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EDITORIAL

Impervious to Humor.

The Little Congressman can neither see Ambassador Page's joke, nor appreciate what a joke he is himself.

S. C.



Underwood Unmasked.

President Wilson, in opening the Panama toll question, has driven reactionary Democratic leader, Oscar W. Underwood, to openly oppose him. He has long been known or suspected to be secretly opposed to all democratic measures. If the toll question should be the means of driving all the reactionaries out of the party, the already great public services of Woodrow Wilson will have been increased many fold.

S. D.



Is Panama Fortified for Robbery?

A resolution passed by the Clan-Na-Gael of New York, which the Hearst papers put on the top of their first page on March 14, deserves some attention. These resolutions denounce abolition of the privilege of free tolls to American coasting ships in the Panama Canal, and further declare that such action will "involve the dismantling of all fortifications in the Canal Zone." How the Clan-Na-Gael arrives at this conclusion is not clear. But if its statement should be accepted it appears that we have put up expensive fortifications not for defense, but to protect us in levying toll on ships flying foreign flags. If so the sooner these fortifications are dismantled, the better. The Clan-Na-Gael is supposed to be devoted to putting an end to injustice suffered by Ireland. It should be the last organization to protest against abolition of an injustice to others. The canal was built with the money of the American people, not with the money of American ship-owners. To compel foreign ship owners to pay the rightful share of American ship owners for maintenance of the canal would be in principle as

great a robbery as any tax imposed by England on Ireland. The resolution mentioned demands that the United States perpetrate such an injustice. It looks as though a feeling of bitterness against England has blinded the Clan-Na-Gael to the inconsistent position it has taken. S. D.



Single and Multiple Taxes.

Those expatriated Americans who have been driven to forswear their country in order to escape the burden of a double income tax might, with profit, consider the merits of the Singletax. There is more than a mere semblance of injustice in requiring an American resident in England who has paid an income tax to the British government, to pay another income tax to the American government. But this in no way differs in principle from the whole system of multiple taxes. The double income tax that seems so outrageous to Americans residing abroad is identical in principle with the general tax systems at home. All the benefits of government, national, state, and local, appear in the rental value of land, and are paid by the users of land, whether they be business enterprises or private individuals. Hence, to require the citizen to pay a tax on his business or his income for the government service reflected in the rent that he has already paid to the owner of the land, is to exact a double payment for the same service.



A remarkable circumstance has attended the income tax agitation from its earliest inception. Notwithstanding the intense opposition manifested by those subject to the tax, few of the victims have turned for relief to the Singletax. This striking fact should be a sufficient answer to those captious critics who have held that the Singletax will exempt the rich and increase the burdens of the poor. Though this objection has often been heard among the officious friends of the poor, it is a curious fact that it does not appeal to the rich. If a single tax on land values would exempt the rich, their steadfast adherence to the old system is either a severe commentary on their intelligence, or a great tribute to their altruism. In truth, it is neither. The rich, as well as the poor, are human; and being of average intelligence they realize that no surer method could be devised for compelling them to pay for all the government service they receive, than by taxing land values. To oppose the Singletax because it favors the rich is on a par with opposition to emancipation because it favors the slaveholder.

S. C.

Another Good Bill by Bailey.

Congressman Bailey of Pennsylvania has introduced a bill to apply to the city of Washington, the system of taxation now in force in Pittsburgh. His bill provides for abolition of the long ago discredited personal property tax and for reduction each year for five years of ten per cent of assessment of improvements for taxation. So at the end of five years local revenue will be raised by taxes on a full assessment of land values and on fifty per cent of improvements. The bill ought to be passed promptly. All arguments against a measure of that kind have long ago been refuted. Congressmen who have studied such matters, as men in their position should have studied them, must be aware of that fact. Opposition, whether due to ignorance or to desire to serve selfish interests, is inexcusable.

S. D.



That Terrible Lloyd George.

The British House of Commons mustered 240 votes of censure for the Chancellor of the Exchequer because of "his gross and unfounded attacks on individuals," which is a euphemistic way of referring to his challenge to the great landholding dukes. But as 304 members rallied to his support, it is evident that the English landlords will be compelled to seek some other means of protection from the little Welsh democrat.

S. C.



Taxation and the Economists.

The recent Indiana State Tax Conference at Bloomington seems to have ended in nothing definite. Professors of political economy were present, but they failed to present the definite answer which that science gives to the question of taxation. The Citizen Record of Charlestown has called attention to this failure. Whatever excuse the ordinary layman may have for ignorance concerning principles of taxation, may surely not be pleaded in behalf of professors of political economy. These should always be called to account, when, as in this Indiana case, they fail in their duty.

S. D.



Economic Propaganda via the Stage.

To produce a play that will teach an economic lesson and still be attractive to the mere amusement seeker, is a task which playwrights have found difficult. True, there are successful and attractive plays, such as *Shore Acres*, which convey economic truths. But in these the lesson is so

overshadowed by the more conventional features that the average playgoer usually fails to grasp the moral. A one act playlet has recently appeared which makes its economic lesson prominent and at the same time maintains a high standard of dramatic quality. It is "The Rector of St. Jude's," by Alexander Irvine, now being played in vaudeville theaters. The leading parts in this play are taken by Mr. Irvine and Mr. Charles James. Naturally, the character representing conservatism refers to the radical sentiments expressed as "socialism," although none are expounded but what non-socialistic radicals would approve as well as socialists. The author has not made the mistake of letting his argument interfere with action and the playlet holds the attention of the audience throughout. It may possibly contain the germ of the long awaited play that will awaken interest in fundamental economic principles and at the same time be intensely interesting to the playgoer who objects to having education forced upon him.

S. D.



An Unthinkable Appointment.

Denial of the report seemed unnecessary that President Wilson contemplated appointment of former President Taft to the Supreme Court. The report itself was insulting to President Wilson. It assumed that he—the leader of a party pledged to do away with judicial despotism—would put on the bench the most prominent upholder of that form of tyranny. It amounted to a charge that President Wilson is capable of deliberate betrayal of his trust. It also assumed that ex-President Taft is willing to accept an appointment tendered under such circumstances. So ridiculous and insulting a report was not worthy of the denial it so promptly received.

S. D.



Judicial Trifling.

The release of "Mother" Jones from illegal arrest throws light on a practice of some courts by which they frequently dodge their plain duty. The lower court having refused to issue a writ of habeas corpus in "Mother" Jones' behalf, an appeal to the Supreme Court was about to be made. Her release now gives this court an excuse to refuse to pass upon the matter. Should she return to Trinidad and be again illegally arrested the appeal will still not be considered, since this will be a new arrest, while the appeal relates to the original act. So a new application must be made to the lower court, which may again refuse and then when the Supreme Court is once more asked to pass upon the matter the prisoner can

be again released and the court again relieved of the necessity of deciding. A third arrest can then be made and the farce continued indefinitely. To the layman there seems to be no reason whatever why the Supreme Court should not pass upon the merits of the original matter, regardless of the prisoner's release, and definitely settle the question involved.



This Colorado case is by no means the only instance of trifling by the courts. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court has been guilty of conduct of the same kind for many years. There is a practice of the police in Philadelphia and other cities whenever a case of smallpox is discovered to rope off the neighborhood for a considerable distance around and compel all persons found therein—including those who have not come in contact with the patient—to submit to vaccination or to an eighteen days' quarantine. Whether or not such action is legal, nobody knows. Time and again have quarantined persons applied to the lower courts for relief. These courts have refused to act in order that the Supreme Court may pass upon the matter. But by the time the case comes up to that court the quarantine has expired and the judges solemnly hold that there is nothing for them to pass upon. And these same courts with equal solemnity insist on the maxim that "ignorance of the law excuses no one." If so, what excuse is there for the courts which deliberately refuse to enlighten those who are ignorant of the law?

S. D.



Leadfooted Justice in the Army.

How an injustice to an enlisted man may not be remedied is shown in the case of the private soldier, Kosti L. Aryan, undergoing a seven-months' sentence at Alcatraz penitentiary, California. His attorney has been assured that an investigation will be made which will "require considerable time." Just why it should require more time than was taken to convict the man does not appear. If the man was unjustly convicted then unnecessary prolongation of the investigation adds to the injustice. If he was justly convicted, then those who convicted him are entitled to a speedy clearing away of suspicion against them. In either case the adjutant general charged with investigation is not performing an important duty in a proper manner.

S. D.



Unfit to be Trusted.

How can soldiers who treat with contempt the

constitutional rights of American citizens in Colorado be trusted to protect the rights of American citizens in Mexico? How dependable is such an army in case even of foreign invasion? All the arguments of militarists are overthrown by the disclosures of the use actually made of soldiers in time of peace. That is an existing evil of the present time, while danger of foreign war is nothing more than a possibility of the future. S. D.



Maintaining Our Dignity.

When General Carranza, head of the Constitutionalists in Mexico, made his impudent answer to this country regarding the Benton affair, two courses lay open to us: We could throw an army into Mexico to chastise him; or we could wait a few days till he had time to see himself as others saw him. The first course would have brought war, with all its attendant evils; the second, the flaming of the Yellow Press, and the braying of the Little Congressmen. A war would have lasted months, perhaps years; the second thought of the general who takes himself too seriously required only a few days. And justice is as likely to be meted out under the present accord between Carranza and the Washington Administration as it would have been at the end of a war.

