresight, however inadequate, and of devising safeguards before the eleventh hour. We are fortunately free from that perfervid ethical enthusiasm

which gave to war two years ago the fine flavor of the defense of civilization. But with this clearer sense of reality, the fact remains—we have little reason to fear the Germans, but an overwhelming amount of reason to fear ourselves.

(a) The last approximately unbiased judgment, the last body of dispassionate opinions, departs from the world when most needed.

(b) An impulse is given to that curious inversion of socialism, which ends the whole noble intention of the movement, that is known as National Organization. One socialized empire is in the hands of Prussian Junkers, another in the hands of the most reactionary of British Tories. This ant-nest conception of specialized efficiency is emerging here, and will be the political philosophy of our Tory plutocrats.

(c) The normal correlative of national organization is military service and preparedness. The American people have repudiated this attempt to throttle our distinctive ideals, but have not killed it. It now parades as "constructive patriotism," embroidered with a fine sensitiveness to matters of national honor. It has resources, and now has its opportunity.

(d) A nation with its resources and people organized, and a fighting mood developed, will inevitably look for openings to extend its civilizing influence—its *Kultur*, and incidentally to preempt fields for favorable in-

vestment and trade. Then, of course, we must make our citizens secure in the possession of their privileges, *alias* rights. We have neighbors to the south and in the far east who will be under no misapprehension as to the result of a war with Germany.

(e) The league of nations to enforce or insure peace will be an Anglo-American alliance. There are powerful inherent reasons of kinship and community of literature and of institutions which predispose to an association in policy. The traditional British conception of relationship to the continent is that of a balance of power, in which British intervention would be decisive. Her utmost exertions to the present have not turned the scale. She will naturally welcome an access of power which will insure the success of her policy in the future. The real Liberals of England have long stood for the alternative policy, that of a concert of nations. To maintain balance of power is a precarious game which can only be played by skilled diplomats. Democratic control of foreign policy necessarily implies a concert. The officialism of the league to enforce peace is inconsistent with democratic control. Balance of power and the insurance of peace are a contradiction of terms. The real danger lies in a swelling pretentiousness with a vision of the great English-speaking powers in control of the world.

The American people may be led far, but these are not the days to be led with blinkers.

The New Imperialism.

By Frederic C. Howe.

Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York.

III.

Secret diplomacy is an agency of overseas finance. A control of the State Department and our diplomatic service is as essential to its program as is the control of a city council for securing or preserving a street railway or a gas franchise. Overseas finance is the same kind of a merger of privilege and politics that convulsed Cleveland, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and a score of cities or States in a kind of civil war.

Back in the fifties the doctrine was first announced by Lord Palmerston in England that the foreign office would protect the investments of its subjects in distant parts. This doctrine was a diplomatic creation. It had no Parliamentary sanction. It was not approved by the people. It was the unauthorized declaration of an irresponsible for-

eign minister who came from the ruling classes. A man of Portuguese birth claiming to be a British subject made, or claimed to have made, investments in Greece. He brought claims against the Greek Government. When the claim was not satisfied he appealed to the British foreign office, and the appeal resulted in the sending of battleships to Greece with a peremptory demand for a settlement of the claim. The action of Lord Palmerston was described then as it is now, as a "spirited foreign policy."

This doctrine that debts owing by a weaker country can be collected by force has since been accepted by the great credit powers of the world. As a consequence, the foreign office of the European powers back up the claims of its bankers, concession hunters and

investors in distant ports. When diplomacy fails, the navy enforces the demands of the foreign office. As a result of this doctrine and the overseas aggressions of England, France and Germany, over a hundred million people have been made subject to these powers in fifty years' time, and ten million square miles of territory have been added to their dominions.

President Wilson refused to approve the doctrine that the flag follows the investor in the Chinese five-power loan, a loan in which a banking group in New York was allied with a banking syndicate made up in England, France, Germany, Russia and Japan. He refused to sanction our participation in a contract which threatened the political integrity of a sister republic. As a result of that declaration, America has been thus far saved from joining in the doctrine that the United States will police, insure and collect the investments or property of American citizens outside of the country.

This was one reason why the great banking interests were opposed to President Wilson's reelection. Justice Hughes and his campaign managers, possibly without realizing the consequences of their declaration, insisted that they would have done otherwise in the Chinese loan; they said they would have supported dollar diplomacy; they would have placed the State Department and our diplomatic service at the command of the banking interests of the country.

The doctrine of Lord Palmerston that the flag follows the investor is the final step in financial imperialism. It is a necessary step to guarantee overseas finance. For American money will be loath to invest in distant parts unless it has the assurance of the government that its claims for reparation and protection will be supported by armed force. If subject to insurrections, civil disorders or the overthrow of governments, if compelled to rely on civil procedure for the collection of its debts, the money of America will hesitate about penetrating into insecure places in search of investment.

What steps can be taken to protect America from this menace which confronts us, a menace as serious as ever confronted the nation? It is a menace to our ideals, it is a menace to our relations with greater nations. Quite as important it is a menace to our own industrial development as well.

Several courses lie open to us. Among them are:

1. We should slam the door of the State Department in the investor's face. We should refuse any diplomatic or governmental sup-

port in the making of loans or the securing of concessions. We should boldly announce the policy by a resolution of Congress that the army and navy shall not be used as a debt collection agency. Such a resolution was introduced by Senator La Follette in connection with the preparedness bill in the last session of Congress. But the measure was defeated. The previous refusal of President Wilson should be made the organic law of the land. It should be a standing statute warning investors that this country will not identify itself with the privileged diplomacy of Europe.

2. Even more important, Congress should forbid all foreign loans, or insist that they be passed upon by the Federal Reserve Board. We should discourage the export of capital. The alleged surplus wealth of America is made up of millions of bank deposits of farmers, business men and workers. It is their property placed in the banks for safe keeping. It is deposited with the implied obligation of the banks to use it in the community from which it comes. It is a trust fund, not for the exploitation of Abyssinia, Central or South America, or China, but for the aid of industry and agriculture in this country. We have a right to all the benefits that come from lower interest rates. For lower interest rates means a stimulus to industry. It means that more men will be employed, that industry and agriculture will have a chance. If the surplus wealth of America were invested at home, if a comprehensive industrial preparedness program were worked out, if the government would develop a constructive program for agriculture, transportation and internal development as Germany has done, then we need have no fear of dumping or foreign competition after the war. And we have a right to urge that this be done. For the money being invested overseas is the money of the people of America.

