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EDITORIAL

Superstition.

To the heathen of Senegambia; prosperity, security and general welfare depend upon a grotesquely fashioned idol; to the Christian of Europe these things depend upon huge standing armies and navies. Which will be the first to see the light?

S. C.

Unreasonable Expectations.

Why expect the Kaiser, who upheld military brutality at Zabern, to condemn similar brutality at Louvain? Why expect the Czar, who approved of Red Sunday and the Kishneff massacre to disapprove of Cossack criminality in East Prussia? When all the armies are through with killing foreigners they will doubtless be prepared, whenever called upon, to deal the same way with their countrymen, who are now cheering, applauding or excusing them. They will deal with them even as they dealt at Dublin a few weeks ago, on the gun running occasion, or as they dealt in 1910 with the strikers at Berlin and suffrage demonstrationists throughout Prussia. Why should one look for squeamishness in soldiers in dealing with vanquished foreigners, when these same soldiers have not hesitated to fire on their own countrymen?

S. D.

International Responsibility.

This is a good time for persons who hold that the solidarity of the human race is a myth, to gather some new data on the subject. Scarcely had the first ultimatum issued, or the first gun been fired, when our financial affairs were in a fever of excitement. And when, by the aid of the Government, confidence had been restored, it was only to see another trans-Atlantic influence at work. Prices began to advance, and revenue to fall off. Nor will the return of peace in Europe relieve us of the burden of this war. Many people will be impoverished, numerous industries will be destroyed, many of the best men will be killed; and

those remaining will have to bear the burden of the war tax. Consequently they will be poorer customers, and we shall lose some of the advantages we formerly had in trade. The same will be true of the South American trade diverted from European countries to the United States. Anything so obtained, over what should come to us economically, will be an injury to those countries, and will be reflected again in the curtailment of the demand of European customers for American goods.



One nation may advance temporarily at the expense of another, one industry may be promoted at the expense of another; but every positive and lasting gain will be made with, not at the expense of, other nations and industries. The same social law that governs individuals governs groups of individuals. And just as the individual serves himself best when he helps his fellow most, so the nation that does most for others will do most to enrich itself. The expense of guiding, aiding and counseling Mexico during her recent troubles amounts to many million dollars. Is there any one so blind as not to see that our moral, spiritual and economic growth in consequence are worth many fold what they have cost? When statesmen see this, and when an enlightened public opinion holds them to the mark, nations will have done with protective tariffs and standing armies, and will undertake to do as friends what they have heretofore tried to do as enemies.

S. C.



Popular Government and War.

Because France is a republic and Great Britain a monarchy in name only, a correspondent figures that the war must have had the approval of the people. It should not be necessary to remind a resident of the United States that republics can go to war without popular consent. Within the past few months the question of war or peace with Mexico lay with the President alone. Fortunately he happened to be a peace advocate. A militarist President would have decided differently. Perhaps the European people did favor war, but it is certain that they were not consulted. Another correspondent refers to England's volunteer army to show that the burdens of war have been voluntarily assumed. But soldiers do not bear the entire burden. Wives, mothers and children are not usually asked to consent. In Canada the consent of the wife is required and has prevented many enlistments, but Canada is exceptional. Owners of commandeered property do not voluntarily surrender it, nor is there any volunteering in the matter of taxation. Still another correspondent

claims that England's guarantee of Belgian neutrality morally obligated it to commit the immoral act of waging war. That brings up the question concerning what a government may rightfully do and what it may not do. The things which no government may rightfully do are those which constitute violations of individual rights which it was organized to protect. Such an infringement is a treaty binding it, under certain circumstances, to force citizens, regardless of their wishes, to risk their lives and surrender their property as is done in warfare. For this reason no existing treaty offers a valid excuse for any of the belligerents. Treaties should be sacredly kept when they contain no pledge to do wrong. It is different with a pledge to commit murder or help in its commission.



It has furthermore been said that to deny a government's right to coerce soldiers and commandeer property will render it defenseless. Those who urge this reasoning forget that widespread indifference on the part of citizens as to what becomes of the government, indicates that it is not worth the sacrifices necessary for defense, or at least that the citizens do not hold it to be so. A government justly entitled to defense need not hesitate to leave its citizens free in the matter of military service.

S. D.



Unwise to Pay Blackmail.

It is regrettable, if true, that four rich citizens of Brussels have agreed to pay the forty million dollars war tax levied on that city by the invaders. It would have been better to refuse to pay, and to defy the predatory commander of the conquering army to show the world just how much, or how little, civilization he has within him.

S. D.



Restricting Food Exportations.

A petition to President Wilson is in circulation in certain parts of the country calling upon him to ask Congress for an embargo on food exports. A condescending concession is made by these petitioners that the President, in trying to establish a merchant marine, is acting according to his light; but the demand is made that he give over trying to find means to export our "bumper crop," and instead, stop such exportation. The argument runs to the effect that the war in Europe is not of our making, that if the people there run short of food it is nothing to us, and that therefore we should

not let them have any of our food, for to do so would mean that we ourselves would have to bear a part of the war burdens in the higher prices of our food. Hence, we should prohibit the exportation of food stuffs, thus keeping down the price and saving us from any economic disturbance. As we have abnormal crops this year it is conceivable that such an embargo would give us cheaper food than in times of peace.



It may be asked, however, why the farmer should be signalled out to bear the burden of this war? Food is not the only thing that is going up. A demand greater than the supply sends up the price of any kind of goods. The people of Europe have ceased other activities besides farming. All manner of wealth production has been interrupted, and the customers of Europe are turning to this country for the goods they formerly got there. This will cause at least a temporary advance in all manner of prices. For the government to step in between the farmer and his customers, and at the same time permit the manufacturer to take advantage of this opportunity would be the grossest kind of partiality. It would be to subject the farmer to the same disadvantages that the protective tariff has laid upon him. The farmer has borne the ups and downs of seasons and markets, plus a high tariff, with stoical fortitude, why step in now, and deprive him of his gain? If the people of the country wish to starve the warring nations into peace, and can do it, let them; but let them at the same time make up to the food producers what they would have received for their labor had not the Government interfered. s. c.



Interrupting Good Work.

Immediately before the breaking out of the present war Prussia had set about adding another contribution toward Germany's new land policy. Aside from the various ventures of German cities in the direction of raising local revenue by taxing land values, there has been apparent a movement to differentiate between land and other kinds of property. Indeed, the very purpose of the bills introduced into the Prussian diet was to destroy the idea that land should be treated as if "it were tea, lumber or coal." The Government objected to the policy adopted by owners who looked upon their land as goods to be parceled out as they saw fit, without regard to the rights of the public. It was therefore proposed that the right of entail be limited, that all sales of land be submitted for approval to a public commissioner, and that the state have the right to acquire land. The Prussian

land bill was but a timid step; yet it was a step. The discussion of the question, as well as the adoption of the law, would present the land question in a new guise, and would tend to familiarize people with the true relations between land and man.



What a pity that Prussian men should have been taken from discussing policies that lead to a restoration of the land of a country to the people of that country, and set to killing Frenchmen, Russians, Belgians and Englishmen who are in the same predicament! The militarist has more to answer for than making orphans and widows.

s. c.



A Measure of the War Madness.

It has been said that this is not a people's war, but a dynastic war, that if the people could have had their voice there would have been no war. That may have been true at the beginning of the trouble, but it may be questioned if it is now true. If the reports that are now coming from the countries involved can be depended upon, the great masses of the people are almost as much obsessed by the idea that "foreigner" is synonymous with "enemy" as at any time in the past. The autocrats doubtless started the war, but their appeals to their people have met with a quick response. The German accepts the story that the other nations of Europe are jealous of Germany's progress, and have seized upon this opportunity to destroy her. And the Frenchman has been convinced that Germany is drunk with power, and is seeking world dominion. Each is fighting not only for his country but for liberty, civilization and progress.



That there was still enough of blind patriotism left to make a considerable response to the call to arms was expected by all peace men; and it was admitted that there would be enough men coerced into joining the ranks to make a formidable war; but there was a feeling that a great many men would not respond, or that they would come to the colors half heartedly, and would seize the first opportunity to desert or surrender. This idea seemed to be borne out by the Austrians who, if reports received may be relied upon, have made a poor showing as soldiers. But this is far from true of the French and Germans. There is no doubt of the efficiency of the German army, and there has been no word received to indicate that the men are fighting with less spirit today than they did in 1870. Nor do the French, who seem

to have been overborne in numbers and in generalship, lack in patriotic fervor.



This flaring up of the old war spirit might have been received with misgiving had we been left to the declarations of militarists. But the recent action of the Socialists seems to remove the last doubt. If the reports be true, as given in the press dispatches, that the French Socialists have served notice on their government that they will withdraw all opposition until the close of the war, it means that the old spirit of "my country, right or wrong" still lives. For the Socialists, of all people, have preached international brotherhood. The doctrine of class consciousness implies the wiping out of boundry lines. Nor need the good faith of the men and women who have preached this doctrine be brought in question. The leaders believed it; they still believe it; but apparently it did not sink far enough into the average man's understanding to control his action under the present circumstances. The rank and file of the Socialist parties in Germany and France might be dragooned into service in the army, but the allegiance of the leaders leaves no doubt of the united people. When the leaders who have preached class consciousness all these years are willing to join hands with their opponents in their own country, rather than with their brethren in another country, it measures as nothing else can the extent of the present war-madness.

s. c.



Circumstances Alter Cases.

A ship load of Hindus a few weeks ago sought to gain entrance into Canada for the purpose of engaging in productive industry. But although they resorted to every available means, including forceable resistance to deportation, they were unsuccessful. Now ship loads of Hindus are on the way to Europe to fight in the British army against the Germans. This contradictory attitude toward the Hindus gives point to the editorial comment of The Panjabee, on the settlement of the Hindu question in South Africa, which was made on the basis that the Hindus already in the country should be fairly treated, but no more should be admitted.



