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EDITORIAL

States Rights and Human Rights.

The doctrine of States rights does not constitute a valid objection to the federal woman suffrage resolution. Suffrage is a right, not a privilege. A State may as logically set up a nababsolute monarchy within its borders as to deny the vote to any mature person of sound mind. States that are doing so are abusing their power. Human rights are superior to States' rights. No State would have just cause for complaint should the federal government compel it to cease denying to half of its population the right to participate in the framing of laws which all are expected to obey. It is possible that passage of the resolution at the present time would have done harm to the suffrage cause. But that is a question of policy which concerns only those whose rights are at stake. If they see fit to press the question, Congress can not properly consider any other phase of the matter than the justice of the demand. This makes regrettable President Wilson's reiteration of the fallacy that the question is one for the states to settle.

S. D.



Circumstantial Democrats.

The revolt of ex-Governor Colquitt of Texas, and the restiveness of certain other Democrats offers further evidence of the presence of incongruous elements within the Democratic party. First, it was the Louisiana sugar men who wanted protection for their pet industry, then the Alabama iron men, and the Florida fruit men; and now it is the Texas cotton men. The fact that these men stand upon a platform that declared it "to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the federal government, under the Constitution, has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue," shows that they are Democrats from circumstance, rather than from conviction. Democracy with them is a mere shibbolith, a name by which they distinguish one class of citizens

from another, without any regard to their political convictions. But they have, by their blind fatuity, tied their own hands. They dare not vote against the Democratic party, and they have not strength enough within the party to control its policy, or nominate its candidates. There is no redress for them, save to relieve their feelings by abusing the President now, and then voting for him on election day. Criticism of Democrats with tory constituencies should not be taken too seriously.

S. C.



The Voice of a Real Democrat.

President Wilson has delivered to Congress some remarkable messages, messages such as have not been addressed to that body in many years; but these messages, definite and fundamental as they have been, were sometimes as conspicuous for what they did not say, as for what they did say. So that the elation of the democratic Democrat was chilled by the fear that the President had reached his limit. This fear has been removed by Mr. Wilson's Indianapolis speech. That speech breathes the air of freedom. It is the word of a man who has escaped the confines and restraints that prevail in a formalized body like Congress; and there is evidence that the President feels the inspiration that he says he derives from the presence of the people. Should the criticism be made that the President speaks as the head of a party, rather than as the head of the nation, it must be remembered that our form of government makes this unavoidable; for the President is the head of the party and the country has for the time being entrusted its affairs to that party. He in reality speaks as the head of the nation when he speaks as the head of the party that controls the affairs of the nation.



That the President has not come to the end of a good program is evident from his injunction to the Democratic party. "The Democratic party," he says, "is not to suppose that it is done with the business. The Democratic party is still on trial. The Democratic party has to prove to the independent voter of this country, not only that it believes these things, but that it will continue to work along these lines." Then follows a heart to heart talk with the people upon the leading topics of the day, such as has rarely been heard between a great leader and the voters. And though his words have the simpleness and the clearness that brings them within the comprehension of the average citizen, they have the decisiveness and the

boldness that indicates conviction. It is this boldness that must be assumed by the whole Democratic party if it is to meet the attacks of the Republicans, and win the Progressives. This lack of boldness and decision has in the past been the party's fundamental weakness. The Republicans, having a simple and definite policy, the perpetuation of Privilege, have been able to overthrow the Democrats because of their lack of conviction.



That the President has overrated the convictions of his own party is not unlikely; but his own sincerity of purpose cannot be doubted. The independent voters, therefore, who are acting at present with the Democratic party cannot serve themselves and the party more efficiently than by making it plain why they are co-operating with that party, and that they will withhold their aid whenever it betrays the principles it has taken up. The President frankly recognizes the political situation by admitting that neither the Republican party nor the Democratic party now has a majority; but that the controlling power lies with the independent voter. It is his ambition, he says, to make every independent voter a Democrat. This the independent voter can meet by saying that being a democrat by nature he will act with the Democratic party as long as it is democratic.



The President's last message to Congress was criticized by some because it said nothing of the Mexican question. The Little Congressmen and the Yellow Journalists have nagged at him from the beginning of his administration for not having a Mexican policy. But this was said only because the President's policy was so far above the swashbuckler-statesmanship, too often inflicted upon this country, that his little critics could not comprehend or appreciate it. In his Indianapolis speech, however, he has made his policy so plain that even these can understand it. Speaking of Mexico he said:

I hold it as a fundamental principle, and so do you, that every people has the right to determine its own form of government; and until the recent revolution in Mexico, until the end of the Diaz reign, 80 per cent of the people of Mexico never had a "look in" in determining who should be their governors or what their government should be. I am for the 80 per cent. It is none of my business, and it is none of your business, how long they take in determining it. It is none of my business, and it is none of yours, how they go about the business. The country is theirs. The government is theirs. The liberty, if they can get it, and God speed them in getting it, is theirs. And so far as my influence

goes while I am President nobody shall interfere with them. . . . Have not the European nations taken as long as they wanted, and spilled as much blood as they pleased in settling their affairs? And shall we deny that to Mexico because she is weak?



That is the utterance of a statesman. Those are the words of a democrat. Mr. Roosevelt, and other men of the autocratic type of mind, would give to Mexico such freedom as they think Mexico should have. Mr. Wilson, and all real democrats, would see that Mexico has such freedom as Mexicans want. The one set of men look upon Mexico as a field for exploitation; they dread the war and the confusion because it interrupts the operations of their mines, plantations, railroads, and other big-dividend-paying enterprises. Whereas, the other class looks upon Mexico as a country where a part of the human race is struggling for liberty, and a place in the sun. Does not this square with President Wilson's policy from first to last? And can any one, looking over the events of the past two years, say that the President has no Mexican policy? Mistaken it may be, but it cannot be said to be non-existent. But that policy has not been mistaken. The right of the people of a country to choose the kind of government they shall have has not been a mistake in this country; it will not be a mistake in Mexico; nor will it be a mistake in the Philippines.



The President shows his appreciation of the lack of democracy in the courts, when he says they have a very antiquated way of doing business. And that their method of procedure is many decades behind that of other civilized governments. He declares there is an immediate and imperative call to rectify this fault. The speediness of justice, the inexpensiveness and accessibility of justice is the greater part of justice itself. If you have to be rich to get justice, he says, because of the cost of the very process itself, then there is no justice at all. To the Republicans who clamor for a scientific tariff, he declared that if there was "any science in their tariff it has been the science of selfishness, it has been the science of privilege." It is evident that the President has drawn inspiration from the people; and it is to be hoped that he will avail himself of every opportunity to get in touch with them; for there is reason to believe that democracy is to-day farther advanced among the people than it is among the leaders. We are on the eve of great events, and the chief political agent in the United States enjoys a rare opportunity. If President Wilson will keep his ear to

the ground and will faithfully interpret the wishes of the people he will perform a great service to humanity.

S. O.



The Proposed Embargo and Peace.

The Congressmen backing the proposed embargo act deny that they are working in the interest of any of the foreign belligerents. Their only object, they say, is to hasten peace. They can easily prove their good faith beyond peradventure. Let them so amend their proposal that the embargo shall not go into effect unless the nation injured by such shipments shall agree at once to accept mediation, in which case it shall remain in effect if prolongation of the war shall mediate. Unless some provision of this kind should be included, the opponents of an embargo act will not find it hard to convince impartial people that the bill is pushed in the interest of only that kind of peace which will follow an overwhelming victory of the nation favored by its backers.

S. D.



Bread Is Mightier than Cannon.

Those mediaeval-minded persons who think the only way to maintain peace is for every man to carry arms, and every country to surround itself with forts and ships of war, might well ponder the words of the Burgomaster of Louvain, Alfred Nerinex. Speaking of America's aid to his stricken countrymen, he said:

We cannot buy food, even if we have the money, when the doors are closed to imports. Feed us now, and we will pay you back in industry when the war is over. We are paying back now in gratitude for the lives America has saved, gratitude which will endure as proof that human affection is stronger than any treaty alliance. The most powerful army in the world cannot Teutonize Belgium, but America, armed with bread, is Americanizing Belgium.



Swords may rust, rifles and cannon may be superseded, but the effect of a kindly act goes on forever. We boast of our large and ever-increasing foreign trade, but of all the items that make up our exports nothing is so much to our credit, and nothing will redound so much to the permanent good of the country, as the food stuffs sent to prostrate Belgium. And when this war is finally brought to an end, and the fighting men return to their homes to shoulder again the burdens of life—made doubly heavy by this war—there will be still other opportunities for Amer-

icans to aid the victims, not alone in Belgium, but in the other countries that have fought to the point of exhaustion. And the price of every cannon, and of every ship of war, and of every fort that is put into food and clothing to be sent to those people will fortify this country a hundred-fold more than if expended for physical armament. The price of a battleship, sent to each warring nation at the dawn of peace, not as craven tribute, but as fraternal aid, will furnish more enduring protection than did the Great Wall of China.

s. c.



Senator Burton and Privilege.

On the ground that it "will create a privileged class" Senator Burton of Ohio denounced on January 7 the government ship purchase bill. It is a pity that Senator Burton did not earlier in his political career acquire such antipathy to a privileged class. He would not have voted so often in favor of protective tariffs. He would, in fact, have never seen his way clear to oppose the election, either as Congressman or as Mayor of Cleveland, of so staunch an enemy of privilege as Tom L. Johnson. But, if Burton has at this eleventh hour actually reformed, which is very doubtful, he should be welcomed nevertheless. Better late than never.

s. d.



An Old Poem's Modern Moral.