3. Our whole diplomacy should be altered. There is no place for secret diplomacy in any country, least of all in a republic. Treaties should not be discussed in executive session, behind closed doors. They should be as fully known as our domestic matters. Secret diplomacy is in part responsible for the present war, for even the democratic nations do not know what their engagements to other countries were.

4. Diplomacy, too, should be democratized in the fullest possible sense. Diplomatic posts should not be the exclusive prerogative of the rich and privileged classes as they are today. We have adopted the trappings of

European statecraft by insisting that our diplomats should live on an expensive scale and then have refused sufficient salaries to open the service to any but the very rich. As a consequence, our foreign representatives come from much the same class as they do in Europe. They come from those who have little sympathy with the common people. They are out of touch with our traditions. Only rarely do we have a Lowell or a Whitlock, and only on two occasions did we have a Franklin and a Jefferson. The foreign relations of America should not be the relations of the privileged classes. They should be the relations of the common people of America, no matter how embarrassing to our representatives that thought might be. We should insist that this country is big enough and confident enough of itself to challenge the diplomatic relations of the whole world, and send to important posts men who think and act in terms of democracy.

Such a reversal of our diplomatic traditions would shock our press; it might be uncomfortable for our representatives, but it would strike a new note in diplomacy and would tend to safeguard us from the dangers incident to the disposal of the nation's destiny by men who have no real sympathy with its real desires. Our foreign office and diplomatic posts should cease to be the exclusive possession of the very rich. They should be open to all classes.

5. Finally, preparedness should be on a democratic basis. There is no place for an army caste and a navy caste in this country. The army should be on an industrial basis. It should be a great vocational training school. West Point and Annapolis should be recruited by men from the ranks, who have earned promotion by the sacrifice they make as common soldiers. Officers and men should be employed in useful activities. They should be identified with peace. They should be merged into the life and aspirations of the country. Such an army would be trained for modern war far better than the caste-like idle organization which we now have and which was modeled on the obsolete types of Europe.

Munitions should be manufactured by the army in government plants as a means of ending the munitions lobby. This country is in danger of being Kruppized by its iron and steel and munition makers. They have already demonstrated their arrogance by the exorbitant bids presented to the Navy Department as well as the monopoly charges for war munitions. Not only that but their

arrogance has exceeded all limits in the publicity campaigns which they have carried on. The patriotism of the munition makers, like the patriotism of high finance, seems to be primarily a patriotism of profits.

There is as much need for precaution against the enemies within the country as from enemies without. There is far more need of a peace preparedness than a war preparedness. And this peace preparedness should be provided in times of peace, for judging by the experience of Europe, we get what we prepare for. And if we gave one half the thought to preserving our traditions and our relations with the outside world that we now give to war and preparations for war, this country might rest secure for the future.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending March 6.

Wilson's Second Inaugural.

President Wilson took the oath of office for his second term on Sunday, March 4, in private. On March 5, the usual public ceremony was held. In his inaugural address the President made a brief reference to reforms accomplished during his administration. In reference to the war he said that in spite of a desire to keep ourselves free from matters concerning it, we have found it impossible to avoid them. He further said:

We have been deeply wronged upon the seas, but we have not wished to wrong or injure in return; we have retained throughout the consciousness of standing in some sort apart, intent upon an interest that transcended the immediate issues of the war itself.

As some of the injuries done us have become intolerable we have still been clear that we wished nothing for ourselves that we were not ready to demand for all mankind—fair dealing, justice, the freedom to live and be at ease against organized wrong.

We may even be drawn on—by circumstances, not by our own purpose or desire—to a more active assertion of our rights as we see them and a more immediate association with the great struggle itself. But nothing will alter our thought or our purpose. They are too clear to be obscured. They are too deeply rooted in the principles of our national life to be altered. We desire neither conquest nor advantage. We wish nothing that can be had only at the cost of another people. We always professed unselfish purpose, and we covet the opportunity to prove that our professions are sincere.

We are provincials no longer. The tragical events of the thirty months of vital turmoil through which we have just passed have made us citizens of the world. There can be no turning back. Our own fortunes as a nation are involved, whether we would have it so or not.

These, therefore, are the things we shall stand for, whether in war or in peace:

That all nations are equally interested in the peace of the world and in the political stability of free peoples, and equally responsible for their maintenance;

That the essential principle of peace is the actual equality of nations in all matters of right or privileges;

That peace cannot securely or justly rest upon an armed balance of power;

That governments derive all their powers from the consent or by the common thought, purpose, or power of the family of nations;

That the seas should be equally free and safe for the use of all peoples, under rules set up by common agreement and consent, and that, so far as practicable, they should be accessible to all upon equal terms.

That national armaments should be limited to the necessities of national order and domestic safety.

That the community of interest and of power upon which peace must henceforth depend imposes upon each nation the duty of seeing to it that all influences proceeding from its own citizens meant to encourage or assist revolution in other states should be sternly and effectually suppressed and prevented.

The thing I shall count upon, the thing without which neither counsel nor action will avail, is the unity of America—an America united in feeling, in purpose and in its vision of duty, of opportunity and of service. We are to beware of all men who would turn the tasks and the necessities of the nation to their own private profit or use them for the building up of private power; beware that no faction or disloyal intrigue break the harmony or embarrass the spirit of our people; beware that our government be kept pure and incorrupt in all its parts.

The shadows that now lie dark upon our path will soon be dispelled and we shall walk with the light all about us, if we be but true to ourselves—to ourselves as we have wished to be known in the counsels of the world, and in the thought of all those who love liberty and justice and the right exalted.

Congressional Doings.

The House passed on February 28 the Senate bill establishing prohibition in the District of Columbia. The vote was 273 to 137. The Senate passed on March 1 the emergency revenue measure putting a tax on excess profits and providing for a bond issue of \$300,000,000. [See current volume, page 204.]

* *

As a result of a filibuster conducted by Senators La Follette of Wisconsin and Stone of Missouri the armed ship bill was defeated.