S. C.



"Our" Ships and Panama Tolls.

The argument against exemption of American coasting ships from Panama tolls is as follows: "It is our canal and therefore our ships should go through free." Congressmen who use this argument are well aware that the ships are not "ours," but the private property of certain corporations. They know that to exempt these ships is to give these private corporations free use of public property. Consequently the use of the argument quoted is rank misrepresentation. How fit for their positions are the congressmen who use it?

S. D.



CAN WE ELIMINATE THE CAPITALIST?

Exception is taken by a correspondent to a statement in *The Public* "that Socialists hold that the antagonism between Labor and Capital is of the same nature as that between Labor and Land." The critic says in behalf of the Socialists:

"The antagonism is between Labor and Capitalists. They hold that the Capitalist as such is

no more necessary for the production of wealth than the land owner is for the existence of land. Both are parasites pure and simple. Nor would Socialists eliminate Capital. On the contrary, they would enormously increase Capital, but would eliminate the useless Capitalists."

Had the correspondent interpreted the term "land" as he did the term "capital," there would have been no confusion as to the meaning. As the former term referred to landlordism, so the latter term referred to capitalism.

Singletaxers and Socialists have this in common: They would set up such a system of producing and distributing wealth that the laborer would have the full product of his toil. To accomplish this end the Singletaxer says it is necessary to abolish landlordism, and all forms of legal privilege or monopoly. Socialists insist that in addition to this, capitalism also must be destroyed, because "the capitalist as such is no more necessary for the production of wealth than the land-owner is for the existence of land." But the Singletaxer holds that the capitalist, when stripped of all forms of legal privilege, including lands, franchises, patents, and similar legal monopolies, is a legitimate factor in production, and is entitled to a share in the joint product.

Here is where issue is joined. Is this a real difference or an apparent difference? Is the claim of the Socialist valid that the capitalist—that is, the mere owner of the tools used in production—is useless, or is it a confusion of terms? Land, man, and tools are facts. Their relations to each other in the production of wealth are absolute. Applying certain names to these relations no more changes the facts, than would altering the definitions of gravity and chemical affinity change the laws of physics.



If it be true that the capitalist, as a capitalist, performs no useful function, then he should be abolished along with the landlord. Strip the capitalist of the powers that are not capital, of land, of franchises, of patents, in a word, of all forms of special privilege, and he stands forth as the owner of buildings, machinery, and the appliances used in the production of wealth, in short, the tools of industry. As the owner of the tools of industry he assembles them in certain places and employs laborers to use them in turning out wealth, which is divided between himself and the operatives. The Socialist protests that the capitalist is unnecessary, that the state—and by "state" is meant whatever political unit society may form itself into—can do all that the capitalist does, and so leave in the workmen's hands the

share of the product that goes to the capitalist. Is this a legitimate deduction?

To simplify the problem, let it be granted that the Socialist state is in operation; that the state owns the tools as well as the land; and that the whole product goes to labor. It becomes necessary to engage in some new form of production, say, the making of aeroplanes. A building is erected, and the machinery, tools, and appliances required for that form of production are made. Instead of sharing the product with the Wright brothers, as at present, the laborers retain it all. But it is evident that such part of the labor as is devoted to putting up the factory, and making and installing the machinery, will be producing no food, clothing, or shelter. The workmen so employed will have to be supported during this period by the labor of the whole community, and to that extent will lessen the share of all labor.

But the making of the aeroplanes is not simply a question of putting up one factory, and constructing one set of machinery, and turning out perfect machines from the start. The waste must be considered. A number of buildings may have to be erected before the best form is found. And the machinery in the building must be changed and re-built many times. The first aeroplanes are failures. So are the next, and the next, and the next. Many persons become discouraged, and declare it is all foolishness. Flying is impossible. The conservatives object to supporting the labor engaged in such a mad enterprise, and carry the election against the administration. The factory is closed, and the men set at useful employment. But the progressives have faith in flying machines, and agitate until they win an election. New factories and new machinery are constructed, and the experiments are renewed. This may extend over many years. Elections may be lost and won on the question of whether or not labor shall be expended in this manner. Finally, success comes. A practical machine is turned out, and society begins to enjoy the product of its toil.



But what of all the labor that has been expended in the preparatory work? Must not that all be paid by the people? Was not every day's labor expended up to the time of turning out the successful aeroplane wasted? Suppose some man who had done his own experimenting could have presented complete plans for the making of practical aeroplanes; could not the community have paid him liberally, and still have been the gainer? And even with working plans there would still have been the dead labor that went into the con-

struction of building and machinery, as well as its up-keep after it had been constructed.

Contrasted with this we have the Wright brothers, and many other daring geniuses, devoting years to the solution of the problem of aeronavigation. A vast amount of labor and material was consumed before the practical machine was found. And that lavish expenditure of labor and material continues, and will continue, till the perfect machine is made. This labor of hand and brain had to be directed, either by a capitalist or by the state. If by the state, the men would have had to be supported in unproductive labor, and it would have been necessary to assign or elect men to superintend the work. Is there any one so mad as to claim that any system of elections would have chosen better men than the Wrights? Is the record of any city council or state legislature such as would warrant the belief that the Wrights would have been chosen to conduct the experimental work? Or even had it happened by any remote chance that they had been selected to carry on the work, would they, harassed by meddlesome superiors afraid of losing the next election, and censured by an impatient public, have worked with the same singleness of purpose?



What, then, would be the gain to society by adopting the socialistic scheme? The tools must be made by labor, whether under state or individual supervision; and the makers of the tools must be supported by other labor, under whichever system they live. The making of the tools and their use must be under supervision of superintendents, either state or individual. Who will contend that state superintendence will be as efficient as individual superintendence? Much has been said of late in praise of Colonel Goethals for his splendid work on the Panama Canal. But is not the very fact of this extravagant praise a sad commentary on general inefficiency in government work? Many thousands of men have been engaged on the Panama Canal; two are eagerly sought to take charge of other work.

But, the Socialist protests, think of the wealth that goes to the capitalist; it is out of all proportion to the service rendered. Is it out of proportion? First, take from the capitalist the rent collected for the use of land, and the tribute from franchises, and other legal monopolies—for these would be turned into the public till under the Singletax—and his income will be sadly shrunken. If the amount left still looks too large for wages of superintendence, let it be remembered that the return to the capitalist also includes insurance.

Not every tool made produces wealth. As the aeroplane was preceded by a great amount of waste, so all industry involves waste. Many millions of dollars worth of labor and material were lost in attempting to dig tunnels under the Hudson River before the feat was accomplished. If the total cost of all the failures were added to the cost of the successful tunnel, and a profit figured on that basis, the public would be up in arms about it. Yet had all those attempts been made by the city of New York, the whole cost would have been borne by the people.



The capitalist, in so far as he is a monopolist, is able under present conditions to collect inordinate and unearned charges from his fellows. But stripped of monopolistic privileges—and the Singletax will strip him—his charges will merely be sufficient to keep him in the business. For with business free, all men, individually or collectively, can enter, and the gain will be reduced to just compensation.

Certain activities, such as police service, and the maintenance of highways, are social, and must be performed by the government, even though it be done at a higher cost than competitive service. But these necessary government functions are kept somewhat within the bounds of reason by the fact that the great mass of human activities are on a competitive basis, and serve as a guide, standard, and corrective. Remove that corrective, make all business public, destroy individual initiative, and we shall quickly drift into industrial chaos.

The laws of social being are as inexorable as the laws of physical being. All life is a contest, a struggle, a competition. No human enactment can repeal or suspend the law; society would perish if the law were suspended. The one thing to do is to remove the man-made obstructions to the free play of the law.

s. c.



NATURAL LAW IN THE ECONOMIC WORLD.

PART ONE.

That there are natural laws in the economic world having the qualities of causation and effect as have laws in other spheres of physical or human activity, approaches almost the announcement of a new discovery. But so much as this cannot be claimed for it, since many writers on political economy have recognized it in a more or less perplexed way among those muddlements of artificial

explanations which have so long discredited the science. Confronted with systems built up by legislative enactment, which bore evils which other legislative enactments were intended to cure but which instead called into being other evil conditions, political economists stood perplexed before the intricacies of the problem. Starting out as defenders of one or other of these systems, they could not, even if they would, argue for the existence of natural laws. And this is the explanation why political economy is not only "the dismal science," but why every teacher is a law unto himself.

What could the protectionist know of the laws of trade? The Socialist of the laws of distribution? The defenders of the general property tax of those laws of incidence which point to a true system of taxation? The trades unionist (or those of his class who look no further) of the law of wages? or the advocate of artificial co-operation (looked upon as a final solution of the problem) of those *natural* laws of co-operation, so powerful and beneficent when left unhindered? In short, what could the advocates of artificial systems know of the natural ones? They were like men building with infinite and laborious pains a dividing and opaque wall between themselves and the outer world, in which all that went on beyond was screened from observation. In this way they were compelled to account for phenomena observed in accordance with their artificial laws, under the rule of which effects could be made to answer readily enough to the dozen or so assigned causes if they were shifted often enough, and in the light of which theories of wonderful ingenuity, infinite in number, seemed all equally plausible.



