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## EDITORIAL

### Piling Ossa on Pelion.

Whatever opinion one may have of President Wilson's ideas of statecraft, one cannot help having some sympathy for the man on account of the epithets thrown at him. The standpatters call him coward; the German sympathizers, hypocrite; the militarists, molycoddle; the pacifists, militarist; and so on through the dictionary. It has remained, however, for Mr. Roosevelt, at the close of one of his characteristic diatribes, to cap the climax by calling him a Byzantine logothete. Waiving consideration of the fact that this was a terminological inexactitude, it still raises the question, is Mr. Roosevelt trying to annihilate an opponent with a word, or is he merely booming the sale of dictionaries? S. C.

### A Disappointing Message.

There is much deserving of condemnation and little to praise in President Wilson's message. His recommendation of an increased army and navy lacks justification, according to his own statements. One year ago in rejecting the hysterical preparationist demand, he said:

No one who speaks counsel based on fact or drawn from a just and candid interpretation of realities can say that there is reason to fear that from any quarter our independence or the integrity of our territory is threatened.

This year he said substantially the same thing as follows:

We are at peace with all the nations of the world, and there is reason to hope that no question in controversy between this and other governments will lead to any serious breach of amicable relations, grave as some differences of attitude and policy have been, and may yet turn out to be.

Yet with no change in conditions or prospects we are urged to do what is no more necessary this year than it was last year or at any time before.

To make a bad matter worse recommendations are made to burden industry and enterprise with almost the entire cost of this proposed unnecessary

policy. The only exception will be such income taxes as will fall upon unearned incomes. The sugar duty, and the emergency taxes to be retained and the new taxes on gasoline, automobiles, bank checks and iron and steel products must all be borne by already overburdened labor. These taxes must in the end reduce opportunities for labor and must lower wages. The proposed tax on automobiles, for instance, will be paid by laborers, even though they be too poor to indulge in hopes of ever owning any. The tax means fewer automobiles, and less demand for laborers to make and operate them. The tax on bank checks must have a tendency to affect business injuriously, as must any interference with a useful and convenient medium of exchange. The same applies to all the other suggested taxes. Even the income tax will largely fall on honestly earned incomes.

These taxes if levied will be inexcusable, not only because they will burden the people for a bad purpose, but because ample revenue could be obtained without resort to them, and in a way that would have fitted in with a more encouraging statement in another part of the message as follows:

While we speak of the preparation of the nation to make sure of her security and her affective power, we must not fall into the patent error of supposing that her real strength comes from armaments and mere safeguards of written law. It comes, of course, from her people, their energy, their success in their undertakings, their free opportunity to use the natural resources of our great home land and of the lands outside our continental borders which look to us for protection, for encouragement and for assistance in their development.

With the need of additional revenue on his mind, and also the need of "free opportunity to use the natural resources," the President overlooked an opportunity to accomplish both objects at the same time by directing the attention of Congress to land value taxation.

Even though not ready to advocate land value taxation, the President had an opportunity to advocate methods less oppressive than he did. There has been considerable agitation, for instance, for an inheritance tax. This has been carried on not only by radicals, but by so conservative a paper as the Chicago Tribune. It is needless to say that an inheritance tax is far from ideal. It is not a strictly just tax, and it would not—as some of its advocates believe—do much to remedy unjust social conditions. But it would not be so harmful as the sugar tariff, or the other indirect taxes suggested, and it would be less obnoxious than the in-

come tax. So even though it were to be conceded that considerations of political prudence prevented recommendation of land value taxation, there is still lacking explanation of the unjust recommendations which were made.

### President Wilson's Preparation Program.

Perhaps the most significant comment on the President's address before Congress was that of the cartoonist who pictures Mr. Wilson as serving happy-medium defense tea to Mr. Roosevelt, who exclaims, "Pah, too weak!" and to Mr. Bryan, who cries, "Ugh, too strong!" If our national policy were to be determined by the general average of all opinions, it is probable that the President would be near the requirement. But since there is no average man there is likely to be much disappointment. The preparationists will be satisfied with nothing less than universal military service; while the pacifists will tolerate no increase of our armament. Between these extremes are a large number of people who are in doubt. They retain a lively admiration for the President's talents, and they appreciate the fact that he has kept the country out of the war; but they do not see the logic of his preparation program.

This abrupt change in our national policy is disquieting to those who had hoped to see further steps taken to solve the economic problem. The fight against the protective tariff has been long and arduous, and now to see the fruits of these years of labor lost through an endeavor to increase the national income for military purposes is most discouraging. To resort to an increase in indirect taxation before the present tariff has had time to demonstrate its sufficiency is to give up much we have gained. It is, however, a practical question that confronts the people. Granted that the President's course is disappointing, what alternative remains? Is there any public leader available who promises more? And does a bare statement of the President's military program tell the whole story?

Men who are close to Mr. Wilson insist that he is not a militarist, that he is less so now than at the beginning of his term. One prominent personal friend suggests this as an explanation of his present course. He believes that the President has information to the effect that the Allies will not agree to make peace until there shall be a general agreement to a league to enforce peace, with an agreed international force contributed from the military and naval forces of the countries in the league. He fears the United States would not

have an effective word in a conference to organize such a league, and provide the terms, unless she had a sufficient military standing proposed, if not actually in existence. The President may deem it of the first importance that all neutral nations should have an important say in such a conference, and that all should become members of such a league. If such be the conviction, it offers a seeming justification for an increase in the military power of the United States, in order that it may have due weight and influence in such a league; and to this end the natural conclusion would be to promptly prepare to make the necessary impression upon the minds of the nations who would constitute the league.

It is conceivable that the President may conscientiously take this view of the situation and outline such a program as he has submitted to Congress for the very purpose of bringing about the disarmament of nations. The logic of such a course, however, will fail to appeal to many of the President's friends; and the danger incident to the carrying out of such a plan, to say nothing of the expense, is sufficient to warrant all antimilitarists in opposing the program. The conclusion of this war will see one of two things, either a disarmament of the nations, or a renewed armament rivalry; the fact is not far in the future. Let us wait till that decision has been made before entering upon a new policy. The question of preparation hinges upon what Europe will do; yet no one today knows what Europe will do at the end of this war. The brief interval between the present and the end of the war will make little difference, even if we are ultimately to join the armament rivalry, while the saving in money and the gain in principle will be of the utmost importance. The President may be credited with entire sincerity in seeking to oppose militarism by advocating an armament that will lead to disarmament, and yet the friends who differ with him must oppose that program. s. c.

#### A Protest from Business.

It may seem a trifling matter when considering the preparation program to haggle over the expense, yet the opinion may be hazarded that business is not on such a solid foundation that it can safely be burdened with more and heavier taxes. The Western Fruit Growers' Association has issued a protest against the war taxes already levied, and those to come. The tax on telegrams, waybills, express receipts and long distance telephone messages all falls upon business already conducted on

a precarious margin. And now it is suggested that a tax be laid upon gasoline, automobiles, internal combustion engines, bank checks, pig iron and fabricated iron. All these taxes fall upon industry, except that on gasoline that is used in pleasure cars. Though each of these taxes be small, their total is not inconsiderable in amount; and each separate and distinct item will be irritating in the extreme. They are well calculated to reverse the plan of the old woman who plucked her geese in a way to secure the most feathers with the least squawking, by getting the least feathers with the most squawking. Whether or not the world has arrived at the day of disarmament, it has come to the time when taxes on industry are recognized as a burden. If we must arm, let the expense fall upon privilege. s. c.

#### Contradictory Recommendations.

Even from a preparationist standpoint it would seem that the proposed taxes on automobiles, gasoline and iron and steel products are unwise. In modern warfare automobiles are largely used, as well as iron and steel products. What sort of a way to prepare for war is it which begins by imposing taxes on the very things that preparedness requires? s. d.

#### The Merchant Marine.

President Wilson told the whole story of the disappearance of the American merchant marine when he said:

The great merchant fleet we once used . . . we have almost driven out of existence by inexcusable neglect and indifference and by a hopelessly blind and provincial policy of so-called economic protection.

He suggested the true remedy when he said:

We should promptly remove every legal obstacle that may stand in the way of this much to be desired revival of our independence.

This being so, it is clearly the duty of Congress not only to refrain from adopting the recommendation of a special tax on iron and steel, but it should remove all tariff duties from everything that enters into the manufacture of ships. s. d.

