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EDITORIAL

Progress of Emancipation.

Another Emancipation Act went into effect when President Wilson ended involuntary servitude on American vessels by signing the seamen's bill. But the work of emancipation is still far from complete. It will not be ended until the last vestige of Privilege shall have been destroyed. The seamen released from one form of slavery must bear in mind the great fight, still to be won, to put an end to economic slavery, and economic slavery can not be abolished while a favored class is allowed to monopolize natural resources.

S. D.



A Congress That Might Have Done Worse.

In bidding farewell to the 63rd Congress, the country can at least congratulate itself that, as Congresses go, this one has to its credit a fair record. Thanks to the insistence of the President, it did do a lot of work; and, thanks also to the resistance of the President, it refrained from doing some mischief that it might have done. The two great obstacles that lie in the way of enlightened legislation are ignorance, and the spoils of office. Men are elected to the House of Representatives, and to the Senate, who are qualified for anything save legislation. The philosophy of government, and the fundamental principles that underlie social order, and control human relations, are to them as a closed book. Consequently, with the utmost sincerity of purpose and the best of intentions they can do little more than cut and try. Sometimes, however, their sincerity is undermined by the subtle influence of the spoils of office. The desire to return for another term and the wish to get on in the world prompt the weaker brethren to listen to the seductive offers of the genteel lobbyist. It prompts them also to plunge their arms shoulder deep in the pork barrel in order to secure for their own districts needless and extravagant im-

provements, and win favor of constituents less scrupulous even than themselves.



These political excrescences are of the past; they will in time be outgrown. We have but to note the change in public opinion in regard to the use of railroad passes by public officials in order to appreciate the possibilities of a higher conception of civic obligations. Not all judges and Congressmen were corrupted by these railroad favors, though some were; and it was necessary to eliminate this evil influence. As the public conscience evolves, the same influence will be brought to bear on the Congressmen who stand for spoils. Gradually men will be brought to see the necessity of managing the public's business as they would their own. And, as public opinion comes to condemn the Congressman who clutters the civil service with relatives and useless hangers-on, and spends the major part of his time in securing big appropriations for his own district; so it will condemn his lack of intelligence. Instead of the grab-bag system of appropriations, we shall have an intelligent budget order; and in place of haphazard methods of taxation, we shall see the raising of revenue from natural sources.



In nothing, perhaps, was the measure of the Sixty-third Congress better shown than in its refusal to accept the Bailey amendment to the Alaska railroad bill. Here was the plain proposition that the land value created by the government-constructed railroad be taken to pay for the road. Never were the rights of property, and the reward of industry more clearly defined. And yet, because it was contrary to precedent the amendment was overwhelmingly defeated. But just as the men who laughed uproariously at Congressman Robert Baker, when he publicly returned a railroad pass, came within a few years to return their own passes, in deference to a new public opinion; so the Congressmen who voted down the Bailey amendment may live to see the principle therein involved given universal application. On the whole this Congress has been so much better than most of the Congresses that have met at Washington, that there is every reason to look forward hopefully to those that are to follow.

s. c.



The Sixty-Third Congress.

The Congress just adjourned shines most brilliantly by contrast with its predecessors for several decades at least. It has more good acts to its credit and probably no more than the average

number of doubtful or of bad acts. To be sure what good work it did was grudgingly done and—but for the President's insistence—would probably not have been done at all. This good work consists principally in reduction of the tariff, in curbing the despotic power of the federal judiciary, in repeal of Panama tolls, in admission of foreign ships to American registry, in abolishing involuntary servitude on American vessels, in providing for a government-owned railway in Alaska and in providing a leasing system for Alaska Coal lands. Compared with what remains to be done these accomplishments are wretchedly inadequate. Even compared with what might have been reasonably expected they are far from what they ought to be. So while comparison with predecessors makes the record of Congress seem creditable, comparison with what it should have done makes it look otherwise.



Among the serious sins of omission must be put the failure of Congress to provide for Philippine independence. This was not merely violation of a party pledge. It would still have been a very great wrong had there been no pledge. Retaining stolen goods in one's possession is as great a wrong when no promise has been made to return them as when it has been made. Other serious omissions were failure to adopt the Bailey amendment to the Alaskan railroad bill which would have ensured to the public the land values created by a publicly built railroad; emasculation of the George bill providing a proper assessment for the District of Columbia; failure to pass the Crosser bill for municipalization of the street railways of the District; failure to pass the Lewis bill for postalization of telegraphs and telephones; failure to pass a number of adequate conservation bills pending, and other failures too numerous to specify. Probably the least excusable act of commission was adoption of the iniquitous emergency revenue act, which has not even provided adequate revenue. Lack of time fortunately prevented passage of an inexcusable undemocratic measure of a different kind—a Jim Crow street railway law for the District of Columbia. The Republican Congressman who still appeals to dead issues of the civil war period has his match in the Democratic Congressman who still caters to race prejudice.



The new Congress does not lack opportunity to improve on the record of its immediate predecessor. It should not let the opportunity pass.

s. d.

Congressman George on "Jim Crow" Legislation.

An inaccurate press dispatch of February 7 did a great injustice to Congressman Henry George, Jr., and probably to other democratic Democrats on the House District Committee. Before that Committee was a bill to put in force "Jim Crow" regulations on the street railways of the District. There appears to have been enough members of that Committee with anti-democratic views on the race question, to report it out favorably. Press dispatches falsely reported that all the Democratic members, including Mr. George, joined in the favorable recommendation. All who knew Mr. George's views at once recognized the statement as one of the many examples of an incurable tendency which afflicts the news-gathering association, to disregard accuracy. But unfortunately there were some who did not have this knowledge and unquestioningly accepted the statement as true. For these Mr. George's own statement of the matter in a letter under date of March 2, written on being shown the press dispatch, should be convincing. Mr. George says:

I am not for the "Jim Crow" cars, and shall, if the opportunity is given me, vote against the bill. I think the article submitted to me was written without any further information than the fact that there was such a bill and that the bill had followed the House of Representatives routine of being referred to the District of Columbia Committee. I certainly am not for this bill and have given notice that I was opposed to such a proposal. It is repugnant to my deepest sentiments and I am grateful for this opportunity of expressing myself.

A more pronounced declaration against this undemocratic bill would not be possible. S. D.



Investigations That Are Worth While.

That the faith reposed in the Commission on Industrial Relations has not been misplaced is evident from the fact that the Commission is now entering upon a new phase of its work. It proposes to make a thorough investigation into the American land question in its relation to Labor and Capital. Beginning at a public hearing in Dallas, Texas, on the fifteenth, it will inquire into the cotton crisis. It will determine as far as possible the relations of land owner and employing farmer, tenant, and farm laborer. It will consider the tendency toward concentration in land ownership, the rapid increase in tenant farming, the movement to raise rents, the development of class feeling among the white tenants, the inter-racial competition growing

up among the Mexican, Negro, and European immigrants, and the native white tenants of the Southwest.



From the very foundation of the Government efforts have been made to get the people to the land under the most favorable conditions and circumstances. And since the formation of the Agricultural Department a great deal of assistance has been rendered the farmer in the operation of his farm. Not only has he had expert advice in the selection of seed, the planting and cultivation of the crop, and the raising of livestock, but he has had much done for him socially, in the extension of the rural free delivery, and the nominal postage on reading matter. But never has there been an intelligent inquiry into the relations of farm owners and farm operators. It is easy to see how a man taking up a hundred and sixty acres of land at a dollar and a quarter an acre, in a community where it soon rises to a hundred or a hundred and fifty dollars an acre, may retire to city life, while a tenant tills his land. Such a farmer may be considered a successful business man. But the success of the tenant who goes upon this land at a high rental is too much shrouded in mystery. It is highly important that the public should be informed on the question. S. C.



Houston's Great Misfortune.

The decision of Judge Read of Houston declaring illegal the Houston plan of taxation means, until the decision can be reversed either through legislative action or otherwise, that industries had better stay away from Houston. The city has made an earnest effort to deal fairly with those who contribute to its prosperity. But Judge Read declares that it must, whether it will or not, heavily fine every year every man who erects a building, starts a factory, or otherwise does anything useful. He further declares in effect that every dollar of deposits in Houston banks must be listed for taxation and that the assessors must investigate and learn the value of household goods in every home. A city where such conditions prevail can not be a desirable place, in which to live or do business. For this blow to their prosperity Houston's citizens may thank first of all the land speculators who brought the matter into court, and next Judge Read. The duty of the Texas legislature to provide relief is more plain than ever.

S. D.

A Franklin Wanted.

State Senator George H. Ellis of Boston, chairman of the Senate Committee on Social Welfare, in a speech on unemployment before the Boston City Club, exclaimed: "I wish we had here now a Benjamin Franklin to tackle the question of unemployment, for it needs a bigger man than we have in the United States today to handle it." But is Senator Ellis sure that he himself is up to date? Does he feel certain that he is aware of all that has been done? There was no problem of unemployment in the time of Benjamin Franklin. There were questions of temperance, thrift, frugality, and industry, but these were personal questions. There was work for everybody who wanted work, so that Franklin's homelies were all addressed to the individual. But homelies addressed to the individual, calling upon him to be frugal and saving, are of little use when he is out of a job. The industrial problem of today is social, not individual. Hence, if Benjamin Franklin could come back to us, and offer his shrewd advice, doubtless it would be along the lines of the new problems.



