

# The Public

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a Weekly Narrative of History in the Making.

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## CONTENTS.

### EDITORIAL:

Just One Hullabaloo After Another.....	1201
Congress' First Duty.....	1201
Ending of the Era of Good Feeling.....	1201
A Deserved Rebuff.....	1202
Secretary Garrison Needs Awakening.....	1202
A Way Out.....	1202
Roosevelt's Latest.....	1202
State's Rights.....	1203
Mexico's Business.....	1203
Rural Credit Legislation.....	1203
Is This Balance of Trade Favorable?.....	1204
A Government Merchant Marine.....	1204
Promoting International Comity.....	1204
Vindicating Democracy.....	1205
Canada Needs a Free Press.....	1205
A Poor Investment.....	1205
Some War Thoughts—Grace Isabel Colbron.....	1206
Governor Hunt's Dilemma.....	1206
The Inalienable Right to Life.....	1206
Municipal Attractions.....	1207

### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Direct Legislation in North Dakota—Henry Heaton. 1207

### INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:

Why Alcohol Remains a Monopoly—F. F. Ingram. 1208

### NEWS NARRATIVE:

Departmental Reports.....	1208
Interstate Commerce Commission.....	1210
Doings in Congress.....	1210
Congressman Lewis Will Fight for Postal Tele- phones.....	1210
Commission on Industrial Relations.....	1211
Colorado Strike Ended.....	1211
Candidacy of Peter Witt Announced.....	1211
Assessors Urge Tax Reform.....	1211
Embargo Act Demonstrations.....	1212
European War.....	1212
Mexico.....	1214
News Notes.....	1215
Press Opinions.....	1215

### RELATED THINGS:

The Forest Fire—Charles H. Winke.....	1216
From One of These Little Ones—Christine Barker.....	1216
New York and London Land Values—A. W. Madsen.....	1216
True Liberty—Charles Mackay.....	1219

### BOOKS:

Ancient and Modern Socialism.....	1219
Periodicals.....	1220

## EDITORIAL

### Just One Hullabaloo After Another.

A short time ago it was Hobson of Alabama; now it is Gardner of Massachusetts; and all the time it is Roosevelt. What has this country done that it should be thus afflicted? s. c.



### Congress' First Duty.

How can we trust Congress to deal properly with the question of defense against an imaginary foreign enemy when it gives no thought to the destructive work of real enemies within the national borders? These enemies are the legalized privileges which deprive the people of the right to use of the country's resources, and subject them to despoliation at the hands of monopolies and trusts. The ravages of these enemies may be observed in the slums of cities and in the mining and agricultural districts. The victims are to be seen in the unemployed looking for work, in the underpaid, and in all the sufferers from vice, crime and misery due to poverty or the fear of it. Until Congress succeeds in driving out these enemies it has more important work on hand than that to which militarists would have it turn. And whenever it does effectively legislate against these domestic enemies all danger from foreign enemies will vanish.

S. D.



### Ending of the Era of Good Feeling.

Clearly the era of good feeling, which was so marked in the early part of President Wilson's administration, has come to an end. Rarely, if ever, has a public man been accorded more cordial approval from all factions and parties, than was Mr. Wilson during the first year of his administration. So universal and so emphatic was this feeling throughout the country, that Congressmen and Senators, bent upon carrying out a different policy, were compelled by public opinion to abandon their own plans, and take up those of the President. Time and again his frank appeal to the people

won the support necessary to carry through his measures. But more remarkable even than this was the effect upon the opposition press, which was compelled by this same public opinion to give him more cordial support than is commonly given to any political opponent. A change, however, has come over the scene. Much of the present criticism of the opposition is lacking in that broad spirit of toleration that was so conspicuous two years ago. This may be due in large degree to the feeling on the part of the critics that the country as a whole has changed, and that the people are not now back of the President's policies as they have been, and therefore that it is safe for them to nag at him in a small, irritating way, as has been their custom with most other Presidents. Whatever the cause it is now quite evident that there is a disposition on the part of the opposition press to seize upon the little things, to ignore accomplishments, to magnify omissions, to minimize general policies, and to exaggerate the non-essential. The chief point of criticism, however, appears to be in regard to the President's stand on the military question, both as regards his policy toward Mexico, and the enlargement of the army and navy. There is a concerted campaign among the militarists throughout the country for the purpose of stampeding public opinion in favor of a great navy and a large army. This is the time for the citizen to keep his head, and not allow himself to be dragooned on account of the war scare into saddling himself with the burden of militarism.

S. C.

### A Deserved Rebuff.

The right word at the right time is President Wilson's rejection in his message of the hysterical demand for bigger armaments. This demand is so senseless and so clearly depends for success upon the creation of unreasonable popular fear, that the calm discussion accorded it was far more than it deserved. No more time needed for important work should be wasted in Congress in discussion of senseless bugaboos. A sufficient answer to the whole militarist agitation is that while the task remains undone of freeing ourselves from economic oppression, there is no time available for considering anything so improbable as an unprovoked foreign attack.

S. D.

### Secretary Garrison Needs Awakening.

It almost seems as though Secretary of War Garrison has never read or been told of the conduct of the militia in the coal fields of West Vir-

ginia, Colorado and other places. Had he been well posted as one in his position surely ought to be he would not have displayed such lamentable ignorance as is apparent in the following excerpts from his report to Congress:

No reasonable person in this country has the slightest shadow of fear of military despotism nor of any interference whatever by military force in the conduct of civil affairs.

It is a queer kind of "reasonable person" who does not fear something which he knows has actually happened under conditions almost certain to occur again. It seems unbelievable, yet Secretary Garrison leaves no other explanation of his words apparent than that he knows nothing whatever of the cause that led to interference by his own Department in affairs of Southern Colorado.

S. D.



### A Way Out.

Admiral Fletcher testified that our navy was capable of defending the United States against any country except England; but he doubts if it could hold the Philippines as against Japan. A possible way out of this dilemma may be found in our own Declaration of Independence, which was drawn in support of governments "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

S. C.



### Roosevelt's Latest.

If there is any point at all to Roosevelt's latest criticism of the administration's Mexican policy it is that he wants the United States to forcibly intervene. To complain about conditions and to say that for these conditions the administration is responsible, is to say—even though Roosevelt lacks the courage to openly say it—that it is the administration's duty to change these conditions. And that means intervention. He would cure the horrors of war with more war. The more one listens to the outpourings of Roosevelt, the better opinion one must have of the statesmanship and services of President Wilson.



Yet in this same criticism Colonel Roosevelt unconsciously shows that intervention is not justified. Thus he says:

We may individually sympathize, as, for instance, I personally do, with the general purpose of the program for division of the lands among the Mexican cultivators, announced by Carranza, Villa and other revolutionary leaders; but this no more justified interference on our part than belief in the wisdom of the single tax for the United States by some for-

sign ruler would warrant his interference in the internal affairs of the United States.

That is sound doctrine. It follows from it that the United States government has no right to interfere for any purpose. If it may not interfere, as Roosevelt says it may not, in order to end forever such conditions as breed poverty, peonage and a system which subjects the great masses of the people day after day and year after year to outrages at the hands of plutocratic rulers, then it surely has no right to interfere when complaint is made of similar outrages committed by revolutionists. The brutal despotism of Diaz which Huerta would have restored could not do otherwise than brutalize many of its victims. If these brutalized ones now act as brutes that is no excuse for restoring the old conditions. We hear more of the reign of terror in Mexico today than we did of the greater terror which preceded it because its victims have more influential friends. For in Mexico, as was the case in France, there have been two reigns of terror. As Mark Twain shows in one of the many grand passages in his "Yankee at King Arthur's Court," the first and greater terror in France lasted a thousand years. Its victims were the dumb oppressed peasants. The second and milder terror lasted but three years. Of the sufferings of the victims of the Great Terror little was heard or thought of, but History has much to say of the Minor Terror. When the wind has been sown it is useless to complain of the reaping of the whirlwind, while to blame the whirlwind—as, for partisan reasons, Roosevelt does—on one in no way responsible for its sowing, only reflects on the one guilty of such injustice. It is quite possible to aid innocent Mexican victims without inciting to the additional crime of armed intervention and without trying to gain unfair partisan advantage. S. D.

### States Rights.

The tenacity with which certain Congressmen and Senators cling to the doctrine of States' rights, when their localities are asked to conform in some degree to the consensus of general opinion, and the alacrity with which they besiege the United States Treasury for funds to make local improvements, shows one of the requirements that goes to make a "statesman." S. C.

### Mexico's Business.

The rule about minding one's own business applies to nations as well as to individuals. This information is evidently needed by those who ap-

pear mystified as to why President Wilson made no reference to Mexican affairs in his message. Mexico is outside of the jurisdiction of Congress. Its affairs can not be properly regulated by anyone but its own people. It is not interfering with our affairs. There was consequently no cause for mention of it in the President's message. S. D.

### Rural Credit Legislation.

If the Bulkley bill is the best plan for a rural credit system that is now available, the President was right in saying the present session was too short to admit of a proper consideration of that subject. Matters of detail that must enter into any comprehensive system of credits should be worked out by banking experts, but matters of principle must be passed upon by the country at large. The essence of the situation is found in the need of the farmer, or landowner, in districts remote from banking centers for cheap money; that is, a means that will supply him with money at a lower rate of interest, and upon a different security from what banks will now accept. To meet this requirement the Bulkley bill proposes that bonds be issued in sums of \$100, \$500 and \$1,000, drawing such rates of interest as the government board may approve, not exceeding five per cent. To arbitrarily fix the maximum rate of interest is to set at defiance the natural laws of trade.