It has often been pointed out that the discovery of natural laws has not usually been made by men engaged in the practical affairs of life, but on the contrary by those whose investigations have for the most part been confined to library and cloistered study. These sources of inspiration are often referred to in terms of depreciation by those who wish to discredit the results of such investigations. The great majority of the unthinking assume that the conclusions of the theoretical student are of lesser value than those drawn from experience by the practical man. Yet it was such a man as Adam Smith who laid down the laws of trade for the business world.

Not only is it not remarkable that the economic laws of society should first reveal themselves to the student removed from the close touch of prevailing habits and customs, but it is inevitable

that the discovery and development of these laws should proceed from just that source. The world of trade and commerce must look to the student to furnish it with the necessary rules in accordance with the primary natural laws that govern its operations. And it must be insisted upon with all emphasis that society can make no real progress until there is a general and intelligent comprehension of those laws of social development which underlie every one of the processes of distribution.

It will seem like a new and strange heresy to say that even established reforms, however permanent they seem, must disappear, that every forward step in society must be retraced if there is no comprehension of the laws of human progression more or less generally understood and accepted by the members of the community. This is the indispensable human equation in the progress of political and economic society. Where improvements or adjustments are made through accident or revolution, and do not grow out of the intelligent apprehension of economic laws, there can be no permanency. Therefore, it is mandatory upon us to do what we can to show that each forward step in societary movements rests upon a wide popularization of the laws upon which they are dependent, and that the failure of communities to advance is because of the ignorance of the natural laws that govern progress. This is the first lesson for reformers to learn; not to know it is to weave ropes of sand. And society today is hardly on the threshold of this knowledge of knowledges.



It is assumed by writers of sociology and admitted by writers on political economy, that there are *laws of association*, but no laws of economics. It is contended by writers on sociology that the social organization is not a fabrication of the human intellect, that forms of society do not exist in obedience to certain theories held by individuals. But when it comes to consider political economy, whose forms and mutations arise from social organization, we are supposed to pass from a reign of law to a sphere where forms are determined and movements directed by arbitrary enactment; we pass from a sphere of law and fixed principles to one of artificial adjustments. How comes it that one class of social phenomena, and that the chiefest and most important (sociology itself being dependent upon the principles of biology and psychology) is itself without principles that can be scientifically stated in forms of law, of causation and effect? Does not the failure to account for this class of phenomena in terms of law explain the awe-inspiring confusion of what

its professors still persist in calling the "science of political economy?"

It will be of interest to see just how the economists themselves define the term "law" as they use it, for use it they do. "In the modern conception of economics," says President Hadley, "the word law is necessarily used in two quite distinct senses. In the majority of cases the economist is primarily concerned with establishing and investigating natural laws, or observed sequences of cause and effect. . . . But the economist also includes in the scope of his investigations the positive laws or commands relating to wealth, whether moral or jural in their character." It may be said in what follows in President Hadley's "Economics" there is no appreciable tendency to consider the problems that arise in the light of laws definitely stated.

"By natural laws are meant laws precisely like those of the external physical universe," says Professor Ely. "If this sense of the term be employed there are no natural laws in political economy." In reply to this it may be said that it is not necessary to assume that the laws of political economy are "precisely like" those of the external physical universe. No bodies of laws that determine either the movement of natural forces or the varied activities of mankind are exactly alike. But what is contended for is the universality of their sway, the identical character they bear in all places and periods, and the same easily tracable relation which distinguishes the natural laws of the physical universe.

Professor Seligman on the other hand with somewhat clearer vision says: "Law may mean the statement of cause and effect between phenomena, as a law of physics. When we speak of an economic law we properly use the term in this sense. . . . A scientific law states that definite causes necessarily lead to definite results. . . . An economic law affirms that if certain causes exist, certain results are sure to follow."

But Professor Seligman insists that "these laws are not of the kind that signify a precept, a rule of action or a moral law." It will be observed that this permits him to deny a law of property and a natural order of economics, though he elsewhere says, with the common tendency of all these writers to qualify, that "there can be conflict between correct economic action and true ethical theory."



Economic laws possess the duplicate character we term natural in the physical world and the laws which belong to the sphere of morals. The

true concept is that of a natural order in the sphere of economics in which the inevitable and easily discoverable sequences of cause and effect with which we are familiar in the physical universe are co-related with a like chain of sequences in the sphere of morals.

Economists have caught glimpses of this truth in blurred, half lights, the physiocrats in their way, the Manchester School in theirs. But later the historical method dominated the writings of these men; the mysterious mathematical school of the brain-terrifying Marshall gained increasing adherents; theories were tested by or were made to rest upon forms of legislation. And the great white light which might have blazed a pathway to the solution of every one of these problems was allowed to die out in darkness. The physiocrats were the first to seek the establishment of a theory of economic life. Rousseau had a somewhat cloudy conception of laws established by nature governing production and exchange. Subsequent political economy, however, for the most part, has been concerned in denying these tenets, in erecting artificial theories and discussing phases of economic life in terms of legislation.

Not that the historical or *a posteriori* method that sets out to discover economic principles as exemplified in the life of peoples is to be unqualifiedly condemned, and the *a priori* exalted as the one and only line of inquiry. They must travel together. The fault with the historical school has not been so much its adherence to the *a posteriori* and its neglect of the *a priori* as its failure to follow even the lines of the first to the discovery of anything likening itself to "principles."

The natural laws of economics prescribe a rule of action, but they do not necessarily secure its observance. Penalties innumerable are provided for their violation, for there is no law, man being a free agent, that does not permit of its violation, and there is no violation which does not insure its penalty. These penalties are of two kinds, embodying both a moral and material loss. "What a man soweth that shall he also reap" is a final law of the economic conduct of peoples.

The attempt is constantly made by writers on political economy to deny these laws by denying the universality of their application. It is assumed that economic laws, if there are any, are subject to constant change, that there is a national law of political economy; and that every land has its own economic laws, much the same as every land has its own political system.

With the banishing of the concept of "natural" and "moral" from the domain of political

economy, the field was left free for individually created dogma and the finest of fine-spun theories; economic institutions acted upon by legislation were taken for phenomena created by it and the solution of such evils as appeared sought for in additional legislation. Looked upon as an artificial and not a natural order, there could thus be no appeal to natural forces nor a return to first principles. Prohibition of the employment of children must be had, for example. Few had the temerity to ask why. Was it not clear that children should not be condemned to stunted lives in shop and factory at a time when they should be at play? To ask the question was to answer it. Yet we can safely trust even a dog to look after its young. No guardianship other than the parental instinct is needed, save in rare abnormal instances. Was Man inferior to the lower animals in such instincts that large numbers should voluntarily condemn their offspring to arduous and in some cases hazardous occupation? Clearly the conditions that prompted them was not a natural one. Some natural law of economics had been violated.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN NOTES.

Adelaide, South Australia, January 16.

Since last writing, two polls under the Land Values Assessment Act have been taken in South Australia. On December 6, at Wallaroo, the ratepayers were given an opportunity of saying whether they wished to exempt improvements from taxation. They decided by 299 votes to 272 to continue under their present system. We shall continue our educational work in this town, and we are hopeful that in the near future we shall be able to secure a majority of ratepayers in favor of revenue being raised from land values only.

Special interest attached to the poll taken at Thebarton. This municipality was the first in South Australia to adopt the principle of land values rating at a poll in 1907. The system came into operation in 1908 and immediately the land speculators commenced to unload. During the past year opponents of the principle secured control of the Thebarton Council, and at once set to work to discredit the principle. Instead of taking advantage of the Amended Land Values Assessment Act, which gives Councils power to make their own valuation, the Council preferred to work under the Government assessment, which was very much out of date as to values. The result was shortage in the amount of revenue required to meet the needs of a growing town. The ratepayers petitioned the Mayor and asked that a public meeting should be convened so that the matter of the new assessment might be discussed. The petition was turned down by the Mayor. Then six ratepayers, whose rates were increased under the land values rating system, petitioned for a

poll of ratepayers with a view to returning to the old system of rating improvements. This request was at once granted. Two days before the poll an announcement was made that tenants would not be permitted to vote at the rating poll, the reason being that the Council were anxious to see the principle defeated. Our League interested itself in the fight, and issued a special leaflet. Steps were also taken to have evidence for a test case in the courts in the event of the poll being lost on account of the disfranchisement of the tenants who had voted at all previous polls under the act. It is gratifying to know that when the people were appealed to, they reaffirmed the principle of land values rating by 695 votes to 360. This was a great victory. After the system had been in operation for five years, the majority in favor of the principle had increased from 268 to 335; and that at a poll where some 300 tenants who had previously voted were disfranchised.

Not only did the ratepayers reaffirm the principle at the rating poll, but every candidate for Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors opposed to land values rating was defeated by big majorities, and a sympathetic Council returned. It is not at all likely that the opposition at Thebarton will ever again ask for another poll. They were routed all along the line.

We have just had a by-election for the Federal Parliament. The death of Representative Roberts caused a vacancy in the Adelaide division. The Labor candidate was Mr. G. E. Yates, secretary of the Labor Party. The Liberal Union did not put up a candidate. The Singletax League decided to again run me for the seat as a protest against party politics, and because the policy of the Labor Party is a policy of protection. Under the present tariff the people of Australia are called upon to pay £15,000,000 a year. The landlord only pays £1,200,000 a year. There was never any hope of victory, but it was as splendid chance for preaching land values taxation and free trade. As a result of our work the vote received this time was nearly double that secured at the general election last May. The district is a strong labor one, and a hot bed of protection, and we are well pleased with the result.