If Senator Ellis would profit by the wisdom of Franklin it might be well for him to inquire into the difference in the economic problem of today, and that of a hundred and fifty years ago. The problem of unemployment, when reduced to its simplest terms, is a man out of a job. The factors that enter into this problem are simple: Man, who represents labor; Capital, which represents tools; and Land, which represents the raw material out of which Man is to fashion, with the aid of tools, the things necessary to satisfy his wants. Yet man wanting things, is unable to make the things he wants. In what way were conditions different in Franklin's day? There were in that day, Man, Capital, and Land, just as at present; and Labor made with the use of tools all things to satisfy his wants. There was, however, one great and fundamental difference. While the material factors were the same then as now, only a small part of the land had been reduced to private possession. A continent of unused land bordered the settlements along the Atlantic coast; and when any individual in the community felt that he was not working to the best advantage, or not getting the full earnings of his labor, he had but to go out a few miles to find free land where he could work for himself. And this outlet not only prevented any involuntary unemployment in the settlements, but it relieved the competition of labor with labor, so that there was no oppression; and the

workman received more nearly than at any time since the full earnings of his labor.



The problem of unemployment did not arise in this country until the free land had disappeared. As soon as Labor was deprived of the opportunity of self-employment, then began the economic pressure that forced down wages, begot friction between Labor and Capital, and ended in business stagnation and unemployment. If that shrewd old philosopher, Benjamin Franklin, could see the present situation, can there be any doubt that he would detect the flaw in modern conditions? Would he not, remembering conditions of his own time, say to us: "How can you expect men to have employment when your laws deny them access to the natural sources of all employment? You have lands in plenty; but you allow a few men to monopolize what all must use. If you permit the few to levy toll upon the many for the use of what nature provides for all, why should you be surprised that men are without employment? Open up nature's storehouse, and you will have no man without a job." That Benjamin Franklin would have given such advice is evident from his repeated comment upon the advantages of free land to the colonies; and to his acceptance of the doctrines of the Physiocrats, which were based fundamentally upon the land question. s. c.



Claiming Too Much.

Whatever results may follow the new federal law against sale of habit-forming drugs there is one class of its advocates which is doomed to disappointment. That is the class composed of those who think that it will reduce crime. Because a large percentage of criminals are drug users these good people believe that crime will be lessened by stopping the sale of drugs. They are mistaking effect for cause. Existing economic conditions do not provide enough opportunities for all to earn an honest living, however desirous all may be to avoid crime. Drug users, being less desirable as employees than others, are naturally among the excluded ones who are driven to crime. Then again, the nervous strain of a criminal life may easily drive to use of drugs those not addicted to the habit on entering it. To cure all victims of the drug habit will be a great service to humanity, but it should not be pushed as a "just as good" substitute for removal of economic causes of crime.

S. D.

Deceivers or Dupes.

On New York City's police force there must be either a number of very gullible men or a number of men eager to take advantage of supposed gullibility of the people. They make that much clear in solemnly proclaiming that they have discovered an anarchist plot to kill all the millionaires and loot the city. It is needless to say that individuals so easily deceived can not be competent police officers, while individuals that try to fool the public are worse than incompetent. The first thing needed to improve the quality of such a force is creation of a few vacancies.

S. D.



How Plots Are "Discovered."

The revival by some Rip Van Winkle officials of the almost obsolete habit of "discovering" anarchist plots, makes pertinent the reproduction of a comment made eighteen or nineteen years ago by the Cleveland Recorder on a similar occurrence. It follows:

In Chicago corrupt police officers lived in clover for years, both before and after the Haymarket tragedy by soliciting contributions from certain very rich men, as compensation for keeping the anarchists down. To make their patrons "give up" freely these policemen were obliged every now and then to unearth an anarchist plot or to break up an anarchist meeting, or otherwise keep the scare a-going. There are well informed persons in Chicago who believe that the Haymarket tragedy was the accidental result of one of these scares; that is, that the corrupt police themselves hatched the plot and caused the bomb to be exploded, without expecting it to produce the damage it did. And it must be admitted that the fact that the Chicago bomb thrower has never been found, while peaceable men were railroaded to the gallows and prison by a packed jury, gives no little color to that theory.

S. D.



What the World Lost.

Those hero worshippers who tried so hard to make Theodore Roosevelt President a third time, and who defended the breaking of a century and a quarter of precedents by saying there was no reason why we should not retain a President in office as long as he was of service to the country, must keenly regret that the United States has been deprived of his unique services since 1912. Had he handled the Mexican question in the same cavalier manner in which he disposed of the Panama trouble, the American flag would to-day be well on its way to the Isthmus. And were he now in the President's chair there would be none of this molly-coddle neutrality that is so humiliating to gentlemen of blood and iron. He would long ago have

righted the wrongs of Belgium; and war zones and blockades would have been swept away as fast as the effete statesmen of Europe could commit them to paper.



There is, however, this melancholy reflection: There was a time when Mr. Roosevelt, because of a clever and dramatic stroke in opposition to Privilege, and the consignment of a few gentlemen to membership in the Ananias club, would be acclaimed the champion of liberty; and would be looked to as the Moses who was to lead us out of the land of bondage. But that enthusiasm has waned; and the number of those who once acclaimed him has dwindled to a pitiable remnant. Are we to conclude from this that the people are fickle, that they do not recognize the true prince when he appears among them; or that Mr. Roosevelt does not ring true when tested by fundamental democracy? One does not have to stretch his imagination to infer from his latest book that if he were now in the White House there would be red fire burning all along the coast.

S. C.



"Our Country, Right or Wrong."

The Chicago Tribune defiantly carries at the head of its editorial column Decatur's words: "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right, but our country, right or wrong." For this the Tribune has been much criticized, but so long as it actually holds such sentiments it is better that it openly express them. There seems no escape from the conclusion that a paper which will knowingly support wrong in one case is likely to support it knowingly in another. Since The Tribune does not hesitate to urge support of "our country wrong," it is just as likely to urge support of "our party wrong," or of any individual, group or organization endeavoring to perpetrate a wrong. It reveals itself as a dangerous guide with no scruples against using its influence in behalf of what it may know to be wrong. Persons who do not wish to help an evil cause must be extra careful in accepting the Tribune's advice. It may well know the policy to be wrong which it urges. It has itself declared that moral considerations are not of supreme importance. It has confessed itself to be unworthy of confidence.



Decatur's words are in themselves contradictory. "May she always be in the right" is a truly patriotic wish deserving of commendation. But the

sincerity of that wish is open to question in any one who endorses also the concluding words: "Our country, right or wrong." One honestly desirous that the country be "always in the right" can not hope that it be offered the encouragement of success when it engages in an effort that is wrong, and he can not conscientiously help it in any way to gain such success. The first part of the Decatur quotation becomes meaningless and illogical, if not hypocritical, when subordinated to the chauvinistic sentiment "my country, right or wrong." Possibly Decatur did not realize this. He had been misled by his military training into the fallacious belief that it was not his duty to pass on the right or wrong of the government's policy. But there is not the same mitigating circumstance for most of those who approvingly quote him.



Stung by criticism, The Tribune in its issue of March 7, tries to defend its position by the explanation that "our country" "represents an instrument for the betterment of humanity," and a disaster to it would mean disaster to the ideals of patriotic citizens. This very explanation condemns Decatur's sentiment. When a country attempts to do wrong it becomes the reverse of "an instrument for the betterment of humanity." A disaster resulting from such an attempt would tend to discourage further efforts at departure from the patriotic citizen's ideal. It would serve, moreover, as a warning example to other nations inclined to wander from idealistic paths. There are citizens who regard the Republican party as an instrument for the betterment of humanity, and others who so regard the Democratic party. The Tribune's logic would urge these citizens to stand by their party when they know it to be in the wrong since "disaster to it would mean disaster to their ideals." It is easy to see that there would be far greater disaster to ideals in helping a party to success when it is in the wrong. The same applies to international policies of governments. In trying to defend an indefensible position The Tribune only makes more clear than ever that it is a very risky leader to follow.

S. D.



Testing the Beatitudes.

James Schermerhorn, who is demonstrating in a practical way, through the management of his paper, the Detroit Times, that the teachings of Jesus in the first century are worthy of practice in the twentieth century, refuses to be discomfited by the challenge that he apply the teachings of the Great Master to modern property rights. There

is no desire upon his part, he says, to stop short of preaching the whole gospel. "As a matter of fact," he adds, "the espousal of progressiveness all the way from direct legislation to Singletax has been a vital and at times a costly part of our process of testing the Beatitudes." That other reforms have been emphasized more than the land question is due to local exigencies, and in no way to a desire to shirk a responsibility or neglect an opportunity. This is but another illustration of how much wider are the ramifications of the land question, than those in the movement themselves suspect. There is a note in Mr. Schermerhorn's letter that is heard now and again from those who have found realization fall short of anticipation. The disappointment of primary elections, and of tariff revision downward, tend, he says, to make him less cocksure of results, than he was in the earlier days. He wonders if "the tax system that seems everlastingly just and logical and workable will bring in entirely the happy day we love to depict in our rhapsodic foretellings." And he closes thus:

While the desirability of holding companionship with the Beatitudes continues, you may put the Times down for the Singletax, firm in the faith that it will give average folks a better chance to reap where they have sown, but not convinced that with its advent the Sermon on the Mount will have completed its good and perfect work in the social realm.



The land question sometimes fails of finding its proper place in the sum of human knowledge through overvaluation by those who consider it alone, and by undervaluation by those who consider it in connection with many other reforms. The student who comes suddenly upon the land question, and grasps its enormous portent, if he be new in the study of sociology, and imperfectly acquainted with the myriad interests of man, may be tempted to think that the disposal of this question will be the solution of the social problem. On the other hand, the student who has delved into many phases of sociology, and who appreciates the multitudinous wants of man, his apparently conflicting motives, and his seemingly incorrigible cupidity, is apt, when he comes upon the land question, to think of it merely as one of a great number of things that may be done for the possible betterment of society, but as by no means indispensable. Each of these students is in error. The solution of the land question will not cure all the ills that flesh is heir to. Human nature will remain. And it may be doubted if this earth will last long enough to see the completion of human progress.

But while the land question is not the whole problem, it is an indispensable part of the problem; and unless it is disposed of, the solution—no matter how attempted—will be incomplete. Tariff reform, free trade, scientific currency, co-operative banking, and all the multitude of social reforms, each has its place in the achievement of human progress. The land question is not only basic and fundamental, but it is so close to us, and is so subtly interwoven in our thought and practice with present methods that it is difficult for some to realize that it is a problem at all.

s. c.