Credits are subject to the law of supply and demand, the same as all other commercial values; and where they vary there is a reason. Money, which represents a concrete form of credit, commands higher interest in some places because the security is less certain, and the labor of looking after the loan is greater. The banker, or money lender, can care for his money more cheaply and with greater certainty in a city than in a remote and sparsely settled region. And he will not send his money into remote parts unless some inducement is offered. That inducement is commonly expressed in higher interest. Hence the difference in the rate of interest on the commercial frontier and in the thickly populated districts, represents the difference in the cost and risk of handling money in the two places. Should the Government undertake to fix interest arbitrarily throughout the country, it would do so only at the expense of some for the benefit of others.

Again, to arbitrarily fix the rate of interest at a lower point than the commercial rate means a

shifting of economic values. The lands on the commercial frontier have now a certain value, which it is proposed to pledge to the federal credit banks, or whatever the rural credit system may be, which value is related to the prevailing rate of interest. If anything is done, therefore, to arbitrarily change the rate, it must inevitably change the value of the property. That is to say, if the rate in Alabama or Utah be eight per cent per annum, and the average price of land ten dollars per acre, the two values are balanced against each other. If, however, the interest be arbitrarily reduced to five per cent, the man who now pays eight per cent, and buys his land at ten dollars per acre, will then be able, with five per cent money, to pay more than ten dollars per acre; and the competition of buyers, supplied with cheaper money, will force up the price of land, until it has equalized the reduction in interest. This may be a good thing for the present holders of land, but it will be of no advantage to those who are trying to get land. As it is now, those who have to pay eight per cent interest get ten dollar land; while in the future, should this scheme prevail, they will have five per cent money, but they will have to pay correspondingly more for land. Thus it will happen that the Government will have brought about a shifting of values throughout the country without benefiting anybody but those who own land and those in debt. The debtor will benefit at the expense of his creditor; the landowner will profit at the expense of the whole country.

s. c.



### Is This Balance of Trade Favorable?

An explanation sometimes offered for our "favorable" Balance of Trade is that we are sending more wealth out of the country than we get back in order to pay interest on or redeem American securities held abroad. An article in the Saturday Evening Post of December 5 puts the amount of these securities at \$6,000,000,000. This leads one of the ablest and best informed of the nation's economic experts to call attention to the fact that the net balance of exports for the last 30 years is \$9,000,000,000. It would seem then that some provision should have been made long ago to pay off with our export balances these foreign-held securities. It would seem to be good business policy to arrange to pay them off at once with the "favorable" balance we now have. Otherwise there appears no reason, judging from past experience, to expect ever to redeem that six billions of outstanding indebtedness. Or is it not possible that our "favorable" balance goes to pay tribute to foreign

privilege in some other form than may be contained in outstanding securities?

s. b.



### A Government Merchant Marine.

A Government-owned merchant marine, as advocated by President Wilson in his message, does not please the subsidy advocates, although it is the logical conclusion of their own arguments. If it is right that the people be taxed to pay for losses incurred in a certain business then it is also right that they assume ownership of that business. But in the case of merchant vessels public ownership is not needed. There should be publicly-owned terminal facilities to insure equal opportunities for all and there should be no unjust burdens put on private enterprise. Then if shippers of goods to foreign ports will not or can not pay enough to justify investment of private capital in a merchant marine, there is certainly no reason why those of us who are not shippers of goods should contribute for such a purpose. Yet that is what we are urged to do.



There is a great difference in principle between a government merchant marine and a government railway. A private railway implies private ownership of a public highway along which none may operate without permission of the private owners. This is a privilege which can only be abolished through government ownerships of railways. But ocean routes of travel are not so held. They are free to all who would use them, except that the terminals are frequently privately owned, as they ought not to be. The solution of the merchant marine question requires neither government-subsidized nor government-owned ships. Equal freedom to all is all that is required.

s. d.



### Promoting International Comity.

President Wilson, by democratizing the Monroe Doctrine, and admitting the chief countries of South America to a participation in its interpretation, has done more to win the good will of the other American countries than any other man in the White House. In admitting them to the council of nations he has begotten a fellowship and mutual regard that has removed the fear and jealousy formerly entertained by them. And so sustained and consistent has been his course that it has won approval even in Europe, where most of all it was in the beginning condemned. In two instances only has he failed. He has not won the regard of the privileged classes in Mexico; and

he has failed to win the approval of a certain class of Congressmen and Senators in this country. When nagging Senators denounce him as having no policy in regard to Mexico, and as having interfered with Mexican affairs, only to leave them worse than he found them, it is but fair to ask them the alternative. Would it have been better had the American troops overrun Mexico, and established peace by force, accompanied by a universal hatred of the invader, the perpetuation of the wrongs that led to the revolution, the certain renewal of hostilities at the earliest possible moment, and increased distrust and hatred throughout Central and South America, or to have the friendship and confidence of all these people, with gradual subsidence of Mexican disorder upon a just and equitable basis? The best service that we have rendered Europe in its hour of sore need lies in setting it a good example.

s. c.



### Vindicating Democracy.

The brief course of the South African insurrection offers the highest compliment to British statesmanship. Surely there never was greater temptation to defy constituted authority. A state, alien by race and language, and enjoying practical political independence, was subjugated by force of arms. Yet so generous and humane were the terms of the conqueror that the vanquished entered into the new state, and its principal men became leaders in the new organization with such sincerity that within a few years of their defeat their sentiments underwent a complete change. For, when their conquerors had their hands tied by a great war and an uprising of the conquered seemed to have every prospect of success, the leaders of the former war, when they called upon their compatriots to rally round the flag of independence, met with little response. And they suffered the humiliation of a quick and complete defeat at the hands of one of their former generals. This is a remarkable demonstration of the virtues of political democracy. That England should have held during this war colonies of her own blood that were larger than many independent countries would have proven her colonial management; but that she should have had the support of conquered states of alien race leaves no doubt of her political efficiency.



If such slender ties should hold so fast, if the granting of political autonomy to colonies—even to the extent of permitting them to levy protective tariffs upon goods from the mother country, and to exclude citizens from other parts of the em-

pire—makes them so loyal, what would not a similar liberal policy toward the individual citizen do? England, by adopting free trade, became the richest nation in Europe; and by granting the colonies self-government she made them an integral part of the empire; but she has not yet freed the individual citizen from the economic tyranny that has persisted throughout the development of political liberty. When the lusty Englishman who stands hat in hand before a great landlord, begging permission to use a bit of British soil, sings "Britons never will be slaves," he is thinking only of the prowess of the army and navy. When he comes to think of himself, and of his fellow Britons, as he now thinks of his country, he will soon be as free economically as he now is politically. No constitutional limitations bar him from his rights. They are his for the asking. A majority vote is absolute. The solitary thing in the way is his state of mind.

s. c.



### Canada Needs a Free Press.

In suppressing German papers or those friendly to the German cause, the Canadian government is putting itself on a level with the military government of Berlin which temporarily suppressed *The Vorwärts*. It is moreover giving outsiders cause to suspect that these suppressed papers published some unpalatable truth which it preferred should not become generally known. What is still more important is the fact that such proceedings are more dangerous to Canada than to Germany. Canadian liberty and Canadian institutions will be safer with an absolutely free press—even though that freedom be used to uphold the cause of the nation's enemies—than they will be under a government empowered to arbitrarily suppress publications. Canadian patriots will do Canada a real service if they insist on immediate restoration of a free press.

s. d.



### A Poor Investment.

The construction of the Panama Canal by the United States has been looked upon and proclaimed the greatest engineering feat of the ages. It has cost \$353,000,000, and a great many years of labor. Yet that stupendous investment represents about ten day's cost of the present European war. The amount of wealth already expended in the war would have built fifteen or twenty canals, or their equivalents, as great as the Panama Canal. And when those canals or their equivalents had been completed the world could enjoy their use.

What will the world have for its colossal investment in war?

s. c.

### Some War Thoughts.

It is not only the Socialists in Europe who have disappointed us in their attitude towards the war. David Lloyd George, England's far-sighted and fearless Chancellor of the Exchequer, causes surprise, at the very least, by his proposals for raising the war budget. If our papers report him correctly—there is always a chance of mistake, of course—Mr. Lloyd George has forsworn his principles of penalizing idleness and unearned incomes, and has chosen to lay the burden for a war that is not a workingmen's war on the shoulders of the working class. There is not a word, in any report in American papers, about increasing the tax on land values, the importance of which Mr. Lloyd George has so long and fearlessly preached. The English workingmen are exhorted to give their lives in this war and to further bear the burden by paying added taxes on the necessities of life and on some of the poor little luxuries they are able to afford . . . and what is the argument advanced for all this sacrifice? "We fight for our *land* . . . for our freedom . . . we fight to keep England for the English." And yet it was Lloyd George who first taught the average Englishman *who* owns the land of England! Why not let those who own the land of England fight for it and pay the taxes as well? There would be some reason in this.

The Krupp Company, manufacturing Germany's big guns and other war material, votes 3,000,000 marks towards the relief of the families of soldier employees. Seeing as the Krupp Company helps largely in making the relief necessary it would be interesting to know the exact relation, in dollars and cents, between the benefit accruing to the Krupps through the death of each soldier, and the amount spent in each individual relief case. It could doubtless be computed by subtracting from the added profit this war brings the Krupp Company, the 3,000,000 marks given the relief fund. The balance, we fear, would still be found on the profit side for the Krupp Company, so that self-interest on their part and the part of other such firms will still be a fruitful source of danger to the cause of a world peace.

The Comic Spirit, which looks on at the doings of mankind must find some source of pleasure in

the assertion on the part of nations who have always aided and abetted the military spirit as a function of their national life, that they are "fighting a holy war against militarism." It is so delightfully illogical.

Either militarism is right and necessary as a function of government or it is all wrong. If it is right, then why isn't the country which has brought it to the highest state of perfection the country that should be most admired by all militarists? If it is wrong, then why isn't it wrong when present in a small degree as well as in a larger degree? If burglary, for instance, is right and lawful as a function of society, then the man who steals the most should be most admired, not condemned. But if burglary is wrong in itself, is the thief who gets away with only a few hundred dollars' worth any better (in principle) than he who loots several thousands? It is most amusing to hear the ardent militarists of this country, the followers of Rooseveltian doctrines of brute force as a qualification for citizenship, take sides, violently, with the Allies and as violently condemn "Prussian Militarism." Don't they realize that what they are condemning is merely the thing they admire raised to its highest potency? Or can it be that they are angry with Germany for having shown to what the thing they admire may lead?