The filibuster prevented the bill from coming to a vote before the hour of adjournment on March 4. The bill provided for arming of merchantmen against submarines and contained, furthermore, the provision giving the

President unrestricted authority to deal with any situation that might arise.

The filibustering Senators announced their opposition due to the sweeping character of the bill. Senator O'Gorman of New York said he would vote for the bill if amended, as proposed by Senators Stone and McCumber, to limit the power of the President and prohibit the arming of ships carrying munitions. When it became evident that the bill would not come to a vote, 76 senators signed a manifesto that they wished to vote for it, and would have done so. Those who took active part in the filibuster were Stone, Kirby, Vardaman, O'Gorman, Lane, La Follette, Norris, Works, Cummins, Gronna and Clapp.

* *

In a public statement following adjournment President Wilson called attention to the consequences of the filibuster. He said in part:

In the immediate presence of a crisis fraught with more subtle and far-reaching possibilities of national danger than any other the Government has known within the whole history of its international relations, the Congress has been unable to act either to safeguard the country or to vindicate the elementary rights of its citizens. More than 500 of the 531 members of the two houses were ready and anxious to act; the House of Representatives had acted, by an overwhelming majority; but the Senate was unable to act because a little group of eleven Senators had determined that it should not.

This inability of the Senate to act has rendered some of the most necessary legislation of the session impossible at a time when the need of it was most pressing and most evident. The bill which would have permitted such combinations of capital and of organization in the export and import trade of the country as the circumstances of international competition have made imperative—a bill which the business judgment of the whole country approved and demanded—has failed. The opposition of one or two Senators has made it impossible to increase the membership of the Interstate Commerce Commission to give it the altered organization necessary for its efficiency. The Conservation bill, which should have released for immediate use the mineral resources which are still locked up in the public lands, now that their release is more imperatively necessary than ever, and the bill which would have made the unused water power of the country immediately available for industry have both failed, though they have been under consideration throughout the sessions of two Congresses and have been twice passed by the House of Representatives. The appropriations for the army have failed, along with the appropriations for the civil establishment of the Government, the appropriations for the Military Academy at West Point and the General Deficiency bill. It has proved impossible to extend the powers of the Shipping Board to meet the special needs of the new situations into which our commerce has been forced or to increase the gold

reserve of our national banking system to meet the unusual circumstances of the existing financial situation.

It would not cure the difficulty to call the Sixty-fifth Congress in extraordinary session. The paralysis of the Senate would remain. The purpose and the spirit of action are not lacking now.

The remedy? There is but one remedy. The only remedy is that the rules of the Senate shall be so altered that it can act.

* *

The so-called espionage bill which passed the Senate failed to come to a vote in the House and died with the session.

President Promises to Work for Peace.

To a delegation of pacifists headed by Jane Addams, which called at the White House on February 28 to protest against war, when no invasion had taken place, President Wilson said:

"I have done, am now doing and will continue to do everything in my power to keep the United States at peace."

Call to Labor.

President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor issued on March 4 a call for a meeting of representatives of all organizations affiliated with the Federation to meet at Washington on March 12, and define the attitude of the labor movement toward preparedness and national defense.

Scott Nearing Answers Pomerene.

A reply to Senator Atlee Pomerene has been sent by Professor Scott Nearing, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, and now of the Toledo Municipal University. Senator Pomerene was reported as saying:

George Washington had his Tories, Abraham Lincoln had his Copperheads, and Woodrow Wilson—well, he has the pacifists.

Professor Nearing's reply is as follows:

I do not know whether you were correctly quoted, but if you were I should like to put to you this proposition: What percentage of the people of Ohio—the people that you are delegated to represent in the Senate—do you suppose would vote "Yes" on a referendum for war with Germany or any other nation at the present time?

Let me give you my estimate. During the last few weeks I have spoken several times in different parts of Ohio, and have talked with people from all over the State. I venture to say that a referendum on the subject of war would result in a vote from Ohio of at least four to one against war.

I may be prejudiced in this matter because I am one of the despised "pacifists," yet I happen to live in a town which sent Gen. Isaac R. Sherwood back to Congress with a vote larger than it gave Presi-

dent Wilson because of the fact that Gen. Sherwood has consistently stood with the great mass of the American people against the type of jingoistic militarism which was responsible for the passage of the Overman Spy bill through the Senate last week.

The American people do not want war. If you gave utterance to the sentiment quoted above, I believe that you are representing, not a majority, but a small minority, of people. To be sure, they are the people who own the railroads, the banks, the munitions factories, and the resources of the nation; but the great body of the American people—the wage earners, clerks, and farmers—are against you or anyone else who indulges in such utterances.

The American Union Against Militarism offers to bear the expense of holding a referendum by postcard on the war question, of 50,000 Ohio voters; the names to be selected by the two Senators. So far its offer has not been accepted.

The Paper Situation.

The Federal Trade Commission accepted on March 4 a proposal by news print paper manufacturers that it fix the price for newspaper rolls at \$2.50 a hundred at the mill in carload lots and \$2.75 a hundred for less than carload lots. Contracts calling for higher prices are to be abrogated. For newsprint sheets the price is to be \$3.25 a hundred in carload lots, and \$3.50 for less than a carload. Jobbers may charge 5 per cent on carload lots, 12½ per cent on less than a carload and 20 per cent on less than a ton. In its report the Commission finds that manufacturers of the United States and Canada have banded together to exact higher prices, and that prices were made without the influence of free competition. Large consumers have paid from \$60 to \$90 a ton, and small publishers have been charged from \$150 to \$180 a ton.

Tax Reform News.

A movement to apply the Singletax for local purposes in the town of Capitol Heights, Maryland, resulted in a meeting on February 19, an account of which is given as follows, in the local paper, *The Maryland Journal*, of February 24:

Singletax had its inning Monday evening and won out, hands down, as the saying goes. A call for a mass meeting under the auspices of the Mayor and Common Council of Capitol Heights to be held on Monday evening last resulted in filling the town hall to overflowing. The Mayor presided and introduced the speakers.

Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, of Hyattsville, was the principal speaker. He dwelt at length on the advantages to be derived by taxing land only, and exempting improvements of every kind, claiming that a tax on improvements was a tax on thrift. Having

been a follower of the Henry George theory for a number of years Mr. Ralston explained the new mode of taxation in such a thorough manner and in such plain language that he was easily understood. At the conclusion of his remarks, and a talk by Mr. Ogle, of Baltimore, a vote was taken on the proposition. Of the seventy-five persons present all but three or four voted in favor of adopting the Single-tax plan for Capitol Heights, when the Mayor put the motion. This whole question will be put up to the voters at the town election to be held next May. [See vol. xix, p. 418.]

Among bills introduced in both houses of the Texas Legislature are measures for graduated taxes on large land holdings, requiring that land be returned for taxation at the ten times rental charged for its use, and limiting rentals to one-tenth the value of the land.

* *

Under a State law remitting part of the taxes of farmers who build ponds on their land farmers of Western Kansas are reported by the correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* to be preparing to build thousands of small reservoirs next year. The law relieves each farmer of \$100 taxes for each pond containing enough water to flood ten acres of land one foot in depth. Four ponds are allowed for each 160-acre tract. The object is to secure storing of water during the winter months to be used for irrigation during the summer.

* *

Bills framed along the line of the measure of the Equity Tax Association of California have been introduced in both houses of the Legislature. The association's measure provides for a constitutional amendment practically putting all taxes on land values, including franchise values, but still leaves the Legislature empowered to levy a tax for State purposes on inheritances and corporations. [See current volume, page 111.]

John Lind on the Tax Question.

A public hearing was held by the Minnesota Legislature on February 23 on the tax bills introduced by Senator Jones of Duluth, Representative Indrehus and others. These bills reduce taxes on all kinds of tangible personal property and on all improvements on land.

Former Governor John Lind spoke in favor of the general principle involved in these bills. He showed how the present system penalizes the working farmer, and encourages the speculator in farm lands; how the city business man and home owner are fined by

taxation while the owner of vacant lots is encouraged by low taxation. These bills, he insisted, would relieve the situation.

"All will be benefited, some more than others, it is true," said Governor Lind, "but all who labor and produce; all who would build up and improve, all who are engaged in useful service, these will be benefited. Only the land monopolists will be injured, and they have no claim to consideration. They are employing no labor, but are preventing employment by holding lots and lands at a prohibitive price. They are producing no wealth, but are preventing others from producing.

"They are building no homes, opening no farms, starting no industries, but are hindering and preventing all these by forestalling the land and holding it out of use."

Canada and the Land Value Tax

Reports have been circulated throughout the United States conveying the idea that Western Canada wishes to return to the old system of taxation. The most definite thing noticed is the report that city officials of Edmonton will petition the Provincial legislature for a charter amendment to permit the city to tax buildings, incomes, businesses, and special franchises. In answer to an inquiry, the publicity agent of the Canadian Pacific Railway writes:

Perhaps I may point out that the conditions we refer to in our literature are the conditions governing taxation in the country, that is, on farms and rural property, where the policy followed in this country has been to make improvements on personal property absolutely free from taxation. I do not think there is any tendency whatever to change that policy. It is generally recognized that the farmer who improves his quarter section contributes to the wealth of the community and becomes a citizen of the district, and should receive any consideration possible in the matter of taxation as compared with the purely speculative land owner who is holding land out of employment awaiting increase in value.

The Houston Election.

The Houston, Texas, primary election held on February 23 resulted in the nomination of Tax Commissioner J. J. Pastoriza for Mayor. There were three candidates besides Pastoriza. The candidate most favored by the reactionaries was Judge Cornelius W. Robinson. In an account of the campaign, J. B. Cochran of Houston says:

Never in the history of municipal politics in Texas has a campaign, backed by an unlimited slush fund, been waged with as much venomous vilification, mendacity and vituperation by the interests behind Judge Robinson as the campaign just closed. Every means conceivable was employed by them to defeat Pastoriza. Ridicule, abuse and misrepresentation in

their skillful but unscrupulous hands developed into a fine art, but for once the people of Houston could not be and were not fooled. They triumphantly returned that Singletaxer, known as the father of the Houston Plan of Taxation, because they knew his honesty, his broad views and his ability to serve the people well.

The two most prominent papers in the city, the *Post* and the *Chronicle*, exhausted the English language in words of vilification. Mr. Pastoriza had only one paper, the *Press*, an afternoon paper.

The *Houston Post* said editorially, prior to the election: "To have it known to the world that a Singletaxer was elected Mayor of Houston would destroy confidence of the monied men outside of the State in Houston, and that the term of Pastoriza would set the city back many, many years, and that it would drive foreign capital away, and that it would be many years before the city would be able to recover from the blight generated by his handling of the city's affairs."

Robinson's special argument against Pastoriza was that "he was of Spanish descent; that the people of Texas had fought to rescue Texas from the Spanish yoke, and, by the eternal Gods, they did not propose to have Mr. Pastoriza re-establish the Spanish yoke." The appeal to race prejudice, like all other appeals, was made in vain, and to-day we have the most competent man available in the City of Houston for the position of Mayor.

The following is a summary of the vote according to the Preferential Ballot used:

Name of Candidate.	No.	No.	No.	Total.
	of 1st Choice.	of 2nd Choice.	of 3rd Choice.	
Andral Vann....	2246	1658	373	4277
Wm. Masterson..	395	801	774	1971
C. W. Robinson..	4273	707	233	5213
J. J. Pastoriza...	5539	548	203	6290

Chicago Primaries.

Mayor Thompson of Chicago won a partial victory in the aldermanic primary election of February 27. Of seven Republican aldermen who refused to act in accordance with his wishes, and whose renomination he opposed, three were defeated. These were Aldermen Buck, Werner and Kearns. Alderman Merriam, leader of the anti-Thompson reform forces, was renominated on the face of the returns by six majority. The men voters gave a majority against him of 203 votes, but the women voters overcame this with a favorable majority of 209 votes. However, a contest is threatened. Other anti-Thompson Republicans renominated were Aldermen Captain, Vanderbilt and Fisher.

Further Progress of Woman Suffrage.