Getting Together.

The Coast Seamen's Journal, in commenting upon George W. Perkins' remark that an aviator approaching this country, and seeing its fertility, and its unemployed, would think it inhabited by lunatics, goes on to enumerate the various schemes that have been advanced to cure social wrongs. And after naming the Protectionist, the Free Trader, the Singletaxer, the Socialist, the Anarchist, and suggesting an infinite number of other "ists" and "ers," it asks why the Singletaxers, Socialists, Anarchists, and Trade Unionists do not get together and tackle the problem of unemployment. How can they get together when their beliefs are based upon contradictory and opposing principles? How can the Catholic, the Methodist, and the Mormon unite on the question of salvation? How can the Allopath, the Osteopath, and the Christian Scientist get together on the question of healing?



The Singletaxer would make the earth accessible alike to all labor and capital, and regulate their relations by the freest possible competition. The Socialist would eliminate competition, abolish production for profit, and arbitrarily apportion the rewards for labor. The Anarchist would do away with all compulsion and depend upon voluntary association. The Trade Unionist would strengthen organized labor, until it has the power to regulate industry. How can these various elements, holding as they do such opposing views, come together, and act in unison? While, however, it is impossible for these several schools to unite in a common belief, there are certain principles common to them all. The land question, for instance, is as essential to the Socialist, Anarchist and Trade Unionist as to the Singletaxers. And while the various reformers cannot unite in a single political party, they can and will if they are wise, incorporate in

their several platforms those things that are common to them all. The time is not far distant when the power of direct legislation will be available to the people. Then it will be possible for all those persons who believe the land question can be solved by taking land values for purposes of public revenue—though they be divided among a variety of parties, each having a small representation in the legislative body—to vote directly upon the common article of belief. Direct legislation is not likely to supersede representative legislation, but it will serve to make effective a majority sentiment, divided among minority parties.

s. c.



THE RIGHT TO WORK.

It is a distinguishing characteristic of what is known as the re-actionary mind to start from a premise born of abnormal conditions extant and reason, more or less logically, to a conclusion as abnormal and indefensible as the conditions which it contemplates. Thus, the Saturday Evening Post in a recent editorial, sees first that there are hundreds of thousands of men in the country who are not laboring; that these men would like to be able "at any time to step up to the window and say, 'Here's my day's work, give me two dollars,'" that we are obliged to ask, "But where is the window?" and, therefore, in conclusion, the Post asserts, "Of course, nobody has any more right to work than to do anything else." This is not unlike saying, "we are in a very mischief of a pickle. Those who got us into it are not legally bound to get us out of it. Therefore we have no right to get out." It is starting in a brier patch, scrambling around in a very small circle, and winding up at the point of beginning, with the loss of very little breath, and some cuticle, but no privileges. To lend additional weight to its conclusion, the Post adds the inquiry, "Who is under the least obligation to give you a job, or can rightfully require you to take any job you do not want?" Who, indeed; no one, absolutely no one. And yet the men who approve of just the sort of philosophy that runs through this Saturday Evening Post editorial referred to, arrogate to themselves the privilege of "giving" you a job—in the sense of permitting you to work if it suits them to let you do so, or withholding the job from you if that pleases them better. And, therefore, also they do arrogate to themselves the privilege of requiring you "to take any job you do not want"—or go hungry. More than that, for some reason, they insist upon retaining that privilege as "chosen

stewards of God's bounty," to quote the late more or less lamented Mr. Baer.



We see the vast army of unemployed. We see the increasing want upon one hand and wealth upon the other. We see the divergence increasing and the conditions intensifying. Those who have jobs and those who have increasing incomes without jobs, and even those who confidently expect either of these, are prone to contemplate the state of things complacently, albeit the histories of other nations and the conditions of other peoples at this time make the obvious tendencies appear ominous. Those who do not need any jobs and do not want any jobs, and those who are profiting largely from conditions as they are, do not desire any change, and since they are "chosen stewards" and seemingly in control, they insist that there can be no change. Where, indeed is the "pay window," unless they see fit to open one?

But what about the unemployed? They are exceedingly numerous and, year by year, they are steadily increasing in numbers, in want, in hopelessness, in incapacity, and, incidentally, in either despair or desperation. They may have shown a lack of discretion in the choice of parents or in the time or place of birth, where better judgment would have permitted them to select themselves to be "God's chosen stewards," or had those good offices forced upon them. It may be that they should have exercised their influence to prevent the private monopolization of jobs before they got here and to have seen to it that the chosen stewards did not choose quite so much for themselves but rather more for the rest of the people. Be that as it may, it is not impossible that they still have rights and that those rights include the right to labor. More than that, when we see an occasional member of this vast soup house army, who has not been utterly ruined by his previous experiences and environment, have the good fortune to be transplanted in some way into a new country of relatively free land and therefore freer opportunities to labor, and we see him become a prosperous, independent, comfortable and worthy citizen, we naturally infer that all of the members of these vast armies of the unfortunate might perhaps also be better citizens and more prosperous citizens if they could step up to nature's "windows" in city or country and enroll for that labor by which alone they should be sustained, without being denied or paying tribute.



Man exists and exists only upon the products

of labor. He exists only upon the products of labor applied to land. There is no other way for human, mortal life to be sustained. If any man exists upon the products of other men's labor rather than his own, he is morally or at least fundamentally, a pirate, a parasite, a thief. We may refrain in charitableness from passing individual judgment because of circumstances and conditions, but the stupendous moral fact remains. And since man exists exclusively upon the products of labor, to deny him the right to labor is to deny him the right to existence altogether, without being a pirate and a thief. Have the retainers of the house of have and the votaries of things as they are reached the point where they really set up this denial? The most effective denial, of course, of the right to labor is in denying the common right to the use of land.

There are fearful pitfalls along the line of reasoning of the reactionary mind, but none of them so fearful as the conclusions that sort of mind reaches. Beginning at a point of abnormality, it circles 'round, amid things that are and reckons these inevitable, and finally comes back to its initial fact, which is seen from the other side of approach in all its hideousness, but is accepted as unavoidable, and men are told they have "no right to labor" to make it otherwise.

Incidentally, there are tremendous responsibilities resting upon those in editorial positions of wide influence, like the editor of the Saturday Evening Post, and sometime they will be called on for an accounting in their particular branch of stewardship.

ROBT. S. DOUBLEDAY.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

NEW ZEALAND POLITICS.

Auckland, 1st Feby., 1915.

The whole election in December throughout New Zealand was very complicated and the result indecisive. Even yet it is uncertain whether we shall have a change of government or no. Some disputed elections have still to be settled, and whatever the result of these may be will leave the position for or against the government even or with a majority of about two on either side. My own contest was specially complicated. One candidate for the government (Conservative), one candidate for the extreme I. W. W. section of the Labor party, and myself. I had my usual handicap of opposition from the land monopolists, the liquor monopolists and the tariff monopolists. I had the opposition of the Orangemen because I was giving support to Sir Joseph Ward, who is a Catholic. I had the Catholic opposition because I opposed giving government grants to their private schools, and then I had a new

element of opposition from a considerable section of the Protestant churches because I was opposed to their program of religious instruction being introduced into our national school system. The result was that all three of the candidates finished within 80 of the top and bottom, the Labor man winning by 74 votes. A little better organization would have made the difference, but neither my committee nor myself could seriously complain. I worked hard and made more and, I think, better speeches than I had ever done before, and my committee also worked enthusiastically. It was disappointing, especially as the time was ripe for just the kind of influence and help which I could have given.

However, I have the satisfaction of seeing my program of proportional representation and increased land value taxation embodied in the official program of the Liberal party, and in the program of both sections of the Labor party. I think it is probable the Liberal party may come into office with a small majority, including the Labor members (six), and if so proportional representation is sure to pass.

GEORGE FOWLDS.



THE CANADIAN SITUATION.

Ceylon, Sask., Mar. 1, 1915.

When two moving bodies meet in mid-career the unavoidable result is a clash; also, if the mass of these bodies is increasing and their speed accelerating the longer the meeting is delayed the greater the collision when it occurs. Such would seem to me to be the present state of affairs in Canada. Edward Porritt, the most exhaustive writer on Canadian tariff history, declares it his opinion that the principle of protection is more firmly entrenched in Canada than in any other English-speaking country. The rise of protective duties here has halted for several years, but the country's necessity now is the manufacturers' opportunity, and Minister White's budget proposes an increase of seven per cent in the general tariff, of five per cent against Great Britain, and, with a few exceptions, the wiping out of the free list.

Now the train is again on the track and the throttle open. There is no station in sight, but away on the horizon is another train coming to meet it.

Six years ago the forces of free trade in Canada were as scattered and inert as the clods of a fallow and frozen field. The Conservative party was committed as strongly as ever to protection, and in the Liberal party the free traders had been coaxed or bullied into silence. Then came the American offer of reciprocity and Laurier's tour of the west, and the valley of dry bones was quickly peopled with fighting free traders. The country was no more ready then, nor is it now, for their ideals than was the United States ready for Bryanism in 1896. But this other train is now on the track and it is headed for Ottawa. And it is bound to meet the first on the way.

The Grain Growers' Association is almost the only popular vehicle in western Canada for the advancement of democratic ideals, and its progress may be taken as roughly indicating the trend of independent political and economic thought. The G. G. A. is not and never has been a club for the discussion

and propagation of radical ideas. From its beginning it has labored consistently to develop agencies for the more economical handling of products that the farmer must buy or sell, and for legislation having the same end in view. Such progressive or radical ideas as have gained currency have been merely incidental to this other purpose.