Many years ago somebody described in poetry the experience of a farmer with a lightning rod salesman. The salesman portrayed so vividly the danger of destruction from lightning that the farmer signed, without thinking, an ironclad agreement for enough lightning rods to make him thoroughly prepared for that emergency. Later when he realized the cost of these preparations he protested to the salesman, asking if he thought "that to protect my buildings from some uncertain harm, that I'll deed over to you the balance of my farm?" But the protest came too late. The farmer was legally bound. That lightning rod salesman has a successor, who improves upon his methods, in the advocate of military preparedness. One of these is thus quoted sympathetically by a correspondent of the Chicago Tribune in the issue of January 11, as follows:

What is it makes an army? Discipline, and more discipline, and then more until a man has ceased to think of himself, until a man never considers "I should rather do this—I should rather do that," but goes and does it. And can that be gained in three months? It takes years to do it—and those years should preferably be in youth.

So here is a military estimate of the cost of preparedness in addition to the money spent upon it. To guard against the very uncertain danger of political domination by a foreign power we must train our young men to become brainless automatons who will unthinkingly submit to the will of a few military martinets. Compared with this proposal the lightning rod salesman of the poem was marvelously moderate in drawing up his contract with the farmer. And the farmer displayed marvelous businesslike shrewdness in comparison with the American people should they hearken to the voice of the militarist.

s. d.



Repealing the Law of Supply and Demand.

The men who persist in urging their cotton valorization scheme to relieve the planters, little realize the ultimate effect of their action. A little reflection should show them the futility of such an undertaking. America does not produce all the cotton. Other countries now raise considerable quantities, and they are putting more and more land under that staple. Whatever influence affects the price of cotton in this country will have a corresponding effect upon prices in other countries. The present depression is felt in Egypt, in India, and in Russia, just as in the Southern States of this country. And if our Government should arbitrarily raise the price above the market rate, it means raising the price of cotton throughout the world, and putting foreign growers also on their feet. So that if it be granted that this Government is strong enough to carry all the cotton this country can raise, it must be seen that it cannot carry all the cotton the world can raise. And sooner or later it must break down, with general hardship to the whole country.



If reason and logic fail of conviction, the valorizationists may profit by the experience of Brazil in valorizing coffee. The Brazilian government, by taking from the market a certain quantity of coffee, was able to raise the price from 6.75 in New York in 1903 to 15.69 in 1912. But these high prices stimulated the cultivation of coffee, not only in Brazil but in all other coffee-growing countries, to such an extent that the Brazilian government was unable to market its own holdings, and was finally compelled to abandon the scheme. Last year the price ranged from 6.32 to 7.81, which, considering the general advance in prices, is less than it was before the Brazilian government began meddling with the market. Our

Congress has great power, but even when backed by the President and the Supreme Court, it can not suspend the law of supply and demand.

S. C.



Indignant at Its Own Work.

The wretched service furnished by Chicago's street railways is being made the object of a crusade on the part of The Tribune. Since The Tribune rendered valuable assistance eight years ago in giving a new lease of life to private monopoly of Chicago's streets, it is only objecting to one of the natural consequences of its own acts. If The Tribune is truly repentant it should urge that immediate steps be taken to put an end to this private monopoly.

S. D.



Chicago's Opportunity.

Any real and necessary reform can be brought about in this country as soon as the people's attention is centered upon it; the difficulty lies in fixing their attention upon one thing. Once in a great while, however, some incident, trifling enough in itself, will serve this purpose. This good fortune has fallen to Chicago. For many years the "I-Will" city has labored under one of the most absurd and unjust systems of taxation that ever has cursed the lot of man. Everybody recognized it in a dazed, non-resisting way; a good many have tried to discover the trouble—after carefully blinding their eyes, and a few, seeing the truth, have tried to tear the bandage from their companions' eyes. But the progress has been slow. Reason might cry: Open your eyes, if you wish to see. But Privilege cautions: If you do the light will blind you. And Privilege, being dressed in fine raiment, and wearing the air of affluence spoke with authority, while Reason, clothed in threadbare, and having a plain manner, was ignored.



A strange thing, however, has happened. An ambitious State's Attorney undertook to enforce the personal property tax law by having one of the city's richest citizens indicted on a criminal charge by the grand jury. After the millionaire had been thus pilloried it was discovered that a majority of the members of the grand jury and the State's Attorney had broken the same law. That was too much. The whole city laughed. And now people are seriously asking each other, what is to be done about it? The Chicago Tribune says:

What the people of Illinois need with regard to

the revenue system is education. The time has come to apply real remedies to essential evils. Unless the people grasp the problem, the way of the genuine reformer will continue thorny and hard.

Yet the Tribune closes its editorial without having contributed a word toward the education of the people, and offers no remedy but a constitutional convention.



A constitutional convention will offer an opportunity to mend the antiquated tax laws, but they will not be mended for the better unless the delegates to the convention understand the principles of taxation—and not even then unless there is a public opinion behind Reason that will overwhelm Privilege. This is the tax reformer's opportunity. His opponents have delivered themselves into his hands. They have made themselves ridiculous. They can stand abuse, denunciation, and even violence; but to be laughed at is intolerable. The law will now be reformed; it is the duty of those who understand the principles of taxation to see that the new law is not worse than the old one.

S. C.



Sensible Disregard of Law.

"Anarchistic" is an epithet that has lost its force in Chicago. States Attorney Hoyne hurled it at the newspapers which are upholding violation of Illinois' outrageous tax laws. None seems impressed. On the contrary the States Attorney is being denounced for trying to enforce these laws. He is in the position of an ante-bellum sheriff trying to enforce the fugitive slave law. Perhaps the papers have seen a light. Perhaps they see that it is no more immoral to resist enforcement of an outrageous tax law than it was in ante-bellum days to resist the fugitive slave law. Perhaps they feel that legalizing a wrong does not make it right, and that there is no moral difference between resistance to a legal wrong and resistance to an illegal one. Undoubtedly every one of these papers would shrink from following to its logical conclusion such reasoning. It would mean immediate overturn of all predatory legislation, leaving on the statute books to be respected only those laws that forbid acts wrong in themselves, such as murder and theft. Of course, this situation is but temporary. In time, the papers will become law-abiding once more. They will advocate predatory legislation of a different kind and favor enforcement of outrageous laws that do not hurt their own interests. But an awkward precedent

has been set to be quoted, which can not easily be brushed aside.

S. D.



No Time for Piecemeal Reform.

No change in the tax laws of Illinois is possible without a change in the Constitution. Since such a change is very difficult, no effort should be allowed to succeed which will only abolish one or two of the many unjust features of the system, leaving the other wrongs as hard to get rid of as before. This is the objection to the Civic federation's proposed amendment. It would do away with taxation of stocks and bonds. To accomplish this the federation would compel all other proposed constitutional changes to wait, since only one article of the Illinois Constitution may be amended at one time. It would put forth all the effort needed to get a two-thirds vote of both houses of the Legislature and the required majority at the election not merely of all votes cast on the proposition, but of all cast for the State officials. That accomplished, all further tax reform would be left to make the same hard fight over again with the added difficulty of being hindered by advocates of other reforms which the civic federation would compel to wait, and of being opposed by the interests back of the federation's amendment. The federation is endeavoring to make capital for its amendment out of the Chicago State's Attorney's silly attempt to enforce the personal property tax laws. True tax reformers will oppose its efforts. If owners of stocks and bonds, wishing relief from unfair taxation, insist on denying relief to others suffering far greater wrongs than they, then they deserve no relief themselves. They should be given to understand that their only hope of getting the relief they wish is in co-operation with a movement to so change the Constitution as to make more easy all needed reforms in the future.

S. D.



Enforcing the Law.

The Chicago Day Book says in its issue of January 9 in defense of State's Attorney Hoyne's tax crusade:

The viciousness of existing tax laws is not the issue. There is no objection to any individual making attempts to have the legislature change the tax laws so as to make them more equitable. The issue involved now is whether the law shall be enforced, or whether we shall leave it entirely to the discretion of tax officials to enforce the laws as they see fit, enforcing it on some and not enforcing it on others.

The Day Book is mistaken. There is no question

of enforcing the law. To do that would require assessment of every laundress's washtub, of every savings bank account, and of the last rag on a beggar's back, as well as of the millionaire's stocks and bonds. It is to the credit of State's Attorney Hoyne that he denies any intention of trying to enforce the laws against all violators. No doubt the Day Book, which is usually on the right side, would oppose strict enforcement of these vicious laws. To say that individuals may go to the legislature for relief is a mockery. The legislature can not grant relief without violating the tax provisions of the Constitution. A minority consisting of one-third of the membership of either branch can obstruct any constitutional change. When legislators are elected there are so many other issues besides the tax question, that it is impossible to secure a fair hearing for more than one proposed reform, and very often not even for that. Outside of Chicago, the wet and dry issue usually predominates, and voters will not vote against candidates representing their views on this issue to support opposing candidates who may be right on the taxation question. Chicago ought to have home rule in taxation, and in other things. Since legislative relief is a doubtful event of a somewhat remote future, disregard of unjust laws forced upon the city is the only practical method of securing immediate relief, and probably the best way to force legislative attention to the matter. So it is not disregard of tax laws that justifies complaint, but the fact that they are not disregarded in a way that will result in a more equitable method. Just as in Houston, the tax laws of Texas are violated in a way that gives the city a system far in advance of any prevailing in any other city of its size in this country, so might Chicago exempt all personal property and improvements by similar methods. Chicago has, without legal authority, assumed home rule in regard to regulation of business on Sundays. In the much more important matter of taxation it still submits to the will of the past generation, which 45 years ago adopted an almost unamendable State Constitution.

S. D.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

CALIFORNIA'S DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

San Diego, Calif., Dec. 31.

Forty-eight propositions were submitted Nov. 3, 1914, to the electors of the State of California for their decision. Twenty-seven of the propositions were approved by the voters (becoming effective Dec. 19, 1914), and twenty-one were rejected by

them. The total vote cast for candidates and propositions was 80% of the registration. The total vote cast for the five candidates for governor was 96% of the total vote cast, and that for the five candidates for U. S. Senator was 92% of the same, thus showing that 4% of the voters expressed no interest in the office of governor, and 8% no interest in the office of U. S. Senator, their thoughts being evidently directed to other candidates or some proposition on the ballot. This percentage of non-interest increases as one scans the figures of the other state officers.

