

The Public

A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy, and
a Weekly Narrative of History in the Making.

Vol. XVIII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1915.

No. 926.

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Published by STANLEY BOWMAR, Manager
Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Canadian and Foreign, \$1.50

Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at Chicago,
Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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EDITORIAL

Fighting the Industrial Commission's Report.

Congressman Fitzgerald of New York, former Speaker Cannon's Democratic assistant, and champion of a bill to suppress freedom of the press, distinguished himself again on December 17, by opposing an appropriation to print the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations. In opposition to the efforts of David Lewis of Maryland, Keating of Colorado and other democrats, Fitzgerald succeeded in having the motion referred to the Committee on Printing instead of the Committee on Labor, of which Lewis is chairman. The value of the report is made clearer by the opposition to its circulation and the efforts made to suppress it.

S. D.



The Labor Department's Service to Labor.

The third annual report of the Federal Department of Labor shows definite progress toward a solution of the unemployed problem. It has shown how Congress may confer upon the Department power to put a plan into operation which will make it possible for every one desiring profitable employment to get it. The first steps in this plan involve no interference with existing property rights. So not even the most reactionary Congressman—unless willing to frankly confess himself opposed to relief of the industrial situation—need sacrifice principle to give the Department the help which it asks.



Whatever can be done to find jobs for the unemployed with the power it already has, the Department is doing. Through a system of labor exchanges it is getting jobless men to whatever manless jobs there happen to be. Even in this work it is handicapped by insufficient appropriations. Congress has given the War and Navy Departments liberal appropriations to publish alluring help wanted advertisements for the Army and Navy. But it has been miserly in providing the Labor Department with funds to make known

to men desiring useful work, where jobs might be awaiting them. In spite of this difficulty the Department had 88,000 applications for work from May to October of the current years, and found places for 31,000. That left a surplus of 57,000 willing workers for whom no jobs could be found. It is clear that the labor exchange, while a convenience and a necessity, is not the solution of the problem. The Department recognizes this fact and urges more fundamental action.



The Department finds in the public lands to which the Government still holds title the opportunity to abolish involuntary unemployment. For this purpose the homestead laws are not sufficient. The rapid concentration of land ownership, where these free homesteads were given to the settlers, and increase of tenantry show clearly enough that there was something wrong with that method of disposal. The Department urges therefore that the Government retain title to remaining public lands, while opening them to the unemployed. Land tenures should be so regulated as to ensure to the occupant the entire product of his labor, but inflation of land values must be prevented. As is truly stated in the Department's report: "Wherever inflation of land values might enter in, the proposed method of promoting labor distribution would be obstructed."



Anticipating the objection that many of the unemployed would not know how to use these opportunities, the Labor Department suggests co-operation by the Department of Agriculture, which maintains a bureau for instruction of agricultural workers. And it further suggests creation of a fund to help the workers with loans. The Department also calls attention to the vast amount of privately owned land withheld from use, and suggests the possibility of securing some of this later when the widening scope of the plan shall require it. Once started on the right road it is only a question of keeping on.



It took more than 47 years of agitation to secure the creation of the Department of Labor. It has been established less than three years, and has already demonstrated its value. In finding a practical and conservative but fundamental way to deal with the unemployed problem it has performed a service of greater worth than any that could be performed by the other Departments. It now remains for Congress to grant authority to put the plan in operation. This should be promptly given.

S. D.

Trying to Dodge the Inevitable.

Present indications point to the fact that the near-statesmen in Congress will not depart from the well-beaten path of custom. The Democrats appear to be bent upon adding more taxes to industry. They are obsessed with the idea that if these taxes be divided into small enough items—a cent or two for a telephone message, a few cents for a check or a waybill—the people will not feel them. But the people will feel them; and every stamp they lick will be accompanied by maledictions on the party that perpetrated such a blunder. The Republicans are making capital of this situation, and calling upon the people to go back to the old reliable protective tariff. But it may be questioned whether they will fare any better than the Democrats do. Conditions in this country have changed materially since the good old days when the tariff was not a tax and the foreigner paid it. At that time the United States was exporting foodstuffs and raw materials, and importing large quantities of manufactured goods. We then had such an abundance of cheap lands that we could undersell the world in raw materials, and were able to pay exorbitant prices for what we bought. Now our lands are high in price, we cannot export much food, nor much raw materials. And we ourselves have become a manufacturing nation looking for foreign markets. It matters not how high the duties may be, little revenue will be produced if the imports stop. With the exception of the single item of sugar, there is now no import capable of producing a large revenue. And as our industries continue to develop there will be less and less imports of a revenue-paying nature. To raise the duties materially will reduce rather than increase the revenue; to spread them over items now on the free list will arouse an angry protest from the people.