#### Why Not Speak Out Plainly?

Secretary of War Garrison intimates that rejection of the continental army proposition may lead to defeat in war, and this, he says further, would probably bring about adoption of universal conscription. This flatly contradicts the President's assurances that there is no prospect of war with anyone. If the Secretary has spoken in good faith, then, unless he has been misled by a hysteri-

cal imagination, he must know about some existing cause of war with some one, toward settlement of which we had better direct our efforts. Such a settlement could be made just as easily before a war starts as after it has come to an end. If Secretary Garrison knows of some wrong we are committing against another nation, he should speak out and urge that we stop. If he knows of some wrong done to us, he should point it out and urge peaceful settlement through arbitration or other means of applying reason. There should be an end of concealment and secret diplomacy, and an end of discreditable official efforts to stam pede the people by dropping of veiled hints which may have nothing whatever back of them.

S. D.

### Improving the Civil Service.

It has long been noted that the finest encomiums on virtue have been pronounced after the debauch. Nevertheless, the testimony of the victim is not without its value. And though most of the additions to the civil service list have been made by outgoing Presidents with the effect, if not the intention, of retaining in office their own appointees, yet these additions have advanced the civil service cause. And so when Mr. Taft, after the expiration of his term of office, suggests the advisability of abolishing postmasters, the suggestion is deserving of consideration. There is perhaps no single activity under our government that militates more against efficient service than that of the spoils postmasters. The number is so enormous, and the distribution so widespread, that its enervating influence pervades the whole political atmosphere. In the lesser branches of the service the clerks, the carriers and all those who directly handle the mail are men who have given time to learn the business. They spend their lives at it, as in any other calling. But the postmasters in the various cities throughout the country are appointed with absolutely no knowledge or qualification of their duties; and a change in the administration causes their removal without any regard to their fitness or experience, to be followed by the appointment of another unfit and inexperienced man. If criticism be made that such a procedure must make for inefficiency, the answer is that the service is so thoroughly organized that it is carried on by the subordinates, and the postmaster can do little harm. It was this fact, doubtless, that caused Mr. Taft to say in his Chicago speech that these political barnacles should be swept away and their salaries saved to the public. Thus he would remove the postal system from

politics and save the country four million dollars annually.

One of the chief concerns of Illinois politicians during the present Administration has been the appointment of a postmaster for Chicago. The Democratic Senator, the Governor of the State, together with the various Democratic leaders, have used up a great deal of gray matter in attempting to decide who shall have the office. During the whole discussion, however, there has been no voice raised in behalf of the present incumbent, who has had practical experience. So well established, indeed, is the principle that to the victor belongs the spoils that Republican leaders and newspapers offer no protest, and the Democrats make no apology. The reappointment is to be made by a Democratic President; hence, none but Democrats need apply. If government is to extend its activities into wider fields of public service—as there are many reasons for thinking it will—the postmaster-standard of efficiency must be abolished. To administer the telephone, telegraph, railroads, or any other of the proposed public functions, on any such basis would mean speedy disaster. Postmaster-ships are not an asset to a party. Frequently they bring more embarrassment than advantage. Parties are overthrown who have all the offices; while as a reward for party service they make small return. Temporary officeholding unfits a man for subsequent private life; and numerous as are the offices, they are within the reach of only a comparatively few who have party claims.

S. C.

### Protectionist Theory and Practice.

The theory of protectionism is that the people should submit to special taxation in order to place in certain employers' hands a trust fund to be used in paying wages above the market rate. What is morally the same as embezzlement is when this trust fund is used for other purposes than the one promised. Evidence of such violation is presented whenever propagandists of protectionism are found insisting on their legal right to employ labor at the lowest wage possible. This is always the case where child labor prevails. It is the case in Pennsylvania today, where the very manufacturers who shout most loudly for protection have for years fought child labor legislation, and are now trying to evade enforcement of a law recently passed. And it was the leader of these employers of child labor, whose name in Pennsylvania is synonymous with child-labor-employment, who at a manufacturers' meeting held in

Chicago last week under auspices of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association bewailed the "free trade tariff" and demanded return to the high Aldrich-Payne schedule "for the sake of American labor." Is it possible that so patent a fraud can still fool any part of the people? s. D.



### Tariff Humor.

The tariff commission obsession has finally seized upon the Illinois Manufacturers' Association; but not, however, without a heroic resistance that rendered it harmless. The tariff commission proposition was finally endorsed by the association, but not until it had been expressly stipulated that the present duties should first be raised. It may occur to some of the plain, ordinary citizens—who have no other interest in the question than to bear the burdens as cheerfully as may be—to inquire why, at a time when most of our competitors are prevented by the war from supplying our markets, there should be a demand for a higher tariff? But if many of the members of the Manufacturers' Association are like John Fisler of Philadelphia, the reason is obvious. Mr. Fisler bluntly stated that the President's position on the tariff was actuated by a desire for personal gain. But he afterwards modified the statement by adding, "for political gain." It is most refreshing to see these disinterested men taking such an active part in public affairs; and one must feel reassured as to the preservation of our free institutions when he contemplates their absolutely disinterested motives in asking the privilege of levying a higher tax upon their fellow citizens for the cloth they manufacture. s. C.



### How Regulation Works.

Tariff monopolists must become more and more convinced of the need of a tariff commission as they see the Interstate Commerce Commission making one concession after another to the railroads' demands for permission to raise rates. s. D.



### Prosperity That Produces Poverty.

As in the days of McKinley, the cry is being raised that "prosperity is here." It is just as true as it was in McKinley's day, but no more so. It is jug-handled prosperity. A few get the lion's share. For the many there is but an ordinary living, while to no inconsiderable number of workers this alleged prosperity means increased poverty. An example of this is presented in The Survey of December 4, in an article by Zenas L.

Potter of the Russell Sage Foundation, telling about the boom in Bridgeport, Connecticut. The boom has brought 50,000 new inhabitants to the city. One result is thus described:

Land values and rents have jumped. There is a shortage of houses. Company-owned, multiple family dwellings are going up. Dormitories are being built to house 4,000 unattached girls. Recreation facilities are swamped. Law-beaking and drunkenness are on the increase.



That landowners are reaping a harvest is thus clear enough. But how is it with the workers? A typical example is that of an unskilled laborer employed for \$12 a week at the American Graphophone Company. Before the boom he had occupied quarters with his wife and three children for a rental of \$9.50 a month. The boom increased his rent to \$12 a month. Unable to pay this increase, he sought for new lodgings. None within his reach was to be had. So he was turned into the street. With his family he now occupies quarters at the almshouse. So many are the evictions in Bridgeport, even of better paid laborers, that it has been proposed to turn not only the almshouse but election booths and portable school-houses into temporary shelters for evicted families. What share have these workers in this prosperity?



War orders happen to have caused the Bridgeport boom. But it would have been the same had there been a similar increase in industry in any other line. So long as land values may be privately appropriated, so long will it be possible for landowners to deprive workers of the results of increased earning powers. The Bridgeport situation only illustrates how under existing conditions there can be no real prosperity. Because communally created values are not taken for public purposes, landowners are empowered and encouraged to make this so-called prosperity a public calamity. The remedy is clear enough to those with eyes to see. Perhaps in time The Survey writer will point it out. s. D.



### University Freedom.

Having in mind the fact that it is the worst wheel on the wagon that makes the most noise, it may be well for such as have the cause of freedom closest at heart to carefully discriminate between the schools that do and those that do not offend. Forty-nine universities may go on quietly year after year laying the foundations of knowledge according to the conception of untrammelled

instructors; but the fiftieth, by curbing its instructors, will receive more attention in the public mind than all the other forty-nine. And even should the numbers be reversed, still full credit should be given to the one that stands for freedom. Bishop Lawrence in his report on the progress of Harvard University takes a pardonable pride in the fact that Harvard stood the test of free speech when a hue and cry was raised against a German professor who dared to speak for his country. As President Lowell puts it, if the university once begins to disapprove of the word or the speech of any officer or teacher, then the university must take the responsibility of every other word of every other officer. It is not at all unlikely that the lack of advanced teaching on economic subjects is due to the ignorance and timidity of the instructors, oftener than to trustee censorship.

s. C.