The eight propositions in which the voters manifested the most interest were as follows: Prohibition, Eight-Hour law, Prohibition Election (8 year limit), Abolition of Poll Tax, Abatement of Nuisances, Prize Fights, One Day Rest in Seven, and Non-sale of Game, each receiving over 700,000 votes. Both the proposition for prohibition, which received 889,317 votes, and the one for an eight hour law, which received 843,573 votes, received more ballots than did any state office except those of governor and U. S. senator. There were six propositions which received over 700,000 votes; 14 propositions which received over 600,000; 24 propositions which received over 500,000; and two propositions which received over 400,000 votes.

The average total vote of the 48 propositions was 615,459, which was 74% as large as the average total vote of the ten highest state offices.

Of the 8 propositions mentioned above as receiving the most attention from the voters, 3 were carried (Abolition of the Poll Tax, Abatement of Nuisances, holding landlords responsible, and Abolition of Prize Fighting), and 5 of them were defeated: (Prohibition, Eight-Hour Day law, Prohibition Elections, One Day Rest in Seven, and Non-sale of Game). The eight-hour day law, the drugless practice bill, the day of rest bill, and the amendment to increase assembly pay roll expenses were defeated in every county of the State. The assembly amendment was rejected by the emphatic vote of 5 to 1.

Proposition No. 34, entitled "Taxation of Public Property," which presented some unique points of interest, was carried. It requires the cities of San Francisco and Los Angeles to pay taxes on the land which those cities had brought in other counties for their water supplies. No tax, however, is to be paid on the improvements.

Proposition No. 7, entitled "Local Taxation Exemption," the amendment locally known as "Home Rule in Taxation," received 267,618 affirmative votes and 375,634 negative votes, an adverse majority of 108, 016. Two years ago the vote for this amendment was about 169,000, thus showing an affirmative gain of over 98,000 in two years. The amendment carried last fall in four counties, viz.: Kern, Madera, Los Angeles, and San Diego.

Proposition No. 30, which allows irrigation districts to buy and own stock in foreign corporations when necessary for the success of their irrigation canals, was carried. It is for the special benefit of Imperial county which adjoins Mexico, and whose irrigation companies can now buy stock from a Mexican corporation along the 40 miles of the Colorado river, which there separates the two companies.

The following propositions are also among those which were carried: No. 43, exempting colleges from

taxation; No. 41, entitled "Miscarriage of Justice," which is designed to prevent verdicts in civil cases being set aside on a mere technicality; and No. 44, entitled "Minimum Wage," to be applied to women and minors.

The following propositions are also among those which were defeated: No. 14, entitled "Voting by Absent Electors"; No. 13, entitled "Qualification of Voters at Bond Elections"; and No. 23, entitled "Elections by Plurality, Preferential Vote and Primaries."

On account of the increase in the total vote for governor last fall, caused by the growth in population, and the recent advent of equal suffrage, the number of signatures required for 1915 for State initiative petitions will be 74,136, and for referendum petitions 46,335 (8% and 5% respectively), which is more than double the amounts previously required.

Praise is due R. E. Chadwick for the work that he did for proposition 7 in this county and in Los Angeles county in both of which it carried.

JAMES P. CADMAN.

STATEWIDE SINGLETAX MOVEMENT IN ILLINOIS.

Chicago, Jan. 12, 1915.

The prominence given to the singletax issue in the recent campaign made this seem a peculiarly fitting time for statewide organization. Unless immediate steps are taken, the vast amount of publicity secured in the fall will be lost. Considerable correspondence has been carried on with known singletaxers throughout the state, and many have agreed to serve upon a temporary committee which is to meet at some central point in the near future. No definite plan of procedure has been agreed upon, it being thought best to postpone the perfecting of the organization.

Considerable work, however, has been done toward ascertaining the most effective methods of propaganda. Many have expressed the opinion that the best results can be obtained by a capable organizer. John Z. White and others have spoken and lectured on the singletax and related subjects in practically every county in Illinois, and wherever they have gone they have paved the way for a more compact movement. It seemed to many of us that a good organizer could follow this up, and consolidate the singletax sentiment of the state.

It was therefore decided to try experimentally a number of county campaigns. Fortunately, Mr. Louis Wallis, who is known to readers of the Public through his book, "Sociological Study of the Bible," published by the University of Chicago, was available for this purpose. Mr. Wallis volunteered his services for a limited time without cost, and spent the last week in De Kalb county. This county was chosen because it offered average conditions, and was far enough from Chicago to have a distinct community life of its own. It is distinctly rural in character, and has average educational advantages. Mr. Wallis had no personal acquaintance in De Kalb county, and no set schedule was arranged in advance. The experiment was, therefore, tried under unfavorable conditions.

During the five days which he spent in the coun-

ty he made several public addresses, one of which was in the First Baptist Church of De Kalb. He met public officials, interviewed representative citizens, and succeeded in interesting many hundreds of persons in the singletax movement. He distributed the latest issues of the Public and other singletax literature, and secured many names and addresses which will be used in the state work. The newspapers gave full-column, front-page reports, featuring singletax in the headlines. This phase of the work alone, we believe, justified the expenditure. Friendly relations were established with the newspapers and with many influential persons. Arrangements were partially made for holding competitive talks on the singletax by high school boys, prizes for which are offered by Mr. Otto Cullman, president of the Chicago Single Tax Club.

Mr. Wallis will continue the experiment during the next few weeks, probably in Boone and Winnebago counties. After this, long-standing engagements will call him to Baltimore and Boston for two weeks. In the former city he will address the Interdenominational Ministerial Association, the City Club, the Singletax group, and other organizations. In Boston he will speak at the Ford Hall Forum, the Melrose Forum, and elsewhere. He will then return to Illinois, and we hope to enlist the services of Mrs. Wallis, who is a good singletaxer, and whose work among women effectively complements that of her husband.

The fact that Mr. Wallis is the author of an epoch-making book upon religious subjects gives him entré into churches and Y. M. C. A.'s. He loses no time in making acquaintances; nor is difficulty experienced in getting audiences. In Chicago, Mr. Wallis speaks nearly every Sunday in some pulpit, usually giving two addresses in every church that he visits. His introductory lecture is on "Religion and the Social Problem," and is followed on the succeeding Sunday by an address entitled "The New Fight Against Slavery." The first lecture shows that the pressure of the land problem was the social force which lifted the Biblical idea of God out of polytheism into monotheism. This address is based on modern scientific research, and presents a line of thought which is new in its conception and popular in its appeal.

Members of the Chicago Single Tax Club attend these church meetings when they are held in the city, and assist in distributing the latest issues of The Public, together with other singletax literature, and in getting names and addresses which are used in the work in various ways. Great interest is shown in these church lectures, and they are paving the way for a widening democratic sentiment.

When the state meeting is held it is hoped that means can be devised for pushing this campaign throughout the whole of Illinois, so that we can send a representative delegation to the national singletax convention a year hence. Illinois singletaxers should communicate with us at once with a view to placing Mr. Wallis in various counties. As our campaign is bringing to view novel possibilities and methods, it is of national as well as local significance. It is hoped that singletaxers everywhere will assist in this new movement started in the home state of the Public. We hope to add many thou-

sands to the circulation of the Public in the next few months.

HUGH REID.

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, January 12, 1915.

The President's Jackson Day Celebration.

President Wilson delivered an address at the Jackson day banquet on January 8 at Indianapolis, given by the local Democratic organization. In his address he criticized the Republican party, saying in part:

The trouble with the Republican party is that it has not had a new idea for thirty years. I am not speaking as a politician; I am speaking as an historian. I have looked for new ideas in the records and I have not found any proceeding from the Republican ranks. They have had leaders from time to time who suggested new ideas, but they never did anything to carry them out. . . . What seems to me perfectly evident is this, that if you made a rough reckoning, you would have to admit that only about one-third of the Republican party is progressive, and you would also have to admit that about two-thirds of the Democratic party is progressive.

He paid his respects to the reactionary Democrats as follows:

There are Democrats who are sitting on the breeching strap; there are Democrats who are holding back. There are Democrats who are nervous. I dare say they were born with that temperament. And I respect the conservative temper. I claim to be an animated conservative myself; because being a conservative I understand to mean a man not only who preserves what is best in the nation but who sees that in order to preserve it you dare not stand still, but must move forward. For the virtue of America is not static; it is dynamic. All the forces of America are forces in action or else they are forces of inertia.

He spoke of this as the first January within the recollection of business men of the day which did not bring a money stringency. For this he said credit was due the Federal reserve act. Speaking further of the Democratic party he said that it is still on trial; that the country is not going to use a party which cannot do continuous and consistent team work and further:

If any group of men should dare to break the solidarity of the Democratic team for any purpose or from any motive, theirs will be a most unenviable notoriety and a responsibility which will bring deep bitterness to them. The only party that is serviceable to a nation is a party that can hold absolutely together and march with the discipline and with the zest of a conquering host.

In favor of the pending Government shipping bill he said ocean freight rates had gone up in some instances to ten times their ordinary figure, that farm products cannot be profitably shipped to Europe on this account, and that there is no other way to meet the situation than through this bill.

Concerning other measures of importance, he said:

There are great bills pending in the United States senate just now that have been passed by the house of representatives, which are intended as constructive measures in behalf of business—one great measure which will make available the enormous water powers of this country for the industry of it; another bill which will unlock the resources of the public domain which the Republicans desiring to save locked up so that nobody could use them. The reason I say the Republicans have not had a new idea in thirty years is that they have not known how to do anything except sit on the lid. Now, if you can release the steam so that it will drive great industries, it is not necessary to sit on the lid. What we are trying to do in the great conservation bill is to carry out for the first time in the history of the United States a system by which the great resources of this country can be used instead of being set aside so that no man can get at them. I shall watch with a great deal of interest what the self-styled friends of business try to do to those bills.