Does not all this point to the inevitable abandonment of the tariff as a source of revenue? With the protection possibilities disappearing, and the revenue duties growing more burdensome and irritating. Congress will be forced to look elsewhere. And if our friends the Prohibitionists continue to close the States to the manufacture of alcoholic liquors, internal revenue also will be among the decreasing resources. Income and inheritance taxes may tend yet a while to save the face of established custom, but there can be little doubt that the time is fast approaching when the Federal Government will have to resort to direct taxation. And when that time comes, there is every reason for thinking that members of Congress will understand the difference between a tax

on industry, and a tax on land values. The present Democratic tinkering may result in a return of the Republicans to power; but if that happens, they too will soon learn that the old order has passed. The trend toward scientific taxation is irresistible.

S. C.



Mexico.

The withdrawal of General Villa from the field establishes a fact that has been apparent to close observers for sometime past, that the revolution is an accomplished fact, and that the Mexican people are tired of fighting for the mere sake of fighting. The arbitrary enforcement of order by Diaz, with peonage as the basis of the state, led inevitably to open revolt; and had the United States, or any other outside force succeeded in restoring that order, it would only have led to another outbreak. Any short return to peace would have meant the inevitable restoration of the privileged interests that had made existence for the mass of the people unendurable. But the long fight to a finish has convinced the privileged class that the old order has been definitely discarded; and that the people as a whole have satisfied themselves that no further good is to be found in fighting. General Villa himself is reported as saying a few days ago, "My men won't fight."



The feeling of doubt and distrust that accompanied General Carranza's recognition appears to be wearing away. The general's disregard of all advice from this side of the line, his demand of the withdrawal of the American forces at Vera Cruz, and his constant insistence that Mexico's internal affairs concern only Mexicans, was in a sense humiliating to our own government, and seemed to show a lack of appreciation of what we had done for him and for his people; but it is now clear that he had hit upon the best course to awaken the national pride of his countrymen, and arouse them to an assertion of their rights. His very stubbornness in resisting outside influences will, if guided by ordinary intelligence, do most to restore to the people the constitutional rights that have been disregarded by President Diaz and all the other adventurers who have leant themselves to bolstering up privilege at the expense of the people. It is by no means likely that Mexico's troubles are at an end. Liberty is not so easily won. There lie before the Mexican people long years of travail, marked by crushing disappointments; but so long as the gain is greater than the loss, and in spite even of backward movements at times, the justice-loving, liberty-loving people will continue the struggle. Justice and liberty cannot

be conferred upon a people, they must win them for themselves. As the child learns to walk notwithstanding its falls; so a race attains freedom in spite of all political reverses.

S. C.



Taxing Names.

It is said that Holland, in order to meet the great expense forced upon her by her warring neighbors has resorted, among other means of raising revenue, to a tax on names. Parents giving babies more than one Christian name will be required to pay a tax on each additional name. Comment is made in the press dispatch that while well-to-do Hollanders will use as many names as they please, and pay the tax, the poor will confine themselves largely to the one exempted name. The tax on names will have the same result as the tax on windows, when the rich had plenty of sunlight in their houses, and the poor went without; but with this difference: a child may not be seriously handicapped with a single name, while the windowless family suffered discomfort and disease. If all goes to show that to tax means to destroy, and we are confronted with the question: Do we wish to destroy wealth or monopoly, industry or privilege? We must burden one or the other, and the people at large must determine which.

S. C.



More Dangerous Than Any Foreign Menace.

Not all of those swept off their feet by preparationist hysteria are reactionaries. There are genuine democrats who argue like this:

Unless we prepare we may lose through foreign conquest whatever liberties we have.

The danger of an unprovoked foreign invasion has often been shown to be very improbable. But even if it were not, the preparationist plan of averting it does not fit the case. It seems that to avoid risk of loss, through foreign conquest, of what liberty we have we must subject it to the greater risk of destruction through creation and maintenance of a big military establishment. The liberties which we have are sufficient to enable us to establish a just economic system, and thus make this country so great a hope and refuge to the world that no foreign bureaucracy would be supported by its people in an unprovoked attack. That is the only safe way out of whatever danger we may be in. "We must wholly accept Liberty or she will not stay." A big army can not force her to remain.

S. D.



Who Should Pay for Defense.

Resolutions concerning the British war budget, adopted by the United Committee for the Taxa-

tion of Land Values at London, might, with a few changes to fit local conditions, be properly re-adopted here with reference to the revenue propositions submitted to Congress to pay the cost of preparedness. These resolutions stated:

This meeting profoundly regrets that in its recent War Budget the government has failed to recognize that those who hold the land should be specially called upon to pay for its defense.

This meeting affirms that a direct tax on land values would open up the land to the people by bringing more land into the market and reducing rents to their natural level, that it would be a practical expression of the rights of the people to the land, and that it is the only tax which can raise revenue without hindering production, or adding to the cost of living.

This meeting views with grave apprehension the financial and industrial prospects of the country after the war, and calls on the government to make preparations at once for completing and bringing up to date the 1909 Finance Act valuations, as a basis for imposing a National Tax on Land Values at the earliest possible moment.

S. D.



Apportionment of Preparedness Expense.