### Trouble in the Boy Scout Camp.

The force that rends empires, divides political parties and creates schisms in the church has manifested itself in the Boy Scout movement. Ernest Thompson Seton, writer of books on nature, and active in the Boy Scout movement in America, has withdrawn for the purpose of starting another organization. Mr. Seton says there has been too much militarism in the movement. Attention has been given to wigwagging, drills and other activities of a military nature, to the exclusion of nature study. And it is his purpose to bring the boys back to what he considers a better course by organizing the Woodcrafts League. It is possible that some of the leaders in the Boy Scout movement have overemphasized the military features; and it is not unnatural, on the other hand, for pacifists to attach too much importance to these forms. Wigwagging and many other features in the Boy Scout drill, while smacking somewhat of the army, are useful in civil life. It is to be hoped that Mr. Seton, in launching the new movement, will not permit his prejudices to bar out anything of real worth in the old organization. Not all schisms mark an advance, but most of them do. Dividing the one into two doubles the opportunities for experiment, which enables us to get the more out of our trial-and-error philosophy. If the Woodcrafts League shall add to the wholesomeness of the boys' life it will find a welcome, without any disparagement of the parent organization. One of the clearest notes yet struck in boy-character building was sounded by the Boy Scouts; and its success has been due largely to the

fact that its ideals have been within reach of the boys.

s. C.

### A Bill to Destroy Liberty.

Senator Chamberlain of Oregon has introduced a bill to subject to involuntary military servitude all boys in the United States between the ages of 12 and 23. Of course the Senator means well. It is his misfortune to know no other way to make preservation of peace possible. A grave injustice was done him by the people of Oregon when they put him in a position for which he turns out to be so exceptionally incompetent. This injustice should be remedied at the earliest opportunity.

s. D.

### ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT.

Opponents of democracy and justice in government always offer a plausible substitute, "something just as good." At present their cry is efficiency and economy. Likewise, whenever a party or politician is out of office and has no definite constructive platform, it is always good politics to charge the existing government with extravagance and inefficiency and to promise a reduction in the tax rate or the cost of living. The fact that governmental expenditures have seldom, and the cost of living has never been reduced, appears to detract not a particle from the value of such promises.

Economy is always desirable, and such appeals have been used effectively in side-tracking democracy, because it is assumed by many well-meaning people that whatever the virtues of democracy may be, economy is not one of them. The object of this article is to combat that assumption and to show that economy in government can never be effected, except through democracy. This claim is based upon two propositions: first, that extravagance in government is caused by special privilege, and second, that only democracy can destroy privilege.

Nearly every person in sympathy with American ideals will admit that war and preparation for war are merely destructive of life and property and serve no useful purpose. Perhaps every one is not so clear in the belief that every war is caused by some special privilege. The motive back of the privilege, of course, is the predatory instinct in man. Among primitive peoples where land is held in common and there are few special privileges, this instinct finds its expression chiefly in tribal wars, the object being the seizure of goods and capture of slaves. In these wars all members

of the conquering tribe share in the plunder, though in varying degrees according to prowess, rank or influence. As civilization advances, some members are differentiated from the rest of the tribe or nation by certain special privileges, chief of which are the private ownership of land, ownership of slaves, titles of nobility and kingship, grants of commercial monopolies, monopolies protected by tariffs and other forms of taxation, grants of franchises, patents, etc. Among civilized people in modern times most of the plunder of war goes to the privileged few. The common soldiers who do the fighting and the common people who pay the expenses of wars share in nothing but the sacrifices. Hence appeals can no longer be made to their predatory instincts. If they cannot be forced into war without their consent, appeals must be made to their patriotism or to racial or religious hatred or other prejudices artificially stimulated. The common people, therefore, no longer have a motive for war. When special privileges are abolished, and along with them the privileged, that is, the predatory, classes, all such motives will have been eliminated. The predatory instinct may survive for a long time, but it will become innocuous.

The general statement that special privilege is the cause of war is not convincing, unless it is proved by particular instances. Beginning, then, with the present war, we are informed that when the entente allies asked Austria to submit her dispute with Serbia to arbitration, she was prevented from doing so by the military group of which the German Emperor is the head. The fair inference, therefore, from the facts as we understand them, is that Emperor William is responsible for the commencement of hostilities. Whatever the underlying causes might be, the special privilege which immediately caused this war, the proximate cause, as the lawyers would call it, it seems to me, was not protective tariffs or feudal land tenure, but kingcraft. An emperor denying responsibility to any human agency, but claiming the right to rule by divine authority, and anxious to increase his influence both at home and abroad, had it in his power to prevent this mighty cataclysm. Had he assumed to be the servant instead of the master of the nation, his acts would have been different. Italy confessedly entered the war for the sake of the spoils, in the form of more territory. The same motives inspire the kings of whatever Balkan states may enter the war, except, of course, Serbia, which had no alternative. These people **must** fight when and on whichever side their masters order them to fight.

The first Balkan war was for the purpose of ending Turkey's misrule. The second Balkan war was over the division of the territory won from Turkey, that is, to determine how much of such lands each of the Balkan kings should misgovern. The Russian-Japanese war was to decide which was to be the dominant power in eastern Asia. The application of the principle of self-government would have made all the wars so far mentioned impossible.

The Boer war was caused by the refusal of British mine-owners in the Transvaal to pay certain taxes and other exactions of the Boer government, and their ability to induce their home government to back them up. It was generally believed that our last Spanish-American war was due to the atrocities of the Spanish oligarchy in Cuba, and the blowing up of the Battleship Maine. But it has recently been alleged that Spain had conceded every demand made upon her by the United States, the inference being that some interests in this country forced the war in spite of Spain's concessions. It is useless to speculate about the matter until the facts are known. Of course, chattel slavery was the underlying cause of our civil war of 1861-5. The present trouble in Mexico is the direct result of an intolerable land monopoly. Turning back the pages of history it is easy to see that the greed of some privileged class is the direct or indirect cause of every war.

Some people see in free trade a preventive for war. Others have suggested international courts for the settlement of disputes and international armaments to enforce their decisions. We had all these at the time of our War of Rebellion, but they did not prevent war. There was complete free trade between the States. The Supreme Court of the United States was an international tribunal, so far as the States were concerned, which only a short time before the war had rendered a decision in the famous Dred Scott case in favor of the slave-holding interests. The United States army and navy was in the same sense an international armament. But this split up and aligned itself upon opposite sides. Can any effective way be found to prevent any other international armament from breaking up at the critical time? If any person believes there is a preventive for war short of the complete abolition of privilege, I fear he is doomed to disappointment.

Wars and armaments and pensions constitute a very large and wholly unnecessary part of governmental expenditures. But it is urged that each nation must prepare for defense, because the righteousness of one nation does not guarantee it

immunity from attack by other nations controlled by privileged interests. Possibly this is true. But if our nation cannot safely disarm, it can at least set a good example by the abolition of privilege. Nothing is so contagious as a good example, which, when followed by other nations, will remove all pretext for wars or armaments.

While special privilege does not always bring on war or open rebellion, it continually causes discontent and more or less strife and disorder. The monopoly of natural resources, grants of franchises, patents, tariffs, taxes upon the products of labor, banking privileges and other governmental privileges and restrictions, not only cause wealth to be transferred from those who produce it to those who do not, but also result in unemployment, destitution, crime, vice and disease. As a direct consequence of such misgovernment, immense sums of public money must be spent for militia, sheriffs, police, constables; for law departments, courts, jails, penitentiaries and reformatories; for insane asylums, orphan asylums, poorhouses and poor relief; for tuberculosis camps and hospitals and many other agencies for caring for the victims of preventable diseases; and for hundreds of useless and expensive investigating committees. A large part of such public expenditures would be unnecessary if the cause were removed. This, of course, is not the only waste caused by privilege. The private tribute, the waste of effort, of character and lives, is appalling. But this article is concerned only with the waste of public funds.

It may be a matter of dispute as to what extent special privilege causes unemployment, and how much of existing vice, crime and disease owes its origin to poverty. However, since we know that the earth is large and fertile enough to furnish ample raw material for all of the present population who are willing and able to convert it into consumable wealth, and that science and inventions have made that process of conversion wonderfully easy, the only thing that now stands in the way of abundance for all is governmental restriction. Since it cannot be successfully disputed that a large proportion of crime, vice and disease is the result of involuntary poverty, the exact percentage is immaterial and cannot affect governmental responsibility.