E. J. CRAIGIE.



WEDGWOOD IN TORONTO.

Toronto, Ont., March 13, 1914.

Josiah C. Wedgwood, Member of Parliament, gave an exhibition of hustle which would do credit to the American foremen whom he said "come over to England to show workmen how to do twice as much work." Mr. Wedgwood reached Toronto at four o'clock p. m., March 12, was interviewed by the press, attended a reception given for him by the Toronto Singletaxers, addressed a dinner of the Canadian Club, and went to New York, at 7:20.

Speaking to the Canadians as "Men and Brothers" rather than as cousins, which he regarded the Americans, he spoke on the Radical movement in England.

The working classes in England, he thought, were much better educated on the fundamentals of political economy than they were in Canada or the United States; since the campaign which resulted in the election of the present Liberal Government, there had

been a continuous process of education, and perhaps a debt of gratitude was due to Joseph Chamberlain for forcing the issue to a point where it became necessary to show the fallacy of the Protectionist ideas and their balance of trade theory.

The Liberal Party had a programme—old age pensions—with which Mr. Wedgwood did not agree—the abolition of plural voting, Home Rule, and Land Value Taxation. He believed in Home Rule, for Ireland and elsewhere, for every man would rather govern himself, though badly, than be governed by someone else.

The Taxation of Land Values was the great work of the Liberal Party. Its object being to free the "wage slave," to give to every worker just exactly all that he produced, and to give to all willing to work, a job either working for himself or for someone else, at wages governed by what he could produce working for himself on free land.

His story of the unemployed in South Africa after the Boer War was a center shot. He was autocrat of the town of Ermenlo, where he gave the use of the town lands to the unemployed, who found that they could average £1 (one pound sterling) per day in produce, and this automatically raised the wages of all classes of labor to not less than that sum. The thin edge of the wedge of Land Value taxation in England was apparent in the proposal of Lloyd George to transfer five per cent of taxes from improvements to land values, and in the course of a few years to take it all. Already some of the large landholders were selling out and buying in Texas and Saskatchewan, which would not help Canada or the United States, however much it might benefit England.

Mr. Wedgwood's address made an impression on the members of the Canadian Club which cannot soon be lost; his easy graceful style, his perfect English and his very evident sincerity and enthusiasm, all combined to lead to the climax of his address which was an appeal to listen to the "clarions of battle, which call and call and call."

WESLEY E. BARKER.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE QUESTION AT ISSUE.

Brooklyn, N. Y., March 8.

The question at issue at the hearing before the Board of Estimate of this city on the Herrick-Schaap bill was not one of taxation but the referendum. This was neatly put by Mr. Marsh when he pointed out to the Mayor that as the voters had been wise enough to elect him he ought to consider them wise enough to decide a matter of taxation.

Mr. Prendergast's opposition was more logical, for an electorate which gave him 80,000 votes less than the head of his ticket and which, if it had had to choose simply between him and his opponent Metz, would undoubtedly have buried him, could hardly in his opinion be safely trusted to decide any question. His position was also more consistent with his pre-election utterances than that of the Mayor, whose attitude all through has been that of trying to please both sides. In fact, the only candi-

date on the city ticket who stated unequivocally that he favored a referendum on this question was Herman A. Metz, and his astonishingly large vote is evidence that he is not only more of a democrat but understands the people better than either Mr. Mitchell or Mr. Prendergast.

E. CORKILL.



DIFFERENCE IN PROPAGANDA METHODS.

New York, March 3.

"A Significant Straw Vote," in the issue of February 27th, does the American farmer—unintentionally, of course—an injustice, by the implication that he is less intelligent than the Canadian farmer. In my judgment, the most significant thing in this straw vote, taken by the "Grain Growers' Guide of Winnipeg," is the positive evidence it gives of the superiority of the Canadian singletaxers' method of propaganda among the farmers, over that of singletaxers on this side of the line. It is a lesson for us on the most effective way to reach the farmers.

The farmers in Western Canada are not unlike the farmers on our side of the line, and singletax propaganda conducted among American farmers, as Canadian singletax propaganda has been conducted among Canadian farmers, would produce just as satisfactory results. And reversely, singletax propaganda among the farmers of Western Canada would have resulted as disastrously as did ours in Oregon, California, and Missouri, if the same methods had been adopted there.

In Canada the work among the farmers comes from within. It is a farmer movement, engineered by farmers within farm organizations. On this side of the line the movements have been from without, city movements, engineered by city dwellers, and the message carried missionaries and preachers from the cities.

The Canadian method follows the line of least resistance. Farmers will listen to farmers without prejudice. They know that men of their own calling do not organize to destroy themselves. Such a method is fraternal, co-operative, and involves in the highest degree the principle of self-help. The American method is the reverse. Instead of allaying prejudice, it has aroused it to the point of antagonism. The paternalistic method of preaching to instead of co-operating with the farmers through their own organized movements is resented by the farmers as a reflection upon their intelligence. Naturally, the sincerity of the purpose of those who come to them in this way is questioned, and the result is that singletaxers are classed with other exploiting city groups who are constantly trying to put the burdens of government upon the farmer.

The workers for the various reforms on this side of the line who have adopted methods similar to the methods of Canadian singletaxers in their educational work, have found American farmers no less responsive, no less intelligent, than the Canadian farmers. The backbone of the Direct legislation movement in Oregon, Washington, Maine and other States, was the farm organizations. This was true also of the Woman Suffrage movement. And had not the farmers been induced to take up the parcel

post, as their particular movement, and, through their organizations, been made the leaders in that movement, the country would be without a parcel post today.

When singletaxers learn the lesson of these successes they will realize that their present methods of attempting to reach the farmer are wrong, and they will awaken to the fact that the Canadian method applied to the American farmer will yield equal or even greater results.

GEORGE P. HAMPTON.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, March 17, 1914.

Congressional Doings.

The Alaskan railway bill was adopted by the Senate on March 10 in the form that it passed the House, and on March 12 became a law through the President's signature. [See current volume, page 204.]



A modification of the bill of the late Congressman Robert Bremner of New Jersey, creating a bureau of labor safety in the Department of Labor, passed the House on March 11. It provides for appointment of a Commissioner of Labor Safety to investigate plans and devices to ensure safety of employes. He is further empowered to secure facts regarding vocational diseases. [See current volume, page 149.]



That to secure exemption of American coastwise vessels from Panama Canal tolls, money was spent by shipping interests, was testimony given on March 12 before the Senate lobby investigating committee by Clarence W. DeKnight. Mr. DeKnight said he had contracted with Rear Admiral Bowles, president of the Fore River Shipbuilding Company, to work for exemption. He had received a \$1,000 retainer, he said, and had been promised \$4,000 additional in case of success. On March 13 Dr. James Brown Scott, secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, told that his organization had spent \$30,000 in circulating literature in behalf of repeal of toll exemption. [See vol. xvi, p. 1186, current volume, page 181.]



A bill to repeal the Panama toll exemption of American vessels was introduced on March 13 in the Senate by Senator Owen. Representative Sims of Tennessee introduced a similar measure in the

House. The House bill was favorably reported on March 14 by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. [See current volume, page 250.]



A charge against Speaker Clark, made by Professor Charles Zueblin, was published on March 7. Professor Zueblin declared that on December 9 there was a question before the House of referring to the Judiciary Committee the report on the lobby disclosures of Martin M. Mulhall. Members who considered such reference an attempt to sidetrack the matter demanded a roll call. Thirty-three members were needed, under the rules, to secure calling of the roll. According to Speaker Clark's count only twenty-three stood up and the demand for the roll call was refused. Professor Zueblin said that, as a matter of fact, fifty members had joined in the demand and charged Speaker Clark with making a miscount. This was denied by the Speaker in a newspaper interview. On March 11, Representative Clyde Kelly, of Pennsylvania, put in the record correspondence with the secretary of the recently formed National Voters' League, Mr. Lynn Haines, bearing on this controversy. Mr. Haines had addressed a letter to each member of the House asking him whether he had been present when the demand for a roll call was made and, if so, whether he had arisen and joined in the demand. Forty-seven wrote that they had joined in the demand, one telephoned that he had, and eight were not certain. The matter thus becomes a question of veracity between Speaker Clark and at least twenty-five of his colleagues. [See vol. xvi, p. 611, 1186, current volume, page 211.]



A report of a speech delivered in London by the American Ambassador, Walter H. Page, on March 11, caused Senator Chamberlain, of Oregon, to introduce a resolution in the Senate on the 12th to ask Secretary of State Bryan to call for an explanation. The Senate resolution quoted the following as a report of Page's speech:

That the Monroe Doctrine simply means this: "That the United States would prefer that no European government should gain more land in the new world." Amid laughter Mr. Page declared that he could not say the United States had constructed the Panama Canal for Great Britain, but that it had added greatly to the pleasure of building that great work to know that the British would profit most by its use.