Says The Panjabee of July 21:

When we speak of the settlement in South Africa, let us not forget that this essentially is the basis on which that settlement has been affected. Are we going to accept the principle here laid down by friends of the Indian community in South Africa as well as their foes? Let it be distinctly understood that we

have no particular partiality for our people emigrating to countries where they are not wanted and are certainly not welcome. But the question we are bound to ask is, why should the Indian not have the right of entry into those parts of the empire whose citizens are freely admitted into India? As we have said already, if there is to be no such thing as a common imperial citizenship under which citizens from one part of the empire would have the same rights in another part as its own citizens, the next best thing, and the only other alternative consistent with the reality of empire, is to have equal reciprocity by which one part of the empire, while according a preference to citizens from another part as compared with aliens, shall treat them exactly as its own citizens are treated in that other part. We are as firm believers in autonomy as South Africans or Canadians, but neither autonomy nor anything else can ever dispense with justice. It is as a matter of justice that we claim that India shall be an equal member of the empire and shall have the same right in regard to citizens from the rest of the empire that the rest of the empire claims and exercises in regard to its own citizens.

It is fortunate for Christian diplomacy that consistency is not an indispensable part.

s. c.



The Case of Captain Rust.

The case of Captain Armistead Rust shows that truly useful service is not appreciated by the so-called "plucking board" of the United States navy. Captain Rust has distinguished himself, not in work of slaughter and destruction, but in service which has been of great help in constructive work, such as the digging of the Panama canal. A report by the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs shows that he cleared up much confusion regarding Panama, did valuable surveying work, and is the author of books helpful to navigators. While we have a navy at all, it would be well to encourage rather than discourage service of officers that helps useful constructive work. But the "plucking board" has thought otherwise and ordered Captain Rust's retirement.

s. d.



Jury Trials for Employers.

An inexcusable injustice was the refusal of the Senate to extend to employers the right of a jury trial in contempt cases, given by the Clayton bill to employes. It would be as great an outrage for a judge to summarily convict an employer in a case of indirect contempt as to convict an employe. Although laborers are the principal sufferers from government by injunction, there ought to be enough statesmanship in the Senate to see that the wrong can and should be abolished without making its abolition appear as a class privilege.

s. d.

Something New in Taxation.

Persons who may have been disposed to accept the time-honored statement that there is nothing new under the sun should not be too confident in their faith. The erudite editor who recently declared his opposition to the system of taxation in Edmonton, Alberta, which exempts buildings from taxation, and proposed in lieu thereof a plan to tax each floor of a building, came painfully near to disproving the old adage. Not only would the editor tax each floor of the building as though it were an additional lot, but he would grade the tax on the several floors according to the business conducted on them. This would seem to have the merit of discouraging the erection of fifty-story skyscrapers; but otherwise the substance of the proposition differs in form, rather than in essence, from the method so widely practiced in this country. We do not tax a two-story building twice as much as a one-story building, but we do pretend to tax a two thousand dollar building twice as much as a one-thousand dollar building. That is to say, the more a man does for the community, the more labor he employs, the more service he renders to society, the more we fine him. If he holds valuable land idle, land that has been made valuable by the industry of the community, we fine him lightly; but the fine is increased progressively just to the extent that he attempts to serve society. Our original editor is trying to systematize piracy.

s. c.



Congressional Duty and the Deficit.

President Wilson, having officially informed Congress of a prospective deficit, properly leaves to that body determination of the manner in which to meet it. If Congress were a statesmanlike body the problem would be easily solved. There is but one source from which public revenue can properly be taken. To that source, land values, Congress would turn if its members possessed more knowledge of or interest in the principles of political economy. Since we do not happen to have that kind of a Congress we must make the best of a bad situation. The members should be warned away from such inexcusable taxes on industry as are being suggested. Taxes on moving picture films are being suggested, which will place a handicap on a cheap, popular and useful amusement. Taxes on railroad tickets is another suggestion, which will increase the already high cost of traveling. Most of the other suggestions are aimed at industry and will if adopted increase the cost of living.

Congressman Bailey's bill for a supertax of five per cent on incomes over \$20,000, while not strictly in accord with sound economic principles, as Mr. Bailey realizes, has nevertheless the advantage of falling mainly on unearned incomes, and of being free from many objections that apply to the propositions which Congress seems most disposed to adopt. It has the additional advantage of being in accord with principles which many congressmen loudly proclaim on the stump but silently dodge when it comes to a vote. Mr. Bailey will force every congressman, whether he votes or dodges, to make clear whether he prefers further burdening of the poor to slightly reducing the incomes of the rich. The vote may take the form outright on his proposition or in upholding some parliamentary quibble to smother it. In either case its meaning will be clear.



Congress can honorably avoid taking a position on the tax question by cutting down expenses. In view of the probable unwillingness of the body to adopt any other than a most burdensome form of taxation, such economy would be desirable. The elimination of "pork barrel" appropriations is being urged and if that should be done it would, under the circumstances, be a welcome solution. At the same time a better place to economize would be in appropriations for the army and navy. s. d.



"Rational Tax Reform" In Oregon.

In desperate need of arguments must be the opponents of the proposed constitutional amendment in Oregon for exemption from taxation of \$1,500 of each citizen's personal property and improvements. The measure will practically remove from the tax rolls all at-present-taxable property owned by a majority of farmers and small home owners. Yet in spite of this fact the "Oregon Rational Tax Reform Association," as the organized opposition is called, has sent broadcast to the press a circular stating that it "will increase the farmers' taxes from 35 to 50 per cent." Possibly the association has "farmers" in mind who live in the cities and own unused land in the country or hold mortgages on farms worked by members of the class to be exempted.



Another statement is made to the effect that a singletax law in Alberta caused such suffering that "after five years of experiment they had to modify their system and adopt one which permitted them to tax personal property and improvements."

Since the Oregon proposition is not singletax, the statement about Alberta is irrelevant, even if it were true—and it is not true. No place in Alberta that has adopted the singletax has gone back to taxation of personal property and improvements. Nor is it true that municipal singletax caused any suffering in Alberta. The statement is the more inexcusable because the writer of it says: "I was up there and made a thorough investigation of the entire situation." Another assertion is that "Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Iowa and one or two other States are successfully taxing intangible wealth." Residents of those states will feel on reading that, that it is necessary to go to Oregon to learn the facts concerning the working of their tax systems.

S. D.



Tax Restriction and Prohibition.

Ohio votes this fall on prohibition. Since the liquor business contributes several millions annually to the revenues of the State, the question comes up how to make up this loss should the prohibitory amendment be adopted. The prohibitionists usually have an answer ready. The deficit can be made up by levying taxes on something else than liquor. But they are estopped in Ohio from answering thus this fall. There is pending in addition to prohibition a proposition to limit local tax rates to one per cent and under certain conditions to one and a half per cent. The adoption of this amendment will make impossible any increase in the tax rate. In many cases it will compel a reduction regardless of local needs. Even with the revenue from liquor licenses this tax restriction amendment, initiated by the State Board of Commerce, will cripple and perhaps bankrupt many localities. If in addition they should be deprived of liquor revenue their condition will be desperate indeed. It is the plain duty of those who support prohibition to defeat the tax restriction.



Clearly insincere is the plea in its behalf made by the State Board of Commerce, that "it will make the singletax impossible." The Ohio Constitution already makes impossible any other system than the general property tax. No amendment is needed to prevent the singletax—even if that plea were anything more than an appeal to ignorance. What the State Board of Commerce has concealed is the fact that it will make impracticable, if not impossible, any important change of any kind. It will benefit none but monopolistic interests, which will be protected from increased taxation and from municipal ownership movements.

S. D.

Woman Voters and Progressive Policies.

An active force for progressive legislation in Illinois is the Woman's Party of Cook County. This organization is not, as its name might indicate, a political party, but a non-partisan organization working for measures of interest to all citizens. During the primary campaign it has been busy questioning candidates, especially those for legislative positions. The questions asked relate to the candidate's position on the Initiative, Referendum, Recall, full suffrage for women, reform of primary election laws, short ballot and other matters. On the taxation question the advanced position of the organization is shown by the following question: "Do you favor an amendment to the constitution to reduce or abolish the tax on personal property, and improvements, and increase the tax on land values?" A woman's organization engaged in such work is in itself a refutation of the doleful prophecies uttered by opponents of equal suffrage concerning alleged bad effects of that reform.

S. D.



THOUGHTS FOR LABOR DAY.

What constitutes useful service, labor, the effort of which is to be rewarded, can be readily determined by society; and the value of such service, the wealth which should go to any particular man for the labor he has performed, will be easily enough measured when society is free to act upon its own desires and is not forced to either extortion or tribute by any form of monopoly, special privilege or compulsion. When a man may sell, unhindered and unaided, his services or the products of his labor to other men, and receive the full economic value therefor, there will be no difficulty in determining what constitutes valuable service or valuable product, or in determining the value of either of these.

A condition under which this may be done is not so difficult of attainment. It is indeed comparatively easy. Primarily, and probably exclusively except for some minor regulation, we have simply to abolish private property in the location value of land. Since that value exists and must inevitably continue to exist so long as society itself continues we cannot abolish the value, but we can nullify the unnatural and absurd private claim to it by taking it in the form of a tax for the benefit of society which creates it. When that is done, there will no longer stand at the elbow of every man selling his labor, his wares, his services—synonymous terms—that relentless even if not always readily distinguishable foe of progress and

justice, the collector of tribute for the right to live and to labor. When that is done, the fields of human activities, "the earth and the fullness thereof," which belong to God and his expression, man, will be open and free for the production of wealth, for the rendering of service without hindrance, tribute or connivance. And the value of a man's service, of his work, of the product of his labor, in any line, will depend wholly upon his intelligence and his effort. Other people, society in other words, will pay for it according to its desirableness. The real law of supply and demand, now so loosely mentioned and so rarely comprehended, would at once become operative and unhampered.



