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EDITORIAL

Prize for Literary Effort.

The prize offer on page 509 will undoubtedly be of interest to many readers and their attention is directed thereto.

Force Not an Argument.

"There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right." Here President Wilson stated a truth so obvious that it requires no argument to prove it. Furthermore, he might have added that a nation which considers it necessary to fight "in order to prove itself right," thereby admits that it is not so clearly in the right as it would have the world believe.

S. D.

War with Germany Unthinkable.

The general commendation that has greeted President Wilson's message to Germany shows the healthy state of mind of the American public. A stranger might have thought, from some of the criticisms of the administration during the past nine months, that this was not a nation at all, but merely a jumbled hodge-podge of races and nationalities. But when the President spoke in the name of the people in defense of the rights of Americans, contentious wrangling ceased, and the factions instantly became a nation.

The President's message was kindly, courteous, and firm. It manifested an appreciation of the difficulties under which Germany labors, but insisted upon the rights of American citizens to travel the high seas in accord with international law and custom, and the acknowledged treaty with Prussia. An evil is recognized, and a correction insisted upon; but all is done in such a rational spirit as to win the support of foreign-born, no less than native-born citizens. But as the people rally to the support of the country in the name of

the President, so should they conduct themselves in the spirit of the President. We have made certain demands upon Germany that may be refused. And the all-important question is, what will be the course of this country upon receiving a refusal. Two ways will be open to us. One, the course, time-honored down the ages, which has settled disputes and differences by means of tooth and claw in a contest to see which contestant could endure the most destruction of property and human life before yielding. The other course is that of reason, radiantly glowing with hope for the future. Were we situated as Russia or France, we might have the first course thrust upon us by an invasion. But, situated as we are at a distance too great for effective fighting, it would be the sheerest madness for us to consider for a moment such a course. Germany can no more do this country material harm by armed attack, than she could invade the planet Mars. Nothing more, therefore, is necessary than an appeal to reason. It may not find immediate response; but the response to reason will come far sooner than the response to force. We can withdraw our representatives from Germany, and treat her as a man would treat another who has refused reparation for an injury. If this be done in a proper spirit—and what else should we expect from Mr. Wilson and Mr. Bryan—it will be emulated by other neutral countries. It is conceivable that the civilized world will unite to bring moral pressure to bear upon one of its members who refuses to abide by the common agreement of mankind. Germany may resist armed attack indefinitely, but the quiet force of reason will disarm her soldiers. There must not under any circumstances be war with Germany, or with any other country. We face the dawn of reason.

S. C.

The Lusitania Protest.

In protesting against submarine attacks on defenseless women and children and other non-combatants, President Wilson does the German government the service of calling its attention to the extremely barbarous nature of such warfare. Whether the service will be appreciated or not depends entirely on the extent to which the Kaiser's government desires to be civilized and humane. The President has given it the opportunity to clear itself of the horrible charge of approving the Lusitania massacre. Should the imperial government wisely grasp the opportunity it will do much to raise it in the estimation of right-thinking people. Should it reject the chance it can not reasonably complain should it lose the

respect of the non-belligerent world. Of course there is no question of war on the part of the United States involved in the matter at all. There is not only such a thing as a man being too proud to fight, but being too wise or too civilized to do so. There is such a thing as having intelligence enough to know better ways of settling a disputed question than fighting.

S. D.

Arbitration.

Fear has been expressed by some Americans that Germany may propose in answer to President Wilson's protest that the responsibility for the sinking of the Lusitania be submitted to arbitration; and they seem to entertain doubts as to whether or not America could accept arbitration of such a case. Shame upon such timorous faith in righteousness! Any case that cannot stand submission to a disinterested tribunal is of itself weak. And it were better that ten just cases be adversely decided by a court of arbitration, than that one should be backed by force. Should a neutral court decide against us in the Lusitania case, it would demonstrate either that our cause was not as plain as we had thought, or that international morality is in a lower state than was supposed. In either event it would be an occasion not for fighting, but for education; education of ourselves, or of the world. If Germany wishes to arbitrate we should welcome it, for by that means we should have a concrete expression of international opinion, and we should have advanced the principle of arbitration.

S. C.

Two of a Kind.

On the same moral level with the torpedoing of the Lusitania were the acts of the British mobs that attacked inoffensive Germans in no way responsible for the outrage.

S. D.

Again the Militarist.

It was inevitable that the present strained relations between this country and Germany should have been seized upon by the militarists to stampede the country into adopting their policy. The Navy League of the United States, which includes among its membership along with J. Pierpont Morgan and Theodore Roosevelt, men who otherwise stand in high public estimation, has adopted a resolution urging President Wilson to call Congress in extra session to authorize a bond issue of \$500,000,000 for the purpose of providing the

country with adequate means of naval defense. The resolution states:

Our most pacific country should, because of its supreme love of peace, possess preponderant naval strength and adequate military strength. A large bond issue should be authorized at once. These bonds would be rapidly absorbed by the American people for such a purpose. Equipped with a mighty fleet, American life and American rights would be scrupulously respected by all belligerents. In such case there would be no thought of our entering the war.

And yet man is called a reasoning being! In the very midst of this world-war, when countries borne down to the last point of endurance by military establishments are now engaged in mutual destruction, men are found to seriously urge that this country should enter upon the same policy of mutual destruction. And from Washington comes the information that if a special session of Congress is called the general staff of the army and the general board of the navy will be ready with plans for an enormous enlargement of our military establishment. It is rumored that the general staff wants 500,000 men, perhaps 1,000,000. And the naval board will ask for dreadnaughts, battle cruisers, scout cruisers, torpedo boats and submarines.

This is the time when every American who does not see red should assert himself, and do his utmost to cry down these mad cowards who are brave only when they have a bigger gun in their hands than their opponents have. If Congress must vote five hundred million dollars, let it be for constructive purposes. Let it be for adding to the comforts of man, rather than for his destruction. Let it be for healing the wounds of war, rather than for making them deeper. With all due respect for the distinguished names on the roll of the Navy League it may be questioned if the issuance of \$500,000,000 worth of bonds at this time will answer the real needs of this country. The mistake should not be made, however, of supposing that Congress will see the obvious. It is for every friend of progress to speak up in no uncertain terms, in order that Congressmen may be made to realize that the people have not lost their reason.

s. c.

Heckling the Security League.

The National Security League, with headquarters at 25 Pine St., New York, the organization that is agitating for a bigger army and navy, received recently what must have been a rather

shocking answer to an appeal for aid it had sent to Mr. John W. Kitch, an attorney of South Bend, Indiana. Mr. Kitch's reply is in part as follows:

It may be, as you say, that we must maintain proper defenses until we get the world educated to this idea of disarmament. But is it a part of your plan to carry on this work of education? . . .

I have lived nearly one-half a century, and during that time, the only instance of our using the army and navy to fight a foreign nation was in 1898, and that controversy arose, if I am rightly informed, from the very fact that we had made war preparations and that one of our great engines of destruction was blown up by some one. . . .

I quote from your circular that "The railroads and manufacturing industries of the United States have a total capitalization of about 42 billions of dollars. Figuring our military expenditures as insurance, the added protection would cost us about one-twentieth of one per cent per annum". From statistics, I learn that this 42 billion dollars' worth of property which you propose to insure by better coast defenses, better navies and military establishments, is owned by a comparatively very small percentage of the people of this nation. I presume you intend to raise the insurance money in the old-fashioned way by taxing the food the millions of American citizens eat, by taxing the clothes they wear, the tools they work with and the things they have produced by toll, while you take practically nothing from the unearned increment of those who own the natural resources of the nation. . . .

It seems from your statement that the main thing that is wrong with our army and navy and coast defenses is that there has been mismanagement somewhere. This seems strange to me, for I find from your pamphlet that your idea is endorsed by several Secretaries of War and Secretaries of the Navy—men who have personally had the management of these affairs for a number of years past. Of course, Congress may be to blame. If so, what do you propose to do? You certainly do not expect to establish a national Initiative and Referendum so that the people may force Congress to do their bidding, for in looking over the names on your committees, I find most of them to belong to "safe, sane and conservative" bankers and lawyers and business men who are opposed to such crazy ideas. You don't expect to use the military to coerce Congress, do you? I apprehend that that would be a dangerous proceeding.

It may be that your organization is intended for lobbying purposes. At any rate, you say: "Detailed information covering any of the points mentioned herein will be supplied upon request." I am only a private citizen, but would like to secure the detailed information before deciding to join your league.

Detailed information in answer to Mr. Kitch's questions would undoubtedly be interesting. This applies particularly to his questions regarding disarmament, taxation and the Initiative and Referendum. Let us hope that the League will reply in

such a way as to leave no doubt concerning its position on these matters.

S. D.



Providing for War Widows.

The brightest thing yet contributed to the discussion of ways and means for caring for war widows was the observation of William L. Cheney, in his most interesting column in the Chicago Herald. Said he:

The wisest way of caring for widows, it appears, would be to let them remain wives. But the tortuous machinery of life is too involved for a course so simple. Hence, the women who will be made widows today, tomorrow, and next week, and on and on, until a stop is made in the endless slaughter, must be supported in the most effective way.

Thus is epitomized the spirit of charity: Provision for the victim after the misfortune, rather than prevention of the accident.

S. C.



Worse Than War.

How bad must an evil be to be worse than the present war? It must be worse than the killing, maiming, crippling or making into invalids of hundreds of thousands if not millions of the most efficient wealth producers. It must be something worse than conditions that subject peaceful inhabitants of an invaded country to the atrocities charged against all invading armies. It must be something worse than wholesale drowning of inoffensive women and children. It must involve, not only something worse than wholesale destruction of property but something worse than infliction of enormous burdens of debt on future generations. It must do more harm than stopping of all progress toward better conditions, and more injury than intensification of poverty and distress that exist in times of peace. It must create worse feelings than the most bitter and unreasoning international hatred. What evil is there that can do this? Unless it can be named, it is time to class as meaningless, though high sounding, the oft-repeated militarist phrase that "there are worse evils than war."

S. D.



Something for Which to Be Thankful.