The G. G. A. is the parent of one great commission firm and two elevator companies operated on the co-operative principle that together handle one-fourth of the grain marketed in western Canada, and now the Saskatchewan branch has undertaken to handle through its central office a large line of staple products which it supplies its locals at wholesale prices. The Grain Company handles the entire output of one flour mill, has purchased a timber limit in British Columbia, leased a terminal elevator at the head of the lakes, and proposes to lease another at Liverpool. The Elevator Company is said to own the largest number of local elevators of any company in existence, and a co-operative bank and the manufacture of farm machinery are under serious consideration.

There is a striking difference in the methods of the organized farmers here and those of the Farmers' Alliance in the States 25 years ago. There, not much was undertaken in the way of co-operation, but every local had its library and at its regular weekly meetings questions of economics and public policy were discussed. Each State had its official paper and its official lecturer, and many counties likewise. Public gatherings, both in-door and out-door, were frequent, and at these, vast throngs were addressed by speakers whom this process of education developed in astonishing numbers.

The high intelligence, practical sense and devotion of its leaders have given the G. G. A. a stability and commanded a respect unusual among farmers' organizations, but it has never gained anything like general support among the western farmers. Today, after 14 years' existence, it numbers scarcely one-fifth of the farmers of Saskatchewan among its members. For several years I noted very plain indications of a flagging of interest that did not always show in falling numbers, but during the past year there has been a notable increase in both numbers and interest. This undoubtedly is very largely due to the establishment of the co-operative buying and selling agency. It has appealed directly to a long-standing feeling of injustice toward the local dealers, whether well or ill founded, and has met with a tremendous response. The business has been very efficiently handled, and the results have brought visions of the Grain Growers' Association as a really popular organization.

While the G. G. A. has never undertaken any sort of social or political propaganda it has been fertile soil for the growth of progressive and radical ideas. But until it can make a more popular appeal its political efforts must be largely blocked by the inert mass of the unregenerate four-fifths. A case in point is the defeat of Direct Legislation. The G. G. A. at its annual conventions had endorsed it for several years, but the great body of its own members did not know what it was, let alone having any enthusiasm for its success. Contrast this with the case of South Dakota, where Direct Legislation was taken up by the Farmers' Alliance in a purely aca-

democratic way, merely as a promising idea and without a precedent in America; and in a few years after the Alliance itself was practically dead the Initiative and Referendum was written into the organic law of the State.

The G. A. A. is strong nearly everywhere where the Alliance was weak, but unfortunately it is notably weak at one point where the Alliance was a tower of strength. The Alliance locals met in country school houses and discussed big questions with absorbing interest. I have known German and Norwegian farmers who learned to read English for the sake of the literature that claimed their attention. At few of the G. G. A. locals I have attended was there anything but routine business transacted. On the other hand, the co-operative activities of the Grain Growers have been wonderfully developing to those who have participated. Co-operation is more than a scheme of business economy; it is an intensive cultivation of manhood. And co-operation succeeds only where broad intelligence and altruism are developed.

The fame of western Canada for leading the van in Singletax legislation is, so far as Saskatchewan is concerned, based mainly upon laws given us in a purely paternalistic way. Wherever its progress depends on the action of the people the Singletax halts and shows few signs of advancing. Rural municipalities have the full Singletax and there is no desire anywhere for a change. Villages may by a two-thirds vote adopt the Singletax. Out of over 250 about 30 have done so, but the remainder are making no move. Cities and towns may glide into the Singletax by a 25 per cent reduction in the general property tax each year. Several have started to do so, and then stopped. Perhaps the main reason for this is that the real estate interests are strong in every town, and at present all are heavily loaded and no buyers coming. A heavy land tax would cause a general unloading and a tumble in prices.

The public mind here for the most part is singularly free from prejudice against progressive ideas. Political campaign speakers have defended the whole catalogue from free trade to woman suffrage without fear of arousing hostility. The home market idea has for several years been pushed in an insinuating way in the "patent insides" of local papers, and just now an active campaign is being conducted against the Saskatchewan surtax on uncultivated non-resident land.

The defenders of protection are well organized and financed, and entrenched in Canadian law and custom. Opposed to them are a few devoted crusaders and a large number of casual free traders and low tariff men. I speak of protection as typical of the whole system of governmental privilege and of free trade as typical of the aspirations of democracy. The strategy of battle will be to capture and enlist the great indifferent four-fifths. In this the protectionists will have a great advantage with their pamphletiers and orators and their daily and weekly press. The Conservative party is securely protectionist, but the Liberal party is not by any means secure for free trade. The logical, safe, ready-at-hand agency in the west to win this fight for democracy is the Grain Growers' Association. But to accomplish this it must take up a line of work it

has never undertaken seriously before. Its business enterprises, great though they be, are not enough. It must imitate the methods of the old Farmers' Alliance. It must not stop at passing resolutions in annual convention. Its own salvation is not secure as long as this great potential force may be turned against it.

And the issue of this contest, when it comes, rests not with fate but with ourselves.

GEO. W. ATKINSON.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE OF BUSINESS STAGNATION.

Little Rock, Ark., Feb. 27.

That every increase in economy and facility of wealth production, per man, per machine or per dollar of capital invested, should prove of almost universal advantage to both capital and labor, is apparent. This, however, has not proven generally true. On the contrary, the net rewards of labor and of legitimately invested capital have come very far short of keeping pace with increasing efficiencies. It is significant that, with the present system of taxation, this condition becomes intensified in every land, as population becomes denser.

Both capitalists and laborers collectively create a public-produced fund of immense and constantly increasing value, in which, as such, neither participate. Their non-participation persistently operates to reduce wages, interest and net profits, and also results in restricting the natural opportunities for producing, and therefore penalizes wealth.

This great preventive of maximum production, and tax on the gross earnings of both capital and labor, is economic rent, the increment of wealth unearned by its recipient. It is the inevitable and natural fund from which, in justice to all, public expenditures should be derived. Private earnings, having already contributed to unearned increment, should therefore be relieved from further public burdens.

Due to the present uneconomic perversion of this fund, the vast majority of wage earners instinctively feel that, as the more economically wealth is produced under the general property tax the greater will be the percentage absorbed by non-producers, their interests are therefore not best served by such efficient methods as would enable capitalists to produce a given unit of wealth at the minimum of wage-cost. The workers vainly hope that by this means the number of jobs may equal the number of men, and thereby maintain maximum wages.

This uneconomic trend constitutes a tremendously powerful force persistently operating toward preventing the maximum net earnings of both capital and labor, thus decreasing the aggregate production of wealth. Manifestly, this necessitates only partially economic use of many billions of dollars of capital, of millions of men and millions of acres, that under more correct economic conditions could be most profitably employed in the maximum production of wealth in other channels.

The restricted production of wealth, due to the general property tax, together with the inequitable

distribution of wealth among the laborers and capitalists producing it, means poverty to many, unnecessarily low wages to all workers, greatly diminished earnings to capital, and very marked contraction in the possible volume and net profits of business.

So long as those who, by higher education, broader scope of vision and greater leisure are perhaps better qualified than the workers to correctly solve economic problems, are content with a restricted volume of business at the barest possible net margin of profit to themselves, and consequent unnecessarily low wages to their employes, are not they, even more than the workers, most responsible for the undesirable effects of unscientific management and the inefficiencies that low wages and small net margins both invite and produce?

As soon as we are ungrudgingly willing to justly equalize all taxable values, and then adopt an equitable system of taxation which will take as much as may be practicable of the so-called "unearned increment," thus enabling us to discontinue penalizing industry, business conditions will be all we can reasonably wish for, and all labor can be employed at good wages.

Adoption of a gradually increasing land-value tax, which untaxes enterprise, will bring the desired results. A most profitable lesson may be learned by analyzing the equitable municipal tax systems of Houston, Texas and Vancouver, B. C.

K. P. ALEXANDER.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, March 9, 1915.

Congressional News.

The Sixty-third Congress adjourned finally on March 4. A number of prominent measures failed of passage. Among these were the government ship bill, the Rural Credit bill, the Philippine Autonomy bill and several conservation measures. President Wilson signed the Seamen's bill on March 4 making it a law. [See current volume, page 232.]

The Senate confirmed on March 2 the appointment to the Trade Commission of Joseph Davies, Edward N. Hurley, W. J. Harris and W. H. Parry. No action was taken on the fifth appointee, George Rublee and he remained unconformed at time of adjournment, but on March 6 the President gave him a recess appointment, thus making him until the Senate definitely rejects him, a full fledged member of the Commission. The President on March 4 nominated Colonel George W. Goethals of the Panama Canal Commission as a Major General; Surgeon General William C. Gorgas as Major General of the medical department, Colonel H. F.

Hodges and Lieutenant Colonel William L. Sibert to be Brigadier Generals and Commander H. H. Rousseau of the navy to be Rear Admiral. All were immediately confirmed. [See current volume, page 233.]

The House Committee which investigated the Colorado strike situation made its report on March 2. It condemned the Colorado militia's treatment of the strikers and their families and declared Adjutant General Chase to have been "overbearing to all who came in contact with him." The report further denounces John D. Rockefeller Jr. and other operators for their refusal to arbitrate. On this refusal it places responsibility for the loss of life. The need of legislation to prevent future troubles of the kind was urged. No violation of the Anti-Trust law by operators was found. Three members of the committee signed the report. They were Foster, Evans and Sutherland. Two minority reports were filed; one by Representative Byrnes declaring that the majority of the committee exceeded their authority, the other by Representative Austin, urging that the matter be referred to the Department of Justice. [See current volume, page 234.]

The House Judiciary Committee decided on March 3 to drop impeachment proceedings against Judge Alston G. Dayton, although it found that his conduct in labor cases was "generally that of one who had prejudged cases before him" and had in some cases been reprehensible. [See current volume, page 232.]

Important Inventions.