With our present social perversions, the distinguishing of real service and the estimating of its value is an intricate and perplexing task, more especially to those who have not given over-much thought to the fundamentals of social economics. Thus it is that mere activity often passes for labor; that mere shrewdness in getting is often mistaken for the service of producing; that mere accumulating on the part of one, even if at the cost of great privation for the many, is counted evidence of superiority, even of superiority of service rendered, somehow.

A farm land speculator justifies a large profit to himself by recounting the fact that he was obliged to "work hard" to sell his land. The speculative, hazard-taking Alaska gold mine owner justifies his large profits on the ground that his search for the mine was strenuous, dangerous and uncertain of results. The manipulator of railroad securities justifies his enormous profits by counting them merely fair returns for his expert services in business shrewdness. But none of these, nor any like them, as farm land speculators or gold mine owners or stock manipulators have rendered any service or produced anything that society wants or would normally pay for. The farm land speculator was merely forestalling the man who would render service and making him pay for the privilege of doing a good thing, in other words for being a farmer. The gold mine owner assumed his risks and his hardships of his own volition, for the chance of possibly finding a bit of the earth's surface to be taken for his own from which he may be made rich by the labor of others. And it is interesting and illuminative as well in this connection to recall the fact that for each and every dollar's worth of gold that has been brought out of Alaska upward of two dollars and seventy cents has been expended in getting it, exclusive of the labor in the mines. The manipulator of rail-

road securities has merely swollen the capitalization on which profits must be paid—paid by the public. Despite their efforts, or their acumen, or their talents may these be said to have rendered any valuable service for which society would voluntarily pay? Not so that it would be observed.

Under a condition of freedom, absolute freedom of opportunity for every worthy effort, there will be no difficulty in determining the value of a man's services, of his labor, regardless of whether he is a switch-tender or a railroad president, a herdsman or a lecturer on scientific farming, a gold digger or an assayer. Society will cheerfully pay, competitively, just what a man's services are worth, and, incidentally, society will be circumstanced to pay well.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

MAINE POLITICS.

Lubec, Me., September 1, 1914.

Fourteen days before the biennial election in Maine finds the political atmosphere filled with auguries and strange portents. To one who has passed through campaigns of recent years in the Pine Tree state, the situation which confronts the voters today is one of the most complicated that they have ever been asked to solve.

The Hale-Burleigh party (for that is really all that the Maine G. O. P. now stands for) is moving heaven and earth to regain all the power lost in the state and nation by the insurgent movement of 1910, which retired the Republican leader, Senator Hale, to private life. The mistake of Progressives in forming an alliance with Governor Haines and Senator Burleigh in 1912-13, whereby those reactionary leaders were elected to their respective positions, has been the means of giving Hale the chance to again seize the reins of power. The Progressives have a splendid ticket in the field, but it is simply a protest against the G. O. P. machine, and serves no other purpose than to keep the party intact for the 1916 presidential race, when they hope to push Roosevelt into the White House.

The Republican leaders have been hunting for an issue with which to discredit President Wilson and the Democrats. Congressman Peters, the Hale leader, viciously attacked the President's Mexican policy in the Republican state convention several months ago, when "watchful waiting" hung in the balance. Since the situation in Mexico has completely vindicated President Wilson's farsighted statesmanship, Mr. Peters probably wishes he had not been so forward in his advice. Hence the entire state and national campaign by the Republican leaders is being made on the tariff and the ever present prohibition issues.

Governor Haines was an out-and-out anti-Prohibition leader before being elected. Since then he has been endorsed by practically every county W. C. T. U. convention, save Washington, and supported for reelection. An attempt was made to secure the passage

of a resolution endorsing the governor's enforcement of the prohibitory law in the W. C. T. U. convention at Lubec, July 2. This effort met with a disastrous failure that has undoubtedly hurt the Haines' water wagon campaign, because it called attention to his duplicity in attempting to carry liquor on one shoulder and water upon the other. In addition to this, the governor's brazen defeat of the mileage-book law at the request of the railroad representatives has made him probably the most unpopular executive Maine ever had. His defeat would be assured if the Democrats had not forced the liquor question to the forefront by again declaring for re-submission and license. But it is doubtful if even the W. C. T. U. can save Haines.

Voters in the Third Congressional District have to decide between the present incumbent, John A. Peters, standpat Republican, and W. R. Pattangall, Democrat. As Mr. Pattangall publicly pledged himself to support President Wilson in all his policies, he has a good chance of going to Congress. We hope he will.

R. LEE BUSSABARGER.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

SLAVERY IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Boston, August 28.

Five committees were appointed by the Philippine Assembly dividing the territory of the archipelago geographically among them to examine into the charges of slavery made by the superseded and disgruntled functionary Worcester. "La Vanguardia" (Manila) reports the results and they are appended in a condensed form.

The first committee reports that before the extension of American government over the Philippines, in consequence of the desire of the non-Christians in the Montanyosa Province for education and because in that province there were no schools, they were in the habit of turning over their children and minor relatives to persons in the towns of Isabella and Kagayan. In the times when famine afflicted the inhabitants of Montanyosa Province of Vizcaya they likewise took their infants to the villages below rather than let them die. The people receiving them, who were in a great number of cases childless husbands and wives, gave them religious education and often even made them their heirs. Most of the names of non-Christians alleged as sold in Mr. Worcester's report do not exist and those which exist present no indication of being reared as slaves or even peons. Today neither slavery nor peonage exist in the province of La Union, Ilokos Norte, Ilokos Sur, Kagayan and Isabella.

The second committee enumerating a long list of provinces, says that it finds false most things which have been represented in the report as constituting a permanent general condition since there is no more basis for it than either an isolated case or two and mere conjecture or inference of the report. Certain persons given as sources of information either do not exist or have made lying statements. Many have been garbled by the concealment or omission from them of some part, so that taken in connection with what was omitted they would have led to a different conclusion from that deduced by the report.

Committee number three gives the names of officials who absolutely contradict the declaration of Mr. Crone upon which the Worcester charges were founded, that:

"In Amboe Camarines since the American occupation, boys have been sold as slaves for deportation to China."

The fourth committee asserts that in all the municipalities and places examined by this committee the unanimous testimony is that there does not exist, and never has existed, the alleged slavery, peonage, or involuntary servitude which Mr. Worcester denounces in his report. (Here follow the names of many witnesses examined.)

Committee number five as the general result of its investigation in the South and Moro province agrees upon the following summary: The cases of slavery specified by Mr. Worcester's report in the Province of Misamis are entirely fictitious. In the regions inhabited by Moros, Manobos, Bagabos and other non-Christian tribes, such as Lonaw and Babaw, there have been some cases of sales of human beings, the parties to which have been followed up and prosecuted and dealt with as prescribed for these cases by the laws of the Moro province. Yet the relations of these alleged slaves to their masters have in no case been of such a kind as the African slavery in the United States. There have been a few domestic servants, called "Bidatonan," who served without pay, but were considered by those whom they served as practically members of their families; not only clothed and fed, but often supplied with live stock and land, to enable them, to establish their own homes. The instances of sales of human beings or of bartering them for property, have been in greater part, instead of slavery, really a liberation of those sold or bartered.

ERVING WINSLOW.



INDIANA'S NEED.

Greencastle, Ind., Sept. 1, 1914.

Indiana very much needs amendment of its Constitution. In 1912 and 1910 both Republican and Bull Moose platforms promised such a convention. Tom Taggart runs Indiana and has since 1908. He wants no such convention. So the Democratic legislature instead of calling one after the 1912 election, staved it off by referring it to the people in 1914, and we vote in November. But they required a favorable vote of a majority of voters, not of a majority of those voting thereon. It cannot carry unless something arouses the public. In June the Indiana University at Bloomington called a three days' conference on the proposed constitutional convention. The intended program contained lawyers, editors, business men, professors, and one labor representative. There was not a single farmer! and we the main thing in the world! I sent an indignant criticism of such a preposterous program and Prof. Woodburn telegraphed me to come and talk for farmers. I am not a professional speaker, and the time for convention was immediately at hand. But I felt strongly that some things ought to be said. They received my remarks very kindly.

The intention is to print the speeches in a pamphlet, but at last accounts that was still in the state printer's hands. However, the professors went to the trouble of getting some galley proofs of my remarks and kindly furnished me with copies. A part of this speech, or rather, talk, follows:

The eminent legal representative who has just addressed us said in his speech, "The people make their own laws and elect their own officers." But before he finished, he spoke of large election tickets or ballots containing a hundred or two of candidates with only sixty seconds in the voting booth and said that bosses really elected the successful men. Of course, if bosses elect the men, then not the people, but the bosses, make

the laws also. I suggest that he discussed his own speech, proved his own error, and thereby made it plain something must be done to let the people destroy political slavery and gain freedom by making their own laws. That is easy. Let them vote directly on their laws, which means the Initiative and Referendum must be adopted in Indiana, as has been done by many other states. The Initiative and Referendum is the right to ballot or vote on any subject called for by a petition of the people. Any law which the legislature or city council passes can by petition be referred to the people to veto or endorse, and, when the legislative bodies fail to vote on some law, then the people can by petition compel a vote on the law, by ordering the question put on the ballot at the next election. At present nothing is ever referred unless the bosses are willing to refer it. Under the Initiative and Referendum the people themselves determine what shall be referred for a general vote. Unless the people can themselves determine what they will vote upon they do not possess freedom.