It may be recalled that one of the contestants in the last Presidential election was Theodore Roosevelt. While he received but four million votes, as compared with Mr. Wilson's six million, the three and a half million Republican votes, added to his own, would have given him a majority. It would not have taken such a great shift-

ing of the popular vote to have given Mr. Roosevelt a majority in the Electoral College. Yet scarcely an event has occurred, from the inauguration of President Wilson to the present time, in which the thoughtful American can not declare himself thankful that the election resulted as it did. Mr. Roosevelt has proven himself time and again an ardent friend of this country, and a friend of humanity; but his lack of judgment makes power in his hands an element of grave danger. Had he been in the White House this country would long ago have been a party to the European war. And even now, after President Wilson has so carefully guided the country through these dangerous waters, he breaks out in an ill-timed criticism of the Administration, that displays a painful lack of appreciation of the proprieties.



Mr. Roosevelt's lack of reflection, and his inability to reason logically is again shown in his comment upon our neutrality while permitting the shipment of arms. He says:

The manufacturing and shipment of arms and ammunition to any belligerent is moral or immoral, according to the use to which the arms and munitions are to be put. If they are to be used to prevent the redress of the hideous wrongs inflicted on Belgium, then it is immoral to ship them. If they are to be used for the redress of those wrongs, and the restoration of Belgium to her deeply wronged and unoffending people, then it is eminently moral to send them.

Thus he would set aside all considerations of neutrality, and base the shipment of arms upon what he considered the righteousness of the cause at issue; which amounts merely to setting up his own judgment in place of international law. America has much, very much, to be thankful for in the last Presidential election.

S. C.



Discretion the Better Part of Valor.

Should the United States ever become involved in war, will Colonel Roosevelt volunteer without first receiving assurance that others will do so? Recent action on his part indicates that he will not. He has urged that this country take a belligerent stand in favor of the Allies in the European war. This brought him an offer from some citizens of South Mansfield, Louisiana, who said they would furnish him with a gun and transportation should he join the army of his choice "individually—no substitutes." Did the doughty Militarist gratefully accept this providential offer? He did not. He demanded instead that those who

had made it go with him. He would not go alone. And this occurred within a month of the time when the Colonel loudly denounced pacifists as physical cowards, who "fear death or pain or discomfort beyond anything else"! Feeling this way he must have framed his condition of acceptance with full knowledge that it would be rejected. It seems as though he wanted to appear true to his militarist and jingo convictions, without being called upon to prove his faith by his works. But this the South Mansfield men would not allow him. They sent a rejoinder to his answer reminding him that they were peace men but that he, as an advocate of war, should show himself willing to practice what he preached. He failed to stand the test. The Militarist idol proves to have feet of clay.

S. D.



Pennsylvania's Treason to Protectionism.

Successful opposition for many years by Pennsylvania's protected monopolists to enactment of a child labor law, has at last been overcome, owing to the firm stand taken by Governor Martin Brumbaugh. Protection advocates have claimed again and again that under a protective tariff, protected manufacturers will voluntarily pay high wages. The child labor fight shows that they will not even abstain voluntarily from employing cheap child labor. The same protectionists are also claiming that, under the present reduced tariff, manufacturers can not afford to pay as high wages as under the former high tariff. Yet the overwhelmingly protectionist Pennsylvania legislature, which declined to enact child labor legislation while the higher tariff was in force, now shows its lack of faith in the protectionist wail of distress by aiming to force the manufacturers to employ better paid labor than under high protection. It is clear that protectionist politicians either do not understand or do not believe the fallacies which they spread broadcast in national campaigns.

S. D.



Two Kinds of Poverty.

Persons who look upon all poverty as the same in essence, and seek to apply the same corrective in all cases, are apt to do mischief as well as injustice. An intelligent appreciation of the problem necessitates a division of the poor into two classes, voluntary and involuntary. Involuntary poverty is produced by conditions outside of the individual's control, such as general stagnation of business, and the victims are men and women who are anxious to work, but who can find no jobs.

They are the unemployed. Voluntary poverty embraces a more or less indefinite number of the poor who lack the spirit and the ambition to work, as long as they can obtain support from charity. Harsh measures adopted for the purpose of compelling the voluntary poor to self-support would be unjust to the involuntary poor who lack only the opportunity to work. Charity, which may be justly extended to the unfortunate who are temporarily deprived of work through no fault of their own, tends to increase the number of indigents, when extended to the voluntary poor. Charity can not be shut off from the undeserving poor without hardship to the deserving.



The cure for poverty, therefore, must be a measure of twofold influence, embracing, first, jobs for all, and second, gently coercive power to direct the voluntary poor into habits of useful labor. It will be noted that the indispensable factor in either case is jobs for all. If opportunities to labor be made as plentiful as they would be were all workers to receive the full product of their labor, it may be doubted if there would be any voluntary poor. And if all persons with charitable inclinations were conscious that there were good jobs awaiting every man and woman who asks alms, most of the charity would be withheld. Mendicants would thus by force of circumstances be driven to self-support.



When Surgeon General Gorgas, who drove tropical diseases from Panama, and removed the curse from the Rand in South Africa, considered the problem of disease in New York City, he said that if he had absolute power his first act would be to double the wages of the underpaid. It must be apparent upon the least reflection that when people are so poorly paid that they can not afford the simplest requirements of health it is evident that a vast number will be pushed over the border line into the ranks of poverty whenever there is a disturbance in business conditions. And even when there is no disturbance there is a steady filtering through of weaklings, diseased, and the generally unfit. General Gorgas declares that the Amazon and the Congo country can be made as healthy as the United States or Europe. He is just as confident that the high death rate, and the ravages of disease in tenement house districts can be prevented. And his measures of prevention, like the cure of poverty itself, would embrace remunerative jobs for all. His plan for supplying these jobs is as simple, practical, and effective as was his plan for driving the fever from Panama.

Remove taxes from buildings, he says, and place them upon land values. This will have the twofold effect of putting to use idle land now held for speculative purposes, and of increasing building. More building means demand for labor, and more houses mean less crowding. Better wages and less crowding mean better sanitation and less disease.



If General Gorgas were given charge of the health conditions in New York City, as he was in Panama, he would, by the simple process of shifting the burden of taxation from production to monopoly, multiply the number of jobs, decrease the unemployed, increase the wages of the underpaid, and relieve overcrowding by supplying more buildings. Were such a proposition to emanate from some parlor philosopher, some theorist or malcontent, it might be brushed aside as an idle vagary; but General Gorgas is none of these. He is essentially sane and practical in the estimation of those who call themselves sane and practical. What have the sane and practical to say to General Gorgas' proposition? s. c.



To Block Misrepresentation of Municipal Ownership.

At a referendum election held at Fargo, North Dakota, on April 6, a step was taken which marks an advance in management of publicly owned utilities. It was decided to charge all municipal departments for use of water, as private consumers are charged. That such is not the general practice is due to the notion that it would but be needless transfer of money from one municipal department to another. As a matter of fact it puts on water consumers disproportionate charges for expense of running these departments. Besides it affords an opportunity for misrepresentation to opponents of municipal ownership. Where utilities are privately owned all city departments pay directly for service. In comparing private plants with municipal plants this difference in method of paying for municipal service is usually overlooked, to the disadvantage of the municipally owned plant. The change at Fargo was inaugurated through an initiative petition of Water Commissioner Robert B. Blakemore and carried in spite of strong opposition. In view of the strong campaign of misrepresentation against municipal ownership carried on by subsidized organs of public utility corporations, this Fargo plan may be profitably applied wherever water, electric light, gas, telephone or other public utilities are municipally owned.

S. D.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

A PACIFIST JOURNEY IN WAR TIME.

The Hague, May 2, 1915.

Aboard the "Noordam" on the 13th of April, forty-two American delegates to the Women's Peace Congress of the World sailed from New York to Rotterdam. Jane Addams of Chicago as president of the Women's Peace Party of the United States was the leader of the delegation. By the 14th we were all acquainted and getting on finely. The steamer was in the highest degree satisfactory, the service excellent, and we had on board a splendid crowd of women. A beautiful spirit prevailed, with complete absence of self-consciousness and personality.

We had a peace lecture in the morning—a good analysis—by Mr. Lochner of Chicago, and arranged for a peace school every morning from eleven to twelve, while the weather permitted, it being then very smooth; and from eight to nine in the evening we were to have addresses and discussions, all in the dining room. Miss Addams had quietly worked out all these matters wisely and tactfully.

We found also a supply of peace literature and organized a library—the steamship people having given us an empty stateroom for the purpose with a table and chair in addition to regular stateroom furniture. The library has been kept open at stated times for lending and giving away literature.

We soon found ourselves stronger in German speaking members than in French; and consequently those of us who understood French a little began to polish ourselves up in it. It was the general impression that we should find it very important to be able to follow the debates—especially excited ones—in the foreign tongues of the speakers.

By the 21st we were getting well on toward our destination. The Scilly Islands were almost in sight. Meanwhile we had had a most glorious voyage—still and quiet as to the seas, warm as to temperature. The ship was said to be heavily laden with grain. It moved with a gentle sway and without rolling or pitching. The service remained in every way as fine as before, and further contact with our delegation confirmed original impressions. Made up of the finest type of women, it had worked without personal feeling or even pride of opinion.

We had been holding at least two meetings a day—morning and evening—and latterly three. There were lectures on the history of peace movements, on The Hague conferences, and on other allied subjects. We had also, step by step, thrashed out our program and were at last unanimously agreed to it after many admirable amendments and additions to original proposals. For these improvements we were especially indebted to Miss Breckenridge, Miss Balch (a professor at Wellesley, as is generally known in the United States), and Miss Addams. Miss Balch acted as our secretary with wonderful adaptation, and was chosen for permanent secretary of our delegation at the Congress. An understanding had at that time been reached for the delegation to go to the Central Hotel at The Hague where a special room was to be secured as a meeting place for all delegates of the American group.

It was on the 21st that the steamer people began to take exceptional measures for security against war perils. They put up on the sides of the ship, out from the promenade deck, great wooden letters (three feet high) which at night were illuminated by electric lights. These letters spelt the word "Noordam," and were on each side of the ship.

On the 24th we were off Dover eastward and facing the North Sea. We had already been held up there twenty-four hours and our stop promised to be long. The causes seemed to be various. Our cargo had been said to be of grain, but there were passengers on board who denied this and talked of munitions of war as being mixed in with the grain. Then the newspapers which we got on board reported that the English delegates would not be allowed to cross to Holland, and that all communication between Holland and England, including mails, had been stopped. It was surmised also that the German fleet was making demonstrations in the North Sea and that a naval battle impended. All this time our delegates were rallying around standards of patience and poise and good humor.