Two important discoveries were announced on February 28 by Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane. They are two inventions by Dr. Walter F. Rittman, chemical engineer of the Bureau of Mines. One will enable oil refiners to increase their output of gasoline by 200 per cent. The other makes possible the production from crude petroleum of toluol and benzol, bases for dyes and high explosives, which have hitherto been produced in Germany alone. Doctor Rittman has applied for patents but has announced that he will dedicate them to the American people and thus prevent any monopoly in their use. This will destroy a great advantage now held by the Standard Oil company over independent refiners. The Standard has a patent process obtaining three times the amount of gasoline from a given quantity of petroleum than independents can obtain.

Railroad Troubles.

The hearing of 48 western railroads applying for permission to increase rates began before Inter-

state Commerce Commissioner Winthrop M. Daniels at Chicago on March 3. The railroads declare that they are not earning a fair return on two-thirds of their valuation. They attribute this to government regulation, high taxes, increased cost of labor and materials and high cost of money. Festus J. Wade of St. Louis declared hard times to be due to "The tirade against the railroads by State Commissions." He denied in answer to questions that the roads are over capitalized. Clifford Thorne, Iowa State Railroad Commissioner, opposed the increase and pointed out that the railroads were only citing the weaker roads as arguments and that their assertions did not apply to the strong systems. [See vol. xvii., p. 1229; current volume, page 130.]

In the hearing on March 5 at Chicago by the Federal Board of Arbitration of the wage increase demand by the engineers and firemen of 98 western roads, testimony was given concerning the capitalization of the roads. W. Jett Lauck, statistical expert of the Brotherhood read into the record testimony given before the Interstate Commerce Commission on the history of the Rock Island. Of the \$50,000,000 of capital stock in that road, Mr. Lauck said, investigation showed \$46,000,000 to be water, and this vitiates the poverty plea urged by the roads for refusal to grant a wage increase.

Death of Edward Twitchell.

At Wollaston, Massachusetts, on February 28, died Edward Twitchell at the age of 81. Mr. Twitchell was well known for many years as a singletax propagandist. For some time he was Secretary and Treasurer of the Massachusetts Singletax League. He is survived by his wife, Eliza Stowe Twitchell, who is the author of several singletax pamphlets and has done considerable writing and speaking on the subject.

Tax Reform News.

The Houston plan of taxation was declared illegal by Judge Read of the Texas State District Court at Houston on March 2. As a result the plan must be abandoned for the time at least, and Tax Commissioner Pastoriza will be compelled to assess at 100 per cent valuation all personal property, improvements and land values. [See current volume, page 234.]

The Chicago Singletax Club sent on March 8 to Governor Dunne of Illinois a letter requesting him to urge the legislature to pass a bill so amending the laws regarding collection of personal property taxes as to make such collection impossible.

The club shows that this can be done without amending the constitution and will have practically the same effect. The method suggested is abolition of the oath required when a schedule is filed and of the penalty for false statements. A further provision is that suit for non-payment be against the property and not against the owner.

A bill for taxation of church property above \$100,000 in value has been introduced in the New York legislature by Assemblyman Sullivan and by Senator Spring.

A change from taxation of personal property to taxation of business men according to the rent they pay is being considered in the city council of Calgary, Alberta. The only exceptions proposed are businesses paying special licenses.

Embarrassing Position of Wisconsin Supreme Court.

A decision rendered in the latter part of February by the Wisconsin Supreme Court held invalid for technical reasons two constitutional amendments which have been in force for many years. One related to conservation of the state forests and the other provided that foreign born voters must have taken out full citizenship papers. Later investigations showed that the same reasoning would invalidate the law by which two of the judges hold their seats on the bench and about twenty constitutional amendments adopted during the past fifteen years, among others one increasing the salaries of the judges. The Court announced on February 27 that it would review its decision on the forestry and citizenship matters.

Judge Lindsey and the Beast.

The following statement has been made by Judge Ben Lindsey concerning the effort made by his enemies to get rid of him by means of a bill pending before the legislature of Colorado:

Just a word to let you know that if the legislature succeeds in its scheme to abolish the Juvenile Court by transferring the work to another court, it is well known here in Denver and practically admitted everywhere that it is a plan to discipline me for the part I have taken in public affairs, especially against the corrupt interests that have robbed and so long exploited Denver. The Denver Post has been making a splendid fight against the effort of the coal operators and allied political influences to discredit me and legislate me out of the position to which I was elected two years ago by thirty-five thousand majority out of sixty-five thousand votes cast. The bill passed the House of Representatives on second reading yesterday. There is a chance that it may not pass the Senate and that Governor Carlson will veto it if it does.

[See current volume, page 206.]

The Fight for Free Speech.

Police Commissioner Woods of New York City in his instructions to the police in the March bulletin explains that they may only interfere with street meetings when they interfere with traffic or are provocative of immediate violence. In explaining the latter provision he says that they cannot construe as provocative of disorder criticism, no matter how vehement, of the existing order of things or any recommendation, however enthusiastically made of a change alleged to improve things.



Pennsylvania State Representative James H. Maurer and Charles Ervin, State Committeeman of the Socialist party, were discharged by Judge Gorman at Allentown on March 3 on appeal from a summary conviction by a magistrate, last August who had fined them \$50 each for conducting street meetings. Judge Gorman held that public meetings on the street is no nuisance, and that the less authorities interfere with them the better. The city is compelled to bear the costs of the case.

**Monopoly Rule in Porto Rico.**

An urgent request to Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations to investigate conditions on the island was sent on February 9 by the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico. In its appeal the Federation declares that the farm hands of the island are in a more unfortunate position and are more exploited than any other people on earth. During the past ten years the appeal says large corporations have been organized in Porto Rico "and these have fairly reduced the island to a large factory operated by slaves." At the head of these great corporations stands the Sugar Growers' Trust which has "got hold of nearly all the land available for cultivation in Porto Rico." The appeal states further: "Let the Honorable United States Congress know that under its flag is an unfortunate people producing the wealth and exploited of the same, and that these people are beaten down whenever they protest and that such a condition is not far from what was the case in Colorado, without any other act having been committed than that of claiming for ourselves the sacred right to life." Reports from various parts of the island tell of meetings broken up in a lawless manner by the police and of the arrest of labor leaders who are held incommunicado and without bail. Governor Yager has been appealed to, but declines to interfere. [See current volume, page 234.]

**Mexico.**

Interest continues to center about Mexico City, and the probable action of General Carranza in

restoring order and providing for destitute citizens. Scarcity of food is keenly felt among the poor. Disorder is increasing, and fear is entertained by foreign representatives at the capital that unless something is speedily done to relieve the stress there will be a general outbreak. General Obregon, who has been in charge of the Carranza forces in Mexico City, is reported to be indifferent to the situation, and even to threaten to withdraw his forces and give the city up to pillage. A committee of leading citizens and foreigners has raised a fund for the relief of the poor, but has been denied the privilege of bringing in food over the Vera Cruz railroad. A strong remonstrance has been made to General Carranza by the American Government, according to Washington dispatches. He is requested to restrain General Obregon from making threats that may incite disorder, and to leave a garrison for the protection of the city, in case he withdraws his army. It is also urged that the Vera Cruz road be opened to traffic for the relief of the city. [See current volume, page 238.]



Rumors from Washington persist in forecasting a change in the Administration's policy to the extent of insisting upon a better observance of order and justice by the military faction in charge of Mexico City. One battleship, the Delaware, is at Vera Cruz, but it is expected that five more will be there within a few days. Several smaller vessels are now on the way.



General Villa, whose headquarters are now at Leon, north of Guadalajara, has invited the foreign representatives in Mexico City to come to Guadalajara, or to any other city in his possession. He is manifesting no disposition to enter the federal capital at present. It is expected that General Zapata will take possession of the capital, if General Obregon evacuates the city.

**China and Japan.**

Further rights have been granted to Japan by China, as a result of conferences held at Peking. The ports of Dalny and Port Arthur, which have been held by Japan since the Russo-Japanese war, have been leased for a period of 99 years. Japan's rights in the Japanese system of railroads in Manchuria have been extended for a like period. China contended for the right to repurchase the South Manchurian railroad at the expiration of thirty-six years from the date of the original lease to Russia, but was obliged to yield this point. The Japanese demands regarding land ownership have been granted with great reluctance for the reason that such concessions carry rights of sovereignty as to Japanese interests; and China fears that Rus-

sia will demand similar grants. [See current volume, page 237.]



Portugal.

Domestic trouble, which has been brewing for some time in Portugal, is reported to have resulted in the setting up of a separate government, General Antonio Xavier Correia Barreto is said to have been proclaimed president of Northern Portugal by a Congress of democrats who have been in session at Lamego. The opposition of royalists, which made trouble after the establishment of the Republic, in 1910, appears to have given place to a radical, or democratic, movement that is bitterly opposed to the Lisbon government. The present action is probably due to the decision of the government on February 24, to postpone the general elections indefinitely, and to order a revision of the census. The latter act, it is claimed, would militate especially against the democrats. [See vol. xvii., p. 157.]



The European War.

Military operations in the East seem to indicate a continued recession of the German offensive, but no decisive actions have taken place. Trench fighting continues in Belgium and northern France, with few definite results. It is reported that these engagements, though often of great magnitude, are really contests between the advanced forces, and that real aggression on the part of the Allies will not take place until April, when the milder weather will permit of greater activities. [See current volume, page 236.]



Interest centers in the continued attack of the Allies' fleet on the Dardanelles. The battleships keep up a steady pounding of the forts and batteries that line the shore, both from within the Dardanelles, and from the Gulf of Saros. The British superdreadnaught, Queen Elizabeth, mounting eight 15 inch guns, is throwing shells twelve miles across the Gallipoli peninsula into the Turkish forts. The fleet has reached the narrow waters at Nagara, without the loss of a ship, and with almost no casualties. Smyrna also is undergoing a bombardment from the fleet.