Concerning the need of court reform, he said:

I am not one of those who doubt either the industry or the learning or the integrity of the courts of the United States, but I do know that they have a very antiquated way of doing business. I do know that the United States in its judicial procedure is many decades behind every other civilized government in the world; and I say that it is an immediate and an imperative call upon us to rectify that, because the speediness of justice, the inexpensiveness of justice, the ready access of justice, is the greater part of justice itself. If you have to be rich to get justice, because of the cost of the very process itself, then there is no justice at all. So I say there is another direction in which we ought to be quick to see the signs of the times and to help those who need to be helped.

Commenting on the urging by Republicans of a "scientific" handling of the tariff, he said:

The Republicans have never given any exhibition of a knowledge of how to handle it scientifically. If it is scientific to put additional profits into the hands of those who are already getting the greater part of the profits, then they have been exceedingly scientific. It has been the science of selfishness; it has been the science of privilege. That kind of science I do not care to know anything about except enough to stop it. But if by scientific treatment of the tariff they mean adjustment to the actual trade conditions of America and the world, then I am with them; and I want to call their attention, for, though they voted for it, they apparently have not noticed it, to the fact that the bill which creates the new trade commission does that very thing. . . . That commission is authorized and empowered to inquire into and report to congress not only upon all the conditions of trade in this country but upon the con-

ditions of trade, the cost of manufacture, the cost of transportation—all the things that enter into the question of the tariff—in foreign countries, as well as in the United States, and into all those questions of foreign combinations which affect international trade between Europe and the United States.

Concerning relations with Mexico, he said:

I hold it as a fundamental principle, and so do you, that every people has the right to determine its own form of government; and until this recent revolution in Mexico, until the end of the Díaz reign, 80 per cent of the people of Mexico never had a 'look in' in determining who should be their governors or what their government should be. Now I am for the 80 per cent. It is none of my business, and it is none of your business, how long they take in determining it. It is none of my business, and it is none of yours, how they go about the business. The country is theirs. The government is theirs. The liberty, if they can get it—and God speed them in getting it—is theirs. And so far as my influence goes while I am President nobody shall interfere with them. . . . Do you suppose that the American people are ever going to count a small amount of material benefit and advantage to people doing business in Mexico against the liberties and the permanent happiness of the Mexican people? Have not European nations taken as long as they wanted and spilled as much blood as they pleased in settling their affairs, and shall we deny that to Mexico because it is weak? No, I say! I am proud to belong to a strong nation that says, "This country which we could crush shall have just as much freedom in its own affairs as we have. If I am strong, I am ashamed to bully the weak. In proportion to my strength is my pride in withholding that strength from the oppression of another people."

In regard to editorial criticism of his Mexican policy, he said:

With all due respect to editors of great newspapers, I have to say to them that I never take my opinion of the American people from their editorials. So that when some great dailies not far from where I am temporarily residing thundered with rising scorn at watchful waiting, Woodrow sat back in his chair and chuckled, knowing that he laughs best who laughs last; knowing, in short, what were the temper and principles of the American people. If I did not at least think I knew I would emigrate, because I would not be satisfied to stay where I am.



Congressional News.

A delegation of Democratic women called on President Wilson on January 6 to urge his support of the proposed equal suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution. Addresses were made by Mrs. George A. Armes of Washington, Miss Alberta Hill and Dr. Francis McGaskin of New York. In reply the President said that he must adhere to the position he has always taken, that the reform must come about through state action. [See vol. xvii, p. 1210.]



The resolution for submitting to the states a

Federal Constitutional amendment for equal suffrage came to a vote in the House on January 12. It was defeated by a vote of 204 against to 174 in favor. The favorable vote consisted of 86 Democrats, 72 Republicans, 15 Progressives and William Kent, Independent. The opposing vote consisted of 171 Democrats and 33 Republicans. The opposition contained a few progressive Democrats such as Bailey, Gordon and Lewis.



The House and Senate conferees on the immigration bill agreed on January 9 to eliminate the Negro exclusion provision and also the provision exempting Belgian farmers from the literacy test. [See current volume, page 36.]



A delegation of Chicago women called on President Wilson on January 11 to urge that he veto the immigration bill when it comes before him. The delegation was headed by Miss Jane Addams, Miss Mary E. McDowell, Miss Lydia Schmidt, Mrs. William D. Lloyd, Mrs. Bertram Sippy, Mrs. H. M. Wilmarth and Miss Florence Holbrook.



An investigation of the regional reserve bank at Chicago was demanded in a resolution offered in the House on January 7 by Representative Lindbergh of Minnesota. The resolution grows out of charges against Directors James B. Forgan and George M. Reynolds who are said to dominate the whole board. Complaints are made of irregularity in their election. That they have had relatives and business associates appointed to the most important positions and have caused the rate of interest to be made so high as to divert business from the smaller banks to the chain which they represent. Assertions have been continually made and denied that charges to this effect have been presented to the Treasury Department and to the Federal Reserve Board. [See vol. xvii, p. 1069.]



Peace Meeting in Washington.

A national conference of women was held at Washington on January 9 to discuss measures in the interest of peace. Addresses were read by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Dr. Anna H. Shaw, Mrs. Edwin Mead, Jane Addams, Carrie Chapman Catt, Mary Fels and Alice Thacher Post. Miss Janet Richards presided. Resolutions were adopted urging President Wilson to call a conference of neutral nations to offer mediation. Should this not be done, pacifists of every nation are urged to form an international council for the same purpose. Besides this the platform adopted provides that no province shall be transferred from one government to another, as the result of this war, without consent of its people expressed by a referendum

vote. War indemnities shall only be assessed against nations which have violated settled principles of international law; that there shall henceforth be provided democratic machinery for control of foreign policies, and that aggressive war shall not be declared except by a vote of the people, including women. The Wilson-Bryan peace treaties were endorsed. [See vol. xvii, p. 1215; current volume, page 34.]



Popular Government League Meeting.

The National Popular Government League held its second annual conference at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., on January 4 and 5. In his opening address Senator Robert L. Owen, president of the league, charged that ex-President Taft's attack upon the Initiative and Referendum in his speech at Detroit on December 30 was "part and parcel of a gigantic nation-wide campaign now being conducted by the reactionary political and economic interests to misrepresent and defeat the progress of popular government measures." He characterized Taft's statements that direct legislation meant the destruction of representative government as "vacuous reasoning" and ridiculed Taft's comparison of the Initiative and Referendum to the "democracies of ancient Greece and Rome." Judson King, the executive secretary, in his report reviewed a notable list of things accomplished by the league in its first year's work. The defeat of Roger Sullivan for U. S. Senator in Illinois was one thing for which the league claims partial credit. He stated that during the past year there have affiliated with the league the American Federation of Labor, the United Mine Workers of America, several state granges, the National Farmers' Union and several other labor organizations, state, local and international, as well as several state reform leagues.

Under the head of "What is the matter with the Direct Primary" the defects in present laws were pointed out by several speakers, and the essentials of an effective law presented by Congressman Edward Browne of Wisconsin. The short ballot and the preferential ballot as needed adjuncts of the primary system were presented by Richard S. Childs of New York and Professor Lewis J. Johnson of Harvard University, respectively. Weaknesses of the present Federal laws against corrupt practices were stated by George H. Shibley, and a resolution was passed demanding the immediate passage of the Norris resolution for investigation of recent corrupt practices and excessive use of money in Pennsylvania, Illinois, and other states as providing a basis of fact upon which to enact adequate preventing legislation. [See vol. xvii, p. 1230.]



Throughout the six sessions of the conference the absolute need for new methods of "getting the

facts concerning men and measures to the people" was made painfully evident and hence unusual interest centered in Tuesday afternoon's topic, "The Problem of Publicity." Charles Edward Russell demonstrated the control of the newspapers by the department stores and great financial interests. Judson King spoke on the present methods used by the different states to supply information to voters concerning pending measures and the candidates. Only six states have thus far adopted the Oregon system of mailing a pamphlet to the voters containing the measures and arguments for and against. Other states depend on legal advertising in newspapers or on posters such as used in colonial times.

Mr. James MacKaye of Boston presented a plan for an improved form of the pamphlet idea which would more adequately meet the needs of the voters and yet prove inexpensive to the state. Mr. MacKaye's paper will be published as a special pamphlet by the league. The feature of the Tuesday evening session was an address by Edmund B. Osborne of Montclair, N. J. Enthusiastic applause greeted his clear cut statements that since the civil war there had been no genuine fight for fundamental human rights in this nation, that tampering with surface reforms will accomplish nothing worth while, and that the progressives of all parties must somehow get together, drive the forces of privilege into one political camp and fight for a program which will give political democracy, free the land to the people, socialize natural monopolies, and give very man the just fruits of his toil. Senators Norris and Clapp and Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Carl Vrooman, made stirring addresses urging the necessity of placing the common good above party advantage, and Senator Owen concluded the meeting by an exceedingly eloquent and earnest plea for the tools of government which will enable the people to regain their freedom.

The complete proceedings of the conference, with the addresses, will be published immediately and will prove an interesting document to those interested in the present day battle for democracy.

A business session was held after the close of the regular meeting. It was decided to appoint a finance committee of 15 of which Senators Owen and Clapp are to be members, to raise \$10,000 as a guarantee fund for the work of the coming year. The permanent headquarters of the league are at 1017 Munsey Building, Washington, with Judson King in charge.

National Employment Agencies.

Announcement was made on January 7 by the Department of Labor that Federal employment

agencies will be established at every immigration station. Unemployed, whether citizens or immigrants, will be directed at these bureaus to wherever there may be positions open. [See vol. xvii, p. 1208.]

The Labor War.

The Supreme Court of the United States finally affirmed on January 5 the judgment for \$252,130 awarded to D. E. Loewe & Co. of Danbury, under the Sherman anti-trust act against 186 members of the United Hatters of America. The case has been in the courts since 1904. The original verdict was rendered early in 1912, and re-affirmed in a second trial on October 11 of the same year. To pay the award the homes of a number of the men have been levied on and it is supposed will now be sold. [See vol. xvi, p. 1229.]