In response to Mr. Bryan's request, Ambassador Page cabled a verbatim report of his speech. The passages that brought criticism were as follows:

I will not say that we have constructed the Panama Canal for you, for I am speaking with great frankness, and not with what is sometimes called diplo-

matic indirection; but I will say most truly that it adds greatly to the pleasure of building that great work that it is you who will most profit by it. I can say a similar thing about the recent lowering of our tariff. We did not lower it in order to please you. It was for purposes that we considered economically for ourselves. Nevertheless, it added to the pleasure of doing that to reflect that thereby we should receive more trade from you. . . .

The Monroe Doctrine, you know, meant only this—that the United States would prefer that no European government should gain more land in the new world. In those days the only way a foreign government could gain land was literally to go and take land. Now we have more refined methods of exploitation and there are other ways of taking it.

Mr. Page explained further that the quoted passages were only intended as a joke and had not been construed seriously by his hearers.



The Inter-State Trade Commission bill, said to have been approved by the President and Attorney-General, was made public on March 15. The commission is to consist of three members and will assume all the powers and duties of the present Bureau of Corporations. All corporations having or controlling a capital of \$5,000,000 or more, or belonging to a class of corporations which the commission may designate must furnish an annual statement to the commission concerning all matters touching on their businesses, stockholders, and bondholders. Special reports may also be exacted by the commission at any time, and it is further empowered to conduct any investigation it may see fit. [See current volume, page 105.]



Investigation of Injustice in the Army.

The petition addressed to President Wilson by Attorney Thorwald Erickson of Seattle in behalf of the enlisted man, Kosti L. Aryan, was referred to Adjutant General J. H. McRae, who has notified Mr. Siegfried that an investigation will be made "which may require considerable time." Aryan is serving a seven months' sentence in Alcatraz penitentiary, California. On receipt of this notice Mr. Siegfried replied:

If the investigation is to be made by a Board of Inquiry, I would be glad to avail myself of the opportunity of making a showing before it. If the investigation is to be ex parte and preliminary in its character, I see no reason why it should require considerable time; against the latter contingency I do now enter a respectful but none the less earnest protest.

I take this opportunity of asking that you please assure me that you will determine either to have a public inquiry into this matter or not to have it, at once, in consideration of the fact that the prisoner is undergoing sentence without just cause. [See current volume, page 224.]

United States Express Co. to Liquidate.

Announcement was made on March 13 that on recommendation of a committee of large stockholders the directors of the United States Express Company had unanimously voted to wind up the business of that concern. Since the company has contracts with the railroads which do not expire until 1917, the process of liquidation will require several years. The cause is attributed to competition with the parcel post and enforced reduction of rates by order of the Inter-State Commerce Commission. [See vol. xvi, p. 1093, 1187.]

**Fels Memorial Meetings.**

Many memorial meetings in honor of Joseph Fels have been held and many more are in prospect. In Cincinnati the meeting was on March 8. The speakers were Herbert S. Bigelow and Dr. Gotthard Deutsch. In Cleveland on the 10th A. B. du Pont presided and the principle speaker was Josiah C. Wedgwood. The meeting in Chicago was held on March 11. Judge Edward Osgood Brown presided. The speakers were Josiah C. Wedgwood, John Z. White, Judge Julian Mack and A. B. Canning. Dr. Emil G. Hirsch was prevented by illness from attending. Mr. Wedgwood went from Chicago to Toronto to speak before the Canadian Club on March 12. He then went to New York City to address the memorial meeting on March 13 in the People's Institute, which was also addressed by Lincoln Steffens and Frederic C. Howe. His leave of absence from parliamentary duties having expired, Mr. Wedgwood left for home on the 17th. A meeting in honor of Joseph Fels and John S. Crosby will be held on March 18 in Seattle at which Mayor George F. Cotterill will preside and addresses be made by Miss Mary G. O'Meara, Oliver T. Erickson, Will Atkinson, Mrs. E. P. Fick and Joseph Smith. [See current volume, pages 201, 226, 248.]

**Pastoriza Rebuffs a Tax-Ferret.**

The Boston Herald of March 2 publishes an exchange of letters between E. W. Prescott of Boston and Tax Commissioner Pastoriza of Houston, Texas, which is self-explanatory. Mr. Prescott's letter is as follows:

I have furnished the assessors of the cities and towns in Massachusetts with authentic information of the stock holdings of their residents in foreign corporations, which stock is taxable under the Massachusetts law. This has resulted in the taxation of seveval million dollars' worth of personal property which had not been declared by the owner and thus escaped taxation.

This information I secure direct from the transfer books of the corporation, and includes the more important corporations in the country.

Would the board of assessors in your city be in a

position to avail themselves of this information, and pay for the same on a basis, which in Massachusetts has been considered most fair and reasonable, considering the results obtained by the assessors, namely, \$1 per name used?

I would furnish you with all of the information which I secure relating to the holders who are residents of your city, and would leave you to determine the names upon which you could levy a personal property tax, and it would be these names that I should ask you to pay for.

I enclose a memorandum of some of the stockholders' lists which I have. I am getting new lists continuously.

Hoping that you will give the subject matter the attention which I feel it warrants, I am

Very truly yours,

E. WENTWORTH PRESCOTT.

To which the following reply was sent:

Mr. E. Wentworth Prescott,
State House, Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir:

I have your letter offering to secure assessments of personal property and charge \$1 per name for same. In reply will state that this city has ceased to act in the capacity of a thief. We do not tax personal property; we consider it common, every-day stealing, to take in the form of taxes any part of that which a man earns himself. The land values of Houston produce more revenue than we need and we don't have to subject our citizens to the ordeal of the seventh degree, or put them in a position where they will have to lie, perjure themselves, and send their souls to Hell. If you will read "Progress and Poverty" by Henry George, you will get a line on what I am talking about.

Yours very truly,

Board of Assessors,
J. J. PASTORIZA.

[See current volume, page 29.]

**Tax Reform in Massachusetts.**

Representatives of the Massachusetts Singletax League appeared on March 11 before a legislative committee to urge passage of three different measures. The first allows the legislature to classify property for taxation. The second allows cities and towns to tax buildings at a lower rate than land, and the third provides that state taxes in any city or town shall be divided between land and buildings on the same basis as local taxes. The league was represented by Professor Lewis J. Johnson, Henry D. Nunn, Edmund J. Burke, Professor C. W. Doten, John S. Coleman and Reginald M. Hull. All of these addressed the committee. [See current volume, page 253.]

**The Labor War.**

Charles H. Moyer gave to the Congressional investigating committee on March 11, an account of his shooting and deportation from Hancock, Michigan. His account was the same as that

given on February 25 by Charles Tanner. In answer to a question as to what effort he had made to settle the strike Moyer said: "I have offered to submit the questions to arbitration. I have offered to withdraw the Western Federation from the strike and allow the men to return to work and settle the dispute in their own way. I am now ready to settle the strike in any honorable way. The men can return to work any time they want to and if they ask the organization to withdraw I will call in all organizers and let them go to work under any agreement, or under no agreement at all." He denied having charged the Citizens' Alliance with responsibility for the Christmas Eve disaster. On the same day one of the mine guards, Henry Batters, testified that on arriving in the strike district he had been told to "keep up a fight" to make the "strikers look bad." The committee then adjourned to meet in Washington. On March 12 Congressman Taylor, the chairman, made a statement to the effect that the Michigan copper country is a kingdom of which James McNaughton, manager of the Calumet and Hecla Company, is king, and that the miners are practically serfs although not oppressively treated. Mr. Taylor further said that the committee can do nothing to end the strike since the operators will employ no union men, and that from 3,000 to 6,000 men still out on strike can only go back to work by surrendering their union cards. Press reports say that the majority of the committee will report as follows:

The conduct of the gunmen hired by the companies during the strike was outrageous and frequently criminal. Congress should enact legislation prohibiting the transportation of such bodies of armed men from one state to another.

Miners were imported to take the places of strikers and held under conditions virtually constituting peonage, but it is doubtful that the federal law was violated.

Access to postoffices by strikers was prevented in some cases and several miners were assaulted while seeking to get their mail, but there was no general interference with the mails. A law should be enacted prohibiting the location of postoffices on corporation premises.

The companies have employed a large number of immigrants, but these men were hired in this country, and the testimony showed no violation of the contract labor law.

About 100 members of the Citizens' Alliance were involved in the plot resulting in the assault on and deportation of President Moyer of the Western Federation of Miners, but inasmuch as the mob did not actually take Moyer over the state line, the state instead of the federal court has jurisdiction over the crimes.

The testimony did not support the charge that the fatal panic in Italian hall was started by a sympathizer with the copper companies.

[See current volume, page 252.]

"Mother" Jones, who has been held as a military prisoner at Trinidad, Colorado, since January 12, was taken on March 16 by Colonel W. A. Davis, of the Colorado militia, to Denver and there released. The reason for this action is said to be that the Supreme Court may not pass upon her appeal for a writ of habeas corpus. General Chase is reported to have declared that should she return to the strike district she will be again arrested. [See current volume, page 230.]



The jobless army under "General" Kelley, which was driven out of Sacramento into Yolo County, seems to have been a cause of much perplexity to the officials of both counties. Not wanted in either place and no provision existing to take care of them they have been allowed to remain encamped on the Yolo side of the river pending some decision as to what they might be allowed to do. The men have refused an offer of free transportation to San Francisco. It seems that to get rid of the army the men must be sent somewhere where their presence is equally undesirable. Governor Oddie of Nevada has warned the Southern Pacific and Western Pacific railroads against bringing the army into Nevada.