Greater importance now attaches to the forcing of the Dardanelles because of its effect upon several neutral countries, whose decision to enter the war may be affected by the result of this move. Greece is so strongly in favor of taking sides with the Allies that when the king refused to accede to the wishes of his cabinet, the ministry resigned. The difficulty in forming a new cabinet may cause the king to yield. Italy grows more restless daily, and it is thought she will take the side of the

Allies when the spring campaign opens. She is said to be completely prepared for war. Roumania still hovers on the brink, with almost a certainty of entering the war within a very short time. Bulgaria, which has hitherto been an uncertain element, disposed at first to side with Germany, is likely to take the part of the Allies if they capture Constantinople.



The question of food grows in importance. A statement issued in behalf of Serbia says one-third of the people of that country are at the point of starvation, and calls upon the people of the United States to extend them aid as they have Belgium. Three wars within three years, with all available fighting men now under arms, have left only the women and children to till the fields. Poland has been swept bare by the contending armies, and American societies have undertaken to aid the starving people. Spain, owing to the war's interruption of business, has experienced bread riots among the poor, and the government is taking steps to relieve conditions. Germany is exercising every care to conserve her food supply. Grain is no longer to be fed to animals, and the number of hogs and cows is to be reduced to meet the supply of fodder.



Germany's answer to the protest of the United States against the war zone method of warfare adopted by Germany and Great Britain, was made public on the 4th. The note expresses appreciation of the objections raised by this country, and makes some modifications in its original declaration, and expresses the hope that some means may be found to confine the activities of belligerents to legitimate warfare. If Great Britain will permit the importation of foodstuffs into Germany, and the raw materials mentioned in the free list of the Declaration of London, and refrains from using neutral flags, and arming merchantmen, Germany will stipulate not to use floating mines, and will not sink merchantmen by submarines, except to enforce the right of search. Great Britain has made no formal answer to the United States. The American protest was submitted by Great Britain to her Allies. The British Embassy at Washington has made public the treatment the Allies will extend to shipments of cotton. Shipments direct to belligerent countries will not be permitted to pass. Shipments to neutral countries will be allowed to pass if contracted for before March 22, and sailing not later than March 31. This is taken as an indication of the rule that will be applied to all cargoes.



German submarines destroyed three British ships on March 9. Of the 1,513 ships arriving at

and 1,342 leaving Great Britain between February 18, the date the blockade went into effect, and March 2, only seven were torpedoed by submarines. The admiralty has announced a different policy of treatment for captured submarine crews from that accorded regular prisoners of war. Because of their policy of sinking unarmed ships carrying noncombatants these men are to be tried for murder. The crew of the German submarine U-8, which was captured in the Straits of Dover, when their vessel was sunk, will not be allowed to mingle with other prisoners, or accorded the honors of war. At the conclusion of hostilities, when evidence as to their specific acts can be had, they will be placed on trial.

NEWS NOTES

—May 10 has been selected by President Wilson as the date for holding in Washington a Pan-American financial conference.

—Federal Judge William H. Seaman of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, died at Coronado Beach, California, on March 8.

—A convention of advocates of teachers' and mothers' pensions will be held in San Francisco at the exposition on July 20, 21 and 22.

—The Indiana Legislature on March 6 sent to the Governor for his signature a bill placing a prohibitive license tax on the trading stamp business.

—The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations will begin at Dallas, Texas, on March 15, a probe into the land question. [See current volume, page 155.]

—The Supreme Court of the United States on March 4 suspended, temporarily, the operation of the state law of New York against employment of aliens on public works.

—A state-wide prohibition amendment will be voted on in South Dakota in 1916. The legislature adopted the resolutions providing for it on March 3. [See current volume, page 238.]

—An explosion in the Layland coal mines at Hinton, West Virginia, on March 2 resulted in the death of at least 96 miners and possibly of 116. Forty-seven men were rescued after the explosion.

—Patrick L. Quinlan, convicted of inciting to riot during the Paterson, New Jersey, strike of two years ago, began on March 4 to serve his sentence at the Trenton penitentiary of from two to seven years. [See current volume, page 236.]

—On March 11, at Berkely Theater, New York, was celebrated the tenth anniversary of the founding of Mother Earth, published by Emma Goldman at 20 East 125th street, New York, and edited by Alexander Berkman. Addresses were delivered by Leonard D. Abbott, Bolton Hall and Emma Goldman.

—Fifteen hundred British vessels, American Consul Lathrop at Cardiff, Wales, reports, have been taken over by the British admiralty on time charters to supply Britain's armies in the field. These vessels represent a tonnage of 3,500,000, and the govern-

ment agrees to return them in as good condition as when received.

—Under date of February 18, Secretary of the Navy Daniels wrote to Fred R. Moore editor of the New York Age, in regard to treatment of Negroes enlisted in the navy. Mr. Daniels said that "They are treated in all respects the same as other persons in the navy, and that no distinction is made on account of color."

—Governor Clarke of Iowa on March 6 signed the woman suffrage amendment, which now goes to a popular vote. Woman suffrage was defeated in the Texas legislature on the same day. A bill was introduced in the Illinois legislature on March 4 by Senator Shaw repealing the woman suffrage act. The Minnesota senate defeated the woman suffrage amendment on the same day by 34 to 33. [See current volume, page 238.]

—A debate took place at the Germantown Y. M. C. A. in Philadelphia on February 23 between Bolton Hall and Professor W. B. Guthrie of the college of the city of New York, on the subject of Prosperity. Mr. Hall contended that application of Spencer's law of equal freedom would bring all the good results desired by Socialists, but that Socialism would be better than private exploitation through monopoly. Professor Guthrie argued that the Y. M. C. A. building and "our abundant prosperity" were the fruits of avoiding Socialism. He refused to admit that the tariff was Socialistic and offered to debate that question with Mr. Hall later.

—An alleged attempt to blow up St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City, on March 2 was frustrated by the presence at the time in the cathedral of detectives disguised as women. A young man named Frank Abarno, said to be mentally weak, placed the bomb in the aisle in the presence of many worshipers and was immediately arrested by the disguised detectives. Another young man named Charles Carbonne was arrested as an accomplice. A story was told by the disguised detectives of having discovered an anarchist plot to kill all the millionaires in New York City and create a reign of terror. The attorney for the young men claims that the placing of the bomb was a police frame-up.

—The report of D. M. Barclay, agent of the Department of Commerce who investigated manufacturing plants in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, was made public on March 7. In December the Montgomery County Manufacturers' Association complained to President Wilson that the new tariff had a depressing effect on industry. Mr. Barclay was sent to inspect. He found that there were 4,629 employed as compared with 5,329 a year ago, but more than the average amount of money had been spent in improvements, the banks of the community were in good condition and a substantial increase in land values was reported. In half of the establishments visited the management admitted that the tariff could not affect them. These included textile factories, lumber mills and iron and steel works. [See current volume, page 233.]



"All ambitions are lawful except those which climb upward on the miseries or the credulities of mankind."—Joseph Conrad.

PRESS OPINIONS

Predicament of a Democrat.

T. P. O'Connor, Chicago Tribune, March 7.—The reminders of war are all around us. Many members appear in khaki, and the other day a new member for the first time in history took his seat in navy blue uniform. Some of the khaki clad warriors bring out the contradictions which have arisen from this mighty upheaval. Josiah Wedgewood, who stood out in the House as a crank of cranks and as a follower of Henry George, Joseph Fels, and Tom Johnson in a belief in the singletax as a panacea for all human ills, and who made the last and fiercest speech against war before the war began, is now in charge of the armored motors and participated in the siege of Antwerp. Now, rather to his horror, for he is a Republican, he keeps watch of the residence of the king. One day this week he was refused admission to the House because he carried a revolver in his belt, the wearing of arms being prohibited in the House.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE PRAYERS OF KINGS.

For The Public.

From reeling thrones, beneath uneasy crowns,
Go forth the princes of a groaning world.
Feigning to lead their legions widely hurled,
Far off they cringe, and o'er the harried downs
Review the awful carnage. Shrapnel drowns
The song of bird, the low of kine, while curled
In reptile folds across the faintly pearly
Dawn sky, the smoke of battle lowers and frowns.

Now pale confusion turns her face aghast.
She shrinks not at the sight of staggering pain,
Nor cares that earth is mire with bloody rain;
But this were blasphemy to hold her fast
In joyless mirth: Upon the stenchful airs,
The kings intone their diabolic prayers!

—RICHARD WARNER BORST.



SNOBBERY'S VICTIM.

Washington Star.

Way uptown there is a neglected triangle, gay with blossomy weeds. In the weeds there are rusty green grasshoppers that could make the Olympic score for high jumps look foolish, and fluttering above are autumn butterflies—black, with blue spots, when they aren't yellow. Also, there are hustling black ants, and—if you come at a lucky time—bass-solo bees in orange-striped coats, and ladybugs dressed in speckled red gowns, with wings of black chiffon.

It is such a way-off, weedy place, that a woman

with a magnifying glass had waded across the triangle waist-high in wild asters and those blossomy things that look like plates of white lace before she came to the brother-being who lay stretched on the jungle's outer edge.

He was such a small, black and bare-legged brother being that the inference was he had got tired of play and fallen asleep in the grass. But he wasn't asleep. He was watching a worm. He was so busy watching a worm as not to notice that the woman was watching him. It was one of those worms that wear overcoats of seal brown plush, and it wriggled with the slow importance of that other worm—the human one—who boasted that time was made for slaves. But the boy's eyes didn't miss a wriggle until the woman interrupted to lend him her glass and to ask what was going on. And this is about how the brother being answered:

"I wanter see if this here fever worm's going' to hatch out wings an' turn into a butterfly. That's the way they do at the movies. I seen 'em. First time he's a grub—it ain't the kinder grub you eats, lady. It's a other kind. Then he gets in a coon—I don't mean the kinder coon you means. I means the yuther kind that grows onto trees. I benner lookin' out for 'em, an' they's a lot on them willers down in P'tomac Park; I could show 'em to you ef you wanter—"

The woman displayed a proper knowledge as to cocoons, and the boy proceeded:

"The gentman my mother washes for knows about worms turnin' into butterflies; he's goin' to get a book an' show me when I take the basket back Friday night. Lady, did you know the water was full of bugs and worms an' them germ things, if it ain't fresh? I seen 'em at the movies—big ones, with claws, same as crabs. Don't you drink no water, lady, unless you foun' it's fresh. I don't b'lieve this ole worm knows how to hatch. I ain't seen nair signer wings."