Although the strike in the Colorado coal fields was called off by the union, the operators on January 6 conceded to the men the right to select their own check weighmen, one of the striker's demands. A number of the strikers are reported to have been re-employed. The Federal troops were ordered away on January 4. [See vol. xvii, p. 1211.]

The San Francisco Labor Council on January 3 adopted a resolution requesting Governor Johnson to pardon Richard Ford and Herman Suhr, convicted of manslaughter in connection with the hop pickers riot in the summer of 1913 at Wheatlands, California. [See vol. xvi, p. 1043.]

Federal indictments were found on January 8 in Chicago against three business agents of local unions on blackmailing charges, first made public by the Chicago Herald. The men are charged with conspiracy in restraint of inter-state trade.

Houston's Kickers Invite Retaliation.

The renewed threat of Houston's land speculators to take the Houston plan of taxation into court has brought from H. F. Ring a renewal of the warning he gave to the Council last June that he would intervene in the proposed suit and demand strict enforcement of the existing law. In a letter in the Houston Chronicle Mr. Ring says in part:

If a few disgruntled taxpayers constituting less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of the citizens of Houston can hold up the city and delay work on needed improvements, while men wanting work, and their wives and children, are starving for want of work, if this can be done because an infinitesimal part of the taxpayers of Houston want building improvements assessed higher, and heavier fines imposed

on manufacturers, merchants, home owners and employers generally; if this is the game, I am in it for all it is worth. I know of no better opportunity than one which a row of this kind in the courts affords for bringing home to the citizens of Texas generally the necessity of a common sense amendment to our state constitution regarding taxation.

When I got hold of those lots at Eastwood Place 10 years ago, they were worth \$50 a lot. Today I am selling them for \$600 to \$750 a lot. This is simply legalized robbery. Who has increased the value of these vacant lots from \$50 apiece to \$600? Not I. The increase has been made by the energy and enterprise of all the people of Houston, notably by the enterprise of its merchants, manufacturers and others who have employed labor. I have never employed labor to amount to anything. I have been a mere parasite, reaping for my personal benefit where others have sown. And every child born in Houston and every person who has moved here has added value to these lots without the slightest industry or effort of my part. It strikes me that I would be a sick kind of a patriot to whine about a slight increase of my taxes, caused by a system which slightly lessens the burden of the merchant, the manufacturer, the builder and the home owner, without whose industry and enterprise my lots would never have increased in value to the extent of one red cent.

There is another view of the subject, however, which must appeal to all sensible and conservative citizens from the purely selfish standpoint of the owner of vacant lots. What is needed to increase the value of our vacant lands is a great and thriving city. Consider for a moment the things which make for a great and growing city. Enormous bank deposits will help. What will tend to decrease bank deposits and even break banks and bankrupt merchants and manufacturers more than the knowledge that every dollar on deposit on the first day of January will be subject to a city tax? Who, even among the Taxpayers' Association, would fall to withdraw most of his deposit before that fatal day came around, and what bank in Houston could stand the strain thus imposed?

We want manufacturers. What will tend to draw them here more than the fact that buildings and machinery which give employment to labor, are assessed low?

We want office buildings and store buildings and dwelling houses and cheaper rents for merchants, who employ labor and for workers who live in rented houses. What will tend to increase the number of such improvements and thereby lessen rents more than moderate assessments on buildings?

We want cheap money—at low rates of interest. What will tend to give it to us more than the fact that credits, mere evidences of wealth, are overlooked in the city tax assessor's office and double taxation thereby avoided?

We want an honest citizenship. We don't want a lot of men and women practically compelled in self-defense to commit perjury every time they swear to an assessment roll as would be the case if we required the rendition for taxation of money, credits and personal property. Let me put this question to the most honest and conscientious member of the Taxpayers' Association. Will you, sir, agree, if an

attempt is earnestly made to enforce the present law relating to taxation, to render as the law requires a true and complete list of all your personal property at its fair value, including your household furniture, books, bric-a-brac, the jewels worn by your wife, money on hand, or in bank in Houston or elsewhere, and a correct list of the notes and evidences of indebtedness owed by you, and your stocks and bonds? Is there one among the Taxpayers' Association who would not rather stand the present plan of Houston taxation than honestly make out such a list and swear to it? If so let us hear from you.

[See vol. xvii, p. 563, current volume, page 35.]



Municipal Ownership in Calgary.

In pursuance of the organized campaign in the United States against municipal ownership by public service corporations, statements have been published reflecting on the management of the municipal street railways of Calgary, Alberta. The following reply to these criticisms from Mr. P. S. Pitter, Publicity Commissioner of Calgary, appeared in the January issue of *The Canadian Municipal Journal*, published at Montreal:

The extracts from the newspaper which you enclosed are on a par with those circulated through the American press with respect to the telephone rates in Alberta, and are cunningly and skilfully prepared and placed with the news agencies that make a specialty of dealing in cooked up information.

Dealing with the items seriatim, the first is the statement that the municipal street railway lost \$606,284 on nine months' working. This is a lie, a fabrication, an untruth, the undiluted essence of story-telling, and several other things that I can only fittingly express in the idioms of the Canadian West.

As per city comptroller's statement, there is a deficit shown on the eleven months' working of \$44,284, and for the nine months there was a loss of \$37,000. Against this, the four years' working of the street railway built up a surplus of \$300,000, over and above all fixed charges and liabilities, which can be called on to deal with any deficit.

An item in the said newspaper reads: "Operation of the road does not furnish sufficient funds for interest on debentures, depreciation, or sinking fund." Up to date, all fixed charges have been dealt with, and the loss this year for eleven months is calculated on the basis of interest on debentures, depreciation, and sinking fund having been provided for a like period.

"During September," runs the next item, "there were 404,201 less fares collected than during the same month last year." This is correct, but the altered conditions were promptly dealt with, and the service was curtailed and has been curtailed still further. The public very quickly started to economize, following the tightening up of the money markets, with a resulting loss of revenue to the street railway.

It is the last item that dimly suggests something: "With every probability of the deficit increasing, the citizens are considering what action should be taken to minimize the impending losses." There is one action the citizens will not consider, and that is the

disposal of the particular franchise and utility under mention to any bunch of municipal blood-sucking parasites. There will be no loss if the citizens are satisfied with the service that the heads of the department are prepared to give them. The loss up to the present has been incurred in trying to give the citizens a good service, despite the fact that several of the routes were not paying.

The small loss this year will be on operating expenses, but the citizens have been supplied with a service second to none in Canada at this period of financial stress. As a matter of fact the loss covers two lines only—the one to Bowness Park which the city has to keep in operation, according to the agreement entered into with a real estate firm in consideration of a park being handed to the city, and the other is the line to the Ogden car shops, which is losing \$50 per day.

Calgary is giving the cheapest fares in America. School children, up to sixteen years of age, are carried at the rate of ten journeys for a quarter, even if the journey is right across the city—over eight miles. It is two and a half cents to the municipal market and the same fare back again, so that anyone living out at Ogden can travel nine miles for five cents, and do their marketing in between. Workmen during stated hours can travel at the rate of three cents a trip.

Past profits on the utilities generally have been such that it is intended to lower the water rate and the electric light rate both next year, owing to the fact that huge surpluses have been piling up, the provision for the depreciation in the waterworks department having been found too heavy.

[See vol. xiv, p. 54.]



Mexico.

Carranza troops under General Obregon occupied Puebla on the 5th, after what is reported to have been a bloody battle. The Villa forces won a decided victory over General Villareal in a three-day battle at Saltillo. It is reported that 600 of the Carranzistas at Saltillo joined the Villa forces. [See current volume, page 34.]



Washington advices from American Consul Silliman announce that an agreement of "all the armed groups" in Mexico by which "the problem of pacification is practically solved" has been reported to the convention in Mexico City, by General Gutierrez. Details of the plan have not been made public. The State Department at Washington looks upon this as a strengthening of the Central Conventionists party, without the domination of any particular faction or leader.



General Villa, after a conference on the 9th with Brigadier General Hugh L. Scott at Juarez, promised that border fighting should cease. General Scott returned to Naco, Arizona, where both Governor Maytorena, the Villa Commander, and General Pelias Calles signed the agreement elimin-

ating factional warfare along the Sonora border, and closing the port of Naco. General Hill, General Calles' superior in command, had already signed the agreement.



The European War.

In the east as well as in the west few changes in the situation are to be noted. The Germans and Russians hold practically the same lines as they did the week before. In Belgium and northern France the line has oscillated within narrow limits. Russia won a decisive victory over the Turks in Trans-Caucasia. Great interest is felt in the impending action of Roumania and Italy, both of which countries seem to be on the verge of entering the war. No action of moment has taken place on the sea. [See current volume, page 33.]



The Campaign in the East.

Few changes have occurred during the week in the Poland campaign. Weather too boisterous for long exposures of men, and too mild in temperature to permit the movement of heavy guns on the ice is apparently responsible for the inactivity before Warsaw. It is announced from Berlin that another attempt will be made by General Von Hindenberg to reach the Polish capital, but the manner of the move is not yet apparent. Austrian resistance in Galicia has almost ceased, except in the fortified places, which are undergoing a siege. Enough Russian troops have crossed the Carpathians and entered Hungary to produce a panicky feeling in that country, and to give rise to many rumors. The southeastern province of Bukowina is reported to be completely in the control of Russia. An Austro-German move is rumored in that part of the field for the purpose of preventing Roumania from entering the war. It is reported an Adriatic port has been offered Serbia, but is declined as insufficient, in view of the sacrifices made. Serbia desires all the Serbian regions held by Austria, including Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia.



The Campaign in the West.