Frank Tannenbaum, who endeavored to lead a number of unemployed men into St. Alphonsus church in New York City, was indicted on March 10 for "participating in an unlawful assembly." Others arrested were released on suspended sentences. The task declined by the churches of caring for the men was to some extent undertaken by the University Settlement, where on March 11 the men were welcomed by the head worker, Dr. Robbins Gilman, fed and given lodging for the night. Governor Glynn began an effort on March 12 to find jobs for the men on farms. Positions for sixty-eight of them were found by March 16.



English Politics.

Discussion of the Irish Home Rule bill continues, in and out of Parliament, but there has been practically no approach to agreement. Premier Asquith, replying on the 16th to requests for details of local option under the provisions of which the nine counties of Ulster will be permitted to vote separately on the question whether they shall be left out of the control of the new Irish government at Dublin, said he did not feel much encouraged over the reception of his Ulster proposals. He said he was anxious in the interests of peace that the main principle of his proposals should be considered on their merits, unincumbered by minute details. But Andrew Bonar Law, leader of the opposition, declared it

impossible to debate the main proposals without the details. [See current volume, page 254.]

Sir Edward Carson continues his threats of armed resistance. Telegraphing to Belfast on the 14th, he said: "So far as our preparations are concerned, the pronouncement of the government, if anything, necessitates a still more forward movement this year. We are going to make good in action all we have been saying and preparing for during the last two years." Winston Spencer Churchill, first lord of the admiralty, speaking in Yorkshire on the same day said: "The first soldier or coast guard who is attacked and killed by the Orangemen will raise such an explosion in this country as the Tories will little appreciate, and it will shake the foundations of society."

Rumors of all kinds fill the air, and predictions are freely made regarding the outcome. Though the Liberals present a solid front to the opposition, Unionists profess to believe the Premier will make further concessions to Ulster, some going so far as to say he will at the last moment abandon the Irish cause entirely. Predictions are also made that the King will exercise his long disused prerogative and veto the Home Rule bill, which would mean the resignation of the cabinet, and a new election.

The letter of John Galsworthy, the author, attacking Parliament for wasting time over non-essentials, while the great wrongs of humanity go unredressed, has attracted much attention, and drawn expressions of opinion from prominent men and leading newspapers. H. G. Wells says: "A new situation which confronts our liberal intelligence is the discontent of the enfranchised, the contempt and hostility of voters for their elected delegates and the government." Several critics declare the membership too large, and the rules antiquated. Frederick Harrison would have the membership of the House of Commons reduced to 500, or less instead of the present 670. Mr. Wells advocates sane voting as a remedy, and urges proportional representation with the single transferable vote.

Mexico and the United States.

General Huerta's government bank that was to issue fiat money has been delayed in starting. The government has not abandoned the idea, but the minister of finance, Mr. De la Lama, and the conservative element of the capital, have induced the radical members of the cabinet to first consider other means of securing funds. Foreign exchange sold on the 10th at \$3.50 for \$1 gold. [See current volume, page 253.]

The dispatch of two additional regiments of American infantry to Eagle Pass and Laredo, to more effectually guard the border, raises the number of troops in Texas to nearly 18,000, 3,000 more than General Shafter led into Cuba in 1898. The lack of recognized authority in a great part of the Mexican territory along the international boundary makes brigandage hard to prevent. A general store, containing the post-office and customs office at Tecate, Cal., near the boundary, was burned and the postmaster murdered the night of the 14th. Three men, said to be Mexicans, committed the act. Martial law was proclaimed along the border on the 16th, and anti-Mexican feeling runs high in the vicinity of the crime.

General Carranza has modified his position on international relations until he is practically in accord with the officials at Washington. Report is current that the Carranza commission has caused the arrest of Major Rudolfo Fierro, one of General Villa's officers, as the slayer of William S. Benton, the British subject. General Carranza has also appointed a commission to pass on forfeited estates that fall into the hands of the Constitutional army. The military government issued a decree on the 11th, distributing public lands among soldiers of the present revolution, disabled veterans of the Madero revolt, and widows and orphans of the two uprisings. It is estimated that each beneficiary will receive a farm of 62 acres, which will not be subject to execution for debt, nor be sold by the owner within ten years.

Military operations center about Torreon, which is the key to the road to Mexico City. The Constitutionalists, under General Villa, have invested the place, but all dispatches are censored, so that none of the rumors of engagements can be verified.

NEWS NOTES

—A memorial meeting in honor of John S. Crosby was held by the Philadelphia Singletax Society on March 12. Addresses were delivered by W. L. Ross and Frank W. Garrison.

—The federal census bureau reported on March 14 on amount spent by the different States for support of benevolent institutions in 1910. On 5,408 institutions the total spent was \$118,379,859.

—Omaha defeated a proposed new charter at a special election on March 10. At the same time an initiated proposal was carried requiring the local traction company to sell seven tickets for twenty-five cents.

—After addressing a meeting at Bloomington, Illinois, on February 28 in behalf of the commission

form of government, Herbert S. Bigelow left for Peoria, where he spoke on March 1 in a Methodist church and a Universalist church. On March 2 he addressed the state convention of the United Mine Workers of America.

—Extensive fires in the Cuban sugar cane fields are causing great damage to American companies. One company reports a loss of 162,500 tons of cane in the last three weeks by incendiary fires. Another company reports 62,500 tons in the last four days. All precautions so far taken by the Government have proven unavailing.

—Mme. Caillaux, wife of Joseph Caillaux, French minister of finance, shot and killed Gaston Calmette, editor of *Figaro* on the 16th. The *Figaro* has been making savage attacks upon the minister of finance, and Mme. Caillaux undertook to silence them. She says she did not mean to kill the editor, but to "teach him a lesson." [See vol. xvi, p. 1188.]

—Prussian sick insurance, which in amended form went into effect January 1, has been found inapplicable to domestic servants. In Berlin the rate amounts to about 10 per cent of the wages paid, which is considered out of all proportion to the risk. The Government is considering an amendment to separate domestic servants into a separate class from other labor.

—Esmeraldas, Ecuador, which has been in the hands of the rebels since December, and which has heretofore resisted the attempts of the Government to recapture it, was evacuated on the 11th without resistance to the greatly superior Government force. The fall of Esmeraldas, which is the capital of the maritime province of Esmeraldas, is looked upon as a severe blow to the revolutionists. [See current volume, page 181.]

—Steamship companies selling tickets to Italian emigrants must, according to a recent decree, reimburse such persons for their expenses from their native homes to the port of embarkation and return, when they are refused permission to board vessels, owing to restrictions imposed by American laws. This measure is designed to meet the desires of the United States to keep out objectionable aliens. [See current volume, page 13.]

—J. S. Coxey, who led the "Coxey's army" movement of 1894, is now circulating an initiative petition in Ohio to put in effect a measure similar to the one he asked of Congress that year. He proposes that the State of Ohio issue bonds in denominations of \$1 to \$100, bearing a rate of interest too low to attract investors, but which will consequently circulate as currency. The nominal interest rate is intended to evade the provisions of the federal law levying a 10 per cent tax on State currency. This bond currency is to be used in road building.

—Several European powers are about to take similar action to that of the German-American Union, which has entered a protest through the United States embassy to the German government against the imposition of the new "war tax" on American residents in Germany. All persons in Germany, according to a law passed last year for the increase of the army, with incomes over \$750 and up \$2,500 a year, must pay an extra tax of one-half of 1 per cent. The tax increases progressively up to 2 per cent on

incomes of \$12,500 and over. [See current volume, page 109.]

—Famine continues in the district of Hokkaidé, in the north of Japan, where 66,000 persons, according to an official report, are in need of help. The crops on 1,000,000 acres have been so poor for the past three years that the people are in a pitiable condition. "Men are subsisting on straw, bark of trees, acorns and buckwheat chaff powdered and made into gruel. Mothers living on such food have been unable to feed their babies, and have made a milk substitute out of the hulls of rice, which they beat into powder and mix with boiling water. [See current volume, page 179.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Folly of Trust Prosecutions.

Christian Socialist (Chicago) March 1.—"Guilt is personal. "Brilliant remark! So is typhoid, so is poverty. There was a time when, if persons were afflicted by some of these strange diseases, we put them in prison or exiled them to the tombs. Now we know that if a person has typhoid fever, although it is unquestionable that it is an individual who is sick. . . . yet in order to cure him the condition that made him sick must be remedied. When graft and thievery prevail in business, the way to end it is not to put individuals in prison, but to clean up the cause. . . . Until that big cesspool is cleansed, putting individuals in prison because they have caught the infection is sublime idiocy. They can't help it—they caught it.



The Field of Battle.