To the officers of the boat the situation was trying. They had to supply us with food during our detention, and supplies from shore were ordered on the morning of the 24th. We were about a mile and a half off Ramsgate. The straits were beautiful, the white cliffs, the nestling towns, the sunny seas. At night the towns were darkened. Around us encircled or passed ships of many kinds—mostly warships of smaller size, torpedo-boats, torpedo-boat destroyers, naval cutters, etc. One large boat passed us the morning of the 24th, followed closely by a torpedo boat. It was said to be a troop ship.

Two days prior to our stoppage off Ramsgate the life-boats were cleared for use and remained so. The canvas covers were taken off, tackling made ready, and mallets placed close at hand to do some last clearance with. On an ordinary voyage this would have been very disquieting, but on this voyage it was reassuring.

On the night following those preparations, the 22nd, at about ten o'clock an English cutter came to the ship and took off two stowaways. They were refugees from interned German ships in New York—a steward and a carpenter. We could see the whole proceeding. On the cutter's deck the two men were searched for papers, not brutally, and then sent down a hatchway into a fore-hold of the cutter. Though they had just been taken from a food-stocked ship, they were in a few minutes supplied, probably to reassure them, with mugs of hot coffee from the galley of the cutter and then blankets were taken to them. When they went down the ship's ladder to the cutter, they had ropes tied around their waists. This I suppose was to prevent their jumping into the sea and trying to "swim for it." As the second man went down he shouted, "Hoch der Kaiser! Deutschland uber Alles! During the proceeding we had a gun trained on us. Think of Jane Addams with a gun trained on her!

We were boarded also by British naval officers, and all our masculine passengers were lined up for an exhibition of their passports. They filed through the drawing-room—first-class first, then second-class, then steerage. Some of us women stood on one side and watched it all. It was dramatic. Some of

the men appeared to be very scared, and about one of them the British officials were evidently doubtful. He was a first-class passenger. They questioned him long and privately in the Captain's office after he had been taken from the inspection line. We suppose he passed, but as I write we are not yet sure. I think he had in some way to do with whatever might have been questionable about our cargo.

On the 23rd in the afternoon a dirigible appeared. It came pretty close to our ship—near enough for those of us with glasses to see the propeller move and the flags flying. It looked like a great white fish in the blue sky, and must have been either English or French, or the warships would have fired at it. Then, too, the German Zeppelin is longer and more like a cigar with blunt ends than this fish-shaped dirigible.

On Monday the 26th we were still off Ramsgate. We had been there since Friday morning. But in the evening we got word that we were to be allowed to leave. We were expecting to go out at dawn on the 27th—to arrive at Rotterdam at one o'clock on that day, the last day before the Congress was to meet, and in this expectation we were not disappointed.

We reached Rotterdam late in the afternoon of the 27th, only a short time before the Congress opened unofficially with a meeting of addresses of welcome. Consequently we had to hurry to be present, but we were there. The Congress opened informally on the 28th for a three days-session—the 28th, 29th, and 30th. The session, however, ran over half a day beyond the program, and would doubtless have run longer if the hall could have been had longer. As it was, the Congress closed on Saturday, May 1st, at noon.

The sessions were held in a large concert hall in the Zoological Gardens. The hall was unexceptionable but for its acoustics. Miss Jane Addams presided over the business sessions and made a magnificent chairman. There were over eight hundred delegates and visitors, but we do not know exact proportions. Only a few Englishwomen were present; one hundred and eighty English delegates could not get out of England. There were Germans, Belgians, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, one woman from Italy who came up through Germany, an Armenian in costume, and so on. The diverse languages made it difficult, for we had to wait for translations of everything and sometimes the translations were not perfect. But we have had a splendid Congress—a far more constructive one than I dared to hope for.

In spirit it was perfect. There were no personalities; there was no hysteria. One felt the depths of suffering and fear which lay below it all. This was not for amusement; it was not for personal exploitation. The Congress was to protest against war, and not only to protest but to declare adhesion to principles which it was believed would make for permanent peace.

These principles had to be worked out carefully. It was shown by women of one country, for instance, that certain proposals would not work out right on account of conditions in that country. The women of another country were afraid of something else. But we worked on together constructively, and it was surprising how far we were able to go.

We had not known before we started but that we might have a struggle against being stampeded for or against one interest or another. Well, this has not happened nor has it even threatened. Also we did not know but that bitterness between delegates from belligerent countries might break out. Neither has this happened. The Belgian women arrived late and received especial greetings and courtesies. They were extended by a German delegate. That was the spirit.

We were living on a plane of a love of a common humanity—on a plane of international brotherhood. I had thought that we could not go far beyond expressing good feeling; but we have got to good thinking. It has been, therefore, a truly great Congress; one which I believe will mark the beginning of a tangible internationalism.

I ought to say, perhaps, that the so-called "truce demand" was omitted from the declarations of the Congress.

It does not seem to me that everything passed was quite worth while, and it is certain that there were some duplications because of the shortness of time for revision and also of the language difficulties. But the resolutions committee can improve a little in form and unity of expression. On the whole the declaration is inspiring.

Many of us, including Miss Balch and myself, are to return on the "Ryndam," sailing from Rotterdam on the 8th and due to arrive at New York on the 18th.

ALICE THACHER POST.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE CAUSE OF WAR.

Cleveland, May 7, 1915.

The following letter was sent to the World's Court Congress in session here:

You meet in this city for the purpose of abolishing war. Yet you do not propose that the cause of war be destroyed or even that it be determined.

Would you try to abolish yellow fever without destroying the germ-bearing mosquito? Would a World's Court with the greatest army conceivable to enforce its decrees, abolish yellow fever unless it were ordered to destroy the mosquito?

Do you not realize that men must fight so long as any considerable number of them believe that other men withhold from them an opportunity to live, to labor, and to enjoy the fruits of their labor?

A United States of the World with an army of ten million men and a navy in proportion at its command, could not stop war (although we would then call it rebellion) without destroying its cause. And when the cause of war is destroyed, there can be no need for arbitration treaties, armies and navies, a United States of the World or a World's Court for the purpose of preventing war.

Millions of idle men clamoring for an opportunity to labor and millions of acres of usable idle land that they could reach within a day's walk! Yet it is now as impossible for them to satisfy their appetites by working on this land as if it were a part of the planet of Mars.

Hundreds of millions of other men laboring and enjoying only a small part of the fruits of their labor!

Only a few men owning the earth and saying to these millions of men, "You cannot labor or enjoy the fruits of labor" and to these hundreds of millions of men, "You can labor but you must give us much of the fruits of your labor."

Wars and rebellions will continue so long as individuals are permitted to inappropriate land rent and so long as taxes are collected upon the fruits of labor.

A. B. DU PONT.



THE RIGHT TO WORK.

Denver, Colo., May 6.

The following letter was sent to Mr. Jesse F. Welborn, president of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, answering his reply to the letter published in The Public on page 1130 of volume XVII:

Your letter of Dec. 14, 1914, lies before me. When it came I was in quarantine. In moving, the letter was lost. Recently I found it and take the first opportunity of replying. Though some months have gone by since the letter was written the question of Union Labor seems no nearer settlement than at that time.

I note some modifications of your attitude towards the rights of the working man. The statement I first criticised as being untrue was "The right of every man to work where, for whom and on such terms as he sees fit." In your letter of December 14 you have changed this to the "right of workmen to take employment with the Company of which I am an officer, on such terms as are satisfactory to both employer and employed, without the interference of a labor union to which the workmen do not belong and are opposed to joining." (I have quoted you exactly; even to beginning "Company" with a capital and "labor union" with small letter.

Your later statement takes the employer into account, while the former considered only the employe; but let us analyze it and see if even yet you have reached the truth of the matter: "The right of workmen to take employment * * * on such terms as are satisfactory to both employer and employed, without the interference of a labor union."

Please think that over, Mr. Welborn: "Terms satisfactory to both." Really, under present industrial conditions, has a lone workman anything at all to say about "terms"? With millions of idle men at hand, is it not in your power to absolutely fix the "terms," and is not that the "right" you are striving for? As to the terms being "satisfactory to the employe"—isn't it a case of "Take what we employers choose to give or get out and starve with your family"? And you have the legal right to do this—as absolutely as the masters had a right to say to their chattels "you shall not get out." And we, the "sovereigns," the voters of Colorado and the U. S., still uphold your right to make men either slaves or starvelings. We leave the only "interference" with this damnable condition to be made by the Labor Union and when that "interference" really interferes with your legal right to do the aforesaid cruelties we shoot or imprison its leaders.

Shame on us!

CELIA BALDWIN WHITEHEAD.

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, May 18, 1915.

Commission on Industrial Relations.

How courts are frequently unjust in dealing with labor cases was explained to the Commission on Industrial Relations on May 1 by Attorney

Stephen S. Gregory of Chicago, president of the American Bar Association. He mentioned as examples the Moyer case, West Virginia cases, Judge Dan Thew Wright's action in the Gompers case, and similar cases. In summing up he said:

As a rule the attitude of the courts in labor questions is largely a matter of the temperament of the judge, which is always an uncertain factor. It was charged that the English judges were always allied to power and hostile to the individual. It is to be admitted that judges become prejudiced against labor. This is due to the excesses that are sometimes committed in strikes. Such excesses imputed to all laboring men who go on strike prejudice all men, including judges, and judges more than average men are impressed by violence and so become prejudiced against labor leaders.

Dr. A. J. McKelway of the National Child Labor Committee told of conditions in the factory towns of the South. In such places the mill owners are all powerful, and employees must rent houses from them, buy in their stores, send their children to churches and schools controlled by them, and even be buried in their cemeteries. Negro children, said Dr. McKelway, have a better chance of education in the South than white children in these mill towns. [See current volume, page 474.]

Police Commissioner Arthur Woods of New York appeared before the Commission May 12. He said that professional gunmen are employed in industrial disputes by unions more than by employers. The latter, he said, usually contract with private detective agencies. He did not believe that industrial conditions were responsible for vice or crime. He claimed that there is no interference in New York with free speech, assemblage or lawful picketing. He was followed on the stand by Professor Henry R. Seager of Columbia University, who spoke of unfairness of the present legal system. "I do not see," he said, "how any fair man can dispute that our judges have shown a decided bias in favor of the employer."