The bill allowing Arkansas women to vote at primary elections passed the State Senate on February 27 by a vote of 17 to 15. It had already passed the House. Primary elections in Arkansas, as in most southern States,

practically decide all contests. A similar bill is pending in Texas. Governor Goodrich of Indiana signed on February 28 the Presidential suffrage bill. A suffrage amendment received in the Delaware State Senate on February 19 eight votes to six against. But as twelve votes are required to submit an amendment, it failed of passage.

Cuba.

President Menocal's forces continue to clear the fields of the rebel bands conducting a guerilla warfare. The government troops have not invested Santiago as yet. Negotiations are reported between American naval officers at that port and the rebel garrison to effect an understanding between the two factions. The Liberal leaders in Havana have appointed a committee to confer with the Conservative leaders for the purpose of restoring order. President Menocal is reported as saying that Santiago must first be taken. He was granted power on the 5th to suspend the constitutional guarantees, and was voted appropriations necessary to quell the rebellion. Twenty-five sugar-producing companies in Oriente Province report 50,000 laborers idle, and 48,000 cattle that feed on the roughage of the cane starving on account of the rebel order stopping the harvest. [See current volume, page 207.]

Mexico.

American Ambassador Henry P. Fletcher presented his credentials to General Carranza on the 3d. There appeared to be the utmost cordiality between the Americans and Mexicans. Order is being restored in the northern states where General Francisco Murguia is breaking up the groups of bandits, and policing the territory evacuated by General Pershing's American troops. [See current volume, page 207.]

European War.

The German forces on the Somme front have withdrawn their line to within a mile of Bapaume, and appear to be prepared to maintain their new position along the ridge south and northwest of the town. Little fighting accompanied the retreat. The British have occupied the abandoned ground, and are reconstructing the roads, trenches and defenses destroyed by the Germans in their retreat. Very bad weather, rain and mud are said to hamper this work. Engagements are reported near Peronne, where the British report further gains, and at Verdun, where there seems to have been little change in the

lines. No actions of consequence are reported on the Russian front, or in Roumania. On the Tigris River the British report the Turks still retreating up the river toward Bagdad. They have passed through Azizieh, a town fifty-five miles from Kut-el-Amara, and the same distance from Bagdad. The British took 4,300 prisoners in the capture of Kut-el-Amara, a number of heavy guns, and several Turkish vessels. The Russian expedition that had made its way to Hamadan in western Persia, but which has remained inactive since the British surrender of Kut-el-Amara, in April, 1916, has resumed its advance toward Bagdad. [See current volume, page 208.]

* *

Both Paris and London announce that daily reports of submarine victims will be changed to weekly reports. The total tonnage sunk during February was 490,000, instead of the 1,000,000 predicted by Berlin at the beginning of unrestricted attacks. The tonnage sunk in December was 346,656, and in January, 322,167. On March 1 the grace given sailing vessels entering the war zone expired. American owned ships remain in port awaiting Government action that will permit them to arm. Vessels of other nationalities continue to enter the war zone; those of the Entente carry small guns for defense.

* *

On March 1, the Associated Press published a note from the German Foreign Secretary Zimmermann to von Eckhardt, the German Minister to Mexico, and intercepted by the United States Secret Service department. The authorship of the note is admitted by Foreign Secretary Zimmermann, but is defended as a defensive measure. The note, which is dated two weeks before the breaking off of diplomatic relations, reads as follows:

Berlin, Jan. 19, 1917.

On Feb. 1 we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America.

If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should

communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan.

At the same time, offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months.

ZIMMERMANN.

Both Mexican and Japanese officials declare that their respective countries never countenanced such overtures, and protest the utmost friendliness toward the United States.

* *

Dispatches from Peking report that the Chinese cabinet decided on the 4th to join the United States in breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany because of the loss of life and property from the submarine war. President Li Yuan Hung refused to approve the cabinet's action, claiming this to be within his prerogatives. Thereupon Premier Tuan Chi Jui and several other members resigned. The Congress is reported to be practically unanimous in supporting the action of the cabinet. It was reported a few days earlier that the French Minister and the Belgian Charge d'Affaires, representing the Entente Allies, had invited China to enter the war, and is said to have offered as inducements a remission of the Boxer indemnity and a revision of the tariff. Dr. Wu Ting-fang, Minister of War, resigned from the cabinet just before the present crisis, giving as a reason deafness caused by sickness.

NOTES

—Mayor Mitchel of New York City, in a public letter to Governor Whitman, urged legislation for the taking of a military census as a first step toward universal military service.

—A constitutional convention to consider creation of a new State out of the 10 northern counties of Idaho is provided for in a resolution which passed the State Assembly on February 19.

—Four former business agents of the Electrical Workers' Union and nine members of the Switchboard Manufacturers' Union were found guilty on March 3 in the labor extortion cases at Chicago.

—Governor Bamberger of Utah signed on February 27 the joint resolution submitting a prohibition amendment to the voters in 1918. Statutory prohibition effective on August 1, 1917, has already been provided.

—The Government of New Brunswick, headed by Premier J. A. Murry, was defeated by the deferred election in Gloucester County which, by electing the four opposition candidates, gives the opposition 27 seats and the Government 21.

—The Central American court of justice has rendered another judgment in favor of Salvador in its contention that its rights have been infringed by

Nicaragua's treaty granting a naval base in Fonseca Bay. The treaty in question stated that the United States had no desire to infringe upon the rights of Salvador or Costa Rica. [See vol. xix, p. 179.]

—The German Socialist Minority has carried Dr. Liebknecht's former Berlin constituency for the Prussian Diet. Their nominee, Dr. Franz Mehring, defeated the Socialist Majority and the non-Socialist candidates. As the Prussian Diet elections are indirect, the electors naming delegates who choose the candidates, the Minority Socialists secured 218 of the 288 delegates.

—Stephen T. Mather, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, who had charge of the investigation into the proposal to establish a national park in the dune country on the shore of Lake Michigan between Gary and Michigan City, makes a favorable report to Congress. He estimates that 9,000 to 13,000 acres should be obtained. The cost would be from \$1,500,000 to \$2,600,000, and the upkeep would not exceed \$15,000 a year.

—Ontario women feel assured of the right to vote at an early day because of the Government's endorsement of the bill for equal suffrage introduced by J. W. Johnson. Premier Hearst, in pledging the Government to find some means of enabling the women to vote at the next general election, said: "Having taken our women into partnership with us in our tremendous task, I ask can we justly deny them a share in the government of the country, the right to have a say about the making of the laws they have been so heroically trying to defend?"