Weather conditions have caused much hardship among the troops in the trenches, but fighting with heavy casualties has taken place on the long battle line. Both the Germans and the Allies claim gains, but nothing of a decisive nature has occurred on either side, and the changes in position are so slight as to be scarcely distinguishable on the map. Desperate fighting continues in upper Alsace, where the French cling to their dearly won positions. It is estimated that the Russians occupy about 40,000 square miles of Austrian and German territory, while the French hold a fringe of Alsace-Lorraine. The Germans hold nearly all of Belgium, a strip of northern France, and two-thirds

of Poland. New and improved field artillery and siege guns are coming from the French and English gun works, which are said to be equal or superior to the remarkably efficient guns of the Germans. It is announced from England that their new heavy guns are equal to the German 42-centimeter guns. The Reichsbank, or Imperial Bank of Germany, holds, according to official claims given out at Berlin, \$523,000,000 in gold, as compared with \$292,250,000 last year. The bank's notes are covered to 42.2 per cent by metal cash. What is known as war bread, consisting of 85 per cent rye flour and 15 per cent of potato flakes, is coming more and more into use in Germany. Warnings have been issued to the people by the military authorities against a too free use of wheat bread. The Kaiser has ordered the war bread served at his table; and the King of Saxony has ordered this bread to be used exclusively at the Dresden Court.

Other Countries.

A decisive battle has at last occurred in Trans-Caucasia, where the invading Turks were trapped by the Russians, and overwhelmed. The Turkish forces, which are reported to have lost over 40,000 men, are utterly demoralized. The Turkish government complete satisfaction for insulting the Italian consul at Hodeida. Marked demonstrations of the populace in favor of entering the war were made in Rome at the funeral of young Garibaldi who was fighting with the French as a volunteer. Italy's relations with Austria are growing strained over the former's occupation of Avalona. Roumania is said to be awaiting a propitious moment to assist the Allies by attacking Austria through Transylvania, which is largely peopled by Roumanians. French troops occupying Edea in Kamerun, German's equatorial colony in Africa, was attacked by a mixed force of Germans and native soldiers. The Germans were repulsed, leaving seventy-four dead and wounded on the field. Aeroplane and Zeppelin activities are increasing. Several bombardments of towns have occurred, without as yet much damage, and attacks in the air have occurred. The Allies are looking for an air attack by the Germans on London or Paris. No sea engagements are reported for the week.

Neutral Commerce.

A preliminary reply to the American protest against the British exercise of search of American ships has been received from Sir Edward Grey. The note sets forth that a complete answer will require considerable time for preparation, and the present note is given out in explanation of the general position of the British government. Every effort is promised to confine the exercise of search to such fields as will result in the smallest possible hardship to neutrals. Great Britain's claim extends

only to necessary action to prevent contraband goods reaching her enemies. As proof that such goods are reaching Germany and Austria through Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Italy and Holland the note recites that the exports from New York to those countries for November, 1913, were \$8,772,000, and in the same month for 1914 rose to \$21,018,000. Shipments of copper to Italy rose from 15,202,000 pounds in December, 1913, to 36,285,000 pounds in December, 1914. The necessity for taking captured ships to British ports for search is claimed in order to detect smuggling of contraband goods in non-contraband goods. No opinion on the note has been given out by the Administration.

NEWS NOTES

—A constitutional amendment for woman suffrage was recommended to the Tennessee Legislature on January 6 by Governor Hooper. [See vol. xvii, p. 1210.]

—Crops of American farms for 1914, according to the Department of Agriculture, were valued at \$6,044,480,000. The total of farm products was \$9,872,936,000.

—Herbert S. Bigelow of Cincinnati will speak in Elgin, Ill., on Sunday, January 17, at the Universalist Church. He will speak in Chicago at the noon-day meeting of the City Club on Monday, January 18. [See vol. xvii, p. 1046.]

—Assistant Corporation Counsel Benjamin B. Cunningham of Rochester, N. Y., asked the State Public Service Commission on January 6 to compel the local street railways to grant a three-cent fare during rush hours to passengers compelled to stand.

—The French military decree forbidding the use of absinthe has had such a beneficial effect upon the population that the Cabinet has approved a measure for submission to Parliament making permanent the prohibition of the sale of absinthe and similar liquors.

—The City Commission of Kansas City, Kan., was reported on January 9 to be drafting a bill to present to the Legislature authorizing municipal ownership of street railway lines. The water and light plants owned by the city showed substantial profits last year. [See vol. xvii, p. 1114.]

—Chinese trade has been so deranged by the European war that much suffering has been caused in that country. In some provinces the selling of wives and children has grown to such an extent that President Yuan Shi-kai has issued a mandate to provide some relief for the starving.

—The Arizona law was held unconstitutional on January 7 by the federal court at San Francisco which requires at least eighty per cent of corporation employes to be American citizens. The law had been adopted by popular vote at last November's election. [See vol. xvii, page 1191.]

—The Illinois State Public Utilities Commission began on January 12 an inquiry into complaints con-

cerning inefficient service brought against the Chicago surface street railways. The lines were given until January 22 to furnish the Commission with a complete account of the extent to which they are prepared to accommodate traffic.

—City Solicitor Thurston of Toledo, Ohio, asked the City Council on January 4 to authorize the issue of \$4,000,000 bonds to establish a municipal street railway system in accordance with the referendum vote taken on August 4 of last year. Three-cent fares are to be charged on the proposed railway. [See vol., xvii, pp. 784, 900, 947.]

—Governor Blease of South Carolina granted on January 9 full pardons to about 1,500 persons convicted of crime since January 1, 1911, but out on parole. Eighteen additional pardons were granted to convicts in prison, ten more were paroled and six were given commutations of sentence. On January 11 the Governor issued an order dissolving the State militia.

—Colonel Goethals, Governor of the Panama Canal Zone, testified before a House Committee in Washington, that the Canal was so well fortified that it would be impossible to destroy the works at either end. The fortifications have cost \$12,000,000, and \$2,000,000 more will be expended. He said the slides in Culebra Cut are proving to be more serious than was at first supposed.

—The Illinois legislature met on January 4, but has been unable to organize on account of a deadlock on the speakership of the House. Republicans control that branch, but the wet members of the party refuse to vote for a dry candidate. The Democrats control the Senate through a decision of the Attorney General which deprived two regularly elected Republicans of their seats in favor of the defeated Democratic candidates.

—New York's State Commissioner of Education, John H. Finley, decided on January 11 in favor of Mrs. Bridget Peixoto, the teacher who had been dismissed by New York City's Board of Education for absenting herself without leave on account of giving birth to a child. Mr. Finley held the dismissal to be illegal. Mrs. Peixotto, who was dismissed in 1913, carried her case to the court of appeals which declared it to be a matter for the State Commissioner to decide. [See vol. xvi, pp. 997, 1116; vol. xvii, pp. 148, 158.]

—The Women's Henry George League of New York City offers to schools and colleges the services of the following speakers and subjects: J. W. Bengough, "Chalk Talks"; Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, "Henry George, a Great American Economist," "Private and Public Housekeeping," "The Singletax"; Bolton Hall, "The Cure of Poverty," "Land and a Living," "Taxation of Land Values in Practice," "Idle Hands and Idle Lands"; Miss Amy Mall Hicks, "The Democracy of Art," "The Art of Living," "The New Individualism," "The Philosophy of Henry George"; John J. Murphy, "Natural Law in Taxation," "Beneficent Taxation," "How to Support Government Without Taking Private Property," "Progress and Poverty"; "Why Are There Unemployed"; Miss Charlotte Schetter, "The Art of Human Brotherhood," "Education and Economics"; Frank Stephens, "I and the Rest of the World,"

"Your Share and Mine," "Fair Play," "Things as They Are." Prices for lectures range from \$10 to \$50. Miss Mary Boles Ely, 27 West 11th St., New York City, is in charge.

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (See vol. xvii., p. 1165) for the eleven months ending November, 1914, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce for November, 1914, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance Exports.
Merchandise	\$1,867,879,583	\$1,674,619,401	\$193,260,182
Gold	222,485,232	53,278,678	169,206,554
Silver	46,291,181	23,219,995	23,071,186
	\$2,136,655,996	\$1,751,118,074	\$385,537,922

The exports of merchandise for November, 1914, the fourth month of the European war, were \$205,766,424, as compared with \$245,539,042 for November, 1913, and \$278,244,191 in 1912. The imports of merchandise for November, 1914, were \$126,467,007, as compared with \$148,236,536 for November, 1913, and \$153,094,898 in 1912. Of the merchandise imported in November, 1914, 62.08 per cent came in free of duty. Of the total imports for the eleven months ending November, 1914, 61.42 per cent were free of duty; whereas, of the imports for the corresponding eleven months of 1913, 54.35 per cent were free of duty.

PRESS OPINIONS

A Brave Protest.

Daily News and Leader (London).—Mr. R. Franklin Tate, special correspondent of the Daily News, transmits the following account of the great protest made by Karl Liebknecht against the vote of credit by the Reichstag on December 2: The protest was not read, the President having vetoed it under pretext that it would entail a call to order. The protest was communicated to the German Press. Not one paper published it. It runs:

This war, desired by none of the peoples concerned, has not broken out on behalf of the welfare of the German people or any other. It is an Imperialist war, a war for the capitalist domination of the world's markets and for the political domination of important regions for the placing of industrial and banking capital. From the point of view of rivalry in armaments, it is a preventive war provoked by the German and Austrian war parties together in the obscurity of semi-absolutism and of secret diplomacy.

After declaring that this is not a defensive war for Germany, the protest continues:

A rapid peace, one which does not humiliate anybody, a peace without conquests, this is what we must demand. Every effort in this direction must be favorably received. The continuous and simultaneous affirmation of this desire, in all the belligerent countries, can alone put a stop to the bloody massacre before the complete exhaustion of all the peoples concerned. A peace based upon the international solidarity of the working class and on the liberty of all peoples can alone be a lasting peace. It is in this sense that the proletariats of all countries must furnish, even in the course of this war, a Socialist effort for peace. But my protest is against the war, against those who are responsible for it, against those who direct it; it is against the capitalist policy which gave it birth;

it is directed against the capitalist objects pursued by it, against the plans of annexation, against the violation of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg, against military dictatorship, against the total oblivion of social and political duties of which the Government and ruling classes are still today guilty. For this reason, I reject the military credits asked for.

Berlin, December 2.

KARL LIEBKNECHT.



Laws That Do Not Deserve Respect.