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

### Governor Hunt's Dilemma.

Governor Hunt of Arizona has done well in saving from execution six condemned persons whom he was said to be at first disposed to send to death. The press dispatches had said that there were eleven condemned ones awaiting execution, so that his act may not save all who were to die. But it is also possible that the dispatches erred in giving the number. The Governor has been compelled to endure a sore trial, such as should be required of no man. For this, sympathy is due him, however he may pass through it. But let it be hoped that he has not committed the irretrievable error of allowing a single execution in the fallacious belief that the burden of guilt will rest entirely on the people.

S. D.

### The Inalienable Right to Life.

The Arizona Republican of Phoenix of December 10 finds fault with The Public for urging Governor Hunt to prevent a wholesale execution, in spite of popular approval of capital punishment. The Republican declares the issue to be "Shall the

majority prevail?" That is not the question at issue. The right of a majority to rule is the right of the people to manage their own affairs. About that there seems no room for difference of opinion. To hold that this right does not extend to matters outside of the province of government is not a limitation of popular rights any more than to hold as limitation of an individual's right to manage his own affairs, denial of his right to interfere with affairs of others. The best democrats of ante-bellum times refused to obey the fugitive slave law, correctly holding that the right of a black man to his liberty was beyond the just power of government to dispose of. The best democrats of today would undoubtedly defy the same law under similar circumstances. There have been and are laws and local ordinances interfering with freedom of speech or of the press. None know better than advocates of democracy that there is no inconsistency in resisting such legislation.

It may be asked "who shall determine what rights are inalienable and what are proper governmental functions?" Of course there may be difference of opinion as to whether certain rights are inalienable and whether or not certain governmental acts are within its proper powers. There is no human power to determine regarding these, and there should be none. But while there may be room for doubt about some rights and some functions, there are some rights about which there need be no doubt. If the right to life, for instance, is not inalienable, then there can be no inalienable rights at all, and even the right of the majority to rule must be without foundation. The right of a majority to rule rests on the possession by individuals of certain rights, of which the right to life must be the first one.

The Republican asserts that the doctrine of the right of all men to live "has never been accepted anywhere." Even if true, that is no reason why it should not, if properly proven, be accepted now. But it certainly was accepted on one historic occasion, at least. The acceptance by the American Colonies of the Declaration of Independence was surely an acceptance of that doctrine. Upon that doctrine, it was declared, is based the right of governments to exist "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." The argument that justified separation from the mother country would have failed to stand the test of reason, had it not been clear that all men have cer-

tain inalienable rights, including the right to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. S. D.

### Municipal Attractions.

If the poor, who play the part of the shuttlecock in the great game of battledore and shuttlecock, ever get far enough away from their environment to look upon their situation from the outside, they must wonder at the motives of those who wield the battledore. Upon the one hand they hear the advice, get out into the country, get away from the city, go back to the land; and upon the other they see efforts made to entertain, instruct and amuse the poor of the city. Not content with parks, museums, zoological gardens, swimming beaches, and the various municipal means of recreation already in use, there have been instituted municipal dances; and it is proposed to add to these, municipal movies. Where will it all end? If we continue adding to the attractions of city life how are we to get anybody to leave the city to go on land? Or how, indeed, are we to keep those already on land from flocking to the city?

If the State really must interest itself in the private affairs of the citizen, and if there is too strong a tendency for people to leave the farm for the city, as so many near-sociologists claim, might it not be better for the State to devote more attention to making country life attractive? It was long ago remarked by investigators that the poverty of spirit, and the lack of social culture, in the average country village was greater than that in city slums; and that there was more call for social settlement work in the rural districts than in the metropolitan. City poverty is spectacular because concentrated; a like number of people thinly settled will show greater need. The very fact of the drift toward the city indicates where the greater attractions lie. S. C.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### DIRECT LEGISLATION IN NORTH DAKOTA.

Atlantic, Ia., Dec. 11, 1914.

The amendment adopted last month in North Dakota which provides for the Initiative for statutes and for the Referendum, is all that could be hoped for. But for constitutional amendments a 25 per cent petition is required. This was placed there by the prohibition element for the purpose of making it unworkable.

The Constitution of the State forbids the sale of

intoxicating drinks. Hence the prohibitionists have opposed the application of the Initiative and Referendum to the Constitution from the first. They tried again and again to get an Initiative and Referendum amendment similar to that of Maine that would allow the Initiative and Referendum only for statutes, but the liquor element fought for its application to the Constitution.

The liquor element of North Dakota has really been the agitator for the Initiative and Referendum, hoping to use it to force re-submission of the prohibitory amendment.

The prohibitionists have heretofore succeeded in defeating every amendment that would apply the Initiative and Referendum to the Constitution. I presume the liquor element has at last compromised on the present amendment, believing that it can get the 25 per cent petition necessary to re-submission.

I have no doubt it can. It has the money. If it succeeds the prohibitionists will find that they have cut off their noses to spite their faces. They had better have made the percentage 10 instead of 25.

Under the Initiative and Referendum for statutes they can get all the legislation that the people will stand for, but the 25 per cent may be a preventive of the submission of woman suffrage for many years. The woman suffrage vote this year was only about 25 per cent of the total. Still I would not be surprised to see them get a 25 per cent petition inside of two years, if the legislature refuses to act. I surely hope to.

It is a mistake to make the percentage for petitions too small, as the submission of too many propositions at once tends to the defeat of many meritorious measures at the polls. When in doubt voters, vote NO.

I lived in North Dakota from 1905 to 1909, and wrote articles for the Initiative and Referendum for local and city papers while there. I have been a believer in prohibition all my life, but I was disgusted with the action of the prohibitionists in North Dakota. I believe that the Initiative and Referendum is the true solution of that question.

HENRY HEATON.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### WHY ALCOHOL REMAINS A MONOPOLY.

Detroit, Mich., Dec. 8, 1914.

Referring to the issue of December 4, page 1157, "Mischievous Philanthropy." Much was expected from the denatured alcohol law. I attended the hearings preceding the enactment of the law, with credentials from the Michigan State Grange and the Detroit Board of Commerce. I opposed the sections that, in spite of much opposition, finally prevailed; that had the effect, as was predicted, to confine the manufacture of denatured alcohol to the large distilleries. This section by its terms prohibits distillation by farmers. The Agricultural Department at Washington now has, or did have, a fractional still, the cheapest in cost that could be used and comply with the law, on exhibition. Its cost is upwards of five thousand dollars, and even if the farmer could

handle such a complicated machine the petty amount of alcohol he is permitted to distill daily would not pay the interest and depreciation on the investment in the still, to say nothing of his time and material.

I had at the hearing the report of the English Parliamentary Committee, headed by Austin Chamberlain, made after an investigation of farmers' alcohol stills in Germany. These and other practical exhibits, from the farmers' standpoint, were submitted, but any argument that favored the farmer as a distiller met with violent opposition from attorneys representing special interests.

The government's experience in "controlling the collection of excise duties" does not indicate any difficulties at all would result if farmers were given this privilege. Those manufacturers in my line of business have in their laboratories cheap, worm stills, easy to manipulate and costing but a few dollars each. A record is made of their size, description, etc., in the local internal revenue collector's office, nothing is ever heard of these still owners and of other still owners violating the law or using the still illicitly, although we all have ample opportunity for so doing.

The same illustration also is seen in making cigars. Small villages and even rural districts without villages have little places where cigars are manufactured, but the law is not violated. There would be no difficulty should farmers be given the right to utilize the material they grow to its best advantage. If they had permission they could without the employment of skilled help or extra help, mash their fodder of low feeding value, like corn stalks, distill alcohol and get at least as much food value from the stalks to feed their live stock, for it would be in a feedable condition. The distillate would be a low percentage of alcohol, probably never over 10 to 12 per cent. This, however, could be drawn to central distilleries and rectified and denatured into fuel alcohol. The farmer cannot draw his low grade fodder to a central distillery because of the cost, but he could procure his fuel in this manner, and would become a dangerous competitor to the corporations who control liquid fuel, gasoline and denatured alcohol, for there is no limit to the alcohol that could be produced in this manner, excepting the demand.

F. F. INGRAM.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, December 15, 1914.

### Departmental Reports.

In his report to Congress on December 8 Secretary of Commerce Redfield tells of investigation of commercial conditions in the United States. A survey of the pottery industry in the United States has just been completed, in the course of

which 90 per cent of American potteries was investigated. A study of the clothing industry is in progress and investigations are in progress of the lumber, tobacco, agricultural implements, fertilizer, and petroleum industries and also of state taxation of corporations, the system of price maintenance and efficiency of trusts. The Secretary recommended continuation of the policy of government investigations of market conditions abroad, especially in Latin American countries. [See volume xvi, page 1043; current volume, page 1046.]

Secretary of War Garrison reported on December 9. He recommended the bringing of the army up to a total of 120,000 men which would require 25,000 more privates and 1,000 additional officers. He suggested further the creation of a reserve force by the Federal Government and adoption of a similar policy by the states for their militia organizations. He furthermore held that some method should be adopted for training of more civilians to become officers in case of necessity. Talk of immediate disarmament he dismissed as impracticable. "No reasonable person in this country," he said, "has the slightest shadow of fear of military despotism nor of any interference whatever by military force in the conduct of civil affairs." He held it necessary for every nation to have "adequate force to protect itself from domestic insurrection to enforce its laws and to repel invasions." The objection that military preparedness leads to war he held as irrelevant. [See current volume, pages 1044, 1185.]

Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo reported on December 9. He estimated that the government's revenue for the fiscal year beginning July 1, next, will be \$735,000,000, implying a deficit of about \$60,000,000. The Underwood tariff, it had been estimated, would produce \$270,000,000 of revenue in its first year. It actually produced \$292,320,014. Together with income and corporation tax it produced \$363,701,289. The European war, he says, has caused imports to decrease and revenue to fall off since October 1, thus creating a deficit. He told further about taking action against banks which pile up reserves and charge high interest rates. From all such banks he intends to withdraw Government deposits. [See vol. xvi page 1161; current volume, page 1140.]

Secretary of the Interior Lane reported on December 9. In his report of a year ago he had suggested five measures. These were: A Government railroad in Alaska; an Alaskan coal leasing bill; a new reclamation act; a water power bill, and a bill for conservation of coal, phosphate, oil and potash fields. The first two measures have since become law and the other three have passed the

House and await action in the Senate. [See current volume, pages 9, 439, 609, 1021.]

Secretary of the Navy Daniels appeared before the House Committee on Naval Affairs on December 10 to testify concerning naval conditions. He favored construction of two battleships a year and, if revenue permits, of four battleships. He did not consider it necessary that a navy as large as Great Britain's be built, but did think that "we ought to have a navy large and powerful enough to meet any probable foe." A perfect naval defense, he said, would impoverish the country, so while he held that enough money should be spent to keep the navy large and efficient, "we ought not to enter into competition with the military powers of the world." He disapproved of Hobson's idea of a council of national defense. [See current volume, pages 634, 807, 946, 1143.]

Attorney General Gregory, reporting on December 10, asked for legislation to break up the "hard coal combination." The railroads are evading Supreme Court decisions against ownership of coal mines by railroad corporations by organization of corporations whose stock is distributed ratably among stockholders of the railroads with its management dominated by the railroad.

Secretary of Agriculture Houston, in his report on December 10, discussed the shortage in supply of beef. To increase the beef supply he suggested control and eradication of diseases to which cattle are subject, systematic attention to production of beef animals in the settled farming areas, more satisfactory handling of grazing lands and increased attention to swine, poultry and other smaller food animals. The present epidemic of foot-and-mouth disease he finds originated at Niles, Michigan, where unreported cases existed and from which place infected animals were shipped. In regard to rural credits the Secretary held that there is no emergency which justifies government aid to farmers. Co-operative credit associations financed with private funds will take care of all credit needs of agricultural communities, not cared for under the new banking law. [See current volume, pages 130, 149, 491, 807.]

Postmaster General Burleson reported on December 13 that the post office department is for the first time on a self-sustaining basis. There will be a surplus this year, he estimates, of \$3,569,545. He recommended early action toward Government ownership of telegraph and telephone lines and immediate taking over of these systems in Hawaii, Alaska and Porto Rico. He also suggested raising of maximum of individual deposits in postal banks

from \$500 to \$2,500, with limitation of interest payments to deposits of \$1,000. The passage of the bill to pay railroads by space instead of weight for mail carried, increase of second-class rates on publications other than weekly newspapers from one to two cents a pound, co-operation with state governments in road building, substitution of contract star route system for salaried rural carriers and pending this change to base rural carriers' salaries on bulk of mail carried. The parcel post business has vastly increased during the year. [See volume xvi, page 1228; current volume, pages 128, 560, 639, 898, 1045, 1132.]

Secretary of Labor Wilson, in his report on December 13, discussed the bringing together of the jobless men and the manless job. He declared the cause of labor disputes to be "excess in the supply of labor over demand." "The jobless man," he said, "puts all wage workers at a disadvantage in bargaining with employers." "If there were a profitable manless job for every jobless man the complete remedy for industrial disputes would be to bring the two together." So complete a correspondence may or may not exist, but it certainly exists in some degree. The Department had found manless jobs for the jobless victims of the Salem fire. He said further:

Of course, the labor problem cannot be solved by ameliorative plans such as are here proposed unless the causes of involuntary unemployment are unbelievably superficial and vulnerable; but with seasonal variations of employment nationally adjusted with accidental disturbances to employment nationally provided for, with individual delinquencies in respect of employment better understood by national public opinion, and with such ameliorations of industrial distress as this department is now preparing to offer, a right beginning will have been made. This work will at least clear the way for dealing effectively with the deep rooted and more stubborn and general causes of involuntary unemployment which thoughtful observers of modern industrial conditions seem to recognize in one form or another.

He believed that the coal and copper strikes would not have taken place had the owners been personally on the ground and dealt with the strike situation at its inception. While the workman may have some responsibility for what has happened "the local management can not be wholly acquitted" and "ultimate responsibility must rest upon the owners." The work done in the way of mediation and conciliation, the Secretary considered the most important accomplishment of his Department. [See vol. xvi, pages 1042, 1105, 1047; current volume, pages 35, 156, 210, 251, 403, 419, 708, 879, 947, 1140.]

#### Interstate Commerce Commission.

In its annual report to Congress on December

10 the Interstate Commerce Commission recommended legislation to control railway capitalization, compulsory use of steel cars in passenger trains and prohibition of use of wooden cars between or ahead of steel cars, legislation explicitly defining the authority of the Commission to examine all documents and records of railroads and to fix a definite period in which legal action may be started regarding transportation charges. [See current volume, page 1165.]

A brief was filed in the Supreme Court on December 11 by Solicitor Joseph W. Folk for the Interstate Commerce Commission in its suit against the Louisville and Nashville railroad for denying its agents access to its books and records. [See current volume, page 326.]

Representatives of Chicago packers appeared before the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington on December 12 to protest against a proposed increase of freight rates, scheduled to go into effect on December 16, on fresh meat and packing house products, of from 20 to 70 per cent from Chicago to eastern points. They asked that the raise be suspended pending investigation. On December 14 the Commission ordered the rates suspended until April 14. [See current volume, page 1144.]

#### Doings in Congress.

Senator La Follette declared to the Senate on December 12 that he will oppose ratification of the international agreement respecting safety at sea, unless an amendment be added leaving this country free to legislate in such a way as to provide greater safety at sea than the agreement insures. [See current volume, pages 609, 843.]

The Rules Committee of the House on December 12 decided to allow consideration by the House before the Christmas adjournment of the Mondell equal suffrage resolution and of the Hobson prohibition resolution. [See current volume, pages 658, 1113.]

#### Congressman Lewis Will Fight for Postal Telephones.

Congressman David J. Lewis of Maryland, father of the parcel post, announced in a public interview on December 3 his intention to make a fight for postalization of the telephone during this session. Speaking on this matter Lewis said:

President Vail, of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, has said: "There is a road to every man's house; there ought to be a telephone inside." But society, not private monopoly, built

that road; and if every citizen is to have the telephone, it must come through the public-service motive, extended through the postal function. . . . Telephone communication is in the same class as express service. It is a natural monopoly, and must be in the hands of the public to be either cheap or efficient.

[See current volume, pages 128, 1132.]



#### Commission on Industrial Relations.

The Commission on Industrial Relations at Denver finally learned on December 8 the identity of the author of the mine owners' pamphlet, "Facts in Colorado's Struggle for Industrial Freedom." He is Mr. Ivy Lee of Philadelphia, executive assistant to the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Mr. Lee, the Commission also learned, was employed to write the pamphlet by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. He is a member of the American Economic Association and Fellow of the Royal Economic Society. The mine owning corporations were pledged to keep the authorship secret and it was not until receipt of a telegram from Mr. Lee releasing them from this pledge that J. F. Welborn, manager of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, disclosed the fact to the Commission. Mr. Lee has since been made one of three personal advisers of John D. Rockefeller in regard to the work of the Rockefeller Foundation and other philanthropic work. The Commission also heard read a number of telegrams and letters to J. F. Welborn sent during the strike by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., by trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation, and others of that group. Many more letters which there was not time to have read were ordered entered into the Commission's report. In one telegram Rockefeller seemed concerned about the socialistic leanings of a clergyman in a Wyoming coal camp. In another he expressed fear lest the Republican congressional candidates at the recent election should be defeated. It developed from other communications that Elbert Hubbard of East Aurora had received \$200 for a 1,000 copies of his magazine, *The Philistine*, containing an article favorable to the operators' side of the controversy. On December 9 Sheriff Jefferson Farr of Huerfano County said that he had hired 326 men as deputies on request of E. F. Matteson, division superintendent of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. He had made no effort to learn anything about the character or qualifications of the men. John McQuarrie, formerly an undersheriff under Farr, said that Farr, who has been sheriff for fifteen years, is dependent politically and industrially on the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. Coroner's juries were selected in accident cases in conference with mine superintendents. J. H. Patterson, deputy clerk of the District Court, showed that in 90 cases of death by accident only one was charged to the management of

the mine. In damage suits for injuries during twenty-three years no decision against the company had ever been given. Edward L. Doyle, secretary-treasurer of the local United Mine Workers' organization, testified on December 12 concerning his two trials for contempt of court on charges of violating an injunction which "prevented them from doing anything but eating and sleeping." He said that the trials were farcical. There was no jury and most of the men convicted had not been in a street fight with strike breakers as charged. He had been offered his freedom, after his second conviction, if he would make an apology for articles he had written for the official organ of the United Mine Workers. This offer was made while he was in jail pending an appeal from a sentence of \$500 fine and a year's imprisonment. He refused it, and was released on the judge's orders. He did not know whether the sentence was remitted. The fine was never paid. The Commission will hold a meeting in New York in January to take testimony of Ivy Lee, the trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation; John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and others. [See current volume, page 1187.]



#### Colorado Strike Ended.

The Colorado coal strike was called off on December 8 by the unanimous vote of the convention of District No. 15 of the United Mine Workers of America. It was estimated at the time that 8,500 men were still on strike. J. F. Welborn, president of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, said that owing to dull business it would be long before the men can be given employment, but that all not guilty of violence would be re-employed as quickly as possible. [See current volume, page 1161.]