William D. Haywood of the Industrial Workers of the World testified on the 12th and 13th. He gave a long account of different strikes in which governors, courts and militia were arrayed against the strikers, as evidence of the class struggle. The authorities at Sioux City, Iowa, once arrested I. W. W. orators in defiance of the right of free speech. Other members of the organization at once flocked to the place, were arrested, went on a hunger strike and forced the authorities to surrender. They settled by releasing all prisoners and promising to respect the right of free speech. Haywood cited child labor as an example of lawlessness on the part of employers. Through direct action on the part of workers he

looked forward to ultimate establishment of a new society, where "every man will have access to the land and to the machinery of production." As an immediate measure of relief which Congress might grant he mentioned work for the unemployed in reclamation service, reforestation, putting up public buildings and making other improvements.

"Mother" Jones told of her connection with strikes and industrial disturbances on May 13 and 14. She showed that there is a growing tendency on the part of courts to deprive workers of their constitutional rights. She mentioned decisions in Idaho, Pennsylvania, Colorado and West Virginia where courts held that they could not inquire into the legality of arrests made by militiamen. She contrasted the release of the militiamen guilty of the Ludlow massacre with the conviction of John R. Lawson by a "hand-picked" jury. "There is no such thing as equality before the law in disputes arising between Labor and Capital," was her final conclusion. "Private ownership of bread," she declared to be at the bottom of the industrial war. Daniel Davenport, general counsel for the American Anti-Boycott Association, which financed the fight against the Danbury hatters, said that the membership of his organization was kept secret. He held that the courts are fair and that any strike is unlawful that has for its purpose coercion. His association is opposed to anti-injunction legislation and declared that society could not exist without a court of equity to enjoin things that would work irreparable injury. Anton Johannsen of the Brotherhood of Carpenters told of the use of women pickets in Stockton, California, after the men pickets had been suppressed. These women, he said, horsewhipped the president of the Chamber of Commerce. The women were arrested, one of them pleaded guilty, and the beaten man paid her fine. That ended the case. Industrial unrest, he held, was caused by inability of the average employer to see things from a social viewpoint. "They can talk coal and wood and iron," he said, "but not humanity. They know nothing about it." Clarence Darrow testified on May 17. He said that in American courts today "a man can be tried without a jury, sentenced to jail without a hearing. In Chicago he may be sentenced on affidavits, and every one knows how easy they are to get."

Additional Rockefeller correspondence was published on May 16 by the Commission, indicating that Rockefeller desired to gain control over sources of information to the public. A letter to Ivy Lee showed success in getting favorable editorials from Arthur Brisbane of the Hearst papers and Edward S. Lewis of the St. Louis Star. Other letters speak of efforts to control the paper issued

by the National Chamber of Commerce. That an effort had been made to prevent the Commission from going to Colorado was also shown and reference was also made to a talk by Lee with Frederick A. Delano, formerly a member, on that subject. According to Lee, Delano had promised that the Commission would not go until the strike was ended.



The Denver Justice League sent, on May 13, the following telegram to Chairman Frank P. Walsh:

Believing that the vital causes of social unrest are best exemplified by the flagrantly unjust trial and conviction of John R. Lawson; also that the lives and liberty of many innocent men are now in jeopardy, because, in defense of life and home they exercised an inalienable right conferred by the constitution of the United States, the Denver Justice League has, by resolution, instructed that a telegram be forwarded you, as chairman of the United States Commission of Industrial Relations, requesting a further investigation of the Colorado industrial situation, to the end that the rights of citizens must be protected and respected; that, in place of the lopsided justice and injustice now prevailing in certain counties full, free and impartial justice may be established, administered and maintained throughout the entire State of Colorado.

Mrs. Lee Champion, President.

Mrs. Sarah Scanland, Secretary,



The Government's Answer to the Riggs Bank.

The Government's answer to the injunction suit of the Riggs National Bank was published on May 15. It charged the bank with continuous violation of law for many years. During that time it had been warned no less than 42 times and most of the warnings had been ignored. The bank is charged with lending money to officials of the Treasury Department. Leslie M. Shaw, Secretary of the Treasury under Roosevelt, was allowed to borrow many times during his incumbency. The amounts varied from \$2,000 to \$16,000. All were repaid. William B. Ridgeley, Comptroller of the Currency during the same period, was also a large borrower. At one time Senator Mathew Stanley Quay of Pennsylvania held a loan of \$250,000, which is five times the amount that can be legally loaned to one borrower. Former Secretary of War, Redfield Proctor, once owed the bank \$100,000. Former Senator Joseph W. Bailey of Texas had a loan of \$50,000. When Congressman J. R. Richardson of Tennessee was vice chairman of the District of Columbia Committee, he was allowed to borrow \$170,000. Examiners can find no evidence that this was repaid. Richardson's committee had control of the franchises in the District with which the bank was allied. Among other violations of law it is charged that the bank conducted a stock brokerage and real estate loan business, that officers and employees were heavy specu-

lators, that for some time the cash reserves were below the legal limit, that the liabilities were sometimes far in excess of what the law allows, that accommodation was extended to clerks in the Treasury Department from whom information could be obtained. [See current volume, page 379.]



Barnes Versus Roosevelt.

All testimony in the Barnes-Roosevelt suit tending to show that Barnes' control of the organization gave him personal profit from printing contracts was ruled out by Justice Andrews on May 11. In behalf of Barnes, William F. Sheehan, Democratic candidate for Senator in 1911, and Francis Lynde Stetson, former law partner of Grover Cleveland, testified concerning negotiations with Barnes during the senatorial struggle. Their testimony showed that Barnes was opposed to Tammany. Elon R. Brown, Republican leader in the State Senate in 1911, said, on May 12, that Barnes was willing at the time to let the Republican vote go to an independent Democrat. John W. Hutchinson told of a conversation with Roosevelt in July, 1914, regarding reunion of the Progressives with the Republicans. Roosevelt had agreed with him that the issues of 1912 were dead and said he would go after President Wilson in his forthcoming Pittsburgh speech and "Tear him to pieces." On May 13, 14 and 17, Barnes took the stand. He flatly contradicted every essential statement that had been made by Roosevelt in his testimony, leaving the whole issue apparently a question of veracity between him and Roosevelt. He also contradicted William Loeb. He admitted only the writing of a letter to Roosevelt telling him that the establishment of a state printing concern would be financially injurious to him. Under cross examination on the 17th he admitted his part in fighting the Hart-Agnew racing bill and the direct primary law. He said he considered orders for printing given out by the clerk of the Assembly as "legitimate patronage." [See current volume, page 476.]



Tax Reform News.

The Massachusetts Senate on May 15 passed, by 35 to 2, the proposed amendment to the Constitution, striking out the word "proportional" from the article on taxation. This will allow, if adopted, classification of all kinds of property for taxation purposes. The Massachusetts Singletax League is pushing the matter. It must still pass the House by at least a two-thirds vote and be approved by the next legislature before it can go to a popular vote. [See current volume, page 308.]



The Taxation Committee of the City Club of

Chicago has taken the following stand on the proposed taxation amendment to the Illinois Constitution, which limits classification to personal property only:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this committee that the revenue amendment to the Illinois Constitution now pending to empower the legislature to classify "personal property" for purposes of taxation be amended by striking out the word "personal" for the following reasons:

1. The pending amendment does not conform in wording or substance with the amendment on the Public Policy Ballot in 1912, the adoption of which by a vote of 201,614 to 89,572 is urged as a reason for passing the pending amendment. The Public Policy vote authorized the legislature to submit to the voters an amendment providing for "the classification of property for purposes of taxation."

2. It is necessary to classify realty as well as personalty in order that the incidence of taxation may be adjusted to the needs of the State for such purposes as encouraging reforestation of barren lands and the drainage of swamps.

3. The legislature should have the power to avail itself, when in its judgment it is deemed advisable, of the experience of other States and countries that have found beneficial results in varying the rate of taxation upon the several kinds of property.

4. Illinois should have the power to adopt such methods as those in vogue in California, where irrigation districts have found advantage in exempting improvements and personal property in levying the irrigation tax; in Nebraska, where fruit and forest trees and growing hedges are exempt from taxes; in Maryland, where household furniture to the value of \$500 is untaxed, and localities are empowered to exempt manufacturing machinery; in Pennsylvania, where Pittsburgh and Scranton have been empowered to reduce the tax on improvements 10 per cent every three years, until one-half of the tax has been removed; in North Dakota, where plowed lands are taxed no higher than unplowed; in western Canada, where the cities have exempted improvements from local taxes; and in Germany, where a rapid growth and better class of buildings has followed a lowering of the tax on improvements.

5. Illinois should place itself in the class with Minnesota, Oklahoma, Arizona, Michigan, Virginia and North Dakota, which have already empowered their legislatures to classify all kinds of property for purposes of taxation, and to anticipate the many other States that are on the point of adopting such amendments.

6. The Committee on the Congestion of Population in New York City, appointed by Mayor Gaynor, recommended a reduction of taxes on improvements as a practical means of relieving tenement house crowding.

7. The classification of property for purposes of taxation is necessary in order that the principle of the special assessment system for local improvements may be enjoyed without its hardships. The principle of the special assessment, in taxing the property benefited by the improvement, is sound; but the tax should be laid upon the property in proportion to value, and not according to area.

8. It is unwise and unjust to bind a legislature in

1915 with restrictions that were thought to be necessary in 1870.

9. The temporary exemption of real estate might help to secure the realignment of streets to conform to the plans of City Planning Committees.



Move to Confiscate Automatic Telephone System.

The Chicago City Council on May 17 instructed Corporation Counsel Folsom to begin suit against the Chicago Tunnel Company with a view to confiscating the Automatic Telephone plant of the Illinois Telegraph and Telephone Company. This action was taken by a vote of 58 to 8, on motion of Socialist Councilman John C. Kennedy. [See vol. xvii, p. 1189.]



National Charity Conference.

At the National Conference of Charities and Correction at Baltimore on May 13 to 15 addresses were delivered by Congressman Warren Worth Bailey, Frederick C. Leubuscher, president of the Lower Rent Society of New York, Professor Henry Seager of New York and others. Messrs. Leubuscher and Bailey both spoke on the need of destroying land monopoly in order to put an end to the poverty and distress which charity aims to relieve. Professor Seager advocated unemployment insurance.



The World Court.