As to the second proposition—that only democracy will destroy privilege—we have the evidence of history and human self-interest. By democracy we mean the rule of the majority. Every government by a minority has been in the interest

of that minority. Even the so-called democracies of Athens and Sparta were examples of minority rule whose corner-stones were slavery and land-monopoly. Whenever a class becomes politically or economically powerful enough to demand a share in the government, it demands some special privilege for itself. But from the nature of the case special privileges can not be granted to the majority. When, therefore, the machinery is established, whereby the majority can direct the policies of government, their own self-interest or selfishness will cause them to repeal the privileges in which they can have no share. Naturally, before this can be brought about, the majority must have some intelligent idea as to what constitutes a privilege. Abuses with which they have long been familiar acquire the appearance of rights. Many peoples accept their kings and aristocracies as matters of course. Even slaves sometimes object to the abolition of slavery. It is said that an Englishman dearly loves his lord. In many countries, especially where land is fairly well distributed, the private ownership of land values is as sacred as any other form of private property. Many people believe that tariffs protect the workmen instead of their employers. Where privilege has become a habit, it requires much effort and patience to disclose its real nature.

Not only is privilege uneconomical, but it will surely destroy any nation that harbors it, unless it is itself destroyed. Privilege, seeking to perpetuate and extend itself, constantly demands new exactions, which means eternal warfare. The fight between liberty and privilege is a struggle for existence, in which the latter has won more often than the former, as the wrecks of civilizations will bear witness. It is well then for democrats to be on their guard and not be misled by specious pleas for undemocratic measures. When proposals are made, like those of the recent New York State Constitutional Convention, for economy in government at the expense of democracy, don't believe them. "There ain't any such animal."

ALBERT H. JACKSON.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### GOOD ROADS AND PREPAREDNESS.

Bryn Mawr, Pa., Dec. 19.

The lamentable lack of sound economic foresight revealed in all the jingo schemes of preparedness adds greatly to the dangers of a policy which can not be successfully defended on moral grounds. It is easier to reduce the vitality of a nation by unjust taxation than it is to overawe a rival nation. Mr.

Bryan's much derided suggestion that the people's money be spent on good roads instead of dreadnaughts will bear thoughtful scrutiny. Logan Waller Page, director of the United States Office of Public Roads, estimates that \$290,000,000 a year could be saved to the people by wise and equitable road laws and good business management. It now costs some \$500,000,000 to haul about 200,000,000 tons of freight to the railroad stations over country roads.

If roads were built and maintained through the districts now too remote from the railroad to make hauling profitable, immense areas would be brought into cultivation. The result would be stimulating to the rural population, beneficial to farmer and railroad alike, and would tend to reduce the high cost of living. The magnitude of the problem will be seen when it is shown that there are over 400,000,000 acres of uncultivated land in the United States awaiting such development.

There is only one weakness in the argument. It does not take into account the landlord's power, under our unjust tax laws, to absorb values created by the public. Thus good roads mean an increase in population, a greater demand for land and an increase in rent. It has been demonstrated that good roads send up the value of adjacent land from \$2 to \$9 an acre.

A government which drew its revenues from land values would be automatically reimbursed for its expenditures on good roads, as well as for every other public improvement, and would be able to stimulate production by removing the present burdensome taxes on industry.

F. W. GARRISON.

### FREEDOM FOR SOLDIERS.

Philadelphia, Dec. 2.

The following is from a letter to the President:

The matter of proposed increases of armament being much in the public attention, I venture to ask your consideration of what I consider a fatal defect in our provisions for defense, viz.: that a soldier is obliged to yield obedience unquestionably to superior orders. He surrenders his conscience; this is the strength of militarism. The following is from Benjamin Franklin to B. Vaughn, March 14, 1785 (Old South Leaflets, No. 162):

It has been for some time a generally received opinion that a military man is not to inquire whether a war be just or unjust; he is to execute his orders. All princes who are disposed to become tyrants must probably approve of this opinion, and be willing to establish it, but is it not a dangerous one, since, in that principle, if the tyrant commands his army to attack and destroy, not only an unoffending neighbor nation, but even his own subjects, the army is bound to obey? A Negro slave in our colonies being commanded by his master to rob and murder a neighbor, or do any other unmoral act, may refuse, and the magistrate will protect him in his refusal. The slavery then of a soldier is worse than that of a Negro. A conscientious officer, if not restrained by the apprehension of its being imputed to another cause, may indeed resign rather than be employed in an unjust war; but the private men are slaves for life, and they are, perhaps, incapable of judging for themselves.

This is interestingly in accord with Section 7 of "The Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony in New England" (1641), (Old South Leaflets, No. 164):

No man shall be compelled to go out of the limits of this

plantation upon any offensive wars which this commonwealth or any of our friends or confederates shall voluntarily undertake. But only upon such vindictive and defensive wars in our own behalf or the behalf of our friends and confederates as shall be enterprised by the counsel and consent of a court general or by authority derived from the same.

I respectfully suggest that conditions of enlistment should be radically changed, so that a soldier should have liberty to decline to engage in any warfare that would not appeal to his conscience. Defensive warfare would appeal to the conscience of almost every man; there would be no withdrawals from defensive war, but I would give the soldier that privilege; improper use of it would subject a man to the terrible punishment of ostracism. This soldiers' privilege would disarm tyranny. Every citizen would be inclined to fly to the defense of a country that was worth fighting for; a country in which he had a sense of proprietorship. It has been well said that a man would fight for his home, but not for his boarding house. The best defense for a country is to make it worth saving; the programme is economic, rather than military.

SAMUEL MILLIKEN.

### NO RUSSIAN MILITARISM WANTED.

Lincoln, Neb., Nov. 28, 1915.

I am nineteen years of age. I came to this country in February, 1912, from Russia, of which country I am a native. I lived in New York City until last January.

The following I quote from my notebook. It might be of interest to you at the present time when the militarists' cry for compulsory service in the army and navy is to be heard all over the country:

Lincoln, Neb., Feb. 4, 1915.

A little difference between this country and Russia.

There a young man looks with dread towards his 21st year—that's the time when, if able bodied, he has to go into the army.

While such a person in the U. S. A. reaching that age is given the ballot and he can vote for anything he stands for. The consequence is that he looks towards it with hope, pride and a desire to be more of a man—a man worthy to make his own government. Ay, more! He has the power to change and make up society.

In Russia, on the other hand, he thinks that he'd rather let himself be ignorant so as to easier stand the burden of the Russian despotism.

SAMUEL KOMAR.

### POOR LITTLE HAITI.

Denver, Colo., Dec. 10.

There is so much beautiful and uplifting sentiment in the president's recent message that criticism of it seems almost ungracious; and yet where it touches practicalities, especially when it comes to the manner of raising revenue for "preparedness," to which so many of us are opposed, there seems to me much call for criticism. Still it might have been even worse—bonds—so let us be thankful.

In reading over the message I was much impressed with this sentence:

From the first we have made common cause with all partisans of liberty on this side the sea.

"On this side the sea!" How the Filipino "partisans of liberty" must regret their unfortunate geographical location. And yet considering poor lit-

the Haiti, which is "on this side the sea," there is not much to choose.

For one, I feel disgraced and humiliated that Uncle Sam has turned himself into an office boy and sheriff to collect the debts of the lend-lords, foreign and domestic, who have been making loans to Haiti. Isn't that the way the matter stands?

When England had to bombard Alexandria "to quell an uprising" it was all for the bond-holders. The interest on Egypt's bonds made taxes so excessive that the natives rebelled and Christian England went and shot them into submission.

And we, I take it, are now doing the same thing in Haiti. It makes the Monroe Doctrine a sham and a fraud. Instead of letting the other countries do it we hold her down while the leeches suck her blood for ten years. A "Protectorate," indeed. Well, this is better than our Filipino policy in one respect—it has a definite time limit.

CELIA BALDWIN WHITEHEAD.

### NOT SINGLETAX.

Chicago, Ill., December 8, 1915.

I would like to add to Mr. Herbert Quick's statement in your last issue that "the boom in Vancouver and its subsequent collapse have shown that Vancouver not only has not the single tax but that she probably does not know what the single tax is," this further remark which I think worthy of emphatic repetition,—that no city, township, county, state or province can ever have singletax properly so called, because the system is essentially a national one, involving the abolition of the tariff and every other form of Federal taxation. The most that any unit short of the nation can have in the direction of the singletax policy is the taxation of land values alone for local revenues. This is certainly worth striving for, but it is not singletax.

J. W. BENGOUGH.

## 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, December 14, 1915.

### Congressional Doings.

The Democratic House caucus on December 13 took favorable action on extension of the emergency war taxes. It did not act on the proposition to extend the sugar tariff, or on other revenue propositions. [See current volume, page 1192.]

A resolution to amend the Constitution was introduced on December 11 by Senator Owen of Oklahoma. It provides for a popular referendum before a war of aggression may be begun.