Chicago Tribune, March 10.—Trafalgar Square is the bloody field of English thought. Mr. G. B. Shaw may preach elsewhere, at the tail of a cart, and there may be much ado in market place and forum, but when the Englishman, the real radical of all humans, wishes to express himself without any restraint, in all abandon, utterly and completely, he goes to Trafalgar Square and hits some one on the nose. The police, martyred custodians of moss-covered doctrines, are always there to be hit. Freedom of phrase and freedom of fist may always find expression in Trafalgar square, and there now go Sylvia and Milicent, Gladys and Imogene, Christabel and Emmaline, Irene and gentle Mary, the fair Priscilla and tender Thelma, Edith, Laura, and Marguerite, Theodora and Genevra, with clubs in their muffs, to hit a policeman and get the vote. When ideas are to be put in heads by the process of first punching a hole in the head, everybody goes to Trafalgar square, the intellectual clearing house of the world, and Militant Maud merely follows the procession when she's "off to her love with a boxing glove" in Trafalgar square.



Mexican Monopolists Must Look Elsewhere.

Cleveland (Ohio) Press, February 5.—One of the kind-hearted editorial gents who wants Wilson to interfere in Mexico offers this tempting morsel:

"Land an American army at Vera Cruz and start it marching toward the capital and it would encounter only huzzas of welcome. The property-owning classes would regard it as coming to rescue and enforce social order." Betcher life! That's just what the property-owning classes did when the coalition invaded France, along about 1791, with a view of rescuing and enforcing social order, or something equally as favorable to the 5 per cent. The property-owning classes always get out and huzza for armies coming to rescue and enforce their cinch on things, and Mexico would be no exception. . . . A nice figure Uncle Sam would cut upon a mission to rescue order, or a condition, under which a limited land aristocracy has ground millions of Mexicans to the dirt! But we don't see him doing it, and the Mex property-owning classes had better put their huzzas in cold storage.



Lloyd George's Letter to Mr. Raffan.

The Nation (London), January 17.—Clearly, then, a policy that has as its main motive the emancipation of the energies of industry and the creation of the conditions of a good life must remove so obvious and conspicuous an anomaly. If it were made compulsory to levy, say, a penny rate on the capital values of the sites, and to throw all or the greater part of any increase of expenditure above its present amount of site values, with an option to rating authorities to levy a higher rate on these values for the purposes of present expenditure, there would be a great relief to industry and public enterprise. And as the reform would be accompanied by a readjustment of national and local burdens, no large and sudden disturbance of individual fortunes would result from it. Development would be stimulated instead of being penalized. Sloth and under-development would be fined instead of being rewarded as they now are. The economic tendencies set up by such a change would be of great public value and importance. Liberals are looking for some reform on these lines with eager expectations, and not only Liberals, but many who are not Liberals but who are versed in public and municipal administration. Rating reform is called for on its own merits, but its adoption in the circumstances of the hour is of vital importance. If large sums are to be taken from the National Exchequer and distributed among the local authorities, and the latter are still left to raise all their revenue on the present basis, the golden moment will go by. We shall have to postpone, probably for a generation, the realization of the long-cherished hope of carrying what Mr. Asquith has described as "a well-considered scheme, which would free municipalities from the trammels under which they at present act, and which would open the avenue to a new prospect of social and industrial development."



Coercion of Tenants.

Daily News and Leader (London and Manchester), February 25.—Plain folk must wonder what good the Unionist peers did yesterday to themselves and their friends by raising a debate on the political and social intimidation practiced by landlords on farmers and laborers. They secured an opportunity for venting

abuse on Mr. Lloyd George, . . . but they did nothing to shake the general conviction that under our existing land system there is no liberty of thought or political action for the laborer and the farmer who do not happen to share the views of the squire. Even the Unionist peers themselves had to admit that there are some bad tyrannical landlords, but they offered two absurd reasons for concluding that the system as a whole is admirable: the first is that Mr. Lloyd George does not offer documentary evidence of the kind that would satisfy a jury in a criminal case, as though landlords are clumsy enough to put their offense on paper when they are venting their spleen on a subordinate who ventures to be politically insubordinate; the second is that public opinion would long ago have swept away the system if it had been as evil as is said. Everybody knows that up till lately the only public opinion which has effected landlords in the working of the land has been the opinion of the landowning class, and that, of course, approved the pernicious courses. It is only since Mr. Lloyd George took up the land campaign that public opinion in relation to the land has become not merely vocal but effective and therefore feared by the landlords.



How One American Shipowner Protects American Labor.

Coast Seaman's Journal, Feb. 25.—While Robert Dollar is at Washington endeavoring to prevail upon Congress not to interfere with his business, the American steamer "Mackinaw," owned or chartered by Mr. Dollar's company, has successfully evaded the United States authorities by an entirely new scheme. It will be recalled that nineteen Chinese members of the "Mackinaw's" crew were imported to the United States in apparent violation of the Federal Contract Labor Law. Therefore, instead of loading at the American port where the "Mackinaw's" cargo of lumber had been gathered the vessel anchored at Esquimalt, B. C., and had the lumber brought to her in barges—all for the evident purpose of preventing the United States immigration officials from molesting that imported Chinese crew. We wonder if Mr. Dollar will explain the details of this little incident when he appears before the Congressional Committee in opposition to the safety features of the Seamen's bill?



The Plutocrat's Creed.

Pease and Ellman's Real Estate Indicator, New York, October 6.—Our Credo is short, and may be briefly stated. Its tenets, developed as space would allow are: That taxation in New York City is based on an absurd theory that a few people can continue to pay all the expenses of an extravagant and corrupt municipal government, backed by a like one at Albany; that since the benefits that are granted the people of the city are enjoyed by all, all of the people who are given the political franchise should pay their share toward them, each in proportion to his means, be they great or small, and that those who will not or cannot pay should be denied any share in the government of the city and the right to receive any payment from it for services of any na-

ture; that the city is cursed and its prosperity endangered by the high quantity and low quality of the immigration from foreign countries into it, and that the taxpayer should not have to pay for its deficiencies, just because it controls a great share of the votes necessary to the corrupt politician. Our policy is further that the successful man has a right to be successful without persecution by city, State and Federal office-holders, for vote-getting purposes. We are very friendly disposed toward the successful man and the rich man; and we are in no wise worried about the opinions of the lower classes' about what we publish, as we do not care for their support.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

OUR GODS.

I.

In awe I watched the pageant of the world:
 The rich, the bold, the prideful and the high,
 The lame, the halt, the blind, all passed me by;
 And on each face a look, as if unfurled
 Before their raptured gaze, a banner, pearled
 And gemmed and blazoned, flaunted in the sky.
 In wonder, then, I spake to one who nigh
 Me stood,—a sage on whom stern fate had hurled
 A thousand cruel events of high emprise,—
 "What wonder this, that captures all the eyes
 Of this so motley throng? Is't the One-God
 Who leans above them on His holy rod?"
 "Not One," he said, "but myriad seraphim:
 Each makes his God, and then his God makes
 him."

THE ONE-GOD.

II.

"But Sage," I cried in wonder and despair,
 "Is there no One-God whom the world may
 find,
 Whose holy laws the centuries unwind
 And trace unto their source, whose Heaven fair,
 Lifting white turrets in celestial air
 Because of its own brightness seems to blind
 The sight of mortals till, alas, the kind
 And watchful One seems nodding in his care?"

"When men," he said, "shall cease to wrest and
 grasp
 For these mean things of earth,—loot, spoil,
 Gold, silver, and shall learn the brother's clasp
 For hands of those who sink beneath their
 toil;
 Then shall the seraphs cry, 'Behold your God!
 Who leans above you as you onward plod.'"

RICHARD WARNER BORST.



A MOTHER IN ISRAEL.

For The Public.

She was very old, feeble, and spent most of the time in her big arm chair by the window, where

the entire neighborhood went for sound advice and words of good cheer. They called her Mother and Grandma; a few of them spoke of her as Madam Wilton and thought of the rambling farm house where she lived, cared for by her granddaughter, as if it was the palace of a queen.

One day all the young girls of the Valley gathered there, and the talk turned upon woman suffrage. (She had been carried to the polls that week, rejoicing greatly because at last she could vote.) This wise woman said: "I think that this age you girls belong to is going to require very much more from its men and women than just trying to vote right. It will ask for more responsibility from both men and women than any of you yet realize.

"The other day I was thinking about what married life meant for us, seventy years ago, especially on the housekeeping side. I was married to a good man when I was only sixteen, and—." She stopped a minute.

"The hardest little thing, girls, was that I gave up, as every one else did in those days, as a matter of course, nearly every one of my own bring-ups about—well, food, for instance. My own family and my husband's family differed very greatly in the sort of food they liked and in methods of preparing it, so as a matter of course, I put aside all my own ways and at once began to cook the heavy meats and pastries that my husband liked. I gave up having fruits, salads, and many of the more delicate vegetables.

"Every good woman since the world began, desiring to make a happy home for her man has done most of the giving up in little things, because it has been expected. The man has never learned to meet her half way in these things."

The old woman looked around the circle of young faces and saw complete assent there. She went on: "The new feminism means that the time must come when both men and women, having fullest freedom and ownership of themselves, grow up without these spider-webs of little but unchangeable likes and dislikes. Once when I was traveling I saw a man in his own home throw his boiled eggs across the floor because, as he said to his wife, they were left too soft. 'You know how I like 'em!' he shouted. She cooked more, without a word—he was the father of her children. Then she washed off the floor. That was about sixty years ago, but lots of people today have never once recognized the fact that no person of either sex ought to become the slave of these little personal habits. The 'new freedom' that the President talks about means in part that instead of 'Women, obey your husbands in all things for this is right,' we shall have 'You wives and husbands, help each other in little things as well as in large ones; you are, first of all, human beings, and equally responsible.'"