The Chicago Tribune figures, in its issue of December 27, that the per capita expenditure for the navy in 1915 is \$1.45, "and per \$100 of wealth, .0687." But it neglects to add that the expense was not apportioned per \$100 of wealth. It was paid principally through tariff and excise taxes on consumption. The share of such taxes paid by a bachelor millionaire for the support of the navy amounted to no more than one-fifth of what was paid by a \$10 a week laborer charged with support of five individuals. The same applies to the most of the proposed new taxes to pay for the preparedness program. These are taxes on consumption and, however trifling they may appear to some, are a serious matter to that half of the wage earning fathers who get but \$500 a year, and even to the two-thirds of adult male workers who get less than fifteen dollars a week.

S. D.



More Ways Than One of Boosting Fraud.

The Chicago Tribune loudly boasts that fraudulent advertising is excluded from its columns. But it does not hesitate to admit to its editorial columns recommendations of preparedness as a safeguard against war, recommendations of a protective tariff as a producer of prosperity and recommendations of a non-partisan Tariff Commission as a means of taking the tariff out of politics. Back of all these fraudulent recommendations are private interests just as sordid as behind any fraudulent commercial advertisement. Their effect on the public welfare is worse.

S. D.

No Cause for Discouragement.

Those impulsive enthusiasts who no sooner perceive a truth than they set out headlong to make everybody else see it, and who, finding the world interested in other things, conclude that it is of no use, that all is vanity, that mankind is prone to evil, may retain a feeling of depression from the past year, and look forward with foreboding to 1916. Let them not be downcast. Progress is not to be measured by the advance and retreat of the parts, but by the movement of the whole. And as an army rarely gains its ends by a frontal attack, so the cause of freedom often wins its greatest victories by indirect means, and while the main cause appears to be at a stand. To those who saw the march of democracy in England up to the middle of 1914, the subsequent events are disquieting, if not discouraging; and to those in this country who toiled so long in behalf of democracy, the substitution of military preparedness for economic freedom is disheartening.



Yet how much of the whole do we see? Do those who feel that the great war is a turning back of progress, if not the death of civilization, have all the factors in mind? It took many years to bring the British people to the point of curbing the power of the Lords, and to laying the smallest tax on economic rent. Neither the Liberal nor the Conservative party as a party seriously considered the laboring class economically. The most they thought of doing was to hand down something to the masses. But a great change has come over the British masses during the past eighteen months. They are beginning to assert themselves. They are taking seriously the words of England's leaders who tell them the empire is at stake, and can be saved only by them. And when the empire has been saved, it is not unlikely that it will be set to rights and reconstituted by the men and women who saved it. Physical necessity will compel the repudiation of the war debt, or the elimination of the landlord class. It is possible, indeed, that the close of the war will see the beginning of a deliberate scaling down of the debt, and a gradual elimination of the landlord. The same influences are at work in all the other warring nations.



The most uncertain conditions are in our own country. Our economic system rests upon a false basis; yet, owing to war orders the penalty is suspended; and we are enjoying exceptional prosperity. The policy of removing taxes from industry, which was begun by the Sixty-third Congress, seems about to be reversed. The political energy

that was to restore man to his rightful heritage, and give a finer expression to democracy is in imminent danger of being diverted to military preparedness. Yet, here again, matters may not be so bad as they seem. The end of the war may not be far distant. Peace will mean the end of war orders from abroad. It may mean disarmament. Hence the military program now before Congress, even should it be adopted, may be reversed before much harm has been done. And above and beyond all other considerations is the fact that whatever may be the foolishness committed by the present leaders, there is a political philosophy spreading throughout the country that will soon be so strong that it will put in power men who know what democracy really is, and who have the courage of their convictions. Let no one enter the new year with forebodings; but rather with hope, confidence, and determination. s. c.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

BEGGING THE QUESTION

Butler, Pa., Nov. 24.

It is the sad experience of man that truth constantly seems to elude him. Nor can it be said in explanation that he does not love the truth, nor that he does not seek it, or that he loves its opposite. A more rational explanation would be that he does not seek the truth when he gives to the investigation of facts and questions a mere superficial, half-hearted attention.

By a large class of men, most of them industrious, able, conscientious, peace-loving, the proposition has been accepted as axiomatic, that unless we are armed beyond the dreams of Nietzsche, we are doomed.

The proposition is not fair, is not logical, is not true. It ignores the alternative of great moral force of fundamental democracy and the commanding sufficiency of the universal brotherhood of man. But when Venality is abroad it does not stop at means, good or bad, to befog the minds of well-disposed men; and with the battle cry of "Billions for defense, or we are lost," it hopes to spread a perverted political philosophy in the United States.