As to officers, he wants what he calls the Short Ballot. For instance, it would be something like this, though the details vary in different states: we would at our biennial elections vote for the Hon. Bill Jones as Governor and the Hon. Bill Smith as Lieutenant Governor, but for no other state officers. The Governor would appoint his entire cabinet of state officers. . . . Also in counties we would vote, perhaps only for three men, these three to be commissioners and to appoint every other officer from township road supervisor and trustee on up. Thus we would vote for not more than five men besides a legislature candidate, just one representative, perhaps, as some have suggested, doing away with the State senate and having a legislature of only one chamber. Only six names to be voted on at an election, instead of the present large number, would, indeed, present some advantages. If the farmers do not care to turn over, from elective to appointive officers, so many as proposed, we could at least undoubtedly turn over some, such as the heads of the State employment and geological bureaus. But whatever may be thought of these proposals to reduce the size of election tickets, the point I wished to call attention to is that whatever his explanation may be of the failure of the people to do the real electing and law making, he did acknowledge that the people do not make their own laws nor elect their own officers, but that the bosses do it. That is just what we farmers have been asserting for many years, and objecting to, and now demand a constitution revision convention to provide us with means to overcome the bosses.

By farmers we are to understand the rural population, since, if not actually residents on farms, the citizens of villages and small towns of less than 2,500 population are usually reckoned with farmers as "country jays" by city dwellers, and as belonging to the agricultural division of the social order by business men, United States census, and political economists. . . . The 1910 census shows in Indiana:

Rural population	1,557,041
Urban population	1,143,835
Rural excess	413,206

It is therefore not as a concession that we farmers and rural citizens are given this opportunity to take part in this State conference, but is merely just recognition of both the moral and political right of the rural voters to predominate influence in Indiana's affairs, if our State government and constitution are to be an accurate expression of a free, self-governing people. . . . Something must be done to enable the citizens of Indiana to get a free ballot, an equal ballot, a final, deciding, effective ballot, a united ballot, a worth-while

ballot, freedom. We cannot get these things in Indiana except through an Initiative and Referendum amendment proposed by a Constitutional Revision Convention, therefore we must have such a convention. . . . We must get a good direct primary law, as Senator Kern says, "with teeth in 't," such as is in use in Wisconsin, in Cleveland, and elsewhere, which by providing for second and third choices enables voters in a party to unite against the machine's candidates. A similar form of ticket can be used in November elections to defeat machine rule. We might mention proportional representation and similar things, but it would be talking trigonometry in a kindergarten to mention such things to general audiences in Indiana at present. . . . It is, of course, true that oligarch machine bosses in editorial chairs and lawyers' offices and elsewhere do complain even where good primary laws exist. This is to be expected. As we farmers say, "It is the stuck pig that squeals!"

Besides overriding the machine politicians' opposition to a direct primary law, the main constitution alterations which the farmers-of Indiana demand, are all based on the idea of securing greater freedom.

I. An article making it necessary for any constitutional amendment or other question voted on at any election to receive the majority of votes cast only by those who vote on the matter. Experience throughout the United States shows this is the only practical method for securing progress. People who do not care how an issue is decided are satisfied with this plan, and the majority voting on the issue are satisfied, and the defeated minority of active opponents have no moral, and should have no legal right to overrule the larger number of voters. We must secure freedom from minority control.

II. A state-wide liquor-making and selling prohibition amendment satisfactory to the Anti-Saloon League, giving freedom from the liquor traffic.

III. A woman suffrage amendment giving women every right of freedom they may wish to exercise.

IV. A Torrens land law title registration amendment giving freedom from the cumbrous, expensive, uncertain, abstract-of-title system.

V. Several amendments that will give us better enforcement of laws throughout the State. . . .

VI. An amendment providing the Governor of Indiana with the right of Initiative and Referendum. He has the right of veto now, but no Initiative rights except to recommend. Let him have the right to demand a vote upon the things he recommends. . . .

VII. An amendment giving the citizens the right of Initiative and Referendum without waiting for the Governor to demand Referendum of some issue, for he, like the legislature, is not supreme, but merely an employee of the people, and he, like the legislators, might be submissive to the political machine; indeed, too generally is. The citizens of the State must have full freedom for political action.

VIII. The tax provisions in the constitution should allow wide latitude for experimentation. The tax subject is one of the most puzzling there is. At present the farmers and city laboring men of small means pay taxes out of all proportion because our small assets are all plainly visible, whereas bonds, stocks, money, etc., of the wealthy are listed only in proportion to the owner's own notion. Various States and smaller sections in States, are trying different schemes. One idea is to assess everything at full value, but at a fixed low rate, trusting that a low rate will result in more complete lists of assets being filed. Another is to decrease or omit all taxes except tax on land, regardless of improvements, At first glance this would seem to hit the farmer. But while he holds the largest area, he does not hold the most valuable area. One city lot would often buy many farms. Meanwhile their taxes on improvements being removed, many farmers would find

their taxes on mere land values to be less than the total they now pay. I am not going to offer any solution of the tax question, but merely to call attention to the fact that the constitution should allow as much freedom for changes and experimentation as any locality in the State may desire. Indeed in all its sections the constitution should give the greatest freedom possible, so that we and our successors will always be able to do any new thing we may desire. . . .

The eminent attorney, whose address we have just listened to against recall of judges, apparently intimated that Jesus Christ was crucified by a mob of the common people. He is mistaken. Jesus Christ was not crucified by a mob of the common people, but by a conspiracy of "prominent citizens," and the judges involved showed every one of themselves to be either a criminal, scoundrel, a blind bigot, a political side-stepper or a craven coward. Personally I am not and never have been a supporter of the political proposition known as recall of judges at special elections. I favor our present Indiana system of elected judges, short terms, and recall or re-election of judges at regular elections at the expiration of their terms. But, if, like our lawyer friend, I believed in the supremacy of the lawyer caste in our civilization and that a court judge was the top feather of the head of the gilt eagle surmounting the flag-staff above Old Glory floating from the top of the capitol dome at Washington, it seems to me, I would be careful, indeed quite extraordinarily careful, not by the slightest whisper to remind anybody of the greatest miscarriage of justice in history, when courts, laws, judges, all faded in spite of the fact that no law granting recall of judges existed for a conquered nation—failed to protect this innocent man from a foul conspiracy of "prominent citizens" and their local city machine adherents. . . . I should like to take up one by one various charges falsely made against the common people and rip out the sawdust and straw these scarecrows are filled with, but time will not permit. Suffice it to say that it must never be forgotten concerning this particular accusation against us that it was not the masses, not the real multitude, the common people, who crucified Jesus, but the "prominent citizens," the Sanhedrin and the servants and adherents of the machine oligarchy, working at night for fear of the multitude and finally having hastened the tragedy beyond release before the general mass of the common people were astir in the morning, the latter arrived only in time to have it recorded, "There followed Him a great multitude of the people, and of women who bewailed and lamented Him." Rule by "prominent citizens," by an oligarchy, instead of by all classes united in a common mass, always means selfishness, Bourbonism, and disaster. In the case of Jesus, the masses spread palm branches at His entry and lamented His crucifixion. If recall of judicial decisions had existed the masses would have overruled the Sanhedrin and Herod and Pilate's decree. But they had no chance. . . .

The spirit of farm life is never for standpat Bourbonism. The farmer is by nature the pioneer, the independent, the free man. Read our farm papers and see how decidedly superior in progressive-mindedness they are to many city newspapers. . . . Here is the April 1914 "Farm Journal." It demands on various pages, farm business roads before automobile roads, claims for the Farmers' Grange, the Interstate Commerce Commission law, conservation of national resources, endorses international arbitration, local clean-up days, woman suffrage, farm credits, taking taxes off from farm improvements and leaving on the land, and prohibition of the liquor traffic, all in one issue. . . .

I do not wish it understood that farmers are alone in demanding change by revision of our State constitution. It is a movement of all us common people. . . . The American Federation of Labor, with its membership

of 2,069,157, reported in April, 1914, stands particularly for the Initiative and Referendum. . . .

When one considers the number of voters who are farmers and city laboring men and knows that the organized bodies of both these classes have declared for a revised constitution and for the Initiative and Referendum, it is plain that the little bunch of complacent, self-satisfied, self-seeking emissaries of political machines, who spout their contempt of all who oppose and call us agitators, reformers, cranks, populists, anarchists, demagogues, from every boss-ruled platform and in every Tory newspaper, are in reality a very small sized bunch indeed. There is no reason why they should rule us longer and a constitutional convention giving us direct primaries and the Initiative and Referendum will break the back of boss domination in Indiana. The door of political freedom will open to us, and public opinion supersede boss rule.

I say it again. Turn the people loose and trust in God, not in your own little attempts at control.

DAVE S. DUNLOP.

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, September 8, 1914.

The European War.

Military activities continue along the lines in which they started. Germany has continued her advance in France, Russia has advanced to the Carpathian mountains in Austria, England maintains control of the sea and Japan continues her attack on Kiao-Chau. All military movements are reported only in general terms, and only after having passed the severest censorship ever known. Details as to losses, the strength of the armies and generals in command are almost wholly lacking. [See current volume, page 851.]



The Franco-German Campaign.

The net result of the week's campaign in France shows the French right wing holding its position in the Vosges and Lorraine. The center has fallen back slightly and rests upon Verdon and Nancy. At the latter point a spirited attack is reported under the personal supervision of the Kaiser, with unknown result. The main strength of the invading army is in the west, where it has steadily forced the French and English back from position to position until the army that came down through Belgium holds the left wing of the Allies in a line nearly north and south, instead of east and west, as at the beginning of the invasion. On the 6th the Germans had reached La Ferte, thirty-eight miles northeast of Paris. Instead of going on direct to the capital the invading army, after passing within thirty miles of the city, has swung to the east, as though intending to get in the rear of

the Allies' center. The comparatively slight resistance offered by the French and English during their orderly retirement has led strategists to conclude the movement to be a factor in the defensive campaign. A general engagement is unofficially reported along a line extending along an irregular line 120 miles from west to east and fifty miles north to south, beginning at Nanteuil-le-Haudouin, twenty-five miles northeast of Paris, and extending to Verdon, twenty miles west of the German frontier. It is supposed that 4,000,000 men are engaged, half German and half Allies, and the result is considered a crisis in the war. On September 8, General Gallieni, military governor of Paris, announced that the Germans had been driven back with great loss.