Senator Lane of Oregon introduced a resolution on December 13 proposing a congress of neutral

nations to suggest terms of peace to European belligerents on the following principles: (1) Evacuation of invaded territory. (2) Liberation of oppressed nations. (3) A popular vote in Alsace-Lorraine, Finland, and Poland as to whether they prefer independence or allegiance. (4) Equality for the Jews. (5) Freedom of the seas. (6) Gradual, concerted disarmament. (7) An international court of arbitration, with commercial boycott as a weapon.

Senator Chamberlain of Oregon introduced on December 13 a bill for universal compulsory military training for boys from 12 to 23. It exempts only the physically unfit, persons convicted of crime or of known bad character, and persons in the prison or police service of the United States, or already in the military or naval service. Persons with religious scruples are to be exempted from bearing of arms but must participate in all auxiliary training. The nation is to be divided into nine military districts each under a district commander. Conscripts from 12 to 14 will be required to train 90 hours a year. Additional service is to be required of older ones. Penalties of fine and imprisonment are provided for evasion, which applies to employers who try to prevent employes from taking the training.

### Reports to Congress.

The report of the Commission on Industrial Relations was transmitted to Congress by Chairman Frank P. Walsh on December 8. In his accompanying letter Mr. Walsh said:

On behalf of the Commission on Industrial Relations, I have the honor to submit herewith its final report.

The assembling of facts and the report of the staff, from the records of our public hearings and the reports of investigators, under the direction of Mr. Basil M. Manly, might well be taken, in my opinion, as a model of efficiency and scientific treatment by Government bureaus.

The plan of submitting none but undisputed facts in the final report of the Commission has been faithfully adhered to.

No statement or conclusion of facts adverse to the attitude of persons is submitted, except as declared or assented to by the persons or by the individuals comprising the group affected.

Thus, for perhaps the first time in the history of our Government, the facts in relation to the conditions in the industries examined and the relations inquired into are placed beyond the realm of controversy, and established upon the solid and scientific basis of ascertained and indisputable fact.

It is believed that the work of the Commission has been conducted in a spirit of social justice and an earnest desire to serve the public by bringing into the light the facts regarding the industrial relations of the country.

For the creation of this spirit, as well as for an earnest insistence that the education of the public

should be the keynote, I feel that full credit should be accorded Mr. George P. West, and that in addition thereto he should be credited with the inspiration and planning of many of the most effective hearings.

[See current volume, pages 834, 1099.]

The annual report of Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo reached Congress on the 8th. The Secretary proposed lowering the income tax exemption limit to \$2,000 for single persons and \$3,000 for married persons. The present limits are \$3,000 and \$4,000. He would have the surtax begin with incomes of \$10,000 instead of \$20,000 as at present. He repeated the other revenue recommendations made by President Wilson in his message. He complained that the Government was losing revenue through inaccurate income returns, and urged that authority be given to increase the collection force that these delinquents may be detected. [See current volume, page 1192.]

Secretary of War Garrison's report was sent to Congress on December 9. He recommended increase of the regular army to 121,000, creation of a reserve army consisting of enlisted men who have served their time but are still subject to call, which at the end of eight years would amount to 379,000 men; a continental army of 500,000 to be under training for three months a year for three years, and then be subject to call at any time, while another army of 500,000 will be under training. This would make the entire regular and continental strength at the end of eight years 1,500,000 men in addition to the State militia. For the first year Secretary Garrison estimates the expense to be \$353,460,000, including an appropriation of \$7,000,000 for the militia. He declared universal conscription to be a sound military policy, but requiring a constitutional amendment to be effective. But he declared that should the continental army plan be rejected the United States will face some form of compulsory military service.

Attorney General Gregory made his report on December 10. He asked that the neutrality laws be amended so as to make it criminal to place explosives on vessels sailing from American ports, or to escape from an interned warship of a belligerent nation. He further asked that authority be given to seize arms and ammunition about to be exported in violation of an embargo proclamation. He asked additional legislation to prevent railroads from transporting articles manufactured by itself or controlled by its stockholders. He urged authority for establishment of plants for manufacture of various government supplies at the federal prisons at Leavenworth and Atlanta and recommended that the convicts be paid wages for their work out of their earnings.

Secretary of the Navy Daniels presented his report on December 12. He recommended the building of more ships than proposed by the general navy board. His recommendation would cost in five years \$502,482,214. The navy budget for the year is \$217,652,174, about \$85,000,000 of which is for ships already undergoing construction.

The Interstate Commerce Commission reported on December 13. It urged increase of its membership. In regard to physical valuation of the roads it says that by January 1 the survey of 50,000 miles of road will be practically completed. This is about one-fifth of the total mileage. The Commission asked for authority to obtain access to letter files of carriers. It also asked for legislation requiring use of steel cars in passenger trains and forbidding placing of wooden cars between or in front of steel cars. Since opening of the Panama Canal, the Commission says, the water carriers have materially reduced rates, shortened time of transportation and bettered service in other ways. In the service between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts are 49 ships with a capacity of 380,000 tons.

#### Railroad Rate Increase Allowed.

Permission to increase passenger rates was granted western railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington on December 11. Commissioner Hall was the only dissenting member. The grant allows an interstate rate of 2.4 cents a mile in Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri north of the Missouri river and Kansas north of the main line of the Union Pacific. In Missouri and Kansas, south of the Missouri river and the Union Pacific, the rate may be 2.6 cents a mile. The intrastate rates of 2 cents a mile are not affected by the decision. The decision is expected to increase the revenue of the carriers more than \$10,000,000 a year. [See current volume, page 957.]

Increase in rates for live stock was allowed the railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission on December 13 on roads north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi.

A complaint was filed with the Commission on December 9 by Senator Lea of Tennessee charging the Louisville and Nashville railroad and the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis railway with issuing thousands of dollars of free passes every year to public officials.

#### Chicago School Affairs.

Superintendent Ella Flagg Young after a service of fifty years to the Chicago public schools in different capacities, retired from service on December 8.

Assistant Superintendent John D. Shoop was

elected superintendent by the school board. There was no candidate against Mr. Shoop, but two members of the board, Mrs. John MacMahon and Mrs. William Gallagher, refused to vote for him. Jacob Loeb, author of the anti-federation rule, was elected chairman of the board by a vote of 15 to 1. The opposition vote was cast by Mrs. Gertrude Howe Britton. On December 10 the City Council confirmed Mayor Thompson's three appointees to the school board. The discussion over the appointments resulted in production of a letter from Mr. Charles Ffrench, the appointee who had announced his opposition to the anti-federation rule, telling of pressure brought upon him by the Illinois Manufacturers' Association to change his position. In this letter Mr. Ffrench said:

I was also informed that the Illinois Manufacturers' Association was a very strong body—had a very considerable power with the city council and that those in agreement with it would be assisted while those against it would be fought.

The Council confirmed Mr. Ffrench by a vote of 65 to 0. It confirmed Charles R. Young by a vote of 60 to 5; and Edward J. Piggott by 33 to 32. [See current volume, page 1195.]



#### Mexico.

A step toward the renewal of diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico was taken on the 9th by the appointment of Eliseo Arredondo, confidential agent of General Carranza, as Ambassador to Washington. Formal notice has been issued by General Carranza that all those persons and corporations holding concessions issued by the Huerta government will be required to apply for their privileges under the new government as though the original permits had never been issued. Charles J. O'Connor, special representative of the Red Cross workers in Mexico, stated at the annual meeting at Washington that data in his possession led him to believe the daily death rate in Mexico from starvation, and from disease due to lack of food, would average 2,000. [See current volume, page 1196.]



A severe defeat was administered to Villa troops at Fronteras by Carranza forces on the 9th. The Villa troops suffered heavily in casualties, and afterwards many of the shattered forces surrendered to the Carranza officers. The remaining scattered and broken bands are being vigorously pursued.



#### European War.

In neither the Eastern nor the western front is to be noted any material changes in the lines. The Germans in Russia are reported to be fortifying themselves for the winter by digging themselves in before the ground freezes. Trench warfare is incessant between the French and Germans in

northern France; and along the Yser front heavy artillery fighting continues. [See current volume, page 1197.]