But the philosophy of force advocated by such men does not appear so fair under the searching light of history. Babylon was great as a military power, and Tyre and Egypt and Nineveh—did their armies avail them? What of Sparta? What of Greece? The Roman conqueror shed tears over Carthage, for in the destruction of the rival city he discerned too truly an augury of the fall of Rome, "and at length with the weight and the responsibilities, the crimes and the glories of centuries, the Imperial City fell." Spain was armed, and feudal France was armed, and France regenerated was armed. What of their history? There were great standing armies everywhere, and today,

laying aside historical evidence, we see before our very eyes all Europe "armed for defense," and to what end?

We have, besides, what is so valuable an aid to clear thinking, a well defined negative instance, namely, that of "unarmed China" (albeit sneered at by our "red-blooded patriots"). China saw, without collapse from hysteria, the rise and fall of Attila, Zingis and Timour. The conquests of the Monguls were probably the most wonderful in the world, and China now dominates Mongolia so easily that she maintains there not even the semblance of an armed force.

Yet it would indeed be a pity to set aside the conclusions of aroused privilege and to suggest to the panoplied advocates of force anything that savors of Christian love. Let the high tariff wall be strengthened, let private property in land be cherished as that upon which all else depends, let the geometrician draw a sector and the man across the line be taught to kill.

With the principles of fundamental democracy destroyed all this could be so well carried out. But democracy is not destroyed. It is secure, it is certain, although at times it may seem to get beyond our grasp. "It is like an image on the waters, which is ever the same, though the waters ever flow."

THOS. J. FLAHERTY.

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 Monday, December 27, 1915.

Mexico.

The process of substituting Carranza authority for Villa authority continues. General Villa, who was reported to have crossed into the United States, appears to have disappeared in Mexico, but effective resistance is no longer looked for from him. General Villa and Generals Medina-vieta and Rodriguez are reported to have been declared beyond the law, and not entitled to amnesty. [See current value, page 1244.]

It is announced from Washington that the State Department is trying to induce the Rockefeller Foundation to undertake immediate relief work among the typhus sufferers in Mexico City, where there are reported to be 20,000 victims.

European War.

No change of lines is to be noted during the week. Nothing of moment is reported from the eastern front. On the western front heavy cannonading and other movements are taken to indicate another aggressive movement by the Germans; but the point of attack is not yet apparent.

Three points are mentioned as the possible field of action, the British front between Ypres and Armentieres, the Noyon angle on the River Oise, the nearest point of the line to Paris, and on the Champagne front, where so much heavy fighting has been done. [See current volume, page 1244.]

Many conflicting reports and rumors come from the Balkan arena. The Allies continue to fortify their position at Saloniki, and the Teutonic forces are reported to be preparing for an attack. Unconfirmed reports are to the effect that Germany and Greece have come to an understanding that the Central powers shall be permitted to attack the Allies at Saloniki on condition that they evacuate Greek territory at the conclusion of the campaign. It is announced that the Greek cabinet, headed by Premier Skouloudis, will remain in power until the assembling of the new parliament, January 24. Germany has set up a temporary government at Nish, and has invited the Serbians to return to their homes.

Successes of the Allies in Persia has led to the appointment of a new cabinet friendly to the entente powers, under Prince Firman Firma as premier. No new movements are reported in the Mesopotamia campaign. And in Egypt the military preparations for the protection of the Suez Canal continue. It is reported that the British have 300,000 troops in Egypt.

The general aspect of the war is one of an endurance contest. Premier Asquith, during a vigorous and frank debate in Parliament, said Great Britain must have 1,000,000 more men, which will raise her contingent to 4,000,000. The recruiting campaign of ten weeks resulted in the enlistment of 2,500,000, the last week alone furnishing 1,539,000 men. This campaign was undertaken with the understanding that if it failed to furnish sufficient enlistments conscription would follow. Anti-conscriptionists claim a vindication, while the conscriptionists declare it is taking too many married men, and leaving too many unmarried men at home. France announces that the Loan of Victory subscriptions amount to \$2,900,000,000. The German Reichstag on the 21st voted another credit of 10,000,000,000 marks. Nineteen Socialist members voted against the bill.

The British casualties from the beginning of the war to December 9 is officially announced as 528,227, of whom 119,923 were killed, 338,758 were wounded, and 69,546 are missing. The losses were distributed as follows: Flanders and northern France, 387,988, Dardanelles, 114,555; other theaters, 25,684.

Negotiations between the United States and

Austria over the sinking of the Ancona by an Austrian submarine continue. The American Government stands firmly upon its original demands. The Austrian Government is proposing arbitration, and making evasive answers. The general tenor of the reports from Vienna indicate a desire to avoid a break in diplomatic relations.

Ford Peace Ship.

Henry Ford, who headed and financed the peace delegation from this country, has been obliged on account of sickness to leave the party at Christiania, and set out for the United States. Some confusion seems to have followed Mr. Ford's departure, but reports are too confused to indicate the real conditions. [See current volume, page 1244.]

Committee to Fight Militarism.