On the 3d the seat of the French government was moved temporarily from Paris to Bordeaux, in anticipation of a possible siege. Work continues on the fortifications, and troops are continually pouring in from the south to man the works.

Belgium.

The Belgian army has renewed its activity in the district about Tirlemonde, to the east of Brussels, where it is reported to have engaged the Germans in a two days' battle. By opening the dikes near Antwerp the Belgians forced the invaders to retreat so hastily that they had to abandon some of their heavy guns. Ostend, where most of the British troops were landed, is held by the fleet and by marines from the fleet, who have repelled the attacks of the Germans. The headquarters of the German field armies of the right wing have moved from Brussels to Mons, just north of the French frontier.

Japan.

Germany protests against Japan's infringement of China's neutrality in landing 10,000 or 15,000 Japanese troops at the Chinese port of Lung-Kow, which is 100 miles north of Kiao-chau. On the 3d, 4,500 more troops were landed. It is reported that the Japanese have occupied seven islands near Kiao-chau. A Japanese destroyer ran aground in Kiao-chau Bay, and had to be abandoned by the crew. On the 7th the Japanese House of Representatives voted unanimously for a special war issue of \$26,500,000.

Russia.

The Czar's arms seem to have been uniformly successful in meeting the Austrian arms. As a result of a seven days' battle Lemberg, capital of Galicia, was captured with great loss to the Austrians. The Russians are pressing their advantage, and are laying siege to Przemyśl, the strongest fortified place in Galicia. If they succeed in overcoming the Austrians at this point it will open the

way for the Russians in Galicia to join their forces in Eastern Prussia. They have been successful also in seizing passes in the Carpathian mountains. The Austrian army, operating in the Lublin region of Russian-Poland, is reported to be retreating. The success of the Russians in Eastern Prussia is less decided. They are reported to be slowly advancing and to be laying siege to Koenigsberg.

England.

Since England has no compulsory military service, such as the Continental Countries have, the question of recruiting is of vital importance in the present war. Premier Asquith at a meeting at the Guildhall said that between 250,000 and 300,000 recruits had responded to the call of Lord Kitchener, the Secretary of War. He declared that if Great Britain were to play a worthy part in this war she must enlarge the scale of her forces, increase her numbers and multiply many times her effective fighting power. Bonar Law, leader of the Unionist party in the House of Commons, former Premier Balfour and Winston Spencer Churchill also made addresses supporting the government.

The Allies, represented by Edward Grey, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Paul Cambon, French Ambassador to Great Britain, and Benckendorff, Russian Ambassador to Great Britain, have signed and made public an agreement that: "The British, French, and Russian governments neutrally agree not to conclude peace separately during the present war. The three governments agree that when the terms of peace come to be discussed no one of the allies will demand conditions of peace without the previous agreement of each of the other allies."

No naval battles have taken place. The British control the sea, with the exception of a few German cruisers that are still at large, and floating mines that are still unknown in the North Sea. Several trawlers and a merchantman have been sunk by striking floating mines. The Austrian steamer Bathori was sunk by a British cruiser on the 4th in the Bay of Biscay. The British cruiser Pathfinder, carrying 268 men, was sunk by a mine in the North Sea. Owing to the presence of floating mines in the North Sea, navigation has been temporarily suspended.

Pope Benedict XV.

The College of Cardinals on the 3d chose on the sixth ballot Cardinal Giacomo Della Chiesa, archbishop of Bologna, supreme pontiff to succeed Pope Pius X. The coronation of the new Pope, who will be known as Pope Benedict XV, took place on the

6th, in the Sistine Chapel. Immediately after his election the Pope, in commenting upon his accession, at a time when almost all the countries of Europe were drenched in blood, said:

The war has armed faithful against faithful, priest against priest, while the bishops of each country offer prayers for the success of the army of their own nations. But victory for one side means slaughter to the other, the destruction of children equally dear to the heart of the pontiff.

[See current volume, page 853.]



Mexico and the United States.

The dispute between General Carranza and General Villa regarding the policy and procedure of the new government seem to be the chief topic for discussion. The plan of Guadalupe, strengthened by the Torreon pact, seems now to be in the way of General Carranza and his friends. Hence, they seek to evade it, while General Villa insists upon its observance. This plan calls for a meeting of the generals of the armies and representatives of the men to choose a provisional president who shall not be a candidate to succeed himself. General Carranza assumes as first chief to be provisional president, and at the same time he intends to become a candidate in the election that has been called for October 1. General Villa remains at Chihuahua City awaiting the calling of the convention of chiefs, and the carrying out of the agrarian reforms throughout the country. The reports from Washington indicate that the Administration is disposed to hold General Carranza in some degree at least to the Constitutionalist covenant that was made at the beginning of the war. [See current volume, page 853.]



The Panama Treaty.

A treaty was signed at Panama on the 2d, by the American Minister, William Jennings Price, and the Panama Secretary of Foreign Relations, Ernesto T. Leferve, that gives this country important privileges. This treaty takes the place of the Davis agreement of June 15, 1904, which tentatively fixed the boundaries of the Canal Zone. The United States acquires absolute control over all the waters of Colon and Ancon harbors, and in addition, two small islands lying in Ancon harbor, which are to be used for observation and light stations by the coast artillery. [See vol. xvi, page 970.]



Congressional News.

The Clayton bill, regulating the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes and amending the anti-trust act, passed the Senate on September 2 by a vote of 46 to 16. The House provision forbidding enjoining of picketing had been removed by the

Committee on Judiciary. But before passing the measure the Senate restored this prohibition on motion of Senator Cummins. As finally adopted, the provision relating to injunctions is as follows:

And no such restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment, or from ceasing to perform any work or labor, or from recommending, advising or persuading others by peaceful means so to do; or from peacefully persuading any person to work, or to abstain from working; or from withholding their patronage from any party to such dispute, or from recommending, advising or persuading others by peaceful and lawful means so to do; or from attending from any place where any such person or persons may lawfully be for the purpose of peacefully obtaining and communicating information, or from paying or giving to or withholding from any person engaged in such dispute any strike benefits or other moneys or things of value; or from peacefully assembling in any lawful manner or for lawful purposes; or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by any party thereto; nor shall any of the facts specified in this paragraph be considered or held to be violation of any law of the United States.

The provision exempting labor unions from anti-trust prosecution is as follows:

The labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, and nothing contained in the anti-trust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor, agricultural or horticultural organizations, instituted for the purposes of mutual help and not having capital stock or conducted for profit, or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof; nor shall such organizations, or the members thereof, be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade, under the anti-trust laws.

[See current volume, page 560.]



President Wilson on September 4 appeared before Congress and addressed it regarding the deficit in revenue caused by the European war as follows:

I come to you today to discharge a duty which I wish with all my heart I might have been spared; but it is a duty which is very clear, and, therefore, I perform it without hesitation or apology. I come to ask very earnestly that additional revenue be provided for the government.

Delay in such a matter and in the particular circumstances in which we now find ourselves as a nation might involve consequences of the most embarrassing and deplorable sort, for which I, for one, would not care to be responsible.

It would be very dangerous in the present circumstances to create a moment's doubt as to the strength and sufficiency of the treasury of the United States, its ability to assist, to steady, and to sustain the financial operations of the country's business. If the treasury is known or even thought to be weak, where will be our peace of mind? The whole industrial

activity of the country would be chilled and demoralized.

We ought not to borrow. We ought to resort to taxation, however we may regret the necessity of putting additional temporary burdens on our people. To sell bonds would be to make a most untimely and unjustifiable demand on the money market; untimely, because this is manifestly not the time to withdraw working capital from other uses to pay the government's bills; unjustifiable, because unnecessary.

The country is able to pay any just and reasonable taxes without distress. And to every other form of borrowing, whether for long periods or for short, there is the same objection. What we are seeking is to ease and assist every financial transaction, not to add a single additional embarrassment to the situation.

The people of this country are both intelligent and profoundly patriotic. They are ready to meet the present conditions in the right way and to support the government with generous self-denial. They know and understand, and will be intolerant only of those who dodge responsibility or are not frank with them.

The occasion is not of our own making. We had no part in making it. But it is here. It affects us as directly and palpably almost as if we were participants in the circumstances which gave rise to it.

We must accept the inevitable with calm judgment and unruffled spirits, like men accustomed to deal with the unexpected, habituated to take care of themselves, masters of their own affairs and their own fortunes. We shall pay the bill, though we did not deliberately incur it.

In order to meet every demand upon the treasury without delay or peradventure, and in order to keep the treasury strong, unquestionably strong, and strong throughout the present anxieties, I respectfully urge that an additional revenue of \$100,000,000 be raised through internal taxes devised in your wisdom to meet the emergency.

The only suggestion I take the liberty of making is that such sources of revenue be chosen as will begin to yield at once and yield with a certain and constant flow.

[See current volume, page 771.]



While the Committee on Ways and Means was deliberating over a bill to provide for the deficit, the following was introduced by Congressman Warren Worth Bailey of Pennsylvania:

That a supertax of five per centum be, and is hereby, laid on all incomes, however derived, of \$20,000 or over, for the purpose of covering any deficit in Federal revenues resulting from losses in customs receipts due to the present war in Europe, said supertax to be assessed and collected in the same manner and under the same regulations as the tax on incomes provided for in the Act of October third, nineteen hundred and thirteen, entitled "An Act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes": Provided that any moneys derived from the supertax on incomes of \$20,000 or over in excess of the amount necessary to cover said deficit in customs receipts

shall become available for expenditures in support of the Naval Establishment: Provided further, That if a surplus should still remain after all naval requirements shall have been met, the residue shall be applied in the payment of pensions authorized under existing laws to soldiers and sailors.

[See Current volume, page 794.]



Part of Navigation Laws Suspended.