The World Court Congress assembled at Cleveland on May 13 and held sessions on the 14th and 15th. The object was discussion of how to secure world-wide peace. Mayor Newton Baker made the address of welcome and introduced ex-President Taft, who advocated establishment of an international court of justice and a union of nations in a peace league. John Hays Hammond and Alton B. Parker spoke along similar lines. Other speakers were James Brown Scott of Washington, Theodore Marburg of Baltimore, Bainbridge Colby of New York, Judge Woodmansee of Cincinnati, Professor Jeremiah Jenks of Cornell, Henry Lane Wilson, former minister to Mexico, and William Dudley Foulke. The international court idea was approved and the committee of 100, which had launched the Congress, was continued with power to act.



European War.

A strong aggressive movement on the part of the Allies in Belgium and France has continued throughout the week, resulting in what are reported as marked gains by the British at Neuve Chapelle and east of Ypres, and by the French between Clarency and Arras, where the Germans have been forced to give way. Official reports of the Allies make much of these gains, and the

Berlin reports announce the situation as serious. The fighting has been desperate, with great losses on both sides. In the East the Russians have fallen back to Permyzl and the River San, leaving western Galicia from Cracow to the San to the Austro-German armies. They are now making a stand on the new line. Hungary has been freed from danger of immediate invasion, but the Russian army presents an unbroken front. In the Baltic provinces the Russians are holding the Germans in check. News from the Dardanelles is slight, but indicates a slow advance of both fleet and army of the Allies. The fighting on the Gallipoli Peninsula is said to be attended by heavy losses. The British battleship Goliath was sunk in the Dardanelles with about 500 of her crew. [See current volume, page 477.]



Italy, which for months has hovered on the brink of war, while dickering with Austria and the Allies, continues to grow more restless. On the 13th the cabinet, which is understood to favor war, resigned. This was followed by an uprising of the people that was feared might lead to a revolution. Before a new cabinet could be formed the King recalled Premier Salandra, and declined to accept the cabinet's resignation. This quieted the populace, as it was taken to mean a step toward participation in the war on the side of the Allies. Riots broke out in Trieste on the 16th, in which mobs, mostly of women, attacked the governor's palace. Troops were required to disperse them. Forty-seven were killed.



General Botha, commanding the forces of the Union of South Africa, announces the capture of Windhoek, the capital of German South West Africa, which practically completes the subjugation of that colony.



A lull in submarine activities has followed the sinking of the Lusitania. British shipping destroyed from the beginning of the war to May 11, including fishing boats, yachts, pilot boats, and merchantmen, numbered 201. The Parliamentary Secretary announced in the House of Commons on the 17th, that the British loss, other than warships, amounted to 460,628 tons. The loss of non-combatants of all nationalities on these vessels numbered approximately 1,556. The tonnage of German merchantmen sunk or captured by the British navy up to May 15 amounted to 314,465. So far as known no lives were lost on any of these ships.



The chief interest of Americans has centered in President Wilson's protest to Germany regarding the use of submarines against merchant ships,

and particularly in the destruction of the lives of American citizens. The protest has been greeted with approval by the American public. The note follows:

In view of recent acts of the German authorities in violation of American rights on the high seas which culminated in the torpedoing and sinking of the British steamer Lusitania on May 7, 1915, by which over 100 American citizens lost their lives, it is clearly wise and desirable that the government of the United States and the imperial German government should come to a clear and full understanding as to the grave situation which has resulted.

The sinking of the British passenger steamer Falaba by a German submarine on March 28, through which Leon C. Thrasher, an American citizen, was drowned; the attack on April 28 on the American vessel Cushing by a German aeroplane; the torpedoing on May 1 of the Gulflight by a German submarine, as a result of which two or more American citizens met their death; and, finally, the torpedoing and sinking of the steamship Lusitania, constitute a series of events which the government of the United States has observed with growing concern, distress and amazement.

Recalling the humane and enlightened attitude hitherto assumed by the imperial German government in matters of international right, and particularly with regard to the freedom of the seas; having learned to recognize the German views and the German influence in the field of international obligation as always engaged upon the side of justice and humanity; and having understood the instructions of the imperial German government to its naval commanders to be upon the same plane of humane action prescribed by the naval codes of other nations, the government of the United States was loath to believe—it cannot now bring itself to believe—that these acts, so absolutely contrary to the rules, the practices and the spirit of modern warfare, could have the countenance or sanction of that great government. It feels it to be its duty, therefore, to address the imperial German government concerning them with the utmost frankness and in the earnest hope that it is not mistaken in expecting action on the part of the imperial German government which will correct the unfortunate impressions which have been created and vindicate once more the position of that government with regard to the sacred freedom of the seas.

The government of the United States has been apprised that the imperial German government considered themselves to be obliged by the extraordinary circumstances of the present war and the measures adopted by their adversaries in seeking to cut Germany off from all commerce, to adopt methods of retaliation which go much beyond the ordinary methods of warfare at sea, in the proclamation of a war zone from which they have warned neutral ships to keep away. This government has already taken occasion to inform the imperial German government that it cannot admit the adoption of such measures or such warning of danger to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality; and that it must hold the imperial German government to a strict accountability for any

infringement of those rights, intentional or incidental. It does not understand the imperial German government to question those rights. It assumes, on the contrary, that the imperial government accept, as of course, the rule that the lives of noncombatants, whether they be of neutral citizenship or citizens of one of the nations at war, cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unarmed merchantman, and recognize, also, as all other nations do, the obligation to take the usual precaution of visit and search to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag.

The government of the United States, therefore, desires to call the attention of the imperial German government, with the utmost earnestness, to the fact that the objection to their present method of attack against the trade of their enemies lies in the practical impossibility of employing submarines in the destruction of commerce without disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice and humanity which all modern opinion regards as imperative. It is practically impossible for the officers of a submarine to visit a merchantman at sea and examine her papers and cargo. It is practically impossible for them to make a prize of her, and, if they cannot put a prize crew on board of her, they cannot sink her without leaving her crew and all on board of her to the mercy of the sea in her small boats. These facts it is understood the imperial German government frankly admit. We are informed that in the instances of which we have spoken time enough for even that poor measure of safety was not given, and in at least two of the cases cited not so much as a warning was received. Manifestly submarines cannot be used against merchantmen, as the last few weeks have shown, without an inevitable violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity.

American citizens act within their indisputable rights in taking their ships and in traveling wherever their legitimate business calls them upon the high seas, and exercise those rights in what should be well-justified confidence that their lives will not be endangered by acts done in clear violation of universally acknowledged international obligation, and certainly in the confidence that their own government will sustain them in the exercise of their rights.

There was recently published in the newspapers of the United States, I regret to inform the imperial German government, a formal warning, purporting to come from the imperial German embassy at Washington, addressed to the people of the United States, and stating, in effect, that any citizen of the United States who exercised his right of free travel upon the seas would do so at his peril if his journey should take him within the zone of waters within which the imperial German navy was using submarines against the commerce of Great Britain and France, notwithstanding the respectful but very earnest protest of his government, the government of the United States. I do not refer to this for the purpose of calling the attention of the imperial German government at this time to the surprising irregularity of a communication from the imperial German embassy at Washington addressed to the people of the United States, through the newspapers, but only for the purpose of pointing out that no warning that an unlawful and inhumane

act would be committed can possibly be accepted as an excuse or palliation for that act or as an abatement of the responsibility for its commission.

Long acquainted as this government has been with the character of the imperial German government and with the high principles of equity by which they have in the past been actuated and guided, the government of the United States cannot believe that the commanders of the vessels which committed these acts of lawlessness did so except under a misapprehension of the orders issued by the imperial German naval authorities. It takes it for granted that, at least within the practical possibilities of every such case, the commanders even of submarines were expected to do nothing that would involve the lives of noncombatants or the safety of neutral ships, even at the cost of failing of their object of capture or destruction. It confidently expects, therefore, that the imperial German government will disavow the acts of which the government of the United States complain, that they will make reparation so far as reparation is possible for injuries which are without measure, and that they will take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of anything so obviously subversive of the principles of warfare for which the imperial German government have in the past so wisely and so firmly contended.

The government and people of the United States look to the imperial German government for just, prompt and enlightened action in this vital matter with the greater confidence because the United States and Germany are bound together not only by special ties of friendship but also by the explicit stipulations of the treaty of 1828 between the United States and the Kingdom of Prussia.

Expressions of regret and offers of reparation in case of the destruction of neutral ships sunk by mistake, while they may satisfy international obligations if no loss of life results, cannot justify or excuse a practice the natural and necessary effect of which is to subject neutral nations and neutral persons to new and immeasurable risks.

The imperial German government will not expect the government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment.

The answer of the German government has not been received. That government, under date of the 11th, conveyed through American Ambassador Gerard at Berlin, the information that neutral vessels not engaged in hostile acts will not be attacked by German submarines, and that payment will be made to neutrals should losses occur through accident or misunderstanding. Should there remain doubt as to Germany's responsibility in a given case, that government invites investigation by the injured country, and the submission of the case to an international commission.



Trouble in Portugal.

Political discontent in the Portuguese Republic, which has been brewing for several months, broke into open revolt on the 14th, when revolutionists

boarded the cruiser Adamastor and turned its guns on the city of Lisbon. Revolutionists in Oporto and a number of other cities rose at the same time. Street fighting occurred between the government troops and the revolutionists, but the losses reported are comparatively light when considered in connection with the overthrow of a government. [See current volume, page 262.]

President Manuel de Arriaga is reported to have disappeared at the beginning of the outbreak. Joac Chagas assumed direction of the new government as premier. Street fighting was renewed after the proclamation of the new government, resulting in a further loss of life. The new premier, Joac Chagas, was assassinated on his way from Oporto to Lisbon. A proclamation issued by the cabinet after its first meeting reads:

The new ministry, representing public opinion, congratulates the population and the army and the navy on the noble way in which they fulfilled their duties in the difficult crisis from which we have just emerged. The ministry invites all citizens to resume their work and occupation in respect of the law.

If by chance rioters should disturb the peace they will be guilty of high treason, and they will be punished to the full extent of the law.

The Mundo of Lisbon says that the revolutionary committee will, in consideration of the fact that President Arriaga respected the revolutionary movement, be retained in office.

Mexico.