The Anti-Militarism Committee is the name of an organization formed at Washington on December 21 to conduct a nation-wide fight against the "huge war budget and the cult of preparedness." Its headquarters are 732 Munsey Building, Washington. The members of the Committee are Miss Lillian D. Wald, of the Nurses' Settlement, New York City; Paul U. Kellogg, editor of the Survey; Rev. John Haynes Holmes and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, of New York City; Mrs. Florence Kelley, of the National Consumers' League; Prof. George E. Kirchwey, of Columbia University; Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict; L. Hollingsworth Wood; Louis P. Lochner; Miss Alice Lewisohn; Max Eastman and Allan Benson. Mr. L. Hollingsworth Wood, 43 Cedar Street, New York City, is treasurer of the Committee; Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict is executive secretary in charge of the organization work, and Charles T. Hallinan, of Chicago, is announced as editorial director.

Discussing Peace Terms.

Under date of December 14 the League for World Peace, through its president, George H. Shibley, sent the following communication to President Wilson:

We venture to call your attention to the fact that the German government, in its statement by Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, on the 9th instant declared that it, too, insists, as do the Allies, that the terms of peace must provide that war shall not return. Here is an agreement by the warring powers which covers, as we show in the accompanying memorandum, the two principal demands of the Allies, frequently reiterated since the first month of the war. There being this agreement on the principal issues in this horrible war the time has arrived, we believe, when a leading neutral power should invite the combatants to confer as to minor issues. You, as the head of the United States government, and with a splendid record for strict neu-

trality are doubtless the one who can best take the needed next step in the peace movement.

To this President Wilson replied under date of December 16:

Allow me to thank you for your letter of December 14, and to say that I have noted with the greatest interest the statement by Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg to which you refer, and that I am following the development of sentiment in Europe with regard to the war with the utmost sincere desire to be of service.

Copies of this correspondence were furnished to Washington representatives of the belligerent nations, together with a memorandum of statements recently made concerning peace terms by the German and British premiers, and other ministers with comments thereon. The quotation from the German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, is as follows:

The war can be terminated only by a peace which will give the certitude that war will not return. We all agree about that. There lies, and there will always lie, the root of our strength.

The British Premier Asquith is quoted as follows:

Be the journey long or short, we shall not falter until we have secured for the smaller states of Europe their charter of independence, and for Europe itself its final emancipation from a reign of force.



Pan-American Conference.

The second Pan-American Scientific Congress met at Washington on December 27 in Continental Hall, 17th and D streets, N. W. The program includes addresses on Transportation, Commerce, Finance and Taxation. Among speakers announced on Transportation are: James S. Harlan and Balthasar H. Meyer of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and Professor Emory R. Johnson of the University of Pennsylvania. On Commerce the speakers are S. N. D. North of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Professor David Kinley of the University of Illinois, Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks of New York University and Professor John Bates Clark of Columbia University. On Finance the speakers are George E. Roberts of the National City Bank of New York and Professor Jacob H. Hollander of Johns Hopkins, Professor Edwin W. Kemmerer of Princeton, and Professor Carl C. Plehn of California. On Taxation the speakers are Lawson Purdy, president New York City Department of Taxes; Samuel T. Howe, Tax Commissioner of Kansas; T. S. Adams, Tax Commissioner of Wisconsin; Professor Charles J. Bullock of Harvard; Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman of Columbia; Professor E. Dana Durand of the University of Minnesota, and Professor Plehn of California.

Still Raising Rates.

Further increases in freight rates were granted western railroads on December 23 by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The roads are allowed to raise charges on agricultural implements two cents per 100 pounds and on canned goods one cent per 100 pounds. They may increase rates on boots and shoes, leather and boot and shoe findings when shipped in carload quantities between Missouri manufacturing points and places outside of the State. Other increases are allowed on dried fruits. This is the third time in six months that the Interstate Commerce Commission has granted increases to the western roads. [See current volume, pages 994, 1187.]



In Memory of Henry F. Ring.

At a meeting of the executive committee of the Houston Singletax League on December 14, the following resolutions were adopted:

For the fifth time death has invaded our ranks and taken from us a charter-member in the person of Henry F. Ring.

Those of us who remember the battling joys of the olden days will recall the energy, the enthusiasm and the devotion which he gave to the propagation of the Singletax philosophy.

We have lost a friend and counselor, but we do not mourn for him. It is best. He was one of the men born to be crucified. We mourn that the people among whom he lived, whom he loved and for whom he labored, are today as profoundly ignorant of the true meaning of the Singletax philosophy as they were thirty years ago.

It is not the fault of Henry F. Ring.

"They had ears to hear and would not hear."

To his wife and sons we offer that sympathy which only the sorrowing can extend to the sorrowing, and promise them that the banner of the Singletax cause shall not falter.

[See current volume, page 1238.]



Death of Dorcas Helen Ingham.

Mrs. Dorcas Helen Ingham, mother of Mrs. Lona Ingham Robinson, died at Los Angeles on December 4, aged 88. Mrs. Ingham was the author of many poems relating to the struggle against chattel slavery and later struggles against industrial slavery and imperialism. Three of these were read at her funeral on December 6.