The President on September 5 issued an order waiving certain provisions of the navigation laws in order to facilitate registration of foreign built ships. The clause requiring naval officers to be American citizens is suspended, as are also provisions regarding measurement, survey and inspection. [See current volume, page 805.]



Progressive Nominations.

At the Nebraska primaries on August 18 Laurie J. Quinby of Omaha received the Democratic nomination for State Senator. In the city of Omaha he was "high man." His statement of principles during the campaign was as follows:

I am for Justice in Taxation—

A Tax is a Fine.

Therefore—

Tax Privilege—not Enterprise.

Tax Indolence—not Industry.

Tax the Source of the Speculator's Profits—not the Home.

Tax Franchises—not Personal Property.

Tax Unearned Incomes—not Household Goods or Tools of Production.

Tax the "Vacant Lot Industry"—not those who Build.

Tax nothing that Labor makes, that can hide or run away, or that could or would come to Omaha.

So long as Omaha is compelled by the laws of the State to place an annual fine on those who come here with capital to build factories, to open up industries, to establish mercantile houses and employ labor, so long will her development be checked.

I favor a move by which these cities may adopt their own system of taxation.

If the foregoing principles were put into effect, Omaha, South Omaha and their suburbs would become the most attractive community in America.

The Republicans nominated for Governor R. B. Howell, an advocate of public ownership whose campaign was made on that issue. He secured the nomination in the face of reactionary opposition. [See current volume, page 638, 664.]



In the California primaries on August 25 William Kent, the sole independent member of the present Congress, received the Progressive party nomination and possibly the Democratic nomination. His name did not appear on any ticket, but had to be written in by the voters. With returns still incomplete more than 11,000 voters are known

to have followed this procedure. Kent did not make an active campaign, but remained at Washington until the primaries were nearly at hand. The campaign against him was based mainly on his support of the Underwood tariff bill. But he received twenty-five per cent of the Republican party vote. "Real conservation" is the chief plank in Kent's platform. Concerning which he is reported in the Sacramento Bee to have said:

In addition to the great achievement of providing for the Alaska railroad as a public enterprise, and instead of giving away all of that country's resources to those who would subsequently put in a railroad and take the wealth of the country as their pay, we have recognized this enterprise as a proper accomplishment for the nation. There will be no land grabbing or scandals in connection with the opening of Alaska.

Water power bills relating to the public domain and navigable waters have been passed with due regard to control in the public interest. From the Public Lands Committee are coming other bills for the proper development of Alaska coal and of the mineral resources of the United States under lease with due protection for the tenant and due control in the public interest by Uncle Sam, the landlord.

Had Colorado and West Virginia been operating under such a system there would have been no possibility of the abuses of labor, the uncertainty for capital and the practical civil war which have resulted.

[See current volume, page 471.]



Wisconsin Reactionaries Win.

At the Wisconsin State wide primary on September 1, Emanuel L. Philipp, reactionary, secured the Republican nomination for Governor. The opposition to him was scattered over five different candidates. The Democrats nominated John C. Karel, a reactionary, over Joseph E. Davies, United States Commissioner of Corporations, supporter of Wilson's policies and generally progressive. For Senator the Republicans selected Governor Francis McGovern, defeating Thomas Morris, Senator La Follette's candidate. McGovern was a La Follette supporter up to 1912, when he went over to Roosevelt. In addition to Morris he had an opponent for the senatorial nomination in Levi Bancroft, an avowed reactionary. The Democrats appear to have nominated for Senator Paul O. Husting, said to be a progressive, over T. M. Kearney, reactionary. [See current volume, page 639.]



Commission on Industrial Relations.

The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations in session at San Francisco received further information on August 27 concerning the fight against union labor waged by the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers' Association of Stockton, California. Reverend J. W. Byrd testified that

when he announced his intention of delivering a sermon on the strike he was summoned before the association and urged to abandon the idea. He offered to do so provided the association would agree to arbitrate all questions of dispute with the union except the open shop. His offer was not even considered. Fred L. Kincaid, a land dealer, told of pressure brought by the Merchants' Manufacturers and Employers' Association to coerce business men, not members, into joining. A man named Eaves, manager of the new method laundry, on refusing to join was called upon by his bank to pay at once \$1,900 due. Eaves appealed to Kincaid for aid, who took him to another bank which had several times asked him to bring business to it. But on explaining the situation the banker informed him that the bankers had an agreement not to take on accounts of that sort. Eaves submitted to the inevitable and joined the association and later told Kincaid that he had received the desired help from the bank. [See current volume, page 854.]



On August 28 the commission took testimony regarding conditions in the California hop fields, and regarding the Wheatland riots of last August. Wylie Gillen, a fruit grower and packer of Fresno, California, said that collective bargaining had been practiced for years between ranchers and Hindoo, Japanese and Chinese laborers, through an agent for each nationality, who is responsible for the performance of the men's duties. The system has been a success, and he believed that it would work as well with white laborers. "I have come to this conclusion against my will," Gillen said, "but I realize that only by organization can farm laborers ever elevate their standards. We employers are likely not to do things for the betterment of our employes until we are forced to, and organization alone will force us into action, generally speaking. Only those workers who have organized have been successful in most cases in obtaining advanced wages and conditions for themselves." He had himself started to work as a farm laborer thirty years ago, but he did not believe the chances of a worker advancing today to be as good as then owing to increased prices for land and increased cost of living.



District Attorney Stanwood of Yuba county testifying on August 29, told of the treatment of laborers alleged to be implicated in the Wheatfield riots. A large number of men were arrested on "John Doe" warrants charged with murder and conspiracy, and held incommunicado for long periods. Fred Suhr, who is now serving sentence on conviction of second degree murder, Mr. Stanwood testified, was under arrest for several weeks before allowed to see counsel. One night a private detective was placed in his cell to interrogate him

while operators in an adjoining room took down what he said. One suspect, Allen Johnson, went insane after he had finally been released. Another one, Nels Nelson, committed suicide. A. B. McKenzie, district attorney of Contra Costa county, told of the case of Alfred Nelson, one of the suspects arrested by private detectives. To prevent Nelson's release on habeas corpus, he had been transferred from one city to another in order to keep him hidden. While in jail at one of these places, R. D. Cradlebaugh, a detective, in sweating him, tried to get Nelson to say that he had seen District Attorney Manwell shot by Blackie Ford, later convicted of murder in the second degree. On his refusal Nelson was beaten up by Cradlebaugh. Eventually Nelson was released, and through Mackenzie's efforts Cradlebaugh was convicted of assault and sentenced to a year in prison. Robert H. Royce, an attorney, declared that the release of suspects on habeas corpus proceedings was rendered difficult by the practice of hiding prisoners. Austin Lewis, attorney for the accused rioters, told how the case offered an example of solidarity which disregarded race lines. The Japanese employed at Wheatland had quit in a body after Ford and Suhr were arrested, and an advertisement appeared in all Japanese newspapers requesting Japanese laborers to keep away from the hopfields until the trouble was settled. Lewis denied that the trouble was due to agitators. Twenty-seven languages were spoken on the Durst ranch and when the trouble occurred the camp had been in existence only from Thursday to Saturday.



The Labor War.

Governor S. V. Stewart, of Montana, ordered mobilization of the entire State militia on August 31, as a result of the factional troubles among the miners at Butte. [See current volume, page 637.]



The phosphate mines in Florida near Ocala and Tampa closed on August 29. The stoggage of importations of potash from Germany, owing to the war, is given as the cause. Several thousand workers have been thrown out of employment. Under local ordinances ordering arrest as vagrants of all unemployed, the former mine employes who have not found work elsewhere, are reported as being arrested.



Arrests of strike leaders at Trinidad, Colorado, owing to the troubles which culminated in the Ludlow massacre, began on September 2 when twenty-two men were taken to jail. Warrants are said to be out for several hundred more. [See current volume, pages 586, 637, 830.]



A tentative basis for adjustment of the Colorado

strike was suggested on September 7 by President Wilson. It was in accordance with a plan drawn by the Commission on Conciliation of the Federal Department of Labor. The suggestion was sent to the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, the Victor-American Fuel Company, Rocky Mountain Fuel Company and the United Mine Workers of America. Under the proposed agreement, a commission would consider all claims and grievances and pending its decision no mine guards will be employed, the Federal troops would be withdrawn, picketing and parading in the strike district would be stopped and the claim for contractual relations would be waived. The expense of the commission would be divided between employers and employes. A basis for agreement is suggested as follows:

The establishment of a three-year truce, subject to the enforcement of the mining and labor laws of Colorado; return to work of miners who have not been convicted of law violations; prohibition of intimidation of union or non-union men; publication of current scale of wages and rules, and the appointment of a grievance committee by the employes. A further provision is that in cases where the officials of the company or the grievance committee cannot settle difficulties, a commission of three men named by the President shall act as the final referee.



In his letter containing these suggestions the President said:

As you know, federal troops have been in the state for the purpose of maintaining order now for a long time. I have been hoping every day during that time that some light would come out of the perplexities of the situation, some indication that the mine operators and the miners who are now on strike were willing to consider proposals of accommodation and settlement, but no such indication has reached me.

I am now obliged to determine whether I am justified in using the army of the United States indefinitely for police purposes.

Many things may come out of this situation if it is not handled with public spirit and with a sincere desire to safeguard the public as well as all others concerned; perhaps the most serious of them all the feeling which is generated and the impression of the public that no one is willing to act, no one willing to yield anything, no one willing even to consider terms of accommodation.

As you know, two representatives of the government of the United States have been actively engaged in investigating the whole situation and in trying to reach a dispassionate conclusion as to what it is possible to do in justice to both sides not only but also in the interest of the public.

The result of their investigations and of their very thoughtful consideration in the matter has been the drafting of the inclosed "tentative basis for the adjustment" of the strike. I recommend it to you for your most serious consideration.

I hope that you will consider it as if you were acting for the whole country.