#### Candidacy of Peter Witt Announced.

Peter Witt will be a candidate for nomination for mayor of Cleveland next year, according to the following public announcement in the Cleveland Press of December 7:

"In order that both friends and enemies may have all the time needed to help or hurt, I announce at this time my candidacy for the office of mayor.

(Signed)

PETER WITT.

[See current volume, page 76.]



#### Assessors Urge Tax Reform.

The State Tax Assessors' Association of Texas met in annual session at Austin on December 8. Every delegate had received from William A. Black of San Antonio's Economic Study Club a request to consider the following questions:

1st. Are money and bank deposits wealth and if not, are they proper subjects for taxation?

2nd. Is it double taxation to tax the creditor upon

a real estate loan and the debtor upon the property mortgaged to secure such loan? If so, is such double taxation either just or wise?

3rd. Are credits of any kind such as notes, mortgages, book accounts, etc., wealth and should they be taxed?

4th. Do merchants and manufacturers actually pay the taxes assessed against their respective properties or do they add the taxes to the cost of the goods or products and indirectly force the consumer to pay same?

5th. Is there valid reason in justice or morals for a continuance of the poll tax? Rather should it be abolished and the revenue now derived therefrom be procured from some other and more equitable source?

Mr. Black addressed the association advocating the Singletax. Mayor Wooldridge of Austin in his address of welcome urged separation of State and local taxes, exemption of credits and taxation of land values at a higher rate than improvements or personal property. There were a number of other talks along the same line. [See current volume, page 1165.]



At the convention of the Oregon assessors, held in Portland on December 4, several county assessors reported that they were assessing land that could be cultivated, but is not made use of to its reasonable possibilities, as "tillable" instead of, as heretofore, "non-tillable." In Wasco County 30,000 acres have been thus raised in classification, and thereby \$450,000 added to the assessment rolls heretofore escaping taxation, to the relief of the land users. Other counties have received similar benefits. The assessor of Klamath County said that he is trying to make the actual settler feel glad that he has improved another forty-acre tract, by being liberal in his interpretation of the law as to assessments on improvements and live stock. Some assessors declared that they do not assess mortgages, because thereby money is encouraged to come into the county from the outside. By exercising his discretion along these lines the assessor of Multnomah County has enabled Portland banks to lend money in competition with San Francisco and Seattle capitalists. The assessor of Multnomah has stricken from the rolls all "residences," "sheds and shacks"—the assessed value of which is estimated to be worth less than \$100. [See current volume, pages 228, 1158, 1183.]



#### Embargo Act Demonstrations.

A mass meetings of Germans and Irish at Chicago on December 1, addressed by Congressmen Bartholdt of St. Louis, Britten of Chicago and Vollmer of Iowa, adopted resolutions in favor of legislation forbidding shipment to belligerent nations of contraband goods. The resolutions declare that armament and supplies are now being

furnished by the United States, that by this means the war is aided and neutrality is violated, since England is alone able, through mastery of the sea, to secure delivery of such purchases. The resolutions further declare

That we, this German-Irish Demonstration of Chicago, in mass meeting assembled, hereby declare that it is the imperative duty of the Congress of the United States to pass the necessary law forthwith that will enable the President of the United States to lay in an embargo upon all contraband of war, having and excepting foodstuffs alone, and thereby withdraw from the contending powers all aid and assistance of this Republic.

That we are in strict sympathy with the Christian endeavor of this nation to appeal to the God of nations that peace may come and reject as hypocrisy and national sacrilege the commercial spirit of the country that is answering our supplications for peace by sending the instruments of destruction and death to the serried armies arrayed in struggle through the empires of Europe.

That we, as joint races, who have sought the shelter of the American flag and have contributed our full share to American peace, American Christianity and American civilization, that we call upon all Americans to join with us in enforcing that strict American neutrality that will give aid and comfort to none of the contending powers and that will withhold American resources from promoting destruction and slaughter among the friendly nations of Europe.

Similar action was taken at a meeting in Philadelphia on December 11.



#### The European War.

The campaign in Poland is still undecided, with fortune again favoring, though slightly, the Russians. The Germans advanced all along the line between East Prussia and Cracow, after taking Lodz, but the Russians have at last checked them in spite of fierce attacks and heavy losses. Austria claims some advantages in Western Galicia, but has retreated in Serbia. In the west the Allies continue to make small advances. The English in the South Atlantic won a notable victory over the German fleet off the Falkland Islands, sinking four of the five German vessels engaged. Turkey remains impotent. The situation as a whole appears slightly to favor the Allies. [See current volume, page 1189.]



#### The Campaign in the East.

Once more fortune turns in favor of the Russians. The three-hundred-mile battle line in Poland is composed of the German army from East Prussia, advancing from Mlawa, a second army from Thorn, and a third army from Lodz, all aiming at Warsaw. This long front accounts for the conflicting reports of victories and defeats from Petrograd and Berlin. The Russians may advance at one point, and the Germans at another point, two or three hundred miles apart. Each

may thus suffer a defeat and loss of many men, and each may be victorious, and take prisoners. On the whole, however, the brisk advance of the Germans, after extricating themselves from the Russian trap north of Lodz, appears to have spent its force. The Russians claim to have completely checked the advance from Mlawa and defeated the Germans at Przasnysz. They also claim to have checked the advance of the Germans on the line between Ilow and Lowicz, although this is denied by the Germans. South of Lodz the armies are locked. Great losses are evident on both sides, but no definite details are given out. Russia reports the continued siege of Cracow, in spite of the heavy pressure of the Germans in Poland, and the Austrians in Galicia. Vienna reports claim victories in Western Galicia, and the capture of several small towns at the foot of the Carpathian mountains. On the south, however, they have been defeated by the Servians. Belgrade, which was occupied by the Austrians December 2, after a siege and bombardment of four months, was retaken by the Servians on the 14th. The Austrians are reported to be retiring at all points, and the Servians claim to have driven a part of the invaders back across the Drina River. The recovery of the Serbs bears out their contention that their retreat from Belgrade, and retirement before the Austrian troops that crossed the Drina, was for strategic reasons. Reports are still too confused and contradictory to admit of definite conclusions. The Montenegrins are reported to have captured Vishnegrad in Bosnia, and to have driven the Austrians to the west of the Drina.



#### The Campaign in the West.

Slight advances have been made by the Allies, both on the right and left wing. Persistent attacks in Belgium are forcing the Germans back along the Yser Canal. Gains are reported also between Ypres and Armentieres, and unofficial reports say the British have advanced to Roulers. The spirited attacks of the Germans to recover the lost ground have resulted in very heavy losses in both armies. No great battles have occurred, but a continued series of assaults from trench to trench. On the eastern end of the Allies' line the advance has been of the same nature. The vigorous offensive of the French at Pont-a-Mousson on the Meuse, fifteen miles northwest of Nancy, is threatening the German base of St. Mihiel, which has only a slender line of communication with Metz. The official French communication claims advances in Alsace, in Argonne, and in the Woëvre district, with heavy cannonading all along the line. German reports deny most of the French claims. Apparently the German lines have been weakened by the withdrawal of troops for the Polish campaign, and the Allies are taking advantage of the situation to hammer the fortifications and en-

trenchments, all the time with artillery, and occasionally with infantry. The British war ships have shelled such German forces as came within their reach on the Belgian coast. Energetic efforts are being made to regain the coast from Ostend to the Scheldt in order to destroy the Belgian base for German submarine operations. Kaiser Wilhelm has been sick, and confined to his bed, but is reported to be recovering. German newspapers hint at friction between the Kaiser and General von Moltke over military tactics, and criticise General von Falkenhayn's management of the campaign in West Flanders.



#### Turkey.

Diplomatic relations between Turkey and Italy have been strained by a Turkish attack on the Italian consulate at Hodeida, on the Red Sea, and the removal of the British consul who had taken refuge there. An Italian man-o'-war had been dispatched to the scene to enforce the demand for an apology. The Armenian campaign has resulted in nothing definite, though the Russians are still preparing for an assault on Erzerum. A Turkish fleet bombarded the Russian port of Batum on the east coast of the Black Sea, but apparently with little damage. The German Field Marshal Baron von Der Goltz, accompanied by German military attaches, has arrived in Constantinople. General von Der Goltz reorganized the Turkish army some years ago, and it is understood that he has returned to aid the Turks.



#### On the Sea.

The British fleet under Vice Admiral Sir Frederick Sturdee, destroyed the German fleet under Admiral Count von Spee off the Falkland Islands in the South Atlantic on the 8th. The armored cruisers Scharnhorst and Gneisenau and the protected cruiser Liepzig, three of the German warships that formed part of the squadron that sank the British cruisers Good Hope and Monmouth in the Pacific on November 1, were destroyed in the five-hour battle. The cruiser Nurnberg was pursued and destroyed, and the cruiser Dresden is reported to be in the Chilen port of Punta Arenas in a damaged condition. No details are given as to the German loss of life, but it is supposed to be very heavy. The British loss is reported as seven killed and four wounded. A British submarine on the 13th dived under the anchored mines in the entrance to the Dardanelles and torpedoed the Turkish battleship Messudieh. The British Board of Trade announces that 1,221 German ships have been taken or driven from the sea, and 195 British vessels are held up or destroyed. Ten German vessels are still unaccounted for. Among these is the Karlsruhe, which is still preying upon shipping in the Atlantic.

**South Africa.**

General Louis Botha, Premier of the Union of South Africa, announces that the rebellion is practically at an end. His forces have captured 700 rebels and 200 have surrendered. Since December 4 five more rebel leaders and their commandoes have laid down their arms.