One of the girls remarked: "It's Olive Schrein-

er's 'Dream in a Desert'; the woman falls prone, under too great a burden made up of little nagging things; the human race cannot go forward as it ought until men and women are in all respects co-workers."

"Yes," Madam Wilton said, "it's there, and in ten thousand other books. But we need never fear that love and marriage, home and companionship, will mean less than they do now." Spoke one of the young women who sat in the circle, sat so close to the older woman that the strong brown hand was clasped over the thin, white, blue-veined one, "Yes, dear, yes. They'll mean more, a thousand times; they will lie on a bed-rock foundation." She laughed a little. "It's just give and take; it's to make less of the material items and more of the spiritual ones. It isn't to do like the Randall girl, up on Mission Peak. They say she took the other route; said she wanted French pastries for dessert every night and got them by mail from a confectioner's. She told poor Jim that he ought to eat them with her, or be mean. He stood it for the honeymoon, and then things broke. She went home 'cross lots with her sunbonnet in her hand, and he went home to his mother's for some doughnuts, apple sauce and beefsteak."

"Yes, I know," said Mrs. Wilton. "She and her mother came here afterwards, with his mother, and we talked it over. The poor child had never had 'French pastries' at home and but once or twice anywhere else. She had really grown sick of them herself when the trouble came, but did not know how to stop gracefully. Then Jim came over, too, and they made it up right here in this room. He had sold out and moved into another county, and the trouble was kept out of the newspapers. They write me every now and then, and send me pictures of the baby. It's a very nice little girl, but—." The eyes lit up, the old face shone with a merry look—"she has a very plain name to carry through life."

"O, Grandma Wilton!" the girls cried as they rose to say good-bye, for the nurse was at the door to "shoo us off," as they said. "We can guess that! Dozens of nice babies have been blest by being named after you, you dear old peacemaker!"

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



THERE, THERE, LITTLE TRUST!

Ellis O. Jones in *Life*.

There, little trust—don't cry!

They have made you dissolve, I know;

And the wicked laws

Have made you pause,

And struck you a brutal blow:

But the price of your stock is soaring high;—
There, little trust—don't cry!

There, little trust—don't cry!

They have changed you about, I know;

They stormed and cursed

Till your bonds they burst,
And they gave you a mark to toe:
But you still hold tight to things we must buy;—
There, little trust—don't cry!

There, little trust—don't cry!
They have torn you apart, I know;
The law has said
You must hide your head
Away from the passing show:
But raise your prices with never a sigh;—
There, little trust—don't cry!

BOOKS

CONSERVATIVE RADICALISM.

A Primer of Political Economy. By Alfred Bishop Mason. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. Price, 50 cents net.

Radical conclusions are not usually expected in a work on political economy which defines wealth as "anything for which something can be got in exchange," including land and labor in the category; which accepts the wage fund theory and which is strictly orthodox in its presentation of the money question. Yet a work of this kind is furnished in "A Primer of Political Economy" by Alfred Bishop Mason. For this reason it will probably not prove entirely satisfactory to any class. If no distinction is to be made between land and other material possessing exchange value, conservatives and radicals alike may question the validity of the author's final conclusion in advocating a limited form of the Singletax. The treatment of the wage question is similar to the manner of some orthodox writers and would probably fail to arouse the interest of one to whom a satisfactory solution of that problem is all important. The chapter devoted to the Singletax, in spite of its advocacy of that principle, is liable to be criticized by most of those who have followed the reasoning of Henry George. The parts devoted to the money question make one wonder why the author—before endorsing the artificial gold standard—did not give some consideration to what kind of a system would result were natural laws allowed free play, unhampered by man-made restrictions. Mr. Mason's work is a fair example of one that is neither altogether radical nor altogether conservative. For those who favor middle ground it may fill a long-felt want.

S. D.



AN ECONOMIC INQUIRY.

Cost and Price or the Product and the Market. By Isaiah Skeels. Published by the David Gibson Company, Cleveland, O. Price, \$2.00 net.

Mr. Isaiah Skeels has produced in "Cost and Price," a book that clearly shows many existing

evils and just as clearly shows the remedy. Its style is interesting and though the book is unnecessarily long it is easy reading throughout. But for one error, or perhaps an unfortunate manner of expression, it could easily be recommended as a valuable guide to economic truth. This error is the claim that ground rent is included in the price of commodities. The author carries this error to the extent of asserting: "With the average family, even though they may own their home, it can be asserted that fully three-fourths of necessary expenses for the year comes from paying for the land value—ground rents—costs that have been attached to whatever the family may buy and covered in the selling price." That assertion seems to make his whole position untenable, since he advocates the Singletax as a remedy. If ground rent could be included in commodity prices, then taxes on ground rents could be also. If Mr. Skeel's assertion were correct, then goods bought in a store on a side street, where rent is low, would be cheaper than the same goods bought in a store on a high-priced location. What, perhaps, he had in mind is that speculative land prices by keeping land out of use and restricting production, affects many commodity prices. If so, it is unfortunate that the meaning is not more clearly expressed. On the money question the author's views are clear and logical. It is refreshing to find one who sees the errors of the existing money system and at the same time, in offering a remedy, avoids the all too common error of suggesting either government loans or furnishing by the government of artificial employment. His plan of "Taxation Currency," with some modification of detail might well serve as an illustration of the ideal currency system.

S. D.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Overland Red. Anonymus. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston. 1914. Price \$1.35 net.

—A Handbook of Stock Exchange Laws. By Samuel P. Goldman. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co. 1914. Price \$1.50 net.

—The Carpenter and the Rich Man. By Bouck White. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York. 1914. Price \$1.25 net.

—Arrows in the Gale. By Arturo Giovannitti. Introduction by Helen Keller. Published by Frederick C. Bursch, Riverside, Conn. 1914. Price \$1.00 net.

—Where and Why Public Ownership Has Failed. By Yves Guyot. Translated from the French by H. F. Baker. The Macmillan Company. 1914. Price \$1.50 net.



A Kansas undertaker advertises thus: "Why pay \$75 for a coffin when we will sell you the same thing for \$25? Try one and be convinced."—Appeal to Reason.

PERIODICALS

The Honor of the Army.

Tyrannical and barbarous treatment of enlisted men in the United States army seems conclusively shown in the series of articles on "The Honor of the Army" in Harper's Weekly by Charles Johnson Post. The fourth paper of the series in the issue of March 14 is devoted to deserters. Mr. Post tells of one case after another of men who deserted under circumstances that made desertion the very course that any man, fit for anything, ought to take or that should, even from a militarist's point of view, have deprived the act of all reprehensible features. Yet in these cases the unfortunate ones on being caught were sentenced to prison terms and to dishonorable discharge—involving loss of citizenship. This series should have a wide circulation.

S. D.



If I have done anything to deserve the good will that I feel here tonight, it is because I have done something to earn the ill will of the people back home who defend Special Privilege. Once I had a dream that my time had come and I found myself before the gates of Heaven. Saint Peter demanded of me some reason why I should be admitted. I told him some of the things I had tried to do. I told him I had been good to my neighbors. I told him to ask the children if I had not been kind to them. Saint Peter said, "That won't do. Anybody will be good to children." Then I told him some other things. He was not satisfied. "I want to know," he said, "whether you have been effectively good enough to have earned the ill will and the opposition of the great, powerful people in your community." I had anticipated that question and took out of my pocket some copies of Brother Charlie's Cincinnati Times-Star and said, "Peter, read these editorials." He looked them over and, with a broad smile, handed them back and said: "You can go in. There is nothing better for recognition of a man up here than that the Cincinnati Times-Star should have abused him on earth." I was very happy. I put the papers back into my grip and started in. He called me back and asked, "What have you in that grip?" "The Declaration of Independence, a volume of Progress and Poverty, some speeches of Abe Lincoln, a volume of Robert Browning's poems, the Life of Tom Paine, and these copies of the Times-Star." "The other things are all right," he said, "but you must leave out the Times-Star."—Herbert S. Bigelow, at the Washington Singletax Conference.



That is The Great Adventure: to find, to choose, to make one's place in human service and to fill it; Adventure of a lifetime, of many successful lifetimes; Adventure never achieved, always rich in the joy of pursuit, the vision of fulfilment; Adventure not consummated in a year or two, nor limiting itself to the happiness of a few, but always opening before us, and carrying help and service to all the world.

All legitimate human work can be that.—The Fore-runner.

Mary: "The doctor says this illness of mine is caused by a germ."

Agnes: "What did he call it?"

Mary: "I don't remember. I caught the disease, but not the name."—Judge.



It came to pass that with women holding all the political offices and barring the male sex from voting, mere man rebelled against taxation and, after a fight that lasted for years, the Income Tax became a dead letter. The government was in dire need and many schemes were proposed to make up the deficit. So it came that a mere man devised the Beauty Tax and saved the day. The Beauty Tax was imposed upon woman alone. She paid in accordance with her claim to beauty. The confessed homely sister was exempt. The fairly good-looking woman paid \$25. The good-looking woman paid \$50.

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"Because it makes them harder to hit."—Yale Record.

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