PRESS OPINIONS

The Failure of Public Ownership.

Duluth (Minn.) *Herald*, Feb. 22.—What a fearful outcry there would be to-day if the railroads were owned and operated by the government, and such a complete and disastrous collapse of service had come about as has happened to-day under private ownership. Short of rolling stock, lacking an organized system for meeting great emergencies, the railroads of the United States have plunged the nation into an appalling situation where food riots such as we might expect in blockaded and embattled Germany, but for which there is no excuse in this country at peace, are the order of the day. Nothing worse could possibly happen under government ownership.

Watered Stock Patriots Denounce Watered Blood.

Pittsburgh (Pa.) *Greenfield Bulletin*, Feb. 25.—The Congress of Constructive Patriotism held a five days' session in Washington last January. Among the patriots in charge may be named Theodore Roosevelt, Elihu Root, Joseph Choate, Alton B. Parker, Robert Bacon and Geo. W. Wickersham. The latter gentleman served as a member of President Taft's cabinet and will be remembered by his effort to give Alaska to his friends. Mr. Wickersham said that we must not allow "the red blood of the nation's manhood to be turned to water by the corrupting influences of wealth and ease." Well, Mr. Wickersham is a very wealthy man. He ought to know if his wealth has corrupted him. Furthermore if his wealth has turned his red blood to water, as he says wealth does, a simple remedy is at hand. Let him give his

wealth to the poor. I know a lot of poor people whose red blood will not turn to water if they get more money. They will just buy more coal and better shoes with it. But I can well believe his statement. None but those whose red blood had turned to water could ever plan a congress of constructive patriotism.

What a Foreign War Is Hoped to Avert.

The *Nonpartisan Leader* (Fargo, N. D.), February 22.—The United States is on the verge of one of those great political and economic revolutions that periodically shake nations to their foundations, revise old ways of thinking and doing things and make way for building anew on the ruins of outgrown ideals and institutions. This is to be a peaceful revolution by means of the ballot. It has found its place of incubation in the Northwest states. The states of Minnesota, North and South Dakota and Montana are to take the lead. Things are going to happen in the next few years that will make many interesting pages in histories for future generations to read. Already the rumblings of this revolution can be heard by those who care to listen. The producers of one State have organized and thrown off a ruling class out of sympathy with the aspirations of the people. Three other States are organizing to the same end. The leaven is in the loaf and it is working. The shrewder of the politicians have read aright the signs of the times and know what is coming. They have either got on the bandwagon or they are engaged in frenzied preparations of meeting the people half way. The present Legislatures that have about completed their work in the various Northwest States have tossed an unusual lot of crumbs to the people, in the hope of appeasing the multitude. This alone is a sign that great changes are under way.

Why Not Justice to Colombia.

The *World* (New York), February 23.—It is an old story that we "took" Panama in violation of a treaty and that Theodore Roosevelt, who sanctioned the job, has been boasting of it ever since. The dismal sequel is merely hinted at in the solemn words of Mr. Wilson. Because a Republican President did wrong at Panama it has become a cardinal principle of Republicanism in the Senate that there can be no redress. All Republican members of the Committee on Foreign Relations agree to the proposition that a stigma upon the United States is preferable to any reflection upon the man who recently wrecked their party as he had previously outraged a neighbor. Regrettable as it is, the President spoke the truth as to our friendships. We have possessions and interests in all parts of the earth, but few friends. We have a canal at Panama constructed at great cost on land "taken" by force, but not a friend on either side of it. We appear to be on the verge of war to maintain international law and treaty rights, but we leave one Isthmian republic smarting under a sense of injury and all of Latin America suspicious of our purposes and open to every description of foreign intrigue. Until we do justice to Colombia our great work at Panama is a colossal indictment of our good sense as well as our good faith. The hundreds of millions expended there, the national honor at stake there, are all at the mercy of possible foes who ought to be friends.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE CHICAGO STREET CAR MUDDLE.

The traction situation, which has been confused for some time, is apparently taking the form of another battle for municipal ownership. The present surface ordinances still have ten years to run and the elevated ordinances will run from twenty to twenty-six years. The surface lines are highly prosperous.

To the observer, who is interested in the devious methods of privilege, these transportation systems offer typical phenomena. The immediate cause, of course, of the present demand of the companies for a new fifty-year franchise uniting all the transportation activities of Chicago, elevated, surface and proposed subway, is a desire to use the surplus profits of the surface lines to cover the deficit in the elevated. This surplus now goes to the city.

There are, however, causes more fundamental for the recurrence of the traction crisis every few years. This is due apparently to the failure of existing ordinances, but really to economic control much deeper than mere regulatory ordinances. For instance in 1907 street car agitation stopped. A new settlement had apparently brought peace and for several years following this period municipal ownership was a dead issue.

During the intervening years, it became increasingly apparent that the owners of the street railways were interested principally as landlords. The same interests controlled the street railways and held large areas in the downtown district. The value of these lands was enhanced by better transportation facilities. So they naturally became interested, not in city wide service, but in carrying people down town to their own sites. The elevated lines have been operated for that sole purpose. On the surface, through routing was abandoned for lines which turned in the loop and doubled back on their courses. Outlying service became annually more inadequate and cars more filthy and crowded.

Affiliated with the downtown landlords is another group whose chief interest is the sale of power to the traction utilities. They have tied up the elevated roads with long term contracts for power at exorbitant terms. Their motive for doing this is very apparent. They are the largest owners of Illinois coal fields and mined last year over 10,000,000 tons. It is to be feared that they are in turn "milking" the power utilities by long term coal contracts.

The tendency is to use the public service systems less and less for their primary purposes—transportation and the distribution of light and power. They are being used simply as outlets for land monopoly in the business district of Chicago and in the Illinois coal field.

Instead of regulating the companies, city officials have been brought more and more under the power of the far reaching system of privilege. The extent of their control has been shown recently. The board of supervising engineers (city employees) was directed to prepare (and prepare at municipal expense) a report on unified operation of the surface and elevated lines with a subway. The substance of this report was known to the traction in-

terests months before the public ever heard of it. Editors of foreign language papers were called together by the president of one of the lines and urged to support the proposals when the report should be issued. Small wonder then that representatives of outlying communities have inquired whether the city or the street car lines are employing the board! The big daily papers (except the *Journal*) are all lauding the scheme and the companies are carrying lots of advertising.