**Mexico.**

Naco, Arizona, furnishes the chief center of American interest. General Hill, a Carranza adherent, holds Naco, Sonora, just across the line from the Arizona town, and Governor Maytorena, in command of the Villa or Gutierrez troops, is trying to capture it. Bullets and shrapnel from the belligerents have hit at various times fifty-two persons on the American side of the line. The Administration has warned both General Carranza and General Gutierrez that if firing across the boundary does not cease, the United States will take action. Brigadier General Tasker H. Bliss has taken charge, and the troops have been reinforced by three batteries of field artillery. Provisional President Gutierrez, in an interview given to the Associated Press, expressed regret that Americans had been killed and injured by stray bullets, and said he had ordered the absolute cessation of hostilities in the neighborhood of Naco. General Carranza is reported to have said in an interview that interference by American troops would be considered as an unfriendly act. [See current volume, page 1189.]



Little has been reported from Mexico City or Vera Cruz. Provisional President Gutierrez is in charge of affairs at the capital, while General Carranza remains at Vera Cruz. General Villa and General Zapata are prosecuting military campaigns with a view to establishing the authority of the new Provisional President.



The spirit of the revolution, as viewed by the Villa-Zapata-Gutierrez faction, is well expressed in the manifesto to the Mexicans issued by General Zapata and thirty-five officers, August, 1914, and translated by Wm. C. Owen:

The revolutionary movement has attained its zenith and it is, therefore, time for the country to know the truth. . . . The peasant was hungry, was enduring misery, was suffering from exploitation, and if he rose in arms it was to obtain the bread which the greed of the rich denied him; to make himself master of the land which the egotistic landed proprietor kept for himself; to vindicate the dignity which the slave-driver trampled on daily. He threw himself into revolt, not to conquer illusory political rights, which do not feed him, but to procure for himself the piece of land which must supply him with food and liberty, a happy fireside and a future

of independence and growth. . . . The first task, that of making it impossible for the reactionaries to be any longer a danger, is carried out by two different methods: by the exemplary punishment of the chiefs, of the great criminals, of the intellectual directors and active elements of the conservative faction, and by attacking the pecuniary resources they employ to work up intrigues and provoke revolutions; that is to say, by the subdivision of the properties of the hacienda owners and politicians who have put themselves at the front of the organized resistance to the popular movement which began in 1910. . . . The second task, that of creating powerful interests akin to the Revolution and in solidarity with it, will be brought to a happy conclusion when the natives, individually and in their communities, receive back the innumerable tracts of which they have been despoiled by the great landowners; and this great act of justice receives its complement, out of consideration for those who have nothing and have had nothing, in the proportional repartition of the lands given to the dictatorship's accomplices or expropriated from idle proprietors who do not choose to cultivate their heritages. Thus there will be satisfied both the human demand for land and that appetite for liberty which is making itself felt throughout the Republic as the formidable reply to that savagery of the hacienda owners which has maintained, even in the twentieth century and in the heart of free America, a system which the most unfortunate serfs of the Middle Ages in Europe would hardly have endured.

The Plan of Ayala, which translates and incarnates the peasants' ideals, satisfies both terms of the problem, for, while it treats the sworn enemies of the people as they deserve to be treated, reducing them by expropriation to impotence and innocuousness, it establishes, in articles 6 and 7, the two great principles of the return of stolen lands (an act of imperious justice and the splitting-up of the expropriated cultivatable lands (an act required alike by justice and expediency). . . . The country will not be contented with the mere abolition of pluck-me stores, if exploitation and fraud are to exist under other forms; it will not be satisfied with municipal liberties, exceedingly problematical as they are, while the basis of economic independence is still lacking; and still less will it be possible to wheedle it with a petty program of reforms in the laws dealing with land taxes, when what it is urged is the radical solution of the problem relating to the cultivation of the lands. . . . The country people wish to live the life of civilization; to breathe the air of economic liberty, which as yet they have not known; and this they never can do while there still remains afoot the traditional lord of the scaffold and the knife, who disposes at whim of the persons of his laborers; an extorter of wages who annihilates them with excessive tasks, brutalizes them by misery and ill treatment, and dwarfs and exhausts his race by the slow agony of slavery and the enforced withering of human beings whose stomachs are ever hungry. . . . The Agrarian Revolution, calumniated by the enemy's press, unrecognized by Europe, understood with sufficient exactitude by the diplomacy of North America and viewed with little interest by its sister nations of South America,

lifts on high the banner of its ideals, that those who have been deceived may see it, and that it may be contemplated by the egotists and the perverse, by those who deafen their ears to the lamentations of the suffering people, to the cries of mothers who have lost their sons and to the enraged shouts of the strugglers—the strugglers who do not wish to see, and who will not see, the destruction of their aspirations for liberty and their glorious dreams of redemption for their people.

## NEWS NOTES

—An arbitration treaty between Great Britain and Portugal to endure for five years, has been signed in London.

—Charles O'Connor Henessey was chosen as leader of the Democratic minority of the New Jersey State senate on December 12. [See Vol. XVI, page 1113.]

—Ella Flagg Young was re-elected superintendent of the Chicago schools on December 9. No opposition was openly expressed, but five of the 21 members of the Board of Education refused to vote, and one member left the room. [See current volume, pages 468, 662, 903.]

—Colonel Goethals, Governor of the Canal Zone, has requested that two destroyers be sent him to be used in preventing violation of neutrality at the radio stations. It is supposed that this request is connected with the rumors of the coaling of foreign warships in Panama waters. [See current volume, page 111.]

—A call for a meeting to be held in New York on December 18 to protest against agitation for increased armament, was issued on December 9 by a committee headed by David H. Greer, Episcopal bishop of New York, Oswald Garrison Villard and Nicholas Murray Butler. A national anti-armament association is to be organized.

—Joseph Smith, president of the Reorganized Church of the Latter Day Saints, died on December 10 at Independence, Mo., aged 82. He was a son of Joseph Smith, founder of Mormonism, and was head of that sect of his followers with headquarters at Lamoni, Iowa, which repudiates polygamy. His son, Frederick M. Smith, succeeds him.

—The New Zealand election resulted in forty-one seats for the government, and thirty-nine for the opposition. The vote on national prohibition resulted in 246,000 votes against, and 240,000 for. The affirmative vote must be three-fifths in order to carry. Two years ago the prohibition measure received 56 per cent of the vote, this year the vote was a little less than 50 per cent. The national vote does not affect the local prohibition districts. [See vol. xiv., p. 1294, vol. xv., p. 84.]

—At the annual meeting of the Manhattan Single-tax Club, held December 3rd, in New York, the following officers were elected for the year 1915: President, James R. Brown; Vice President, August Weymann; Treasurer, Ellen G. Lloyd; General Secretary, Geo. W. Everett; Financial Secretary, E. H. Underhill; Recording Secretary, Edith Toole; Directors were re-elected as follows: Harry Maguire,

M. W. Norwalk, Amy Mali Hicks, Elma Darr, Weinberger, E. H. Underhill. [See current volume, page 106.]

—Suit was brought in New York on December 12 to break the will of Mrs. Frank Leslie leaving \$1,000,000 to the woman suffrage cause. The suits were brought by Florence L. Weissbrod and Loretta L. Hollanders, granddaughters of Frank Leslie. Their claim is that Mrs. Leslie was only entitled to one-third of the estate of which she disposed by will. [See current volume, page 996.]

—Twenty American nations expressed disapproval of the operations of European belligerents in American waters, and appointed a commission of nine members on the 8th to formulate practical methods for a more vigorous assertion of the rights of neutrals. The commission consists of the Secretary of State of the United States, the ambassadors from Argentina, Brazil and Chile, and the ministers from Uruguay, Peru, Ecuador, Honduras and Cuba.

—The eighth annual meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation will be held in Philadelphia at the Hotel Walton on December 28 and 29. At the same time will be held the second national conference on unemployment. Among speakers who are announced are Mayor Rudolph Blankenburg of Philadelphia, Congressman Meyer London, Maurice Fels, James H. Maurer, Charles R. Crane, and Professor Henry R. Seager. [See current volume, pages 196, 244.]

—Complete income tax returns as shown by a report of the Treasury Department of December 11, show incomes as follows:

Net Income.	No. returns.
\$1,000,000 and over.....	44
500,000 to \$1,000,000.....	91
400,000 to 500,000.....	44
300,000 to 400,000.....	84
250,000 to 300,000.....	94
200,000 to 250,000.....	145
150,000 to 200,000.....	311
100,000 to 150,000.....	785
75,000 to 100,000.....	999
50,000 to 75,000.....	2,618
40,000 to 50,000.....	2,427
30,000 to 40,000.....	4,553
25,000 to 30,000.....	4,164
20,000 to 25,000.....	6,817
15,000 to 20,000.....	11,977
10,000 to 15,000.....	26,818
5,000 to 10,000.....	101,718
3,333 to 5,000.....	114,481
2,500 to 3,333.....	79,426

[See current volume, page 1069.]

## PRESS OPINIONS

### Better Ways to Stop Riots.

William Allen White in (Los Angeles), California Outlook, Dec. 5.—Former President Taft is quoted as demanding a large standing army to suppress riots and insurrections. That a large standing army can suppress riots and insurrection is doubtless true. But is there not another way around? Human nature is more good than bad. The average man, the average rioter and insurrectionist would prefer not

to riot and not to join insurrections. He generally has a real cause of complaint; or if he has not a real cause of complaint, kindness and fairness and reasonable treatment, nine times out of ten will persuade him that he has no just cause to riot and complain. If the money spent on standing armies for the purposes of putting down American riots and insurrections were spent providing for free justice in the courts, for keeping all the boys and girls in the country in schools until they are eighteen—paying their parents if need be—and for providing free arbitration boards, city, state and federal, there might not be such need of a standing army to shoot Americans. Perhaps this is a dream; but some day it will come true, and we line up with the dreamers.

### The Death Penalty.

(Phoenix) Arizona Gazette, December 5.—No power on earth can make it right for one man to take another's life. . . . The Gazette is glad that Arizona has a chief executive who is opposed to the legalized taking of human life. . . . Governor Hunt must obey the command of God, and not the will of a minority of the voters as expressed at the last general election. The Gazette prays that Governor Hunt will not allow those men to go to the scaffold. . . . "Thou shalt not kill."