Judge Dever of Chicago on September 4 enjoined the Sheet Metal Contractors' Association from locking out members of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' local union.

NEWS NOTES

—October 4 was designated by President Wilson on September 8 as a day of prayer for peace.

—The Georgia Democratic State convention on September 2 nominated Thomas W. Hardwick for Senator to fill the unexpired term of the late Senator Bacon.

—Under the new registry law three British vessels received American registry on September 3. These are the Moldegaard, the Robert Dollar and the Wind Rush, all engaged in South American trade. [See current volume, page 805].

—Former Governor Sulzer filed on September 3 as a candidate for the Progressive party nomination for Governor of New York. He is also registered as a candidate of the Prohibition party and the American party. [See current volume, page 807].

—The Interstate Commerce Commission on August 31 ordered a 33.3 per cent reduction on carload freights on pig iron from Virginia furnaces to Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston. The order goes into effect on October 15. [See current volume, page 756].

—Theodore Roosevelt, in a speech at New Orleans on September 3 is reported to have denounced repeal of the sugar tariff. He further suggested that the \$25,000,000 proposed to be paid to Colombia, had better be used in developing the Mississippi. [See current volume, pages 693, 831.]

—The Republican and Democratic parties in Nebraska endorsed at their primaries on August 18 the pending constitutional amendment increasing the power of the legislature in matters relating to taxation. This entitles it to be placed in both party columns and every straight vote will count in its favor at the November election. [See current volume, page 854].

—The Ohio Republican State convention on August 26 declared in regard to taxation: "We pledge ourselves to home rule in the valuation and assessment of all property for taxation; to the selection of county, township and precinct assessors by the people of their respective communities, either by direct election or by appointment by elective county officials and to enact a just and efficient system of taxation which will insure the full and honest return of property." [See vol. XVI., page 1164].

—Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the Commission on Industrial Relations, addressed the San Francisco branch of the California League for Home Rule on Taxation on August 28. He is reported to have said that at the bottom of industrial unrest is the fact that industry is burdened by taxes and that the cry to untax industry is one that should be heard. Referring to the fact that he himself owns 200 acres of land near Kansas City, Mr. Walsh said that in all the years he has owned it he only did eleven hours

of work on it, which he spent in trying to clear twenty-five acres of timber with his own hands. He quit because he found the work too hard and hired "a free and independent workingman to clean it for \$30 a month."

PRESS OPINIONS

Where Sympathy Belongs.

Johnstown (Pa) Democrat, September 1.—"With whom does The Democrat sympathize in the pending war?" writes a correspondent. We'll answer that. With the German, French, Belgian and English boys who man the trenches. With the German, French, English and Belgian boys who crowd the hospitals. With the mothers who bore these boys. With the fathers who saw them grow to manhood and loved them as they grew. With the women who were wedded to those boys. With the children they left when they marched to the front. With the poor peasant woman who struggles against the press of war—engendered poverty. With those who in the cities cry out for food. With the men who fight for fatherland hating war in their hearts. With the great artists like Kreisler who must turn their marvelous melody-producing fingers to works of destruction. With the people who must live out their days with lives forever blighted by this war. With the innocent whose fields have been trampled under foot by marching armies. With all the host of those who under the press of a mistaken patriotism must offer up their lives. Those are the ones with whom we sympathize.



The Censorship Abuse.

Cleveland Plain Dealer, September 2.—Censorship in Chicago may be cited as an example of pernicious overzealousness. Films are slashed ruthlessly and indiscriminately. Essential parts of stories are cut out because they might, in some obscure way, be an incentive to crime or immorality. Such action is an offense against a large part of the people of Chicago. The moving picture theater is the place of amusement frequented by the less opulent, who are the majority in American cities, and they have the right to demand that their pleasure be not spoiled by prudes and theorists in official positions. . . . Practically all films shown in Ohio are passed by the National Board of Censorship, a volunteer body composed of expert sociologists, and its judgment may be considered superior to those of the official boards which have been created here and elsewhere. . . . Constant tinkering with films produced by the reputable concerns and already approved by the national board is unjustifiable and not beneficial.



Canada Was Not Consulted.

Grain Growers Guide (Winnipeg) August 5.—The war demon is abroad in Europe and thousands of men are engaged in the slaughter of their fellow men. Those who ordered the war will be comfortably located far beyond the danger zone. But homes will be desolated, crops destroyed, children orphaned,

fathers and sons killed and maimed, wives and mothers left to mourn their dead and rear their families alone. Is Canada to be forced blindly and needlessly into this horrible struggle?

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE RED PRAYER.

Editorial in Philadelphia North American, Sept. 2nd.

Cathedral, Chapel,
Altar, Pew—

All pray to Him of Galilee:
O, Help us, Lord,
To kill!

Teuton, Russian, Serb and Frank,
In murderous guise, in serried rank,
All pray to Him of Galilee:
O, Help us, Lord,
To kill!

The stoled priests the wafers lay
On tongues that take new faith, and pray
To that meek One of Galilee:
O, Help us, Lord,
To kill!

The sounding pulpit preaches zeal
To bending forms that suppliant kneel,
And pray to Him of Galilee:
O, Help us, Lord,
To kill!

The victors from the bloody field,
Where lie the dead who would not yield,
Give thanks to Him of Galilee,
Who gave them strength
To kill!

O, Man of Sorrows, Prince of Peace,
Who came in love that war might cease—
Behold Thy children!
Bow Thy head,
A second cross is Thine.

The plowshare has become the sword,
The sanguined earth hears but one word,
Kill!



ANNALS OF OUR VILLAGE.

For The Public.

Our village lies west from the railroad station one mile. The population is made up of a few families called well-to-do and a much larger number who are very poor. The hauling of goods from the station to the houses in the village was until recently done by a German who used a horse and wagon for the purpose. In years gone by an American had done this work, but he abandoned it when a village ordinance was passed requiring him to

buy his supplies from village dealers. The German who succeeded him lived in the village the other side of the railroad and he bought his wagons, horses and grain there because he could get them cheaper than in our village. His service was entirely satisfactory and his charges were so moderate that no one attempted to compete with him. But he was a German—a foreigner—and certain influential citizens who remembered the time when an American had done the work, began a campaign to educate the village inhabitants up to the importance and desirability of having the work resumed by an American. To this end they appealed to local pride and patriotism—what a glorious thing it would be to see the American flag supplant the German flag on our highway; that “we” ought to carry “our own goods” in “our own” wagons, etc. They published statistics to show how many tons the American formerly carried, omitting, however, all reference to his charges.

At the proper moment in a meeting of the village aldermen an American came forward and offered to undertake the work, provided he was supported in it by the community. He argued that hauling being a necessary business, if the village would contribute from its revenues enough to enable him to do so he would put two teams at work hauling goods for the citizens at rates so low that they would drive the German out of the business. Moreover, such an appropriation would enable him to comply with the ordinance requiring him to buy supplies at home, and at the same time he could pay more wages to his helper. This would patronize home industry, stimulate business, keep money at home and generally be of vast benefit to the American workingman.

These arguments proved so convincing that the aldermen made him a very liberal appropriation every year from the village taxes and it came to pass that all he foretold actually happened, except that the helper, who represented the American workingman, did not get any more wages. You see, the new proprietor *could* pay more wages, for business was good and he had a monopoly. All of his philanthropic instincts, too, prompted him to pay more, but where he could get so many men to work for the very smallest wages, his business instincts would not permit him to pay more. So the business paid him as proprietor even better than he had hoped. The well-to-do families were also pleased with the change. The goods hauled were largely their private belongings—the poor had nothing to haul. Formerly whoever had goods to be hauled paid for the hauling, now the community paid most of the expense and the well-to-do profited accordingly. All of which proves Lincoln was wrong when he said the people can't be fooled all the time.

Do the poor folk of our village know that they are paying the freight for others? Certainly not. Who is there to tell them? Many of the well-to-

do don't know and don't care. Our teachers, ministers, lawyers, politicians, writers having grown up under these conditions and having always been told that they were beneficial, take for granted that they are and even assist in maintaining them. Indeed, the very language used in reference to them helps to keep everyone in ignorance. We say "our" country, for instance, when we don't own a square inch of it and live here only by permission of landowners. We say "our merchant marine" when we don't own the value of a nail in any ship afloat or ashore. We say "our" crops are good or bad, bumper or otherwise, yet we know they belong to individuals, are strictly their private property and not a grain is ours. Yet, in our village the poorest and most destitute forget momentarily even the pangs of hunger in the patriotic thrill they feel when our subsidized express wagon carrying an American flag and manned by an American crew dashes "proudly" by. Truly the dust it raises blinds the mental as well as the physical vision.

CHARLES F. SHANDREW.



CASES INSTEAD OF CAUSES.

Address of Bolton Hall at Conference of Charities and Correction, May 20, 1914, United Charities Building, New York.

I have in my hand the last report of the Department of Labor at Albany, upon "Unemployment." On page 4 we find that the average proportion of unemployed in organized labor during last year was more than one-quarter. (In the month of February it was one-third out of work, and in December 40 per cent, largely owing to seasonal idleness.) Think of that—over twenty-five per cent of the most intelligent and best organized and most skilled workers unemployed! I leave you to imagine how many unemployed among the unorganized and inefficient working that represents. But we hardly need this report. Professor Warner estimates in "American Charities" that insufficient employment is the cause of one-third of all cases of poverty; your own statistics show that this is an under-estimate, and publication of these statistics has generally been discontinued. I saw some hundreds of these disemployed cowering in the storm last Wednesday midnight, waiting in line for a loaf of bread.

I attended the other evening a conference upon the Unemployed called by Miss Roberts at the Hotel McAlpin, and we had an excellent assemblage of charitable people and economists, and after a warning had been given that we did not want to consider trifling palliatives, the most vital suggestion that came from any economist or charity worker was an employment agency—a new, socialistic, government-sustained, city bureau-managed employment agency, though the trade unions have better and more efficient employment agen-

cies run at their own expense than you could get in twenty years.