NEWS NOTES

—Surgeon General W. C. Gorgas will be the guest of the Chicago Geographical Society at their annual dinner on January 8. On January 10 he will be the guest of honor of the Chicago Singletax Club at the Auditorium Hotel.

—The postal service of the United States has doubled during the past twelve years. Audited transactions during past fiscal year amounted to

\$2,000,000,000. Sales of stamps, post cards and stamped envelopes for the year amounted to \$258,000,000.

—The trustees of Tuskegee, Alabama, Institute, on December 20 elected Major Robert Russa Moton to be principal of Tuskegee Institute, to succeed Booker T. Washington. Major Moton is commandant of cadets at Hampton, Va., Institute, and has been connected with that institution for twenty-five years. He was born in 1867 in Amelia county, Virginia, and was a friend and supporter of Booker T. Washington.

—War orders for food, clothing and arms have stimulated American exports until the total excess of exports over imports for the eighteen months of the war, amount to more than \$2,000,000,000. The exports of firearms, cartridges, powder, and other explosives for the first fifteen months of the war amount to \$121,742,937. Other exports for the same period were:

Breadstuffs	\$675,370,101
Meat and dairy products	293,826,358
Copper	121,133,436
Horses and mules	121,127,601
Automobiles and automobile parts	107,966,570
Sugar, refined	89,181,470
Brass and manufacturers of brass	41,808,316
Wool wearing apparel and all other woolen materials except rags	39,727,367
Leather, boots and shoes	38,620,723
Cotton wearing apparel	38,350,255
Iron and steel articles, horseshoes and wire	30,115,395
Electrical machinery	26,727,881
Leather, harness and saddlery	20,907,513
Bicycles, motorcycles, wagons and parts thereof	15,810,294
Acids	6,656,002
Aeroplanes and parts of aeroplanes	3,854,342

PRESS OPINIONS

Making the Poor Bear It All.

Harper's Weekly, Dec. 18.—You will find the privilege papers almost solid for as big a naval and military appropriation as possible. You will also find most of them opposed to extending the income tax; opposed to a federal inheritance tax; opposed to taxing oil used by automobiles; opposed to government establishment of a merchant marine, needed, among other reasons, as an auxiliary to the navy; opposed to the seaman's act, needed to keep high class men on our vessels; opposed to the government making enough of its own munitions and military supplies to establish a control price; opposed to special taxes on war profits. What is it then they want? The answer is simple. Spend the money, the more the better, but let it all come out of the poor, and as much as possible out of the poor of succeeding generations.



Prohibition Driving Toward Singletax.

Christian Science Monitor, December 21.—Treasuryward the cause of national prohibition makes its way; and the commissioner of internal revenue is frank enough to admit it. Concede something for an impulse to economize in personal expenditure which has governed Americans during the past year, and it still remains true, as Commissioner Thomas Mott Osborne has just pointed out, that the sharp decline in sales and in revenue to the government

also registers the working of prohibition in twelve states. Add to this, in the near future, the effect of similar laws in seven other states, and it is apparent that statesmen at Washington who are budget-making and income-hunting for the government have to reckon with a radical, impending fiscal problem, made the easier, of course, by the fact that a population not willing to waste its earnings has the more wealth to be taxed, and can pay new imposts more readily because it is temperate.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

ON EARTH PEACE

From "Echoes from the Firing Line and Other Poems," by Henry Slade Goff.

"On earth peace," from heights of glory,
Old, yet ever new the story.

Gates of Heaven on outward swing,
Hosts of God on rapid wing
Nearing orb of earth, and then
Message clear to mortal ken,
"On earth peace, good will toward men."

"On earth peace," Oh! wondrous story,
Issuing from the heights of glory.
"On earth peace," and earth still gory!

Shepherds in their field at night,
When appeared such marvelous light
As to give their souls affright.
Rich as heavenly music came
Angel voice from out the flame:
"Fear not, for behold I bring
News of seer—told offering,
Tidings of your Lord and King,
Unto you the Christ is born."
Brighter than the effulgent morn
Grew the light, and all about
Multitudes and joyous shout—
"Glory unto God!" and then,
Message clear to mortal ken,
"On earth peace, good will toward men."

"On earth peace," the old, old story.
"On earth peace," from heights of glory—
And the old, old earth still gory!

Lord, forgive us! Still we fling
All aside Thy offering;
Still we thwart Thy righteous plan,
And assail our fellow man;
Still we raise our bloody hands
And oppose Thy just commands;
Still Thy counsels we deny,
And Thy Christ we crucify.
Lord, forgive us! Lord, forgive!
Let earth's recreant nations live!
Still withhold Thy avenging sword;
Still we crave Thy mercy, Lord!
Still we ask for clearer ken,
And that soon may reign again
"On earth peace, good will toward men."

HOLIDAY GREETINGS!

By E. Stillman Doubleday.

Heart-warmed with the inspiration and atmosphere of this happy holiday season we again send you an affectionate GREETING!