### A Worthy, Precedent Set.

The Intermountain Catholic (Salt Lake City), Dec. 5.—When the United States flag was hauled down at Vera Cruz, Mexico, the other day, there was furnished to the world proof that government by the people has a nobler and more altruistic character than when managed by royal masters. The United States went into Mexico with the professed assurance to the world that it cherished no resentment towards the individual citizen, nor was her ulterior motive conquest or acquisition of territory. . . . This altruistic profession has been lived up to. No material advantage has accrued on account of her expedition; but one beyond all material measure has come of it. It constitutes a precedent and is an example which other nations may follow. It confirms her high position in the world's mind. The public opinion of America will be the tribunal at which peoples the world over, struggling for the blessings of equal justice and liberty, will seek to justify their cause. The prestige gained is worth the money spent. If our belligerent brethren across the border will only get together now and establish peace, our sacrifice will be doubly crowned.

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### THE FOREST FIRE.

For The Public.

On, on, dread Flood of Devastation! Sweep  
All living things before thee; wrap in flame  
The crackling, crashing forest; lay hot claim  
On cot and clearing; through the grasses creep

Like angered reptile, hissing; wind-lashed, leap  
From blazing hill to flame-swept waters; frame  
The very heavens in red, for naught may tame  
Thy fury till, too long unmoved, they weep.

Though naught but desolation mark thy train,  
Rage on, red King of Ruin!—not for long  
Shall thy dire victory remain complete;  
With dauntless courage man shall claim again  
The ashen waste, and fruitfulness shall throng  
Up from the soil in gardens green and sweet.

CHARLES H. WINKE.

## FROM ONE OF THOSE LITTLE ONES.

For The Public.

Dear St. Nicholas:

Please tell Dasher and Dancer and Prancer and Vixen and Cupid and Comet and Dunder and Blitzen that they needn't bother stoppin' at our chimney this year.

There ain't no Christmas.

Daddy's gone to the war.

CHRISTINE BARKER.

## NEW YORK AND LONDON LAND VALUE.

The annual report for 1914 of the Commissioners of Taxes and Assessments of the City of New York shows that the total taxable value of property as on the first of January, 1914, was \$8,390,155,472. The sum was made up as follows:

Ordinary land value*	\$4,602,852,107
Improvements (buildings, etc.)*	2,855,932,518
Special franchises*	404,420,311
Real estate of corporations*	186,654,976
Personal property†	340,295,560

\$8,390,155,472

Special franchises consist of rails, pipes, wires and the like situated in streets, waterways and public places, together with the privilege of building, maintaining and operating the public service performed by the aid of such improvements. The special franchise, therefore, includes both the tangible property in streets and public places of the character described and the value of the privilege of operating it.

Real estate of corporations consists of all improvements in streets, waterways and public places other than special franchises, also of all rights of way of public service corporations which extend through more than one block. The Deputy Tax Commissioners are required to report the value of land of the rights of way of public service corporations computed in harmony with the value of adjacent land. The deputy in charge of

\*Report, pp. 20-21. †Ibid., p. 78.

the assessments of this property uses the values so reported to him and adds the value of the improvements whatever they may be.

The taxes on property are imposed by the boroughs constituting the city, and there is in addition a small tax imposed by the State of New York. The rate of tax is as follows: In Manhattan 1.78 per cent, The Bronx 1.77 per cent, Brooklyn 1.84 per cent, Queens 1.80 per cent and Richmond 1.90 per cent, including in each case the New York State tax of 0.058 per cent. The total taxation imposed (on real and personal estate) was \$150,503,898, which is \$27.48 per head of the population. The taxation on fixed property (real estate—which is land and its improvements) alone amounted to \$144,420,586, which is \$26.38 per head of the population.

In New York City the proportion which land value bears to the total value of land and improvements varies considerably. In "Section 3" of Manhattan, which includes the great business center, the proportion of land value is as high as 70.3 per cent, notwithstanding the gigantic and valuable skyscrapers for which the neighborhood is so notable. In "Section 13" of Brooklyn the proportion is as low as 41.1 per cent. The average for the whole city is 61.7 per cent. (See pp. 24-89 of the Report.)

Land value per head of population also varies considerably. The ordinary or selling value of land (apart from franchises, etc.) varies from \$1,258 per head in Manhattan to \$413 in Richmond. The average for the whole city is \$840. With the growth of population the land value has increased in sympathy, but the land value per head has declined, having been \$915 in 1911, \$898 in 1912 and \$871 in 1913. This decrease is not explained by increased taxation since taxation has remained almost stationary.

In the subsequent calculations the New York figures are expressed in English money, at 4.8 dollars to the £. The average proportion of land value to total value (61.7 per cent) is used for arriving at the land value of real estate belonging to corporations, of special franchises and of properties exempt from taxation. The last mentioned include the sewerage system, municipal and government institutions, libraries, churches, hospitals, cemeteries, etc. Similar properties in London are assessed and are included in the annual rateable value, some are actually rated; and in the case of government properties the local rating authorities receive a subsidy as compensation for the exemption of such properties from rates.

As ordinary land value means the selling value of land as diminished by the taxation imposed, it is necessary to add the capitalized value of the taxation in order to arrive at the value the land would have if free from taxation. For this purpose it is assumed that the real estate taxation falls on land value in proportion to the relation

which land value bears to total value, which, as already explained, is 61.7 per cent for New York.

The value attaching to special franchises and to the real estate of corporations consists largely in what the Commissioners call privilege and rights of way. It is doubtful if improvements in these cases make up anything like so high a proportion of total value as they do in the case of ordinary fixed property, and there will be no exaggeration in placing the land value at only 61.7 per cent, the average proportion for the other classes of property. The total figure of land value in New York will then work out at £1,647,050,000, as follows:

Ordinary land value (being selling value)	£958,927,000
Land value of real estate belonging to corporations .....	23,993,000
Land value of special franchises.....	51,984,000
Land value of real estate exempt from taxation* .....	240,870,000
Capitalized value of the proportion of taxation falling on land values at twenty years' purchase, or 5 per cent.	371,276,000
	<hr/>
	£1,647,050,000
Land value per head of population (5,476,996) .....	£300
Land value per acre (201,446 acres).....	£8,176
Population per acre.....	27
Total annual value at 5 per cent.....	£82,352,000

**The Landowners' Share.**

Incidentally an estimate may be made of the land value which is taken annually from New York by private interests. For this purpose we should deduct from the total the value of land exempt from taxation (£240,870,000) and the value of the taxes on land values (£371,276,000), leaving £1,034,904,000. At 5 per cent this is £51,745,000, which sum represents the net annual untaxed rent taken from the population. It amounts to £9 8s., or \$43.12 per head. On the other hand, the annual rent taken in taxation is only £18,564,000, which is £3 8s., or \$16.32 per head. Thus the municipal and State levy on land values is £3 8s. per head every year and in addition the land owners take in rent £9 8s. per head.

**New York and London.**

Principally on account of its much larger area (201,446 acres) New York City is not a criterion for London (74,816 acres). The population per acre in Greater New York is 27; in London it is 60.4. A more trustworthy comparison is afforded by the Boroughs of Brooklyn and Manhattan taken together, as the following statistics show:

**MANHATTAN AND BROOKLYN.**

Population .....	4,393,773
Area, acres .....	63,718
Population per acre.....	69
Taxation imposed on fixed property (land and improvements) .....	£26,325,000
Per head .....	£5 19s.
Per acre .....	£413

\*Report, p. 83.

## LONDON (COUNTY COUNCIL AREA).

Population (1912)* .....	4,519,754
Area, acres† .....	74,816
Population per acre.....	60.4
Local taxation on fixed property, including recoverable arrears (1911-12)†.....	£15,961,000
Estimate of budget taxation on fixed property in London§.....	9,430,000
<b>Total property taxation.....</b>	<b>£25,391,000</b>
Per head .....	£5 12s.
Per acre .....	£339

Calculating for Manhattan and Brooklyn, as has been done for New York as a whole, the statistics of land values are:

## MANHATTAN AND BROOKLYN LAND VALUE.

Total land value, including the land value of franchises, exempt property, etc., and the proportion of the taxation falling on land values.....	£1,420,099,000
Per head .....	323
Per acre .....	22,287
(Note.—The land value proportion in Manhattan is 66.2 per cent., in Brooklyn 49.9 per cent.)	
Ordinary land value, being the taxed selling value of land, and not including the land value of franchises of corporation or of exempt properties..	824,127,000
Per head .....	188
Per acre .....	12,934

From these figures the following alternative estimates of the value of London land are submitted:

## LONDON (COUNTY COUNCIL AREA) LAND VALUE,

## I.

- (a) Total land value of London at £323 per head, corrected by the less density of population in London, as compared with Manhattan and Brooklyn, in the proportion of 60.4 to 69.....
- (b) Total land value of London at £22,287 per acre, subject to the same correction .....
- Annual value of (a) at 4 per cent..
- Annual value of (b) at 4 per cent..

## II.

- (c) Ordinary or selling value (as diminished by taxation) of London land, at £188 per head, excluding the land value attaching to special and exempted properties and corrected as before by the less density of population in London.....
- (d) Ordinary or selling value of London land at £12,934 per acre, corrected as before .....
- Annual value of (c) at 4 per cent..
- Annual value of (d) at 4 per cent..

\*London Statistics, 1912-13, p. 54. †Ibid., p. 47. ‡Ibid., pp. 626-7. §Ibid., p. 558.