In the Balkans the Teutonic arms have continued to clear Serbia of all organized opposition. Part of the Serbian army is in Montenegro, where the Austrians continue to crowd them back with the Montenegrins. Another section is in Albania, and a third has been pushed back with the Allies into Greece. Both the French and British forces have been compelled to retreat before overwhelming numbers to their base at Saloniki, where it is supposed the guns of the fleet will protect them. Both the German forces and the Bulgarians have reached the Greek border, but have not crossed it. They are expected to continue the attack, and it is supposed that Greece will maintain her neutrality so long as the fighting is confined to the vicinity of Saloniki. It is reported that the war council of the Allies at Paris has arrived at an agreement as to the Balkan campaign, which though not publicly announced, is supposed to contemplate the holding of Saloniki during the winter, and the introduction of a great army in the spring. No further definite reports have been given out of Russian forces to invade Bulgaria; and no action has been taken by Roumania.



More fighting is announced at the Dardanelles, but with no apparent result. The British expedition on the Tigris still holds its position at Kut-el-Amara, 115 miles south of Bagdad, from which the Turks are making desperate attempts to dislodge them. Reinforcements for the British are said to be on the way. Slight gains are announced by Italy north of Lake Garda, but nothing new is reported from Goritz or the Isonzo front.



Chancellor Von Bethmann-Hollweg addressing the Reichstag on the 9th, in answer to Socialist inquiries regarding peace, said:

If our enemies make peace proposals compatible with Germany's dignity and safety, then we shall be ready to discuss them.

So long as in the countries of our enemies the guilt and ignorance of statesmen are entangled with confusion of public opinion it would be folly for Germany to make peace proposals, which would not shorten, but lengthen the war. First the masks must be torn from their faces.

Premier Asquith declared in the House of Commons that the Allies are willing to consider any serious peace proposal that may be made by Germany. But neither side has shown the least desire to submit peace terms.



The American note of December 6 to Austria protesting against the sinking of the steamship *Ancona* was made public on the 13th. This note

recites that a submarine flying the Austro-Hungarian flag sank the Ancona without giving sufficient time for the passengers to be saved. A large number were drowned, among them being some American citizens. Continuing, the note says:

The government of the United States considers that the commander violated the principles of international law and of humanity by shelling and torpedoing the Ancona before the persons on board had been put in a place of safety or even given sufficient time to leave the vessel. The conduct of the commander can only be characterized as wanton slaughter of defenseless non-combatants, since, at the time when the vessel was shelled and torpedoed, she was not, it appears, resisting or attempting to escape; and no other reason is sufficient to excuse such an attack, not even the possibility of rescue.

The government of the United States is forced, therefore, to conclude either that the commander of the submarine acted in violation of his instructions or that the imperial and royal government failed to issue instructions to the commanders of its submarines in accordance with the law of nations and the principles of humanity. The government of the United States is unwilling to believe the latter alternative and to credit the Austro-Hungarian government with an intention to permit its submarines to destroy the lives of helpless men, women and children. It prefers to believe that the commander of the submarine committed this outrage without authority and contrary to the general or special instructions which he had received.

As the good relations of the two countries must rest upon a common regard for law and humanity, the government of the United States cannot be expected to do otherwise than to demand that the imperial and royal government denounce the sinking of the Ancona as an illegal and indefensible act; that the officer who perpetrated the deed be punished; and that reparation by the payment of an indemnity be made for the citizens of the United States who were killed or injured by the attack on the vessel.



### China.

President Yuan Shi-Kai has formally accepted the Chinese crown tendered him by the council of state. No date has been set for the coronation, but it is assumed that it will not take place till after January 1st. The Japanese press denounces Yuan's acceptance of the throne. Chinese in America are highly indignant, and have taken steps to start another revolution. General Hwang Hsing, co-leader with Sun Yat Sen in setting up the Chinese Republic, now living at Ardmore, Pa., says:

Revolution in China is again imminent. As soon as the forces are in order and ready to strike I will join them. And I will not permit them to disband, as I did in 1913, until the cause is won.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who led the revolt against the Manchu dynasty, and became the first provisional President of the Republic, is supposed to be in Japan, whither he fled after the collapse of the

second revolution. [See vol. xv, p. 349; current volume, page 1197.]

## NEWS NOTES

—Anglo-French war bonds had declined on the New York market on December 11 to 94%.

—The Pennsylvania railroad and the Panhandle were found guilty of accepting rebates, on December 7, in a trial before Federal Judge Landis at Chicago.

—Two express trains a week, each way, will be run between Berlin and Constantinople, and two between Munich and Constantinople. This through service will begin January 1st.

—In a debate on the singletax at Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio, on December 10, the affirmative won. The speakers on that side were E. L. Morel, W. C. Miller and F. H. Perdee, with H. M. Bright, alternate.

—At the organization of a singletax league at Pomona, California, on December 4, Charles Hardon was elected president and secretary; Harold Whittemore, vice president, and Edmund Norton, lecturer.

—Alderman John C. Kennedy of Chicago will take the affirmative on the question, "Shall the Socialist Party Declare for Prohibition?" in a debate with Arthur M. Lewis at the Garrick Theater on December 19.

—The boom town of Hopewell, Virginia, where is situated one of the large plants of the du Pont company, was almost completely destroyed by fire on December 9. The powder plant was saved, but 10,000 persons were rendered homeless.

—Under the home rule powers of Kansas cities, 88 of the 166 electric lighting and power plants of the state have passed under municipal ownership. Among the cities having this form of municipal ownership are Kansas City, Garden City, Pratt, Larned and Canton.

—St. Louis was selected by the Democratic National Committee at Washington on December 7 as the meeting place of the Democratic national convention of 1916. The date set was June 14. The deciding ballot was St. Louis, 28; Chicago, 15; Dallas, 9.

—Etienne Clementel, French Minister of Commerce, is considering favorably the suggestion that the French government create a fund to send young men to America to study the "future" there, as young men are sent by the government to Rome and Athens to study "the past."

—Adelbert Wangeman died at the Oak Forest (Illinois) Infirmary on the 12th. Mr. Wangeman was a fundamental democrat, and an ardent Singletaxer. Failing health and fortune compelled him to spend the last few years of his life at the Infirmary. He served for some time as secretary of the Chicago Singletax Club.

—The largest labor organization in the history of England, representing about 2,000,000 men, was formed on the 9th for offensive and defensive action in matters respecting wages and conditions of work. The alliance includes the Miners' Federation, the National Union of Railwaymen, and the National

Transport Workers' Union. The constitution provides that joint action can be taken only after the consent of the three organizations concerned is obtained.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### Afraid to Say That They Want War.

Harper's Weekly, December 4.—Is it not tiresome, this practice of complaining of one course and fearing to recommend the opposite? The woods are full of newspapers and private individuals that are loftily ironical about the number of notes the American State Department has sent, "without doing anything." Everywhere you find people who say this continual writing gets on their nerves. Everywhere you find newspapers who jeer it as a literary exercise. Ask any one of these individuals or newspapers whether he would prefer a declaration of war, or a breaking of relations that would lead in a few days to war, and nine times out of ten at least he will either answer no or else evade the question. What is really desired is a mere chance to sputter over a course that is recognized as right, although requiring patience. Is it not more creditable either to point out what you wish to have done or to accept cordially the slow and unstriking establishment of principle, wearing as it may be?

### Why Prepare?

Chancellor Day in Leslie's Weekly, December 2: It is most astounding that we American people thousands of miles away from warring nations on our east and on our west, with less in the conditions of those nations to menace us than ever in our history, should be seized with the hysteria of war preparations for our defense. It is impossible that we shall be attacked in generations and improbable that we shall ever be. Europe will have had enough of war for a century. Japan will have China fast waking out of provincialism to national life and its proportions to reckon with and restrain her westward ambitions if she has any. Canada is our natural ally. Mexico settling her domestic quarrels will have things in common with us. The same is true of the South American republics. Why should we lose our balance and permit ourselves to be thrown into a panic by politicians and war munition makers? . . . An inventor of gun devices writes a book and tells us that the overwhelming population of the world is shut up in a small part of the fruitful portion of the earth while we in small numbers have territory the envy of these pent-up peoples and don't we know they are sure to come over here and take it from us! Just as though they had not been coming over here and taking it from us for a century by the use of the peaceful arts. They have been rushing into our unoccupied lands and making farms and pouring into our shops and factories by millions, and they are welcome, hundreds of millions more. This gun inventor would have us arm ourselves against them lest they come and take the land from us! We want them to come. And by providing for their peaceful coming we avoid war. . . . I know that no man is more unpopular than the pacifist when men's

thoughts have been excited and turned to war. It is none the less the duty of men upon whom the conscience of peace is laid to resist, if possible, the passion of war before it takes the irrevocable form of tyrannical and crushing militarism. . . . Europe is wading in blood to-day because a nation was over-prepared for war and other nations tried to be prepared also. Let our nation be big enough not to prepare. Let our nation be prepared in supreme character with invulnerable weapons of the conquering principles of peace. America can and must show the world the power of peace.