At a citizens' meeting on the 18th, a committee of fifteen was appointed to draft a tentative plan for opposing the scheme. Whatever may come of it, the traction pot promises to boil merrily from now on.

HUGH REID.

Chicago.

OREGON AFFAIRS

The Oregon Legislature adjourned on February 20, after passing a large number of bills. Of a score of attempted stabs at the Initiative only one got by, and it will be voted on at a special election on June 4. One proposed amendment is of interest as progressive, and that is to allow different rates of taxation on different classifications of property. Strange as it may seem, there is a conservative element in the State in favor of it.

The Legislature was mis-representative in character, and many were outspoken against the progressive principles of the "Oregon system." A strong and united lobby of the Grange, the Farmers' Union and the State Federation of Labor prevented much adverse and retroactive legislation.

Many bills were enacted with the "emergency clause" attached where no emergency exists. Nothing important, however, is likely to be submitted to the referendum.

The usual extravagance in clerks and useless attaches was manifest. At the last election the people amended the constitution forbidding the increase of appropriations by more than six per cent. The Legislature held to this limitation with much effort. The pledges freely made to consolidate and abolish offices were neglected, of course, and more offices created. It is possible that an initiative measure may be submitted abolishing a large number.

One measure in preparation for initiative signatures provides a Legislature once in six years, if called by the Governor. Another provides for a state commission government of 15.

The Oregon Legislature has passed to the people an amendment providing for the harmonious amending of the constitution hereafter. The stab at the Initiative is a measure under which a proposed amendment must state what sections of the constitution it affects, and if it fails to do so will not be valid itself. It is one of several stabs at the Initiative that was proposed, and is very deftly contrived to accomplish indirectly what it could not hope to accomplish directly. The proposed change would place the power of allowing a constitutional amendment to stand entirely in the hands of the judiciary. The present governor has appointed one man on the supreme bench whose hostility to the Referendum and Initiative is marked, and whose service for 25 years as the attorney of a special privileged cor-

poration of immense wealth and power caused his defeat a few years ago in the primaries for that position.

There are known to be at least two more on the bench of seven justices who are quite lukewarm toward any progressive proposition that infringes on the privileges of any corporation or class. The supreme court of Oregon is composed of hair splitters who recently caused a widow to lose her case because her lawyer used the word "and" instead of the word "or" in the complaint against a big corporation that was in sore need of help in a damage suit. What would such a body do to an amendment if it had half a chance? The measure will go to the people at a special election, June 4, 1917.

A recall petition is out against a county judge of Baker county, Oregon, the cause being alleged extravagance in authorizing county expenditures for bridges. A mass meeting heard him for two hours and a half on February 16 and then ordered committees to take hold of the recall campaign. The people of Oregon are becoming accustomed to recall campaigns against county judges, two or three of whom have been removed from office by popular vote. No attempt has been made to recall a district (circuit) or supreme judge as yet. A petition circulated against one district judge about three years ago met with such poor success that it was abandoned, not on account of any opposition to the principle of the recall but because the judge was given the benefit of the doubt in so many minds that he was honest in his decision in a case that freed a man accused of murder.

ALFRED D. CRIDGE.

WHO IS DOING IT TO US?

Who is doing it to us?

We complain, lament, protest, against the high cost of living. Why?

We are starving in the midst of the greatest period of "prosperity" that the United States has ever known. Why?

Here is a suggestion.

Take it or leave it as you please. It is significant at any rate.

Prices have increased fastest in the direction of the land. Size up the facts as you will, this statement seems to hold good.

Take the matter first as a problem in production. The producer must secure labor, capital and land. Without these three elements no productive operation can take place.

The cost of labor, according to the figures published by the United States Department of Labor and by various state labor departments, has risen from 30 to 60 per cent during the last twenty years. This does not mean the cost of labor per unit of product, but the cost of labor per hour of labor. In many cases these increased wages have been more than offset by the increased efficiency of the worker and the machinery.

The cost of capital has not varied much during the past twenty years. Economists are agreed that the interest rate is steadily rising, but slowly. It certainly has not increased during that period more than 20 or 30 per cent.

Land, the third element in production, tells a very different story. The figures show that the value of mineral land, timber land, farm land and city land has increased during the last twenty years hundreds and in some cases thousands of per cent.

Look at the matter from another point of view. Take the wholesale prices, compiled and issued by the United States Department of Labor. Study the figures, showing the change in prices from 1890 to 1915. The prices of manufactured products show a slight increase. The prices of products coming directly from land—mineral products, timber products, farm crop products, lead the list of price increases in almost every direction.

Approach the problem in another way by looking into the retail prices—the figures published by the Department of Labor.

In a few cases the retail prices of manufactured goods have annually decreased. In other cases there has been a slight increase, but the great raise in prices has occurred in the case of those commodities which come most directly from the land, namely farm products, and cereal crops.

Think the matter over. Study the figures carefully. Examine the question from the standpoint of the elements in production, of wholesale prices, or of retail prices and you will find that the chief increases in living costs are coming from the direction of the land.

Whoever is doing it to us, the landlords are evidently "getting the results"—a phrase which in these days seems to signify the same thing as "yellow backs" or "double eagles."

SCOTT NEARING.

Toledo, O.

PRUSSIANIZED CONNECTICUT.

The military census now being taken throughout Connecticut discloses the curious strabismic effect produced by militarism and jingoism upon the emotional and mental processes of many people, inasmuch as the very thing which they most condemn and abhor, when practiced by other nations, becomes highly honorable and virtuous when performed by ourselves.

If there is one policy more than another in the German system which has been held up to universal detestation, it is Prussian militarism, and the absolute power wielded by its bureaucratic autocracy over the lives and destinies of the people. In the civil army bill lately put in force throughout Germany, we see the very latest word in "Prussianism," and though autocratic as is the Teutonic governing power, such an extreme measure was not put in operation until after two years of warfare and when hard pressed.