The extent to which rates and taxes on property ultimately fall on land values is a much disputed question. Some say all such taxes are a charge upon land, and if their contention is admitted, then the gross taxable and rateable value of land should include the whole amount of taxation now levied. This was £25,391,000 in London in 1911-12, and if added to the above figures (c) and (d) the annual values would be £55,144,000 and £61,293,000 respectively. On the other hand, if the taxes fall on land value only in proportion to the part of the total value represented by land, the result would be correspondingly less. Put the land value proportion at only 50 per cent (it is 61.7 per cent in Greater New York) and the gross annual value of London land on the basis of the (c) and (d) figures would lie between £42,448,500 and £48,597,500. It must be noted, however, that the figures (c) and (d) specifically omit the land or communal value attaching to tramways, sewers, gas mains, public institutions and to properties exempt from taxation. These are all included in the present "rateable value" of London. Accordingly the former of the two alternative calculations embodying the figures (a) and (b) is more trustworthy, and it places the gross annual value of the land of London at between £51,109,000 and £58,384,000.

## The "Rateable Value" Fallacy.

The calculation of both the capital and the annual value of London land is submitted with all respect to those statisticians who have attempted to show the inadequacy of land values to meet national and local revenues. The Council of the Surveyors' Institution, speaking with professional authority, have estimated the land value of the whole United Kingdom at £3,000,000,000, which, to say the least of it, seems quite absurd since the value of New York land, ascertained by a duly constituted assessing department, is at least £1,647,050,000. Other statisticians, belittling proposals for the taxation of land values, have declared that £100,000,000 is the outside limit of the annual value of the land of the whole United Kingdom. They are usually very emphatic in their convictions, and we can only invite them to show in what respect our calculation of the value of London land alone at somewhere between £42,448,500 and £58,384,000, after making generous allowances, is faulty or unreliable.

We have always protested against land value estimates derived from the figures of present rateable value, and we shall not be dismayed if it is pointed out that the total gross rateable value of London (land and buildings included) is only £54,949,000 and net rateable value £45,022,000,\* which is less than the value we attribute to the land alone. Present assessments under the Brit-

\*London Statistics 1912-13, p. 667.

ish system are slipshod and unjust, and only approximate to the real annual value in the case of small properties and of the dwellings of the poor.

As to the value of London land and the futility of making calculations based on "rateable value," we have independent testimony from the ex-Lord Mayor, Sir Vezey Strong, who, speaking at a meeting of the City Corporation on June 12, 1913, said: "Even on the assumption that the new proposals (the taxation of land values) were entirely in substitution for present charges, an imposition of, say, 3d. in the £ would be equal to something like £1,250,000 added to its (the city of London) annual burdens." We do not know whether Sir Vezey Strong was speaking of local burdens or of local and national burdens combined, but as the purely local annual burden by way of rates on the city of London is £1,866,834,† it follows that 3d. in the £ would, according to Sir Vezey Strong, raise at least £3,116,834, and accordingly the capital land value (apart from improvements) must at least be £249,347,000 corresponding to an annual land value of £9,973,900. In his declaration Sir Vezey Strong has only proved how extremely unsatisfactory our present assessments are, for the net rateable value of the city of London (land and improvements included) is only £5,759,323.\*

A. W. MADSEN.

### TRUE LIBERTY.

Charles Mackay.

We want no flag, no flaunting rag,  
For Liberty to fight;  
We want no blaze of murderous guns,  
To struggle for the right.  
Our spears and swords are printed words,  
The mind our battle plain;  
We've won such victories before,  
And so we shall again.

We love no triumphs sprung of force—  
They stain her brightest cause;  
'Tis not in blood that Liberty  
Prescribes her civil laws.  
She writes them on the people's heart,  
In language clear and plain;  
True thoughts have moved the world before,  
And so they shall again.

We yield no more to earnest love  
Of freedom's cause sublime;  
We join the cry "Fraternity!"  
We keep the march of Time.  
And yet we grasp not pike or spear  
Our victories to obtain;  
We've won without their aid before,  
And so we shall again.

We want no aid of barricade  
To show a front to wrong;

We have a citadel in truth,  
More durable and strong,  
Calm words, great thought, unflinching faith,  
Have never striven in vain;  
They've won our battles many a time,  
And so they shall again.

Peace, progress, knowledge, brotherhood—  
The ignorant may sneer,  
The bad deny; but we rely  
To see their triumph near.  
No widows' groans shall load our cause,  
No blood of brethren stain;  
We've won without such aid before,  
And so we shall again.

## BOOKS

### ANCIENT AND MODERN SOCIALISM.

**A History of Socialism.\*** By Thomas Kirkup. Fifth edition, revised and largely rewritten by Edward R. Pease, Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London. 1913. American agents, The Macmillan Company, New York. Price, \$1.50 net.

That Socialism is a cosmopolitan movement, not of German origin, is a fact that some need to learn in order to overcome a bias based on erroneous notions. Mr. Kirkup's history does not go further back than the nineteenth century and shows that Socialist movements in France and England ante-dated Karl Marx by many years. But these movements of Robert Owen, Count Henri de Saint-Simon and Louis Blanc left no permanent results. The two former depended more on the help of aristocratic elements than on the working class to put their ideas into effect, while Louis Blanc seems to have suffered from the unfair experiments with national workshops made by his opponents to discredit him.

German Socialism first became prominent about the middle of the century through the activity of Ferdinand La Salle. Karl Marx appears on the scene about the same time, but in spite of his German nativity his writings can not be fairly attributed to observation of German conditions alone. There are chapters giving satisfactory histories of the International, of the Social Democracy of Germany, of the movement in England and in Russia, and brief accounts of the movement in other countries, including the United States.

In the chapter on the English school of Socialism appears a regrettable error. After mentioning in a friendly way the work of Henry George and crediting him, rather than Marx, with the awakening to action of English leaders, Mr. Kirkup states that to George's advocacy of taking by the community of the rent of land, "his

†Ibid., pp. 626-7.

\*London Statistics 1912-13, p. 667.

\*See Public of July 31, 1908.

modern disciples add the capital value of land." If the English Socialist leaders whom Progress and Poverty stirred to action have studied that work no more carefully than to fail to see the absurdity of such a statement, it is perhaps no wonder that it failed to completely satisfy them.

Mr. Kirkup is far from being a thick and thin Marxian. Excessive loyalty to the views of Marx "shaped by a time which has passed away," he shows, has hindered the movement. The Marxian school, he finds, has provided new chains for the proletariat to replace those which Marx declared were all that they had to lose. Socialists and non-Socialists alike will find Mr. Kirkup's work worth studying.



**New Worlds For Old.** By H. G. Wells. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York, 1913. Price, 50 cents.

Mr. Wells presents an argument for Socialism, as he understands it. His argument is addressed, not to the proletariat, but to the middle class. He avoids the common mistake of presenting Socialism as a class movement. He makes clear the evils of the existing order and shows how little to lose in the proposed change and how much to gain have the small shopkeepers, the oft-heard-of but rarely seen poor widow with safe investments, the thrifty individual with a few shares or a "bit of land," the clerks and other genteel workers, and others who think themselves capitalists and not of the working class.

The Socialism which Mr. Wells advocates is not the brand which is so presented as to give one the impression of a state of society wherein the whole life of the individual citizen is to be subjected to regulation by higher authority. He presents what he calls modern Socialism from which the more objectionable features of the more ancient brands have been eliminated.

The economic student who takes fundamental principles into consideration will be able to pick flaws in Mr. Wells' suggestions. But there will be little in such criticism to give aid or comfort to the upholder of the existing order. Along with such criticism must go an admission from the critic that he can travel a long way with Mr. Wells toward his goal and, until the point of separation has been reached, discussion of what lies beyond is not necessary.

S. D.

## PERIODICALS

### Proportional Representation.

The Proportional Representation Review, which for several years has been published as a department in Equity, resumes the separate publication that was given up in 1896. It is published quarterly at Haverford, Pennsylvania, by C. G. Hoag, General Secretary

of the American Proportional Representation League at an annual subscription price of 20 cents. Among the interesting features of the October number is an exhaustive analysis of the political complexion of the House of Representatives. Using the last election in Illinois, the writer shows that the Democrats secured one Congressman for every 23,059 votes cast; whereas the Republicans have only one Congressman for every 72,988 votes; and the Progressives one Representative for each 125,778 votes. That is to say, the Illinois Democrats have three times as much representation in Congress as the Republicans, and five times as much as the Progressives. The Socialists cast more than three times the average vote of the Democrats per Representative, and got no representation at all. Had the representation of the state been apportioned in accordance with the vote cast, "the Democrats would have elected eleven instead of twenty, the Republicans eight instead of five, the Progressives six instead of two, and the Socialists two instead of none."

The reverse of the Illinois mis-representation is true of Michigan, for the writer shows that had the representation been in proportion to the votes cast, "the Democrats of Michigan would have won four seats instead of two; the Republicans five instead of nine; the Progressives four instead of two." In Indiana the Democrats polled less than 46% of the vote for Congressmen, and yet elected them all. It is by such concrete examples that the writer demonstrates the necessity of adopting proportional representation, and it is by such articles as this that the Proportional Representation Review demonstrates its right to a place in the sun.

S. C.



A school teacher was trying to impress upon a scholar's mind that Columbus discovered America in 1492.

"Now, John," he said, "I will tell you the date in rhyme so that you won't forget it. 'In fourteen hundred and ninety-two Columbus sailed the ocean blue.' Now, can you remember that, John?"

"Yes, sir," replied John.

Next day the teacher said: "John, when did Columbus discover America?"

"In fourteen hundred and ninety-three Columbus sailed the dark blue sea!"—Sacred Heart Review.



"Dinah, did you wash the fish before you baked it?"

"Law, ma'am, what's de use ob washin' er fish what's lived all his life in de water?"—Philadelphia Ledger.



"Yes, yes," said the doctor; "you're all right now. You will not need to come again."

"But sir," remarked the patient, "vot aboot der bill? I ain't got mooch money. Vill you dake der bill out in trade?"

The doctor looked the man up and down. "Well, I might do so," he replied. "What is your business?"

"I am der leader of der liddle Cherman band, sir. Ve vill play in front of your house every evening for von month."—Unidentified.