A colony of sixty-five Americans, including women and children, near Esperanza, south of Guaymas, in the State of Sonora, was attacked by Yaqui Indians, and several are reported killed and missing. Governor Jose Maytorena, of Sonora, ordered 500 troops to the scene. The cruiser Colorado left San Diego with two companies of marines, but turned back when informed by the commander of the cruiser Raleigh at Guaymas that the Americans were in no danger. [See current volume, page 476.]

Roosevelt Refuses Offer.

Press reports of May 15 report that the following message was sent to Theodore Roosevelt by citizens of South Mansfield, La.:

Judging from the statement of yours at Syracuse that you have the fighting spirit, we, the citizens of this village, will furnish gun and transportation for you to join either the Allies or German forces individually—no substitutes.

To this Roosevelt answered:

If your citizens who addressed the telegram to me will volunteer to join and accompany me to Europe, we will join the Allied forces, purchasing our arms from your city and starting immediately from South Mansfield.

The citizens replied:

Get the meaning of the former message. You to go unaccompanied. We are for peace. You do the fighting and our offer still stands.

New Cabinet in Manitoba.

As a consequence of charges that the Conservative government in Manitoba was responsible for spending \$850,000 wastefully on the new parliament buildings in Winnipeg, the Roblin cabinet resigned on the 12th. The members resigned also from parliament. This leaves the Liberals in the majority, and T. C. Norris has been invited to form a Liberal cabinet. [See vol. xvii, p. 686.]

NEWS NOTES

—Leo M. Frank was resented on Atlanta on May 10 to be executed on June 22. [See current volume, page 420.]

—The Interstate Commerce decision on May 15 decided that railroads must give up by December 1 all ownership of steamship lines on the Great Lakes. [See current volume, page 311.]

—Josiah Wedgewood, the noted Singletax member of Parliament for Newcastle-under-Lyme, is among the wounded in a casualty list received from the Dardanelles. No particulars are given. [See vol. xvii, p. 298; current volume, 264.]

—Federal Judge John H. Clarke of Cleveland upheld John D. Rockefeller on May 13 in his contest against the effort of local officials to collect taxes on an assessment of \$311,000,000 in personal property. [See vol. xvii., p. 1232.]

—The Referendum will be invoked by the California State Republican Committee on the non-partisan election law recently passed by the Legislature. The law forbids use of party names or emblems in elections for officials other than Presidential electors, Congressmen and Senators.

—Professor Cho-Yo, a Japanese philologist of international renown, died at Mineral Springs, Texas, on the 15th. He was known as an art critic, and was an authority on oriental languages. At the time of his death he was engaged in perfecting an alphabet of 49 characters to take the place of the 70,000 Japanese characters.

—Walt Whitman's birthday will be celebrated on May 31 at the Grand Pacific Hotel, Chicago, by the Walt Whitman Fellowship. A dollar dinner will be given. The speakers will be Llewellyn Jones, Harriet Monroe, Clarence Darrow, Reverend Preston Bradley, H. Percy Ward, Louis Wallis, Leona Davis Collister and Carl Sandberg. Morris Lychenheim, 162 Mentor Building, has charge of arrangements.

—A memorial signed by more than thirty noted Americans, including bishops, educators, lawyers and business men, has been sent to Emperor William, asking that Belgium be relieved of the war indemnities imposed on cities and provinces. Among those signing the petition are Isaac Sharpless, president of

Haverford College; Dr. Earl Cranston, senior bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church; E. P. Ripley, president of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway system, and Herbert Welsh of Philadelphia.

PRESS OPINIONS

Freedom is the Best Regulator.

The Masses (New York), May.—The board of censorship which passes on the morality of films has given its sanction to one called "The Birth of a Nation," made from a book by the notorious Negro-hater, Thomas Dixon. It shows what horrible things happened (according to Mr. Dixon) when the Negro was given equal political rights with the white race. It teaches that the Negro is a monster that must be deprived of all human rights, and lynched occasionally to keep him "in his place." It glorifies the outrages of the Klu Klux Klan and libels the Negro character with malignant ferocity. It perverts history, incites race prejudice and justifies crime. Our censors are getting "liberal." But there is one more stage of liberality. It is possible to say: "We will take the risk of this picture doing harm. We will take the risk of any picture doing harm. We will prohibit nothing." That is an honorable, difficult thing to say. Let the board of censorship say that, and resign.



Landlordism and Wisconsin University.

Milwaukee Leader, April 21.—The University of Wisconsin does not need any dormitories, explains the Sentinel editorial writer and also its Madison correspondent, because "Madison men of means stand ready to build suitable apartments." Once more the "nigger in the woodpile" has a dollar mark stamped on him. The state must not provide proper housing for students lest it interfere with Madison real estate speculation. . . . Within the last twenty years alleys have been turned into streets for the building of "apartments" in which to house students; every nook and corner that might have furnished breathing space has been sought out and built over, and rents have leaped and soared. During these same twenty years there has been an increase in the necessary expenses for students far greater than the rise in the cost of living elsewhere. This increase is directly traceable to the grasping power of the Madison landlords. The entire "Latin quarter" has been built up by "Madison men of means," whose only reason for and source of living is the rents they can drag out of the faculty and students. It is through these real estate speculators that the only scandal concerning the university has come. It is this parasitic breed that has made it necessary to raise the salaries of the faculty, without being able to improve their condition in life or their ability to teach. . . . These "Madison men of means" have, for years, taken a toll of every student that enters the university. That toll is increasing yearly. It will continue to increase forever, unless the state does build dormitories. Whenever a political dodo shrieks it is pretty certain that somebody's private graft is threatened.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE WISCONSIN CAPITOL.

For The Public.

(The beautiful marble capitol, at Madison, is nearing completion. Its interior shows many varieties of marble, making a riot of color at once striking and wonderfully harmonious.)

How staid and unimaginative he

Whom sudden beauty startles not to thought,

Who could behold unstirred this structure wrought,
From base to roof, in glorious symmetry!

High-domed, huge-columned, its white majesty

And the rich hued interior have caught

Some touch of that immortal Art which brought
Renown to Athens in antiquity.

Here where such beauty has been realized,

Another God-sent Splendor makes its home—

A thought, a dream, ennobling law and life—

A bright possession not to be remised!

When Age dissolves these walls, this radiant dome,
Wisconsin, may that Presence still be rife!

CHARLES H. WINKE.



THE POVERTY PROBLEM.

From Address of Congressman Warren Worth Bailey of Pennsylvania Before the 42nd Annual Conference on Charities and Correction at Baltimore, Saturday, May 15.

We are concerned as singletax men in that poverty which is involuntary—that poverty which results from the forestalling of natural opportunity. We claim that every man born into the world has a right to be here—an equal right with all the rest. He therefore has an equal right to the means of life. To deny him this equal right to the means of life is actually to deny him the right of life itself. And this is precisely what the monopolization of the earth does. It denies him access to the means of life and so to life itself.

Of course he can go to the forestaller and make terms with him. He may gain access to the natural resources which are necessary to sustain his life by agreeing to pay such tribute as the owner may demand for the privilege. And this is what the mass of men are doing today. They are in the world on sufferance. They are trespassers on the soil to which they are born. They can remain on it only under the terms and conditions which landlordism chooses to exact; and these terms and conditions grow harsher and more destructive as population increases and the pressure for a chance to toil intensifies.

The land value tax would make the forestalling of natural resources unprofitable. No man would

hold valuable land out of use or out of its best use if the full annual value were taken in the form of a tax for public purpose, this tax being in lieu of all other taxes whatsoever. There would be absolutely no incentive therefore to the monopolization of natural resources. The only object any one could have would be to obtain possession of such opportunities as he could use to advantage. If he found himself in possession of more than he could use to advantage, he would be looking around right away for some one to help him let go.

This has been shown in New Zealand and in Australia, where halting applications of the land value tax principle have been made. There has been a breaking up of the vast estates which the earlier system encouraged; development has been along more normal lines; wages have had a rising tendency; improvements have gone forward in response to increasing demand; and on the whole social conditions have revealed those sharp contrasts of extreme poverty and extreme wealth which have marked our own progress.

Some of the cities of western Canada have gone farther toward a full application of the singletax principle than any other communities anywhere. Vancouver led the way with a progressive exemption of improvements, with results so startling that other cities on both sides of the line awoke as though pricked with an electric needle. Everett, in the state of Washington, was the first American city to follow the example of Vancouver; but Houston, in Texas, has almost outdone the Pacific slope city in lightening the burdens on thrift and industry and lending encouragement to enterprise through the medium of an increased tax on land values. But what Houston has done many other American communities are in the way of doing. In Pennsylvania two of the larger cities—Pittsburgh and Scranton—are under a law which wholly exempts machinery from taxation and improvements are progressively relieved until the burden shall have been reduced to half. The third class cities of the state unanimously endorsed a bill embodying the same provisions, but it encountered strong opposition from coal corporations and other foresfallers and its adoption was thus prevented. That the bill will be adopted two years hence is the confident belief of its sponsors.

I might multiply examples of a similar character to those given. I might tell of the German experiment in Kiau Chau, which perhaps has given the best illustration of what the singletax will do yet afforded, but time does not permit. I might tell of how more than 200 German cities have adopted some measure of the singletax and always in clear recognition of the principle underlying it. I might tell of the world-wide work of the late Joseph Fels, which embraced activities on all the continents and among the islands of the sea, everywhere meeting encouragement. I might

tell of how this work is being bravely carried forward by Mrs. Fels and in the same noble spirit.

The singletax is in fact a natural tax. It has always been collected and always must be. But it has seldom been collected by those to whom the value it takes actually belongs. Land values in all countries and in all times have arisen with the growth of population and the development of the arts. They are as natural and as inevitable as the action of sunlight on growing things. They are always and everywhere the exact measure of the benefits of society and government. But these values are not of individual production. The value of a watch is determined by the labor devoted to its production. The value of a house or a locomotive or a steamship is likewise determined. But what determines the value of the plot of ground upon which this building is erected? Is that determined by the labor devoted to the production of the plot of ground? Who indeed produced this plot? Did the owner? Did Lord Baltimore? Did that king of England who made the grant to Calvert? Have any of you ever met the man who has produced a plot of ground?