Chicago Daily News, January 4.—The fact that the American people as a whole are more lawless than those of any other civilized nation is not because they show an inherent tendency to criminality. It is because our complex system of government prevents the strict and literal observance of all constitutional and legal requirements. Many of them conflict with one another, so that to observe them all is impossible. Hence the gradual development of an attitude under which each citizen takes it upon himself to decide what laws he will observe and what laws he will not observe. The Daily News recently called attention to the fact that the Illinois state public utilities commission has made a ruling on a question affecting railroad consolidation that runs counter to the spirit of the Illinois constitution. The ruling is defended by the commission as necessary to the public welfare and the policy embodied in the constitution on the point at issue is declared to be out of date. The same is true of tax laws and many other measures. Take the Sunday closing laws of Illinois. The legislature keeps these laws upon the statute books and leaves their enforcement to the elective officials of communities that do not believe in the wisdom of the laws. . . . There cannot fail to be disrespect for law under such conditions. And respect for law is not increased by sporadic prosecutions of a few persons arbitrarily selected as victims, according to the whim, or worse, of the prosecuting officer.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

KINGS AND PEOPLES

For The Public.

The death ye see they did not make,
This desolation is not theirs;
But theirs the blood, the pain, the ache,
The agony of fruitless prayers.

Theirs the long watch for those who come
No more where once the cheery call
Of happy children in the home
Hailed father, brother through the hall.

Nor they, the people, reap the fruit
Of War's wild harvest when they meet
The Kings, to parcel out the loot,
Mid plaudits of the unthinking street.

Theirs is the bloodier harvest, theirs
The tears of women, and the slow

Long years of work at loom or shares
To pay what King the others owe.

Laugh? do not laugh; and yet I deem
If that old tale of hell were true
The fiends might see the joke, and scream
Till heaven heard the laughter, too!

This little home beside the road,
Set in the green plain stretching far,
It seems no more the same abode,
Since twelve months gone he rode to war.

He may not know that glad hearts wait
No more—that little children stand
No longer at the swinging gate
To clasp the eager, outstretched hand.

His bones are now the dust of France;
His spirit spent itself in vain
'Gainst iron shard and serried lance,
Just for a King's ambition slain.

He gave his all, as thousands gave,
That King might rule—and now 'tis done;
For him, somewhere an unmarked grave,
And for the King, a province won!

And ours the Twentieth century—we
Who boast our learning, science, skill,
Though Kings still work their sorcery,
At whose command the peoples kill.

But not for long—'tis almost told,
This tale of blood-bespattered thrones,
This wretched tale of corpses cold,
Of glories built on dead men's bones.

The people wake! the thrones of Kings
Tremble and totter, one by one,
And Man is Man—and Freedom flings
Her flaming standard to the sun!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.



WANTED: AGGRESSIVE PACIFISM

For The Public.

The other day the president of a large university said to me, "This is not the time to talk peace; we shall make ourselves ridiculous." Curiously enough this same president, who thinks it ridiculous for anyone to expound peace dogma in war time, has for the last ten years with the soberest mien and with evident satisfaction reviewed the annual dress parade of the corps of cadets of his institution, never once realizing that for him to cast admiring glances at his brass buttoned, gold-braided warriors in time of profound peace, and with medals and other prizes to encourage them to study the art of man killing, was possibly no less incongruous than for us in time of a world calamity to ask ourselves, what can we do to make the recurrence of a frightful catastrophe like the present impossible.

If ever there was a time for examining into the merits of the pacifist program, this is the time. We have just seen the militarist insurance scheme for peace collapse. Armed peace, which rests upon the assumption that the best way to curb man's primal instinct to fight is to put a revolver in his hand; alliances, which calmly ignore that while one group of powers is aiming to preserve peace by being stronger than the rival group, the latter is meanwhile likewise aiming at being stronger than the first, thus provoking a mathematical impossibility; secret diplomacy, which enables a few on top to involve millions of human beings in a carnival of carnage; the ultimatum, which, as Dr. Jordan has put it, offers a nation twenty-four hours' time to choose whether it wishes to be swallowed whole or masticated first—these four bulwarks of militarism have been utterly unable to repel the invasion of the Demon War.

But while militarism has failed, it is also true that pacifism has not asserted itself sufficiently to avert the catastrophe. Shall we blame the few who have year in, year out, heroically espoused an unpopular cause, and who even in the countries now at war stood out to the last against this mad orgy of bloodshed? That would be like blaming the doctor for the patient's failure to obey instructions and his consequent failure to recuperate.

Is it not rather true that the peace movement needs much more consecrated effort on the part of the many than it has received in the past and is receiving even now? I have little patience with those who say in a half bored way, "I simply cannot stand to think about the war; it is too awful"—and who then immediately plunge into their social diversions, amusements and frivolities as though nothing had happened. It is our duty to think about the war; to think about it constructively, so that the world mind may be definitely focused in the direction of better world organization.

Too long have we indulged in a policy of muddling through, of calmly assuming that somehow America, though a heavy contributor to the conditions which have produced the European war, will escape miraculously. Though the peace problem is unquestionably one of the most fundamental problems of human relationships, we American people have been content, broadly speaking, to have one lecturer a year give a nice "uplift talk" on the beauties of peace (which, incidentally, no sane person denies) in our club or society or church; on the 18th of May we have recalled that there is an artistic edifice at The Hague called the Peace Palace; several times a year we have rounded up our converts at a peace luncheon in rapt mutual admiration of each other—and meanwhile Congress has voted away billions of dollars for dreadnaughts which in turn inspired the Reichstag or Parliament or the Chamber of Deputies to add to their enormous war budgets and construct additional dreadnaughts on their part, which in

turn the next season served as conclusive evidence for our statesmen at Washington to start the vicious circle all over again.

Cheerfully and gladly the world has voted two thousand five hundred million dollars a year for engines of destruction; but the constructive work of organizing the world on a pacific basis is begrudged the sum of fifteen million dollars (most of it the gift of one man) with which it is endowed. Many sincere believers in the desirability of peace contribute liberally to the Navy League because they think that an adequate navy will keep us out of war; yet it has never once occurred to them that they ought to make their support conditional upon the Navy League's getting together with the Navy Leagues of other countries for determining some reasonable basis to check the insane rivalry that provoked the war abroad.

Thousands upon thousands were willing to fall on their knees on October 4 to pray God to put a stop to the shocking things that our kinsmen in Europe are perpetrating, but when some of us dare to suggest that one good token of our sincerity would be for us to take the courageous step of beginning the reformation of the world at our own doors, by calling a halt to armaments, by forbidding the exportation of auto trucks, food supplies, ammunitions, clothing to belligerents, by discountenancing the loaning of money we are called ultra-pacifists, visionaries, men of weak morals and intellect, and other endearing terms.

We read about the innumerable diplomatic difficulties that are confronting our nation at this critical time with a bored confidence that these are the affairs of the Department of State, and with a calm conviction that in thanking God for Wilson on October 4 we have rendered inestimable service to the cause of peace. If we become worried about the situation at all, we prefer to let the military expert, whose "expertness" naturally consists in devising more armaments, and the war trader, whose patriotism is synonymous with dividends, provide additional "protection", additional "defensive" equipment rather than profit by the lessons of this war and devise some other insurance scheme. The testimony of the military expert is accepted as gospel truth without question; any scheme that pacifists may suggest is labelled as visionary.

In short, then, we have not as a people awakened to the tremendous problem of better world organization. We must embark upon a campaign of education which shall reach every hamlet and village, which shall make every man and woman think upon this commanding problem. We must organize public opinion, first of all to think internationally, and then to think pacifically.

How shall we go about it? Well, Norman Angell has ably pointed out how the militarist goes about it: "When Admiral Tirpitz decided that Germany was to have a great navy, he knew that

the first thing to do was to create a public opinion, and he promptly started the German Navy League, saw that it was subsidized, inspired patriotic writers, entertained professors, made friends with the newspaper men, had the Krupps buy up a newspaper or two, so that in less than ten years German opinion had formulated its demand for a great navy, and, of course, the Government had to be guided by so definitely expressed a national demand. When orders are slack at Krupps, there is no difficulty in arranging that the French agents of that enterprising firm shall circulate in French newspapers statements as to the impending increase of French armaments, which are promptly reproduced (with a new coat of paint) in the German Press. In England we have not one Navy League, but at least two. When our great soldiers want Conscription, they do not wait for public opinion—they make it. Lord Roberts—Earl and Field Marshal—takes the stump, addressing great popular audiences, is most efficiently stage-managed, and for ten years the organization which he patronizes has been industriously at work."

One needs but to read our daily newspapers to see something of the activities of the militarists to organize public opinion in their favor. Witness this news item under date of November 27:

As a result of the national agitation of the Navy League of the United States, 110-neighborhood and civic clubs in Wisconsin will debate this fall on the question of a larger sea force.

In Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa and other middle western states Rear Admiral Albert Ross, U. S. N., retired, who built the great lakes naval training station near Lake Bluff, and Congressman-Elect George Edmund Foss will be among the speakers.

This program was announced yesterday by William Mather Lewis of Lake Forest, field secretary of the Navy League, with headquarters at 1734 First National Bank Building. Chicago members number more than 100.

The time has come when those who stand for a better order of things must throw all conventionality to the wind and start out upon aggressive lines. When an editor indulges in loose talk about preparedness, vital interests, national honor and the like, when he makes misstatements of fact with reference to international matters, let us not be content to shake our heads and say "how silly." Write the editor; show him his errors; protest against jingoism. If the pacifists are but half as vigilant as the militarists, the editor will soon change his attitude (assuming, of course, that he attempts honestly to reflect public opinion).

When an aspirant for office asks to be sent to Congress, the Navy League is pretty quick to find out how he stands on the armaments question. Somehow the pacifists have considered it undignified to inform themselves similarly. The time has come when peace people must serve notice upon

any man who places his trust for peace in huge armaments, that he is unfit to hold public office.