The woman ventured a decision on the subject and the brother being reluctantly gave up his vigil. But his information flowed right along. He had seen a snake shed its skin, at the movies. And bees make honeycomb at the movies. And so many other wonders from the same thrilling source, that the woman remarked that he must be seeing every nature film that came to town:

"Nome, I don't. I wisht I could. But they won't let me in at the white movie. Gee, I could see a whole heap if they would lemme in at the white movies. One of 'em had about what de ants do. Why, lady, ants buils real houses and makes roads to travel on, an' everything—but they wouldn't lemme in because I warn't white. An' it mout not come to the colored movies—"

"Oh, well, of course, this sheep and goat division of ours is all right, from the viewpoint we call social. Of course, it is all right, but—"

When you are standing waist high in wild asters and lace plates, and look down at the soul of a naturalist shinning in a child's eyes, you can't help wondering if—if—the Jim Crow law rules in heaven.



WHY CAPITAL GETS MUCH AND LABOR LITTLE.

An Address by C. J. Buell Before the Minnesota Academy of Social Sciences, Dec. 2, 1913.

In his paper Mr. Thompson asks why it is that, in the division of the product, "Capital" gets so much and "Labor" gets so little.

I think that question has been pretty completely answered by a number of very able writers during the past hundred years. Before the middle of the last century, Patrick Edward Dove, in his remarkable work "The Theory of Human Progression," answers the question with considerable clearness. Long before this, Adam Smith and the French Physiocrats had discussed the subject somewhat, but had come far short of solving it. In 1879 Henry George, in "Progress and Poverty," handled the question so ably, and yet so simply, that thousands of people believed that he answered it completely. A few years later, Behrens and Singer in their wonderfully simple little allegory, "The Story of My Dictatorship," made George's answer plainer still, if possible, and in addition, undertook to show that even Interest would entirely disappear and Capital, so called, get nothing at all, if only all law-created privileges were abolished and the rental value of land were taken and used for public needs in place of all existing taxes. It is, of course, known to all of you that this is the remedy proposed by Dove and George. Later Behrens, in his more complete work, "Toward the Light," goes over the whole subject again far more thoroly, and brings out more forcibly still the same conclusion he reached in the allegory. But about the most thoro and convincing work I know of is "The Science of Social Service" by Louis F. Post. In this work Mr. Post examines the whole field of Land, Labor, Capital, and Co-operation, and makes the subject so clear that a child could understand it.

And so it comes about that all these great thinkers have brought us to the same goal, and by a path so plain and easily trod that no one need fail to see it.

Here are a few of the truths laid down by these writers:

I. The forces and resources of Nature are a free gift to all men equally.

II. Nature yields her products to Labor, and to Labor only, and in proportion to the intelligence that directs the effort.

III. All the "Capital" in the world, that is, all that can logically and properly be called "Capi-

tal," has been produced by labor, and it is only by labor that it is kept in a condition of repair and efficiency.

IV. But labor must have a chance to use the forces and materials of Nature or it can produce nothing.

V. When the forces and materials of Nature are monopolized by the few and held away from Labor, then Labor is handicapped just in proportion to the price it must pay for access to these natural forces and materials.

Here then is the kernel of the difficulty. Here is the real and only reason why the workers cannot freely and effectively co-operate to produce the things they need. Here is the reason why Labor—the creator of all the wealth of the world—is a beggar in the land of its birth. The forces and materials of Nature are monopolized and withheld from it.

And these same authors are equally agreed as to the remedy that must be applied.

There are certain simple and fundamental things that the people as a whole must do—that Society must do—if men and women are to be free, and have a fair and equal chance in the world.

I. This can only be done by socializing the value of Nature's resources, thus making every form of taxation wholly unnecessary and relieving industry and its products of the excessive burdens that now crush and destroy.

II. It is also the duty of Society to make and maintain all the needed public ways for the transportation of persons and property and the transmission of intelligence. This includes all railways, canals, pipe lines, telegraph and telephone systems, and everything that goes to make a modern city street, with all its sewers, water pipes, gas mains, electric wires, pavement, sidewalks, curb and gutter, boulevarding, etc.—in short, everything that would require a grant of franchise to put it into private hands.

It is especially worthy of notice that all these things connected with the making and upkeep of all public ways are necessarily public functions, and never can be got into private or corporate hands except thru a public grant.

If Society will faithfully perform these two public functions it can safely leave the production and exchange of wealth in the hands of private individuals and voluntary associations, untrammelled by statutes of any kind, subject only to the common principles of equity.

Then men will associate themselves together in freedom for the conduct of all such kinds of work as are too great for individual undertaking. They will be able to produce all the "Capital" they need, and will manage their affairs without the ridiculous interferences and obstructions of statute law.

And until these things are first done, all the

paternalistic and patchwork legislation of all the congresses, legislatures and parliaments in the world will only serve to make bad matters worse.



MILITARISM IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

By Henry Slade Goff.

"Every boy in the United States more than 13 years old should be trained as a soldier. . . . I would out-German the Germans by instituting compulsory military education in all the schools."—A General of high rank in the United States Army.

Was it for this that the prophets taught
And the Christ was crucified,
And was it for this that the fathers fought
And the Union soldiers died,
That the youth of our land in their young fresh life
Must be all trained for war and its bloody strife?

Was it for this that the world has sought
For peace in its every clime,
And was it for this that the nations have wrought
Advancement through ages of time,
That our nation of all must this progress reverse
And the earth be turned backward toward war's red
curse?

It is patriotism, the advocates cry,
To be done for the good of the State.
It is barbarism, is my reply,
And it hazards a nation's fate.
For the patriot forces of any land
Are not those trained to obey command.
Without a reason why?
But to think for themselves on which side to stand,
And to take their strong life in their eager hand,
All ready to do or to die,
When the right is assailed, or when justice in need
Is asking release from the toils of greed.

Were the patriot sires that of old unfurled
The Stars and Stripes to the air,
And fought the dread Lion of the world
Till he crept to his distant lair—
Were those stern patriots trained in their schools
For the battle's surge and in war's red rules?

Were the men of the Union who marched to the
front,
When the Flag went down at the South,
Swift forming for war and the battle's brunt
And the charge at the cannon's mouth—
Were these men taught in their school-boy days
Of the arts of war and the soldier's ways?

They were taught of fairness, and truth, and right,
As they stood at their mothers' knees;
Of the voice of conscience, and duty's might,
And the justice of God's decrees.
They were taught of Freedom, and its behests,
As they sat at their teachers' feet:
Of Loyalty, and its requests,
And the doom that a wrong must meet—
But not one syllable, line or word
Of the soldier's step or the use of the sword.

Yet these were the men who sprang into line
In multitudes in a cause divine;
Who leaped to the call of their country to arms,
And laughed at dire danger and war's alarms;
Who wheeled into line by division and corps,
And straight into battle the old Flag bore;
Who cared naught for dying and nothing for pain,
So the old Flag might float o'er its ramparts again—
These, these were the men who sprang into the
strife,
And fought to the death for the Nation's life,
And who ne'er lost their faith nor from battle re-
frained
Till their cause was triumphant and righteousness
reigned.

It is righteousness maketh a nation great,
And a firmness in its cause;
Not serried ranks, or tactics of hate,
Or military laws.
Let us not turn the thoughts of the Nation at large
To the swift leaping sword and the bayonet charge.
Let the earth and the nations of earth still look
Toward the plow's peaceful share and the pruning
hook.

BOOKS

EUROPEAN WAR BOOKS.

- The New Map of Europe. 1911-1914.** By Herbert Adams Gibbons. Published by The Century Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$2.00 net.
- The Audacious War.** By Clarence W. Barron. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.
- The War Week by Week.** By Edward S. Martin. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.00 net.
- Bulldozer and Blunderer.** By George Saunders. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.00 net.

America considers herself the naturally appointed arbitrator of this war and Europe seems to agree with her—at least humors her in this notion. The capable and successful peacemaker finds out as promptly as possible what each combatant *says* he is fighting about, then investigates for himself, independently and as thoroughly as possible, into what all the real causes of dispute may be, and, finally, in accord with this knowledge and his own sense of justice, offers to all parties a basis of permanent settlement. Americans have been diligently examining, and somewhat loudly affirming, their own ideals and feelings for justice, ever since the European war began. They have been eagerly listening, also, to what each belligerent nation had to say for itself and against others. But not so many in the United States appear to be patiently searching history and humanity for the *real* causes of the conflict.



Just the book Americans desperately need in

this suddenly imposed task of research has been written by Professor Herbert Adams Gibbons, an American who has taught for years in Roberts College, Constantinople, with all the travel and cosmopolitanism that such positions entail. He tells, intelligibly to our ignorance and impartially as may be, "the story of the recent European diplomatic crises and wars," and relates them to the present vast conflict. Morocco, Mesopotamia, and Persia, Poland, Constantinople, Crete and the Balkans, each has its chapter in what becomes a most fascinating narrative of diplomatic adventure and national mishap.

Americans need a "Weltanschauung," and whether this author's world viewpoint be wholly unprejudiced and untrammelled by European convention does not so much matter as the fact that he leads his American reader to see the world of nations as a whole, interacting and counteracting, never anyone isolated. His reader must discover that the man who has not these months been studying the map of western Asia, who does not know the route and the reason of the Bagdad railway, nor trace any connection between the humiliation of Persia and the battle lines in France, is making no very intelligent endeavor to read the European riddle. He sees that to learn the sufferings of the island of Crete under Turkish rule and its vain appeals to the Powers, faintly to appreciate the genius of the Cretans' great leader, Eleutherios Venizelos, who, to free Crete, crossed to Greece, rose to be that country's Prime Minister, formed the Balkan Alliance and has this very week resigned because he and the King could not agree on a war policy—to hear such a story is to become a better member of the great world-citizenship and so to be more capable of measuring the forces for and against war.