Now the Connecticut military census bill is nothing more nor less than the Prussian civil army bill in embryo, with the same object and intention, only lacking—as yet—the power whereby the State authorities may arbitrarily control the services and work of every man and boy—over sixteen years of age—when, how, and where it may see fit. Can there be any doubt that in case of war this last touch will be given the bill, enabling the autocratic hand to start the already prepared machinery.

If the military census bill was simply a measure

to ascertain who of their own free will would volunteer their services, there might be small objection to it, but the cloven foot of militarism and autocracy is seen in the proposal—made by the Governor—to punish all those who refuse to give the private and personal information demanded, by having their names put on yellow cards—presumably a mark of disgrace—and moreover to render such persons liable for a penal offense. Could there be any greater example of "Prussianism" than this and right here in Connecticut?

There is no denying the fact that such insidious legislation—mostly propagated and fostered by certain political powers backed by big business interests, and minus any demand by the people—is highly dangerous to the rights and liberties of the people and at variance with the principles of Republican government, and we should vigorously voice our opposition and protest even at the risk of being dubbed unpatriotic, for patriotism—like charity—can cover a multitude of sins.

It may be well to note that both Col. Roosevelt and Mayor Mitchel are highly enthusiastic concerning the Connecticut military census bill, and that also the latter has written Governor Whitman requesting him to try and procure the same legislation for New York. When such a trinity as Roosevelt, Whitman, and Mitchel get together, it behoves New Yorkers to be on the lookout.

FRANK G. CAUFFMAN.

Stamford, Conn.

BOOKS

OVERLOOKING THE OBVIOUS.

"Social Problems," by Ezra Thayer Towne, Ph. D. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. Price \$1.00 net.

Regarded as a compendium of information for the use of students and workers in social reform, Dr. Thayer's book will be of inestimable value. We are informed in the preface that the aim is "to collect the available material on the subjects dealt with and arrange it in such form that it may be used advantageously as a basis for study in the class-room. It deals largely with facts and analysis of conditions. Pure theory is kept in the background as much as possible in the thought that the more abstruse theoretical questions should be kept for more advanced courses." Had the scope of the book been rigidly confined within those limits it would have been beyond reach of even the mild criticism we shall venture to offer. It is questionable, however, whether there is for the human mind a purely objective fact in the universe. On the instant that an external fact is observed and registered, even though only for the purpose of recording it, it undergoes a process of interpretation and takes color and form from the subjective character of the mind through which it has passed.

The first chapter deals exhaustively with the influence of natural conditions, soil, and climate on social and economic development, and the author arrives at somewhat similar conclusions to those of Buckle in "The History of Civilization." The succeeding chapters analyze the problems of population, immigration, sweating, women and child labor, unemployment, crime, liquor, poverty, etc., and contain much infor-

mation that every well-fed man should assimilate whether he wants it or no. It is only at a few points where the author's own interpretations of his facts are met with, that one is tempted to criticism. For example, remembering that "Progress and Poverty" has been before the public for thirty-seven years, does it not indicate a subjective bias that in enumerating the causes of unemployment, no hint should be left on the reader's mind of the theory that has already convinced countless thousands, that the primary cause is to be found in the withholding of land and natural resources made possible by our archaic system of taxation? If the causes of unemployment must be dealt with in a book professing to deal with facts only, it is not sufficient to name sickness, inefficiency, accident, seasonal trades, etc., for a deep instinct tells most of us that these are but secondary causes and by-products of a much more fundamental one. If students of unemployment would only look carefully at a hill-side and consider the social life of a colony of rabbits, much might be learned. With a constantly increasing population and the smallest amount of brain-power they have solved the unemployment and poverty problems, or rather none such has ever arisen. When some "Bunny" appears with just enough intelligence to peg out a claim to the entire hill or all the land in sight, then of course an unemployment problem will arise and poverty and demoralization of rabbit-character will follow. Again, to say that low wages "is one of the most important causes of poverty," is like saying that lack of breath is one of the causes of death, or that insufficient food is one of the causes of starvation. And so on. In a few places where the statement of facts gives place to an enquiry into causes, we are conscious of this kind of circular reasoning. Only in the last paragraph of the "Poverty" chapter does the author come near what we conceive to be the real cause of poverty. "A monopoly control of natural resources or of the capital with which further wealth is produced, may and invariably does, result in an excessive share of income going to property rather than to services."

Why not have accepted this obvious and fundamental cause as the all-sufficient one, instead of enumerating the many subsidiary and induced secondary causes?

ALEX. MACKENDRICK.

* * *

"I haven't noticed Tootles playing in your orchestra lately."

"No; he slipped on the icy sidewalk and broke his clavicle."

"Well, couldn't he get another from the musical instrument dealer?"—*Boston Transcript*.

* * *

"I understand that your daughter is going to take music-lessons."

"Not exactly," replied Farmer Corntossel. "We haven't the heart to tell her that her voice sounds terrible, so we're goin' to hire a regular teacher to do it."—*Washington Star*.

* * *

Teacher.—"Do you know the population of New York?"

Mamie Backrow.—"Not all of them, ma'am, but then, we've only lived here two years."—*Puck*.

"You make more fuss about losing a nickel than I'd make about losing a hundred dollars."

"Boss," said the boy, "you've got the wrong idea. The chances are you've got another hundred. But this was my last nickel. 'Taint what you lose that makes the difference. It's what you've got left."—*Washington Star*.

* * *

Men in respect to ceremonies, modes, and laws, like a flock of sheep, will, in a body, provided the bell-weather can only be got to leap over a pole, continue to leap carefully over the same place when the pole has been taken away; and the most and highest leaps in the state are those we make without the pole.—*Richter*.

Officer (who has "lost touch" with the troops on field-training)—"I say, sergeant, where have all the blithering fools of the company gone to?"

Sergeant—"Shure, an' I don't know, sorr; it seems we're the only two left."—*Tit-Bits*.

* * *

An old lady who had been introduced to a doctor who was also a professor in a university, felt somewhat puzzled as to how she would address the great man.

"Shall I call you 'doctor' or 'professor'?" she asked.

"Oh! just as you wish," was the reply; "as a matter of fact, some people call me an old idiot."

"Indeed," she said, sweetly, "but, then, they are people that know you."—*Tid-Bits*.

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