This plot of ground has a great value. Why? Because it is surrounded by thousands of people. Because a great industrial city is clustered about it. Because an infinite series of co-operative efforts are being carried on around it. Its value is determined by its accessibility, by its proximity to the center of industrial activity, by the advantage it offers to capital and labor in the production of wealth. This value is therefore purely a social value. It is a value which the community has created, which has grown with the growth of the community, which would vanish as though it had never been were the community to remove hence. Why should a few private individuals collect and pocket these values and thus grow rich without working? Why should private property be taken for public purposes when there is this great community fund within reach?

This great conference, the forty-second in the history of the society, is dealing with the subjects of charity and correction. Let me ask you in all candor if in the forty-two years since your work was begun there has been any actual lessening of the need for it? Is it not true, on the contrary, that charitable effort is more needed today than it was forty years ago? And is not crime steadily on the increase? Are you getting anywhere? Is there even the shadow of a hope of getting anywhere under present methods? All records go to show the utter futility of charitable effort in dealing with poverty. If anything it accentuates the conditions it seeks to alleviate. Nor do prisons and reformatories produce better results. Year by year crimes multiply and out of our slums a steady flow of criminals is maintained under a pressure which charity cannot relieve nor jail sentences moderate. The very existence of an asso-

ciation such as this is a confession that society is lost in a maze and that the farther it travels the more hopeless becomes its bewilderment.

We who are proud to follow in the footsteps of the Prophet of San Francisco believe that we know the way out. We believe we have found the clue in finding the root cause of involuntary poverty and the misery and crime which that poverty infallibly breeds. It is the denial to the masses of men free access to the land from which and by which all men must live. By destroying land monopoly we shall destroy its effects. By uprooting this fungus growth we shall uproot at the same time the weeds of sin and shame and human degradation against which you have been vainly battling. We ask from you only candid inquiry, open minded investigation, unprejudiced acceptance of the truth wherever it may be found and whithersoever it may lead. The truth we have found is worth following. It is worth living for and, if needs be, dying for. It is a truth that will make men free. It will make them independent. It will make them lords of their own destinies, masters of their own fortunes.

And it is all so simple, so just, so natural. Merely the taking of values produced by the community—by the community for the community. All the machinery exists for this work. Nothing revolutionary is involved. No injustice is to be perpetrated, but a great and cruel and monstrous injustice corrected.

Shall we not have your sympathy and your help in this great cause? May we not count on your aid, on your effort, on your active interest? Is not ours a compelling cause? Is it not such as to kindle anew hope in the hopeless and to lend inspiration to those even sunk in despair? Our appeal is to the highest and best and noblest. There is nothing sordid in it, nothing mean, nothing ignoble, nothing selfish, nothing which is not as broad as truth and as deep as the eternal springs of justice. And all it is we lay before you in sincerity and deathless faith.



EXCITEMENT.

Phillips Russell in *The Masses*.

A man with square-cut shoulders sat across the restaurant table from me, and we talked of many things; finally about the war.

"I was a soldier once," he announced. "I fought against the Boers. . . . No, they never did anything to me. I just wanted excitement. I was young, adventurous and tired of the small town I lived in, and so I ran away to Canada and got into a regiment bound for South Africa.

"We got there eventually, and sweated and baked and drilled around for weeks before we got a chance to move against the enemy. But at last the order came and we were happy. We were

crazy to shoot something, you see—to kill a man, to smell blood. We were on edge for any kind of excitement.

"But we didn't get much at first. The Boers just lay around among the kopjes and picked us off by ones and twos and dozens, while we fumed and swore and went through our little daily set of motions as laid down in the military book of rules.

"The Boers had some cracking good sharpshooters, and don't you forget it. There was one in especial who got on our nerves. He had a roost up on a hillside between a couple of twin rocks and when he was feeling good he could bag half a dozen men a day. We tried all sorts of schemes to trap him or dislodge him, but all of them failed.

"I had got some reputation as a shot before we left Canada and I thought I knew what was coming when one day the colonel's orderly came around and said the old man wanted me.

"Go out and get the beggar," says the colonel. That suited me. I was as happy as a small boy with his first air rifle. I sat up most of that night tuning up my gun. Before daybreak I was out beyond the lines, where I dug myself a hole in the sand within range of those twin rocks where the sniper hung out. At sun-up we started popping at each other and kept it up nearly all day without any damage on either side.

"Along about 4 o'clock in the afternoon there was a silence, and then all of a sudden I saw my friend the enemy standing up in plain sight between his twin rocks. I can't imagine why he did it, unless it was to show he had decided a British soldier couldn't hit the side of a house with a baseball bat.

"Anyhow, he was foolish; I drew fine sight on him and dropped him like a jackrabbit. Then, like the kid that I was, I went running over to look at my game, never thinking it might be a frame-up. But he was dead, all right.

"I had hit him in the breast and he had hardly moved, except to draw his feet up and down a few times. I could see where his heels had dug little trenches in the sand.

"I looked down at him and then I looked all around, but there wasn't a sound to be heard or a living creature in sight. There was just me and the dead man, with the desert all to ourselves.

"He was an old, old farmer, as I could tell by his big, rough and scaly hands. Likely enough he was a patriarch and a prophet in his home community. His slouch hat had fallen off and his rheumy old eyes stared straight up at the sky. His sparse hair was white and silky. He was thin and bloodless, as I could see by his unbuttoned shirt that showed his withered chest. Blood was still oozing from the hole in his breast and drying as it trickled down his side.

"I felt queer and sickish. I wanted to get away from there. I would have given anything if I

could have brought the old man around again. It would have been the joyfulest thing in the world for me if he had jumped up all of a sudden and beat hell out of me. I felt like saying, 'God knows I didn't mean to do it, grandad; I didn't know it was you.' . . . No, I'm in the advertising game now, and, say, business is rotten."

BOOKS

THROUGH THE BATTLE OF LEMBERG.

Four Weeks in the Trenches. By Fritz Kreisler. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

One cannot read Mr. Kreisler's personal war story in all its modest manliness without gratitude to the friend who persuaded him to write down his recollections and belief in the publishers' statement that persuasion was necessary. For this Austrian violinist lieutenant's record of his experiences in August and September at the Galician battle front; of what he and his comrades and their general suffered and sought to do; of their honest human feelings and thoughts before and during battle; his description of just what a battle onset looked like to those waiting to receive it, and of the hideous scene that it left behind—the whole story is so human in its nobility, so real in its simple honesty that no one can read it unmoved. The rebellion that cries out against such a horror come upon humanity is silenced into hope by the manifest goodness of man himself.

There was action for us at last. At a sharp word of command, our men scrambled out of the trenches for better view and aim, shouting with joy as they did so. What a change had come over us all! My heart beat with wild exultation. I glanced at my men. They were all eagerness and determination, hand at the trigger, eyes on the approaching enemy, every muscle strained, yet calm, their bronzed faces hardened into immobility, waiting for the command to fire. . . . By eight o'clock it had grown perceptibly cooler. We now had time to collect our impressions and look about us. The Russians had left many dead on the field, and at the barbed-wire entanglements, which our sappers had constructed as an obstacle to their advance, their bodies lay heaped upon each other, looking not unlike the more innocent bundles of hay lying in the field. We could see the small Red Cross parties in the field climbing over the horribly grotesque tumuli of bodies, trying to disentangle the wounded from the dead and administer first aid to them. Enthusiasm seemed suddenly to disappear before this terrible spectacle. Life that only a few hours before had glowed with enthusiasm and exultation, suddenly paled and sickened. The silence of the night was interrupted only by the low moaning of the wounded that came regularly to us. It was hideous in its terrible monotony. The moon had risen, throwing fantastic lights and

shadows over the desolate landscape and the heaped-up dead. These grotesque piles of human bodies seemed like a monstrous sacrificial offering immolated on the altar of some fiendishly cruel, antique deity. I felt faint and sick at heart and near swooning away. . . . Finally the Russian infantry succeeded in establishing a number of trenches, the one opposite us not more than five hundred yards away. . . . We stayed four days opposite each other, neither side gaining a foot of ground. . . . After the second day we had almost grown to know each other. The Russians would laughingly call over to us, and the Austrians would answer. The salient feature of these three days' fighting was the extraordinary lack of hatred. In fact, it is astonishing how little actual hatred exists between fighting men. One fights fiercely and passionately, mass against mass, but as soon as the mass crystallizes itself into human individuals whose features one actually can recognize, hatred almost ceases. Of course, fighting continues, but somehow it loses its fierceness and takes more the form of a sport, each side being eager to get the best of the other. One still shoots at his opponent, but almost regrets when he sees him drop. . . . Between skirmishes an unofficial truce would frequently be called for the purpose of removing the wounded. During these times, when the stretcher-bearers were busy, no shot would be fired on either side. Nor was this an isolated case, for similar intermittent truces, sometimes accompanied by actual intercourse between the opposing forces, were quite common all along the battle line.

A. L. G.

PERIODICALS

Battle-Lines in Europe and America.

Three good essays, on Mexico, American militarism and East Europe, are printed in the April-June number of the *Unpopular Review* (35 W. 32nd St., New York), anonymously until the next issue, as is this journal's peculiar custom. The first, as printed, is a moderate militarist's—if such there be—plea and plan for "a rational military preparedness" on the part of the United States. "It behooves us," he writes, "to take such concepts as a 'citizenry trained in arms' out of the realm of rhetoric into that of technical practice." The author neither rants nor rages and therefore his point of view is worth the getting by anti-militarists for their own information. The second essay, entitled "The Eastern Moat of Europe," is a very instructive and entertaining "historical and geographical journey" along the great Vistula-Dniester river system of Eastern Europe, "that thousand miles of river, almost continuous from Danzig to Odessa, from the Baltic Sea to the Black, crossing three of the nations now at war," "the picket line of two ethnic units," "fought over and across for nearly two thousand years." And the third essay is upon Mexico, by an American who knows the country and its people and the principles of land value taxation, too. "These sketches," he writes, "show what I believe to be the underlying cause of Mexican revolutions—the monopoly of the land: by it the poor brutalized, the rich materialized, the middle classes and public opinion non-existent,

an Egyptian darkness of illiteracy, appalling drunkenness, serfdom of the peon, terrible, terrible poverty. . . . How, then, to break up land-monopoly in Mexico? There and everywhere men who think as I do would break it up by the Single Tax. But if, in Mexico, in its peculiar conditions, there is need of a more drastic step, I would not shrink from the ugly word and the ugly fact of confiscation. . . . Confiscation is an ugly word, but there is a far uglier one—starvation. As between confiscation and starvation, shall a people starve? Every land title in Mexico harks back to the sword of Cortez. . . . Were the French people wrong when they burned the title deeds of their oppressors, and founded by confiscation the many-farmed France of today?"