And this was their only remedy and the Mayor's only remedy in the face of 25 per cent of organized labor out of a job: 25 per cent of men would not go hungry if a little employment society could find jobs for them. The Salvation Army representative said that he was sick over the fact that there *are* no jobs for these men. All that you really do with your employment societies recalls Theodore Hook's story:

The boy was somewhat wild and his father said to him, "John, it is time you were settling down and taking a wife."

"Why, so it is, father," answered the lad, "whose wife shall I take?"

You get a man a job—you do not make a job—you cannot make a job! Whose job do you get for him? And having gotten that man a job, you then have the displaced one—a little less efficient, or a little higher waged, for whom you have to get somebody else's job.

Why cannot you make a job? Why—because all jobs consist in labor applied to land or to the products of land, and none of your plans tend to open the land to the people; all that you advocate increases the value of land and speculation in land and makes it harder for the poor to get at it, yet you discuss recreation. Carlyle's "making sofa cushions against the day of judgment" is wisdom compared to that.

I spent some time the other day in re-examining "Misery and Its Causes," by Edward T. Devine; "Poverty," by Robert Hunter; "Constructive and Preventive Philanthropy," by Joseph Lee; "Charity and Social Life," by C. H. Loch; "Social Pathology," by Dr. Sam. George Smith—which are perhaps the leading books upon modern charity. I looked through the indexes of these and others for "land," "farming," "gardening," "vacant lot cultivation," "taxation," "monopoly," "speculation in land," not one paragraph in those excellent books on any of those subjects, nor in your own nice harmless program. Overcrowding was discussed—but, absurd as it is, there was no word about building sites withheld for a rise in price. And for a good reason. You charity people, we charity people (for I have worked with many of those here and I work with them still, and many of them I respect and like, as I do Dr. Devine and Robert Hunter) know that it is not safe to bring up the land question; that that thing is loaded! That Monopoly does not want it discussed—that many here are uneasy now because I speak of it, because we cannot forever blink at it.

I hold in my hand here the reports for one year of the cultivation of vacant lots by the unemployed in twenty cities. Philadelphia alone employs yearly about one thousand persons at an expense of about seven thousand dollars (\$7,000) and the workers produce about sixty thousand dollars

(\$60,000) worth of truck. This report shows 8,590 persons employed for the season at a cost of \$9,234—say \$1.10 per person. We had to discontinue similar work in New York because we could not get the use of even one acre of land, yet there are three vacant lots on Fifth avenue between 37th street and 47th street. And yet in all these valuable books I have been able to find only one little paragraph, sneeringly dismissing the whole thing from consideration; dismissing that practical form of relief which in various cities employs more people than all your charity devices, laundries, leather work, wood yards and so on, put together.

But I have yet to hear of a committee of charity folks appointed to inquire why we cannot get the use of the land; or to investigate the relation to unemployment of speculative holdings of coal and oil and farming lands as well as suburban and city lands.

There is no reason on earth why every one who wants work in New York should not be employed upon the lands that are now vacant and unused in and immediately around the city of New York itself: there is no reason, except that we "have added field to field until there is no room on the face of the earth" for the worker.

Why is this land question ignored? This is a question I mean to have answered, and I know how to force the discussion—I mean to have it answered by the charity people. And pending a reply I am sorry to have to think that the question of "the people back to the land" is too near to the question of the land back to the people to be comfortable for those who, through monopoly and the consequent legal power of godless extortion, are able to grind the faces of the poor while they sop their consciences by contributing to charities which they know to be ineffective.

Now I have a "constructive program": but it is not new, nor does it appeal to charity people; nor have I time to state it here.



THE COST OF WAR.

By Harry Kemp.

I sing the song of the great clean guns that belch forth death at will.

Ah, but the wailing mothers, the lifeless forms and still!

I sing the song of the billowing flags,
The bugles that cry before.

Ah, but the skeletons flapping rags, the lips that speak no more!

I sing the clash of bayonets, of sabers that flash and cleave.

And wilt thou sing the maimed ones, too, that go with pinned-up sleeve?

I sing acclaimed generals that bring the victory home.

Ah, but the broken bodies that drip like honeycomb!

I sing of hosts triumphant, long ranks of marching men.

And wilt thou sing the shadowy hosts that never march again?

BOOKS

GERMANY'S PREPARATIONS.

Pan-Germanism: A Critical Study of the German Schemes for the Conquest of the World. By Roland G. Usher. Houghton, Mifflin Co. Boston. 1914.

Much light will be thrown on the present European situation for him who reads Dr. Usher's pages. And it will be a light that is hardly favorable to—Germany, we were about to say, but the German autocracy would be the more correct expression. The very opening of the book is illuminating:

"For some years those at all familiar with current international affairs have known that it was the custom in the German navy to drink a toast 'To the day.' Many people have hugged to themselves with glee the 'secret' information that the officers were drinking to the day when war should be declared against England, but few, indeed, seem to have realized the splendor of the vision now before German eyes, or the ideas of the international situation which makes victory seem so near as to send German blood coursing swiftly in the anticipation of triumph."

Germany wishes to dominate the world, according to this book, and she does not rely for that domination on her own strength entirely, but on the weakness of others. In the eyes of Bismarck England was not decadent, but simply never had been as strong as was the general opinion. A contest with an approximately as great power, would be, Bismarck thought—and he thought English statesmen knew this—England's own undoing. France, on the other hand, Germany considers "a strong man who has run his race," and is now decadent, while Russia is a giant, as yet unconscious of his strength and therefore incapable of using it.

Meanwhile both of these nations press on Germany in a very uncomfortable and menacing way, being able only, as they are, to expand at her expense. So the actual situation is such as to fan Germany's self-confidence into the determination to have what she wants at all costs.

And her self-confidence is not in her physical strength alone. She has already gone into the fight, but silently, with money as weapon instead of bullets:

"Germany freely admits the great economic strength of England and France, so long as peace

prevails. Once war breaks out, their economic strength will become weakness and the position, which they depend upon to secure them control of the world, will in very fact bankrupt them." For these nations have invested millions abroad, much of it in Germany—and as has already happened in the case of Russian funds—Germany can seize the real money or the real property which the money represents, and the other nations will be left with only their promises to pay. And these promises to pay will be worth just as much or just as little as Germany determines.

And what would Germany's success—Pan-Germanism—involve? Dr. Usher, dismissing all theoretical morality, all argument that war is destructive—who, he says, would claim that it was otherwise—sees what justification there is for Pan-Germanism in that it means "a national determination to preserve and strengthen the corporate life of a great people. . . . Pan-Germanism is merely self-preservation." For Germany to do anything within her power to achieve this, irrespective of theoretical ethics, is, says the author, for her to do precisely what all other nations have done in similar circumstances. With an enormously expanding population within and without her borders, Germany has no more arable land than she had in 1815. In this situation Germany is tired of her long economic struggle with the Triple Entente and wishes to fight with physical weapons. The Triple Entente having the economic advantage, the room for expansion, all that war would hurt most, wishes to avoid any but economic war.

What would be the complexion of the war which was to follow so soon Dr. Usher's discussion of its possibility, forms one of the most interesting parts of his book. On the whole, he thinks that the fighting would not be quite what the Germans imagined. Their sizing up of the English strength he judges to be faulty. Not tactics—in which he points out Wellington was hopelessly defeated at Waterloo—but certain of those psychological qualities which enabled Wellington's redcoats to do the theoretically impossible, have to be reckoned with, and such reckonings cannot be made in advance on paper.

The war is yet in its early stages, and so the questions which Dr. Usher raises as to the supposed ability of the Germans to fight along their intended lines, and the possibilities of their enemies checkmating them, have not yet been decided. Certainly his supposition will give the reader the best viewpoint from which to watch the struggle.

Of the effect of that struggle not on national expansion, but on the expansion of democracy Dr. Usher has little to say. To him the nation rather than the individual is the unit. But it may well be that the real outcome of the present struggle will be that neither Germany nor England,

France and Russia may win, but that the classes who are providing the food for the powder of those powers may learn the folly of their position—a folly which radical preaching has, after all, done but little to uproot. Perhaps war will succeed where the agitator has failed; but before banking too heavily on that, we should remember the relatively greater strength of that blind emotion which militarists can arouse and name patriotism, and which by its very antiquity and blindness, can drive reason quite out of the human breast.

LLEWELLYN JONES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Blue Book of the State of Illinois, 1913-14. Compiled and Published by Harry Woods, Secretary of State, Springfield, Ill.

—Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910. By Samuel Joseph, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Whole Number 145. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Labor News of the United States, with Decisions of Courts Relating Thereto. In two parts. Part I, Alabama-Missouri. Whole Number 148, Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. April 10, 1914.



Little Bobby—"Papa, did you ever see a cyclone carrying houses up in the air, and cows and horses and wagons upside down?"

Papa—"No, my son."

Little Bobby—"Did you ever see a sea serpent?"

Papa—"No, my son."

Little Bobby—"I should think it 'ud be tiresome to live to your age and never see anything."—Sacred Heart Review.



"Do you like Beethoven's works?" she asked.

"I never visited them," he replied, with a show of interest. "What does he manufacture?"—Sacred Heart Review.



"Why, Willie," said the teacher in a pained voice, "have you been fighting again? Didn't you learn that when you are struck on one cheek you ought to turn the other one to the striker?"

"Yes'm," agreed Willie, "but he hit me on the nose and I've only got one."—Sacred Heart Review.



James started his third helping of pudding with delight.

"Once upon a time, James," admonished his mother, "there was a little boy who ate too much pudding, and he burst!"

James considered. "There ain't such a thing as too much pudding," he decided.

"There must be," continued his mother, "else why did the little boy burst?"

James passed his plate for the fourth time, saying: "Not enough boy."—The Multitude.

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