May you be prospered throughout the coming year, in all right-doing; may your life be filled to the fullest, with the joy of living in a world of "Neighbors"—all erring—but all akin—all *one* in the affectionate interest of a common Humanity, *Brothers* in the one great family.

Ah—what a beautiful World we have for our admiration, enjoyment and *use!* Nature has smiled upon us with most delightful weather and a season of unusual productiveness. Among the great Nations of the world, ours alone is still setting the righteous, intelligent, *sane* and manly example of PEACE. Let us be glad and thankful for that fact and set our faith and our deliberate purpose firmly to the continuous promotion of that noble attitude. Without vanity—we may be justly proud of the fact that just at present we are highest in the respect, admiration and hope of the world of Nations.

Filled with sorrow for the temporarily *insane* Nations of Europe, and with pity for their stricken peoples, we earnestly pray for their restoration to reason. While *they* madly waste the blood and strength of life to a fast approaching ænemic weakness—we—in the calm, intelligent sanity of Peace—are slowly and surely strengthening in that essential *manhood* which commands the respect of the World and is the only true and permanent defense. We are *friends* to all the Nations of the World. No man, no Nation—will fight its friend!

Last year we *prayed* for us all. This year we *exhort* all. That sounds quite "Churchy," doesn't it? Yet we must confess to only a little interest in "Churchianity," though we have complete faith—and an abiding, devoted interest in an *applied Christianity*—which is only to be attained by personal and international *fraternity*, mutual helpfulness "PEACE AND GOOD WILL AMONG MEN."

Blest we certainly are, but self-accused—because of our too great neglect of the duties we owe to Humanity. We are made less comfortable in our smug comfortableness—both in mind and conscience—because we have given so little consideration to the POVERTY and THE UNWILLING IDLENESS of the great mass of humanity—our fellow-men—and to the *causes and the cure* for POVERTY. The world suffers physical, intellectual and moral degradation, and sacrifices much of its efficiency, because of Poverty and the fear of poverty. I am an old-time "Anti-Povertyite!" I am opposed to poverty. Aren't you? We most earnestly urge your attention to the multitudinous evil consequences that have resulted from our, wholly unnatural, exclusion of the great mass of mankind

from the primal source of all wealth and comfort—the *land* of their country—the only means of living a full, natural and happy life. Accompanied with my affectionate greeting to you I *urge* your *attention to the landless* as a peculiar opportunity for the exercise of your "good will toward men."

Our complete and satisfying reward shall be that—to the best of our poor ability—we have tried to promote happier conditions for all the world of humanity. Even for the little we have already accomplished, I am blest with a clear and joyful vision of a time surely coming, when *willing*, mutually helpful services (willing because equally free), shall be the all-inspiring *motive* for all human activities and when all men *can* do unto others as they would wish others to do unto them—a fraternity of loving-kindness with the constant sense of universal brotherhood.

With a little thoughtful observation of the common life among men, you need no auto-suggestion from me to discover that the errors and crimes, the greed, rivalries, petty vanities and jealousies, the ignorance, miseries and moral degradations of life, spring from poverty and the fear of poverty; and that poverty itself is the inevitable consequence of the exclusion of the great mass of men from self-employment with the Natural materials and the Natural forces—all of which are included in the one term, LAND.

Nature—or God—has made the land a Birth-right to man, and the equal right of access to it a necessity for every one of His human creatures. If such was not God's intent then was man's creator a fiendish persecutor and not a good and loving God. *But it was his will*—and to neglect our duties in that respect is to disobey the will of God, the Creator of man.

The mortal, or those mortals who own a man's birthright to life, with power to exclude him from the means of life—own that man! He may live, only upon their permission and at their price. And though he may not know it and they may not realize it—he is their Slave! Surely anyone can perceive that fact!

If 5 per cent of the population of the world owns—and thus has power to exclude 95 per cent of its population from the Natural materials and forces of the earth (land), essential to man's existence—are not the 5 per cent Masters and the 95 per cent Slaves? That heedless error long continued, has destroyed every proud civilization of human history from the day of the Ptolemies to the present time. Thus fell Ancient Rome—eaten up by its tribute-commanding land-owners—its "Great Estates." So also was the Greek civilization murdered; so have they all fallen, and so will our own marvelous progress come to naught if we continue the mistakes of the civilizations that have gone before.

When men and women of the professions—

when architects, hod-carriers, farmers, carpenters and mechanics of all kinds—when teachers, doers of good services—producers of good things, can have little or no choice of vocation but must take such as they can get and must even *fight* for an opportunity and chance to live at all—when “faithful servants” are permitted to enjoy only the veriest fraction of the products of their faithful services—and although their Creator may truly say to them “thou good and faithful servant”,—yet is “*OUR Civilization*” sapped at the foundations of life and life itself has become a miserable “*BATTLE TO LIVE*,” hardly worth our while.