A. L. G.



Attractions of War.

Albert J. Nock in the May Atlantic makes a most bellicose attack upon "Peace, the Aristocrat." "The function of the true peace advocate is not to deplore war but to help make peace interesting." For war, he writes, savage as it is, satisfies some normal human instincts that the conditions of peace nowadays do not. Man's "instinct for equality," his demand for a cogent and evident "purpose," his longing for "responsibility," all are actually more nearly met, Mr. Nock thinks, by war than by peace as the common man finds them. "Nowhere, broadly speaking, does the common man enlist because he loves war, but because he hates peace. . . . The first practical step toward permanent peace is to bring about a more diffused material well-being. Permanent peace must have its roots struck deep in this, for peace cannot possibly be interesting or attractive so long as without reason or purpose it keeps so many of us so very poor." All very true, possibly. But in such a terrible emergency as civilization is now being compelled to meet, why direct one's guns against any of her allies, however alien or unwise them seem?

A. L. G.

PAMPHLETS

Non-Intercourse as a World Police-Power.

Justice Brewer believed in the possibility and the potency of complete segregation as a means of discipline for the unruly nation. He is quoted at length in a note to a World Peace Foundation leaflet (40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston.) by Havelock Ellis, entitled, "What to Do After the War": "It is possible that some provision will be made by which there can be a union of the forces of the different nations to compel two disputing nations, first to submit their controversy to arbitration, and then to abide by that arbitration. But suppose that this is not done . . . is it not possible that there may be a compulsion which the nations cannot resist, which will be potent enough to compel every nation to submit its disputes with other nations to arbitration, and to abide by the award? . . . If the nations in the coming conferences at The Hague shall agree that any nation which refuses to enter into

arbitration with a nation with which it has a dispute, or which refuses to abide by the award of the arbitrators selected in accordance with the provisions of the Hague convention, or some other convention, shall be isolated from all intercourse with and recognition by any other nation on the face of the earth, can you imagine any compulsion which would be more real and peremptory than that? If all the other civilized nations would say to such a nation, 'From this time forward, until you submit this dispute to arbitration, we will withdraw all our diplomatic representatives, we will have no official communication with you, we will forbid our citizens from having any business transactions with your citizens, we will forbid your citizens from coming into our territory, we will make you a Robinson Crusoe on a desolate island,' there is no nation, however mighty, that could endure such an isolation, such an outlawry, as that would be. The business interests of the nation would compel the government to recede from its position and not longer remain an outlaw on the face of the globe. Such a procedure would involve no military force, no bloodshed on the part of the other nations. The only military force, the only bloodshed that might follow, would be in case the nation thus outlawed attempted to attack some of the other nations, when they would all unite in resisting it. The very fact that it was outlawed would place it in a position where it would have to submit; it would be compulsion, as real as a compulsion of a marshal with a writ in his hands. In some such way as this the force which stands back of a court within a nation might possibly be exercised by the nations upon any nation that refused to enter into arbitration or abide by its decisions."



This same policy of isolation is advocated by Norman Angell in a pamphlet reprint by the World Peace Foundation from *The Independent* of May 4 1914, "What Can Military Force Do in Mexico?" But Mr. Angell would use the "international machinery of non-intercourse" for intervention in a nation's *internal* affairs, in Mexico for example, to put pressure upon a military adventurer and the people supporting him." Questionable is the mildest term for such a plan, dangerous to national liberties would be a fairer characterization of it. No such objection holds for the *international* policy of non-intercourse. That is based upon the principle of the equal rights of nations and the as yet imperfectly recognized fact of their essential commercial unity.

A. L. G.



Pamphlets Received.

Capital Punishment. By M. W. Connolly, Memphis, Tenn.

Non-Resistance. By Willard L. Sperry. Published by the Pilgrim Press, Boston. 1915.

Blot Out Crime, Poverty, Prostitution, War! By J. A. Kinghorn-Jones, 516 Mission street, San Francisco, Cal.

Cost of Municipal Street Lighting in the City of Milwaukee. Informal investigation by the Railroad Commission of Wisconsin.

Mexico for the Negro. By Orren M. Donaldson. Pub-

lished for the Negro National League, 411 Mecca Building, Chicago. Price, 10 cents.

Amorite Influence in the Religion of the Bible. By Louis Wallis, University of Chicago, Chicago. Reprinted from the Biblical World, April, 1915.

De Leon-Berry Debate: Solution of the Trust Problem. Issued by the National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, New York. 1915. Price, 10 cents.

Argentine Republic; Message of the Executive Power and Project of the General Budget Law for 1915. Printed by the National Capital Press, Washington, D. C.

Speaking of Bill McQuigg and Others. By Ray Clarke Rose. Published for Duke C. Bowers, Dresden, Tenn. 1914. To be obtained from Pengrave Publishing Co., San Diego, Cal.

Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labor for the Year Ended June 30, 1914. Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. 1915.

Persia, Finland, and Our Russian Alliance. Labor and War Pamphlets, Number 12. Published by the Independent Labour Party, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square. London. 1915. Price, one penny.

Subscription Offers

The Public, one year, and a free copy of "Social Problems" by Henry George \$1.00
(The book can go to one address and the Public to another, if desired. New subscriptions only.)

The Public, three yearly subscriptions. No premium books. \$2.00
(One of these three subscriptions can be a renewal. Any number of subscriptions will be accepted at this rate: For instance, \$8 pays for 12 subscriptions.)

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THE CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Building, CHICAGO

CHICAGO SINGLE TAX CLUB SCHILLER BUILDING

May 21—Andrew P. Canning, "Robert Burns."
Daniel Cruice, "The Single Tax."

May 23—At the Hebrew Institute, 1258 W. Taylor St. Debate, "Single Tax vs. Socialism." H. L. T. Tideman and Holger Lyngholm, for the Single Tax; J. Sonnenshine and Louis Herzon, Socialism.

Otto Callman,
President.

E. J. Batten,
Business Secretary.

From a sailor's letter to his wife:

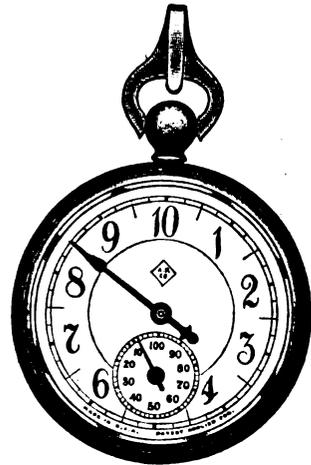
"Dear Jane,—I am sending you a postal order for 10s, which I hope you may get—but you may not—as this letter has to pass the Censor."—Punch.



"There was one man whose life was perfect," said the Sunday School teacher. "Which one of you can tell me who he was?"

Little Mary Jane's hand went up, and the teacher nodded to her.

"He was mamma's first husband," she said.—Truthseeker.



PEDOMETER

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The First Great Triumph of Democracy in History

What Was It?

And When?

Louis Wallis, author of "The Sociological Study of the Bible," has in the April Biblical World an article in which he shows that democracy's first triumph was the victory of monotheism over polytheism, 'way back in the days of the Amorites.

We have a few reprints of this article, which we will send, without charge, to clergymen who will remit one cent to cover postage. To those who add another two cents (send three cents in all) we will mail, in addition, a copy of "Thy Kingdom Come," a sermon by Henry George.

THE PUBLIC, Book Department, Ellsworth Building, Chicago

A private, anxious to secure leave of absence, sought his captain with a most convincing tale about a sick wife breaking her heart for his presence. The officer, familiar with the soldier's ways, replied: "I am afraid you are not telling the truth. I have received a letter from your wife urging me not to let you go home because you get drunk, break up the furniture and maltreat her shamefully." The private saluted and started to leave the room. He paused at the door, asking, "Sor, may I speak to you, not as an officer, but as mon to mon?" "Yes, what is it?" "What I am saying is this," approaching the captain and lowering his voice: "You and I are two of the most illigant liars the Lord ever made. I am not married at all."—Boise, Idaho, Gem Worker.

Singletax Organizations

Join the one nearest to you.
Write for literature, speakers, etc..

- Baltimore, Md., Maryland Single Tax League, 2513 N. Charles St.
Boise, Idaho, Idaho Single Tax League, F. B. Kinyon.
BOSTON, MASS., Mass. Single Tax League, E. E. Brazier, Sec., 79 Milk St., Executive Committee, meets on second Friday of each month in Room 322, Exchange Bldg., 18 Congress St., at 7:15 p. m. All persons interested are welcome at these meetings.
Buffalo, N. Y., Buffalo Single Tax Club, 155 Hughes Ave.
CHICAGO, ILL., Chicago Single Tax Club, Otto Cullman, Pres.; E. J. Batten, Business Secretary, 506 Schiller Bldg., meets every Friday evening.
Cleveland, Ohio, Cleveland Single Tax Club, 404 Williams Building.
Dallas, Texas, Dallas Single Tax Club, 609 Slaughter Bldg.
Denver, Colo., Colo. Single Tax Ass'n, 817 Nat'l Safety Vault Bldg.
Erie, Pa., Erie Single Tax Club, J. B. Ellery, care Y. M. C. A.
Houston, Texas, Houston Single Tax League, 327 Chronicle Bldg.
Indianapolis, Ind., Indianapolis Single Tax Club, 1104 Prospect St.
LOS ANGELES, CALIF., Home Rule in Taxation League, Miss Helen Murphy, Sec., 518 American Bank Bldg., Los Angeles. Visitors in Los Angeles are invited to make the League their headquarters.
New Orleans, La., Louisiana Single Tax League, 1831 Peters Ave.
Memphis, Tenn., Memphis Single Tax Club, 824 Exchange Bldg.
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Minneapolis, Minn., Minn. Single Tax Club, 304 Andrus Bldg.
New York, N. Y., Collegiate Single Tax League, 68 William St.; Manhattan Single Tax Club, 47 W. 42nd St.
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, 1414 Arch St., 8 p. m. Literature can be had from Thos. Kavanagh, S. E. Cor. 10th and Walnut.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Pittsburgh Single Tax Society, 6043 Jenkins Arcade, Pittsburgh.
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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.
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