The New Map of Europe is a first aid and a source of keen satisfaction to the conscientious American peace advocate in his inquiry into the true causes of this war—not into the general far underneath universal springs of human action, but what might be called the national or governmental causes. Of these, this big, brief, dramatic book is a masterly setting forth.



Clarence W. Barron's *The Audacious War* in its own journalistic way supplements for Americans Mr. Gibbons' scholarly book. The author, who is publisher and news-gatherer for several Eastern banking communities and is widely known as the editor-publisher of the *Wall Street Journal*, has recently returned from an investigating tour of the war zone and has written down for his special class of readers his first-hand observations. Much may not be true, but it is all very entertainingly told and the narrative extends down to the middle of last month. Mr. Barron is intelligent enough to realize and assert two facts that many Americans

both in writing and speaking about the war seem to overlook: First, that the seat of this European war is really in Western Asia; Second, that tariffs, always and everywhere war-makers, are in this war, too, inciting motives and immediate objects. To be sure, the free trader will be imbued with a suspicion that Mr. Barron thinks a protective tariff, however "selfish" as he calls it, really protects; and the humiliation of that same reader's failure to understand all figures in financial chapters will be lightened by doubts about the soundness of the author's views on "favorable balances" and the "gold basis."

On the armament question, however, no one could speak with greater plainness or truth:

For the United States to rush into the maelstrom of war, with organization of armies and the building of armaments, is to invite its own destruction. For just one hundred years the North American continent has held the practical example of the impotency of the war-spirit where there is no war machinery. . . . Is it too much to expect that it [this age] can bring the boon of an international civilization, abolishing national wars? Indeed, it is right at our doors if the United States would only welcome it and join it, instead of preparing to invite the old-world barbarism of national warfare by planning military defenses and naval fleets.



Many will recall Mr. Edward S. Martin's witty editorials in *Life* last autumn which are now published in book form under the title, "The War from Week to Week." Here are the reactions of an American to the early weeks of war-news—an American representing a very large number of his fellow-citizens of democratic ideals and average moral principle who tried hard to be fair, who came to sympathize strongly with the Allies and were happy to have their feelings so exactly analyzed and so brilliantly supported in argument.

But where Mr. Barron is right about armament Mr. Martin appears to be wrong, at least he was last November. A little more armored protection for self and neighbor is one of the lessons he draws from the war.



Another journalist, this one an Englishman, Berlin correspondent of London papers during the twenty years before 1908 and since then Paris correspondent for the *London Times*, is the author of *Builder and Blunderer*, an interesting "study of Emperor William's character and foreign policy." The American reader, while discounting liberally for the obvious national and professional temper of Mr. Saunders, will pronounce the little book of true value in that analysis of German character upon which all the conscientious world is faithfully at work. The sketch of Germany's domestic history that naturally accompanies a char-

acter study of her Emperor, well supplements Mr. Gibbons' chapter on the "Weltpolitik" of Germany.



Very few books about the war so able and so attractive as the New Map of Europe have been published or are likely to be. That one it is important to read. But it is useful to read a great many others though they be mediocre and even poor. They all represent the point of view of at least one man who cared enough to possess an opinion and to risk its expression. And the problem under discussion is so big, so complicated, so universal, that all mankind—even all writers—must be given a hearing before it can be solved.

A. L. G.

PERIODICALS

The World-State.

The American Political Science Review (Quarterly, Baltimore, Md.), of February, besides printing a long and very able essay by Edward Raymond Turner of the University of Michigan on The Causes of the Great War, publishes John Bassett Moore's presidential address before the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association last December in Chicago. The subject was "Law and Organization," the text, the European war, and this was the eminent lawyer's suggestion:

Within the state we have an organization for the making, declaration and enforcement of law, whereas, as between nations, we are obliged to a great extent to rely upon their voluntary concurrence or co-operation. In other words, we lack in the international sphere that organization which gives to the administration of law within the state a certain security. This defect it is the business of nations to supply by forming among themselves an appropriate organization.

The essential features of such an organization would be somewhat as follows:

1. It would set law above violence: (1) By providing suitable and efficacious means and agencies for the enforcement of law; and (2) by making the use of force illegal, except (a) in support of a duly ascertained legal right, or (b) in self-defense.

The first effect of such an organization would be to give an additional sanction to the principle of the equality of independent states before the law. "No principle of general law," said Chief Justice Marshall, "is more universally acknowledged than the perfect equality of nations. Russia and Geneva have equal rights." "Power or weakness," said the great Swiss publicist, Vattel, "does not in this respect produce any difference." And, incidentally, in proportion as this principle was maintained, the monstrous supposition that power is the measure of right would tend to disappear, and the claims of predatory conquest would become less and less capable of realization.

2. It would provide a more efficient means than now exists for the making and declaration of law. . . .

Undoubtedly it would be going too far in the present state of things to propose a mere majority rule. But it is altogether desirable that a rule should be adopted whereby it may no longer be possible for a single state to stand in the way of international legislation. The adoption of such a rule could not be regarded as impairing in a proper sense the principle of the quality

of nations. Nations have responsibilities as well as rights.

3. It would provide more fully than has heretofore been done for the investigation and determination of disputes by means of tribunals, possessing advisory or judicial powers, as the case might be. . . .

Such I conceive to be the essentials of an organization which would place international law on substantially the same footing as municipal law, as regards its making, declaration and enforcement.

In the course of a comment on the century of peace between Great Britain and the United States, The London Nation of February 13 speaks as follows of our country as a world peace power:

In the great test issue, the substitution of arbitration for strife in the disputes of nations, America among the great Powers has definitely taken the lead, not merely in theory but in practice. . . . At The Hague, American representatives have taken the lead in proposals for strengthening the structure and enlarging the scope of arbitral courts, and a series of arbitration and conciliation treaties, initiated by the United States with various countries of the New and Old World, have carried the methods of pacific settlement further than they had ever been carried before. Amid the reverberations of this war, the treaty of last autumn between this country and the United States, submitting to inquiry and conciliation all disputes, without reserve, that were not capable of settlement by existing arrangements of arbitration, has passed almost unnoticed. . . . The best and most influential opinion in America is solidly in favor of energetic measures for pacific international relations. It represents not merely an "enthusiasm for humanity," but largely a desire to avoid for themselves the burdens, the risks, and the destruction of democracy which they hold to be involved in entering the world-policy as a great military and naval Power. There, too, is found a grow-

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ing, organized force of militarist interests and sentiments pressing on the United States the great temptation of pursuing a spirited foreign and imperial policy, backed by a strong army and two great navies. Will America resist this pressure? She stands at the parting of the ways. Come into the company of the nations she must. Her size, the rise of her foreign commerce, the new position in finance she will assume, the growth of her innumerable interests and activities in foreign lands, all impel her to this new role. But will she come in as the presiding force of an armed American Federation or as the participator and the chief initiator of a world-federation of nations, bound by mutual interests and the terrible memories of this war, to settle their differences by equitable methods of pacific adjustment?

A. L. G.



While visiting the Berlin zoological gardens, little Gretchen saw a great white bird standing on

one leg in a cage. She threw in a piece of candy; the bird gobbled it up eagerly, and thrust its head through the wire for more.

Presently Gretchen's mother came along. "O mother, see here! What kind of a bird is this?"

The mother pointed to the sign on the cage, which read, "The Stork."

"The stork!" cried the little girl, enthusiastically. "O mamma, do you know, he actually recognized me!"—Lustige Blatter.

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- Boise, Idaho, Idaho Single Tax League, F. B. Kinyon.
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- Buffalo, N. Y., Buffalo Single Tax Club, 155 Hughes Ave.
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- PHILADELPHIA, PA.**, Philadelphia Single Tax Society, W. L. Ross, Chairman, 410 Gaskill St.; H. J. Gibbons, Sec.-Treas., 1832 Land Title Bldg., meets second and fourth Thursday, 1508 Walnut St., 8 p. m. Literature can be had from Thos. Kavanagh, S. E. Cor. 10th and Walnut.
- Pittsburgh, Pa., Pittsburgh Single Tax Society, 6048 Jenkins Arcade, Pittsburgh.
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- St. Louis, Mo., Mo. Popular Govt. League, Sec., Vandeventer and Delmar Ave., St. Louis.
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- Spokane, Wash., Spokane Single Tax League, 7 Post St., Spokane.
- Stockton, Calif., San Joaquin Co. Single Tax Club, G. McM. Ross, Pres.
- Toronto, Ont., Ontario Single Tax Ass'n, 79 Adelaide St.
- WASHINGTON, D. C.**, Woman's Single Tax Club, Pres., Mrs. J. L. Lane, Riverdale, Md., Miss Alice L. George, Rm. 132 House Office Bldg., Washington, D. C. Meets first Monday night each month, October to June, at 209 East Capitol. Public meeting at Public Library second Monday night of each month.
- Wilmington, Del., Delaware Single Tax Society, F. I. duPont, Pres.

BOOKS

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PUBLIC MEETING

The Regular Monthly Meeting, Sunday Afternoon, March 14,
3 o'clock, Schiller Hall, 64 West Randolph Street

Speaker: LAURA DAINTY PELHAM

"The Passion Play of Ober-Ammergau"
illustrated with lantern slides

Nomination of delegates to Convention of National Women's Trade Union League of America to be held in New York City in June.

A committee from the Firemen's Association will present their case for the double platoon system.

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AGNES NESTOR, Pres.

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March 12—Rev. William E. Jones, "Human Values versus Larid Values."

Freeland G. Stecker, "The Single Tax."

March 19—Mrs. Raymond Robins, "The Cost of Present Day Industrial Conditions." Alfred T. Johnson, "The Single Tax."

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