The peace loving people in this country far outweigh the militarists, but they softly blow the flute or the oboe or the clarinet, while the militarist rattles the drum. Let him continue to rattle it, if he must, but let us at least exchange our instruments for the trombone or the bass horn.

But in addition to organized, aggressive and coordinated activity there must be intelligent understanding of the fundamental principles of civilism and militarism. I would therefore have those who care sufficiently about the future of this world of ours face this fact open minded and without prejudice: Europe wanted peace and she got war. What is to be the mechanism by which men in the future can get what they want?

With this commanding fact in mind, I would have them examine the philosophies of a Bernhardt, a Mahan and a Roosevelt on the one hand, and of a Norman Angell or a David Starr Jordan or a Novicow on the other. I would have them investigate, what is the relation of military power to national advantage? Does a nation's commerce depend upon its armed forces? I would have them review the history of wars and see what the arbitrament of the sword has accomplished, and then study the history of pacifism and see what the arbitrament of reason and law has wrought. With this study I would couple an investigation into the activities of the war traders and the armaments rings.

As our international problems come up from time to time let each man weigh in his mind, where does our duty lie, having due regard for the viewpoint of the other fellow? How did it look to other nations when we sent our fleet around the world during the Roosevelt regime? Is it a coincidence that Brazil's and Argentine's military expansion began immediately after the visit of our fleet? How will it affect our widely heralded profession of desiring to lead the world in peace if we improve this time of international unrest, when all other great nations are exploding their powder and sinking their warships, when they are crippling every industry except that of the manufacture of armaments, when they are running themselves into virtual financial bankruptcy, when they are deluging their respective countries with an avalanche of heartache and misery and poverty—if, I say, we improve this time for hanging the millstone of militarism around our necks, even though it be in the name of defense?

I would also have the student of international affairs look into the work of The Hague and determine whether possibly there is some connection between the fact that the delegates to the Hague Conferences were preponderantly military men and international law experts—men to whom a "peace" conference connoted a conference for

adopting rules of the ring, so to speak—and the fact that relatively little was done along the lines of examining into the conditions that have produced war and evolving a positive substitute for it, but much in the direction of drawing up regulations concerning dum-dum bullets, explosives, bombardment of unfortified towns, and the like? (Incidentally, does not the unceremoniousness with which dum-dum bullets are used, and bombs dropped from the sky, and asphyxiating gases diffused, show how futile it is to expect these rules of the game to be observed when the very laws of humanity have been outraged?)

I am indicating but a few problems at random each of which merits careful study.

Can the American public rouse itself from its state of lethargy, of tacit acceptance of old standards without examining into the new?

This is the challenge of pacifism.

LOUIS B. LOCHNER.



MAMMON, THE MODERN WAR GOD.

Israel Zangwill.

"To safeguard peace we must prepare for war"—
I know that maxim; it was forged in hell.
This wealth of ships and guns inflames the vulgar
And makes the very war it guards against.
The God of War is now a man of business,
With vested interests.

So much sunk Capital, such countless callings,
The Army, Navy, Medicine, the Church—
To bless and bury—Music, Engineering,
Red-tape Departments, Commissariats,
Stores, Transports, Ammunition, Coaling-stations,
Fortifications, Cannon-foundries, Shipyards,
Arsenals, Ranges, Drill-halls, Floating Docks,
War-loan Promoters, Military Tailors,
Camp-followers, Canteens, War Correspondents,
Horse-breeders, Armorers, Torpedo-builders,
Pipeclay and Medal Vendors, Big Drum Makers,
Gold Lace Embroiderers, Opticians, Buglers,
Tent-makers, Banner-weavers, Powder-mixers,
Crutches and Cork Limb Manufacturers,
Balloonists, Mappists, Hellographers,
Inventors, Flying Men, and Diving Demons,
Beelzebub and all his hosts, who, whether
In Water, Earth, or Air, among them pocket
When Trade is brisk a million pounds a week!



Fundamental laws govern human life and association. No class, clan, coterie or individual human being makes those fundamental laws. We simply find them here as inflexible rules of this game of life. Like other natural laws, they do not have to be "enforced" but are always and inexorably in operation. To understand them and get in line with them is the essence of wisdom. To defy or ignore them is the height of folly.—The Straight Edge.



"I am grateful to anybody that does anything but stagnate."—Richard Cobden.

BOOKS

A MODERN SPY.

Secrets of the German War Office. By Dr. Armgaard Karl Graves. Published by McBride, Nast & Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.

The layman, especially the American, has a very misty idea as to what extent espionage has been carried on by the governments of Europe. While spying has served as motif for many a short story and novel and has been realistically treated against a background of diplomacy, it is apt to be swept aside by the general reader as pure fiction. This recent book written by a man who is said to have worked for the secret service of both Germany and England, carries with it an air of reality.

The author writes under the name he assumed when entering the Secret Service Intelligence Bureau of Berlin, although when doing actual work as a spy he traveled under other names. He was captured in London, or rather, cleverly betrayed by Germany to the justice of English law, Germany feeling that he had become a dangerous man through knowing too many state secrets. Because of mysterious influence he was given a light sentence, two years, of which he served but six weeks and then was secretly released. After spying for England two years, he left the service and came to New York. Germany thought him well out of the way behind prison bars for at least seven years. England knew him to be there for at least two. He shocked both countries by revealing his identity in New York. There, with the collaboration of Edward Lyell Fox, he wrote the present volume, which, he claims, is "the first real unvarnished account of government espionage, the class of men employed, the means used to get the desired results and the risks run by those connected with this system."

The reader is astounded by two facts: the deep distrust each country has of the others, and the vast amount of money, time and brains used to watch secretly each others' movements.

If the motive of the author in writing this book and disclosing state secrets of the German war office was one of revenge for his betrayal by that country, the spirit is not revealed in the pages. It is written simply, unsensationally, and apparently without bias. The reports of secret conferences with big men from the Kaiser down—with Sir Edward Gray, Viscount Haldane, Winston Spencer Churchill, Admiral von Tirpitz, General von Heeringen, Herr von Kinderlen Waechter—are sensations in themselves.

The publishers announce that the completed manuscript of the book was in their hands by the first of June. The present war had avowedly been suspected by Dr. Graves and prophesied as immi-

nent. Be it fact or fiction, many of those eager to understand the setting for this European drama will read the narrative with interest—all the greater because it is one of the few war books which does not seem to be written from any one nation's point of view.

BLANCHE KLANIECKA.



THE NEWSPAPER A BUSINESS TOOL.

The Clarion. By Samuel Hopkins Adams. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1914. Price, \$1.00 net.

The only trouble with Mr. Adams' story of an unfree press is that it is too true. Such wholly undimmed truths are blinding to the chauffeurs on the other side of the road.

An inexperienced and rich young man acquires a yellow newspaper in a respectably corrupt town. He finds himself to be an editorial writer with a real journalist's nose for news, and proceeds, with much pain to himself, to jam an honest journal into the clenched teeth of the community's business bosses whose advertising is their sceptre and weapon. All this newspaper plot is tangled in with the career of a quack, the hero's father, whose proprietary medicine has made him a millionaire and whose character and fortunes make him the most picturesque figure in a drama full of action from the stab in the first chapter through auto accident, poison-suicide, pestilence and bomb. There's a love-story, too, life-size, life-like.

But the most impressive quality of the book is the reason for its existence—the determined disclosure of how the advertisers own our newspapers. We have all heard of this. Most of us half believe it. But Mr. Adams knows and explains how and to what an exacting extent it rules. He shows you the merchant advertisers united to dictate and to punish. He takes you to watch their orderlies at work behind the scenes in the newspaper office—a place, by the way, which is made very interesting. And the book is four-square to all essential facts.

There is evidence besides one's own conviction that the story is in general very true to life. Good authority tells how the publishers' paid advertisement of the book was at first accepted and then rejected by a journal in the home-town of a famous patent medicine. Other stories are around, of strange, but not unexplainable, refusals to the book of the usual channels of publicity.

As a piece of literature Mr. Adams' novel is noticeable for its unusually bright and natural dialogue, and just as remarkable for its inexcusable "newspaper English." Such phrases as "those biographical compilations which embalm one's fame," and "the cultivation of Morpheus" would

suffocate the story if it had not the power of a live human interest and a strong present appeal.

A. L. G.



THE HEART OF DEMOCRACY.

The Gospel of Jesus and the Problems of Democracy. By Henry C. Vedder. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.

The dedication of Professor Vedder's book, "To the millions who toil without hope that the thousands may enjoy without thought," gives the key to the author's strong argument for the social justice founded on the teachings of the true gospel of democracy. It is claimed that "we need a reconstructed theology"—"a change from the metaphysics of Paul to the ethics of Jesus." In the ten chapters of the book the vexing problems of the day are exhaustively treated. The woman question, the child problem, the problems of the slum, of vice, of crime, of disease, of poverty and lawlessness are effectively solved by the plain rules of the new Gospel—or rather by the new interpretation of the old Gospel which deals with the service of man to man.

To all who are working in the various lines of reform, Professor Vedder's study of the present-day situation is full of suggestions which should not be missed. Nothing less than a thorough perusal of the book can give an adequate conception of its use in dealing with the problems which it presents for general consideration. The fine index and bibliography lend easy reference to the subjects in which the reader is most deeply interested.

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**Wealth from the Soil.** By C. C. Bowsfield. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago. 1914. Price, \$1.00 net.

—**Modern Values and Their Christian Sources.** By Philip C. Walcott. Published by the Pilgrim Press, Boston. 1914. Price, \$1.00; postage, 10 cents.

—**Progressive Men, Women and Movements of the Past Twenty-Five Years.** By B. O. Flower. Published by The New Arena, 5 Park Sq., Boston. 1914. Price, \$2.00, postpaid.

—**The Establishment of Christianity and the Prescription of Paganism.** Number 147, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Longmans, Green & Co., agents, New York. 1914. Price, paper, \$2.00 net.



"There are many well meaning men who do not accomplish as much as they might through not knowing how to go to work."—Richard Cobden.

"All difficulties shall yield to energy."—Richard Cobden.