### Population and Land Values

Canadian Municipal Journal, December: Not long ago a tiny piece of ground at Charing Cross, adjoining the Mall Archway, and comprising only 641½ square feet, with a frontage of 69 feet, was sold by the London County Council to an insurance company for \$545,000 an acre. It is in the city, the square mile of which is valued at \$1,250,000,000, however, where land can easily claim the distinction of being the dearest in the world. For property near the center of the city \$16,250,000 an acre is not an unusual price. Portions of Cannon street, Queen Victoria street, Upper Thames street, and St. Mary-at-Hill, are said to be worth \$1.25 a square inch, while in Lombard street and King William street land has been sold for \$350 per square foot freehold. The three acres on which the Bank of England stands would realize at a low estimate \$35,000,000, for the land adjoining has sold at \$350 and \$400 a square foot. Land in Cornhill was sold at a price which worked out at \$12,452,000 an acre, while some time ago \$5,000,000 was offered and refused for the site of a church in Austin Friars.

### Court Decisions Versus Human Rights.

Reedy's Mirror (St. Louis), December 10: Recently the Ohio Supreme Court decided that the Cleveland school board was justified in discharging six teachers for activity in organizing a trades union in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, because the action of the teachers was a breach of discipline. Discipline is a good thing, of course. It is especially needed in a city's school system. But it is dubious that the American people will approve such law as is laid down by the Ohio Supreme Court. School teachers do not lose their human rights to lawful association with their fellows, for purposes not anti-social, solely because they are school teachers. They cannot be justly denied association in the exercise of the right of petition and remonstrance for justice or against injustice. They are servants of the public, but entrance upon service to the public does not constitute a surrender of rights as individuals. If people like school teachers and postal employes cannot organize themselves into associations for the advancement of their own interests, they are thereby deprived of their right to pursue happiness. The school teacher is worthy of his or her hire. He or she is within right in seeking to increase the hire. The Ohio Supreme Court's decision may stand for a time, but we shall have school teachers' unions nevertheless. The tendency of American workers to organize cannot be checked; nor should it be checked.

## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

### THE HYMN OF HATE.

By Joseph Dana Miller

And this I hate—not men, nor flag, nor race,  
But only War with its wild, grinning face.  
God strike it till its eyes be blind as night,  
And all its members tremble with affright!  
Oh, let it hear in its death agony  
The wall of mothers for their best-loved ones,  
And on its head  
Descend the venomed curses of its sons  
Who followed her, deluded, where its guns  
Had dyed the daisies red.

All these I hate—war and its panoply,  
The lie that hides its ghastly mockery,  
That makes its glories out of women's tears,  
The toil of peasants through the burdened years,  
The legacy of long disease that preys  
On bone and body in the afterdays.  
God's curses pour,  
Until it shrivel with its votaries  
And die away in its own fiery seas,  
That nevermore  
Its dreadful call of murder may be heard—  
A thing accursed in very deed and word  
From blood-drenched shore to shore!



### THE TRUE PERIL.

A Statement on Preparedness, Read by Alice Thacher Post at the "Preliminary Meeting" of The Woman's Peace Party at the Hotel McAlpin, New York, November 19, 1915.

*Fear, Greed, Backwardness*—these three call for "preparedness" at a time when we have no foes, and when to prepare is to invite the enmity of great nations and to excite the fears of small ones.

Greed needs but few words. That Wall Street was scared and suffered a fall in stocks a few weeks ago on rumors of peace in Europe shows into what inhuman soil the war-material industries strike their roots. Their subtlety matches their inhumanity, as witness the exposures of a few months before the war, relative to the Krupps' continuous maintenance in Paris of agents working for the incitement of the breaking of the generation-long peace between France and Germany.

Greed may be restrained as a factor urging preparedness by the establishment of government manufacture of armament; but not until the government shall directly control the iron and coal mines, as well as the furnaces and the factories, will Greed be eliminated as an incitement, not only to preparedness but to war itself.

Fear is a greater factor. We are all easy prey to Fear from the cradle to the grave. Besides, Fear has been artificially stimulated. It is so easy to write prodigious stories and plays of invasion;

and what more creepily fascinating than to get your heart into your throat over "frightfulness" in an environment that you know to the very paving stones? And then Greed is prepared to pay so well for such fiction, directly or subtly.

But are not our American traditions of courage and high purpose and ideals of freedom and peace better than spectacular tales? Europe was *afraid* eighteen months ago—*afraid* and *prepared*. And war fell upon her—more frightful than Fear had ever pictured. She has suffered and is suffering the worst that can happen, and Fear is beginning to pass. They are sick of warfare. Better death than to kill, they say. A new sense of spiritual values is coming to many. Visions of international order, of peace based on justice and the equal rights of all peoples to fulfill their race destinies, rise over the blood-sodden fields and the broken homes filled with weeping. Through the greatest travail of the Ages *they* advance into new democracies and a new brotherhood.

And *we*—are we about to fall behind, with our fears and our preparedness? Are we about to get in train for a Europe of July, 1914? Europe has lived much since then. In seventeen such months as those just past nations live seventeen years, and many times seventeen years. Are we about to stamp ourselves as a *Backward* nation, hopelessly behind in the march of progress? How lonely! how pitiful! Have we no imagination?

On the one hand, think of the people of the United States reading history childishly as a record of Hannibals and Attilas and Napoleons, with no vision of the advance of humanity from the stone ax to judicial and arbitral courts; arming themselves at a time when Europe has grown sick of armament, and thereby giving notice to all the other nations of the New World and to those of the Orient that they, too, must arm, for there are to be new struggles for supremacy.

On the other hand, think what it would mean to the world if the people of the United States said: "While this is not a time for disarmament, and we intend for the present to keep our army and navy as they are, and perhaps in even more efficient condition through a wiser expenditure of the sums we devote to their maintenance, we stand fearlessly in the world as the friend of every nation. We believe the world is sick of war, and we wish to promote all sound principles of constructive peace—arbitration, autonomy of small nations, democracy within nations, and freedom of the seas and great trade routes—in other words, democracy in the use of the earth we inhabit together. We, too, have learned lessons in the last seventeen months. We are not afraid. We desire to play our part in carrying forward the civilization of the world. We pledge our nation to *serve* the world."



Force is no remedy.—John Bright.

## NEW YORK CITY ILLUSTRATES PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

For The Public.

	Land values.	Population	Charities.	Cost per Cap- ita.
1899...	\$1,847,440,642*	.....	.....	.....
1904...	2,981,016,186*	3,900,000	\$5,736,856	\$1.47
1905...	3,078,762,681*	4,013,781	6,039,205	1.50
1906...	3,367,233,746†	4,152,800	6,382,785	1.54
1907...	3,558,893,954†	4,314,237	7,329,114	1.70
1908...	3,843,165,597†	4,422,685	8,391,107	1.90
1909...	3,885,727,207†	4,564,792	9,004,194	1.97
1910...	4,001,129,651†	4,711,956	9,542,496	2.02
1911...	.....	.....	9,785,795	.....
1912...	.....	4,983,385	10,326,637	2.07
1913...	4,653,959,375*	5,372,983	10,865,065	2.02
1914...	4,602,852,107†	5,583,871	?	?

\*Estimated 63 per cent of whole real estate.

†Assessed.

Land values increased from 1899 to 1914, 149 per cent; 1904 to 1913, both inclusive, 55 per cent.

Charities increased 1904 to 1913, both inclusive, 89 per cent.

What is the future?

WILLIAM H. CAPEN.



### THE BELLIGERENTS.

Edward W. Evans in *The Friend* (London).

Not one in the slaughter seeks his own;  
Not one has plotted to pay  
For a port or a province with flesh and bone!  
Ye are not such, ye say!  
In the name of justice alone each sword  
Is raised against Mammon's envious horde;  
"The Devil's spear lies at the breast of our Lord:  
We must strike the blow for His sake," ye say;  
"There is at the last no other way,  
So we must slay: so we must slay."