May you be blest with health—with mental strength and moral courage, to persistently promote the disenslavement of your fellowmen from this thralldom and curse. That purpose is my duty, and it is yours.

The Bells!—the bells are ringing,—ringing,—ringing! There is wrangling GREED and the clamor of WAR—but above their noise, THE BELLS!—the Bells are ringing,—ringing. The poor and the rich, the Jew and the Gentile—ALL those who would herald man’s salvation from man’s mistakes, are singing,—singing,—“PEACE ON EARTH GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN!”

FROM HOLLYWOOD

For The Public.

Up the hill from Hollywood,
Sentinels of silence brood;
Looking down from heights sublime,
On the feverish fret of time.

To what end they watch and wait,
Vainly may we question Fate;
Curving roads like yellow bands,
Wrought by fragile, human hands.

Gird them round from base to peak;
Grander group ’twere vain to seek.
Pausing where a scarlet spray
Beckons from dry wall of clay.

Up and up we circling go,
Leaving lovely dells below.
Each through dizzy distance seems
Fitting haunt for future dreams.

And by concert all combine
With air draughts of mountain wine,
In a deep, soul-lifting calm,
Never found in bottled balm.

From the noisy world aloof,
Inner selfhood, put to proof
Under long-elusive sway
From the outer drifts away.

Sweeping down the homeward trail,
Well we know that words will fail
To depict the silent good
Of that ride from Hollywood.

D. Helen Ingham.

BOOKS

VINDICATION OF FREE TRADE.

The Tin Plate Industry. By D. E. Dunbar. Published by Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston. Price \$1.00 net.

I am a free trader—a free trader absolutely. I would abolish all revenue tariffs. I should make trade absolutely free between all countries.

So Henry George commenced his famous Melbourne speech. That was twenty-five years ago, and before economists in America had made a study of the effects of protection in special industries. Today it is easier to repeat George’s sentiments and fortify one’s remarks by ample reference to authorities.

Now comes Mr. Dunbar with a comparative study of the growth of the tin plate industry in the United States and Wales, and, after analyzing the result of the protection policy, concludes that the industry would have developed just as well without the artificial stimulus, and, whilst the price of tin plate is lower than it was in the days of Welsh monopoly, this development would have come in the course of time without the high duty and its abuses.

The more important factors in the growth of the industry have been an efficient labor supply, better conduct of the trade and more economical organization. “If today,” says Mr. Dunbar, “Wales is somewhat behind the United States in the industry, and is suffering from further attacks from her great rival, free trade is not to be blamed, but the comparative slowness of technical progress in Wales, the extreme conservatism of her people, and the uneconomical organization of the trade in a large number of small plants.”

One is glad indeed to lay these findings of the student of a specially protected industry at the feet of Henry George, who in his day wrote so powerfully of “the essential meanness of the protectionist spirit—a spirit that no more comprehends the true dignity of the American Republic and the grandeur of her possibilities than it cares for the material interests of the great masses of her citizens—‘the poor people who have to work.’”

The present volume, it should be noted, was awarded the \$1,000 prize offered by Hart, Schaffner and Marx of Chicago.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

There is only one cure for evils which newly-acquired freedom produces, and that cure is freedom.—Macaulay.

The freest government can not long endure when the tendency of the law is to create a rapid accumulation of property in the hands of a few, and to render the masses poor and dependent.—Daniel Webster.

A philanthropic New York woman was entertaining in the spacious grounds of her suburban residence a large number of East Side children. On her round of hospitality she was impressed with one strikingly beautiful little girl. She could not have been more than nine years old, but her coal-black eyes flashed with intelligence. The hostess introduced herself and began a conversation.

"Does what you see here today please you?" she asked.

The child eyed her host in silence.

"Talk away," said the lady. "Don't be afraid."

"Tell me," then said the child, "how many children have you got?"

Astonished at the question, the lady hesitated for a moment, and then entered into the fun of the situation.

"Ten," she replied.

"Dear me," answered the child, "that is a very large family. I hope you are careful and look after them. Do you keep them all clean?"

"Well, I do my best."

"And is your husband at work?"

"My husband does not do any kind of work. He never has."

"That is very dreadful," replied the little girl

earnestly, "but I hope you keep out of debt."

The game had gone too far for Lady Bountiful's enjoyment of it.

"You are a very rude and impertinent child," she burst out, "to speak like that, and to me."

The child became apologetic. "I'm sure I didn't mean to be, ma'am," she explained. "But mother told me before I came that I was to be sure to speak to you like a lady, and when any ladies call on us they always ask us those questions."—New York Evening Post.



First Premise—"Men are single-minded and attend to business."

Second Premise—"Women can be always diverted from duty by pleasure."

Conclusion—"Therefore, baseball crowds are for the most part composed of men."—Judge.



Manager—"What's the leading lady in such a tantrum about?"

Press Agent—"She only got nine bouquets over the footlights tonight."

"Great Scott! Isn't that enough?"

"No. She paid for ten."—Tit-Bits.

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