Justice is more than peace, ye hold;  
So out on the reeking lands,  
Where the dead tell the tales that ye leave untold,  
There Death and Hell shake hands.  
The carrion crow is royally fed;  
The Iser Canal with blood runs red;  
And the North Sea gnaws at the bones of the dead.  
"For God and Humanity's sake," ye say;  
"There is at the last no other way,  
So we must slay: so we must slay."

But whom think ye yourselves to be,  
Or what make ye of God,  
That ye think He must fall of His victory  
Save for your deeds of blood?  
And that for the sake of the Lord of the meek,  
Who gave you the word of the other cheek,  
The venomous tongues of your guns must speak,  
And to the dying for comfort say:  
"There is at the last no other way,  
So we must slay: so we must slay?"

How long since ye met with God in prayer,  
How near Him do ye move,

That ye think ye hear Him now declare,  
Justice is more than love?  
From which of His angels have ye heard  
The wisdom that bids you put this word  
Into the mouth of your crucified Lord,  
That the lips which prayed for His foes should say:  
"There is at the last no other way,  
So ye must slay: So ye must slay?"

When—ah! when—shall God stoop down,  
And pluck the heavens bare  
Of their stars, to set them all in the crown  
Of the nation that first shall dare  
To meet the foe, not a gun in place,  
But with steady purpose, with dauntless grace,  
And the look that shone in Stephen's face,  
Uttering a faith that is bold to say:  
"In God we trust, let come what may,  
Though He may slay: though He may slay!"

## BOOKS

### BIOGRAPHY OF A CZAR.

*The Life of Thomas B. Reed.* By Samuel W. McCall.  
Published by Houghton, Mifflin Company. Boston.  
Price \$3.00 net.

When Homer C. Davenport published his cartoon entitled "The Czar" he caught the true attitude of Speaker Reed at the time. The picture represented the giant speaker crushing the pigmy Democratic members of the House between powerful hands that Nelson Dingley might have an unopposed hearing. For, in the Fifty-first Congress (1889-1891), opposed by McKinley and nominated for the speakership by a majority of one, with a narrow Republican majority in the House, he ruled with singular power and held things together for his party. Though accused of impairing the freedom of debate, though he was the central subject of partisan debates, though even opposed in the usual resolution of thanks, yet he ruled. For, as Mr. McCall shows, Reed was nothing if not pugnacious, determined and obstinate. An incident shows a characteristic. For, being confronted with his own book on Parliamentary Rule to prove that a ruling was erroneous, he brushed aside the fault finder with a "Then the book is wrong."

Reed's general acceptance of Republican doctrines to the entire exclusion of any admittance of merit in the Democratic point of view, his unqualified adherence to protectionist principles, coupled with his uncompromising stand on other matters, such as his opposition to the purchase of the Philippines, to free railroad passes, to capital punishment, to the war with Spain, to government aid to railroads, to the annexation of oversea territory, and all with no subsequent wavering, indicate a peculiar character—one, in-

deed, more like old Samuel Johnson than any other.

So entirely was Thomas Brackett Reed identified with the political life of his day that McCall's book is really a history, and a very complete one, of Congress from 1884 to 1900. But when one recalls that these years were also the years of active propaganda by Henry George, yet notes that Reed seemed to be so little conscious of the larger issue that lay before him, the conclusion seems to force itself that, after all, as compared with Henry George, Reed's life was wasted in futile efforts. For, whilst the one enunciated a truth that set the world afire, the other's life was spent in playing the part of chairman in a big debating society.

CHARLES J. FINGER.

### WEAK-KNEED BRETHREN.

**The Socialist Party in The Reichstag.** By P. G. La Chesnais. Published by T. Fisher, Unwin, Ltd., Adelphi Terrace, London. Price, one shilling.

There is no doubt but that support given the war by Socialists in every belligerent nation has been a disappointment to those who had accepted at par previous declarations against militarism and war. There is no doubt that the failure of the German Socialist members of the Reichstag to remain true to principles of internationalism was the greatest disappointment of all. In spite of all excuses and explanations that have been issued, it was at no time difficult to see the true reason. The Socialist deputies were politicians. They knew that the prevailing war excitement had affected many of their own constituents. They knew that to oppose the Government at such a time would bring upon them a storm of disapproval. They knew that tory demagogues were ready to appeal to passion aroused by the war in order to create prejudice against democratic principles that might not be overcome for many years. It required extraordinary courage to stand unswervingly for principle under such circumstances. And when a party grows as rapidly as has the Socialist party of Germany it must attract many who cannot be depended on to remain faithful to principle at a critical time.

Mr. La Chesnais presents evidence that it was such influences that caused the Socialist members of the Reichstag to sacrifice their principles. He reproduces statement after statement declaring fealty to internationalism and opposition to war until the crucial moment. Then came the pitiful failure.

Unfortunately the German Socialist party is not the only democratic organization or movement which must contend with weak-kneed adherents. Even in the United States some have been swept off their feet by the hysterical cry for preparedness, whose fidelity to democracy had been thought too steadfast to be shaken. But fortunately there

is a remnant even in Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain and other belligerent nations which has remained firm in spite of the war frenzy.

S. D.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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—Why I Believe in Poverty. By Edward Bok. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, 50 cents, net.

—Walt Whitman, The Prophet-Poet. By Roland D. Sawyer. Published by Richard G. Badger, Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net; postage, 5 cents.

—Capital To-Day: A Study of Recent Economic Development. By Herman Cahn. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Learning to Earn: A Plea and Plan for Vocational Education. By John A. Lapp and Carl H. Mote. Published by the Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis. 1915. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Russian Sociology. By Julius F. Hecker. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Whole Number 161. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1915. Price, paper, \$2.50 net.

—What the Schools Teach and Might Teach. By Franklin Bobbitt. Cleveland Education Survey, Sectional Report. Published by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, Ohio. 1915. Price, 25 cents, postpaid.

—The Boxer Rebellion: A Political and Diplomatic Review. By Paul H. Clements. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, whole Number 160. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1915. Price, paper, \$2.00 net.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### Pamphlets Received.

Sir Edward Grey's Reply to Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg. Published with authority by T. Fisher Unwin, 1 Adelphi Terrace, London. Price, one penny net.

Union Seminary and the Church of Christ: A Statement issued by the Authority of the Board of Directors of the Union Theological Seminary, New York City. 1915.

The Protection of Neutral Rights at Sea: Documents on the Naval Warfare. With an Introduction by William R. Shepherd. Published by Sturgis & Walton Co., New York. 1915. Price, 25 cents.

The District of Columbia in its Fiscal Relations with the United States Government. Brief of the Tax Reform Association of the District of Columbia filed with the Joint Congressional Committee. Published by the Tax Reform Association, Washington, D. C., 1915.

Pulmonary Disease Among Miners in the Joplin District, Missouri, and Its Relation to Rock Dust in the Mines. Preliminary Report by A. J. Lanza and Edwin Higgins. Technical Paper 105, Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C. 1915.

Each \$1 Makes \$4 and More on Vacant Lot Gardens. Eleventh Annual Report, Philadelphia Vacant Lots Cultivation Association, Season of 1914. Samuel S. Fels, President; James H. Dix, Superintendent and Secretary, 1122 Land Title Bldg., Broad and Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

Tommy Atkins, meeting a full-bearded Irish tar in the street, said:

"Pat, when are you going to place your whiskers on the reserve list?"

"When you place your tongue on the civil list," was the Irish sailor's reply.—Tit-Bits.



Teacher—What were Webster's last words?

Pupil—I can't remember them, teacher, but I know one thing—they all began with Z.—Sacred Heart Review.



"I told you last Sabbath, children," said the Sunday school teacher, "that you should all try to make some one happy during the week. How many of you have?"

"I did," answered the boy promptly.

"That's nice, Johnny. What did you do?"

"I went to see my aunt, and she's always happy when I go home again."—Boston Transcript.

## CHICAGO SINGLETAX CLUB SCHILLER BUILDING

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M. J. Foyer, of Toledo, "The Singletax."

Dec. 24—No meeting.

OTTO CULLMAN,  
President.

E. J. BATTEN,  
Business Secretary.

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For little Christmas tokens small books like "The Lost Island" (10c or \$1 per dozen), Tolstoy's "The Great Iniquity" (15c or \$1.50 per dozen), Altgeld's "Oratory" (50c) or Post's "What is a Christian?" (10c, 14 copies \$1) are ideal.

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Another list is being compiled at our request by friends in several of the largest universities. It covers the pick of the assistant professors—not the standpatters or the gray beards. Already this list includes nearly five hundred names, and they are still coming in.

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Stanley Bowmar, Manager.

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