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EDITORIAL

Still Ahead.

The male voters of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey must feel pretty small when they line up with the voters of some of the western States. They have this consolation, however, they can still make a comparatively good showing in their treatment of women, when compared with the men of Oriental countries. And if they cannot keep up with real Americans they can at least congratulate themselves that they are a little ahead of the Turks. s. c.

An Election Survey.

Referendum elections are of far greater importance than any contest over office. A number of these occurred on November 2. In some cases the result has been temporary delay of progress. A backward step has only been authorized in Pueblo, Colorado, and there the majority is insignificant. In every other place reactionary propositions have been overwhelmingly defeated, and in some cases further progress has been authorized. Whether popular feeling be in favor of the Republican or Democratic party is a matter that need cause no concern, so long as the tendency is right on specific measures on which the people vote directly.

The fight for suffrage was made this year in what was known to be extremely hostile territory. To those familiar with the situation it was a question of the extent to which hostility would be overcome rather than of expectation of securing an actual majority. To these observers the result has exceeded expectations. Especially is this the case in Pennsylvania, where a majority for suffrage was secured outside of Philadelphia. Negative victories for progress were the rejection of the reactionary constitution in New York, the reactionary stability proposition in Ohio, the reactionary taxation amendment in California and similar propositions elsewhere. A positive gain

of importance is the adoption of the Referendum by Maryland, together with local home rule for the counties of the State and the city of Baltimore. The result on the whole is encouraging to democracy.

S. D.



Lawson Purdy's Position.

The letter from Mr. Lawson Purdy, published on page 1051 on October 29, was not written for publication, and might erroneously give the impression that he favored the proposed tax amendment to the New York Constitution. As a matter of fact he opposed it and voted against it.

S. D.



What Framers of Constitutions Must Consider.

Had a workable form of the Initiative and Referendum been included in the proposed new constitution for New York, all of the objections to its bad features could have been met. Objectors need then but have been shown that all defects could be remedied whenever a popular majority so wished, through the Initiative and Referendum. But the tory delegates treated with contempt all suggestions for direct legislation. They figured that inclusion of a few good provisions would tempt voters to swallow all the reactionary features. But the voters wisely rejected the baited hook. The time has passed when framers of constitutions may safely disregard democracy. Future conventions and legislatures may well take heed.

S. D.



New York Sets Illinois a Good Example.

Representatives of an element, similar to the one that backed the proposed reactionary constitution in New York, blocked submission by the Illinois Legislature of an Initiative and Referendum amendment, of an amendment to the Constitution's amending clause, and of the question of calling a constitutional convention. They insisted on a taxation amendment in a form that disregarded an advisory vote of the people but suited their own special interests. Like the defunct constitutional proposal in New York, it may be said to have some good features, but these do not atone for the objectionable ones. Advocates of true tax reform and all other friends of popular government should do what they can to bury the proposed measure when it comes to a vote next year, as the tory instrument in New York was buried.

S. D.



Tories' Fraudulent Tactics.

The tory element of Ohio misrepresented most unscrupulously, for election purposes, a statement

in the October number of Equity. An editorial in that issue said that the magazine had favored a limitation upon the frequency of submission of the same question through the Initiative. At the end of the editorial was the following in reference to the "Stability" measure then pending in Ohio—and since fortunately defeated:

We are for it in principle and believe that a 4-year interval for the resubmission of questions twice voted on would increase respect for the Initiative and make it more useful. But we advise our readers to oppose the present proposition in Ohio because the interval of six years is too long.

The last sentence makes clear that Equity opposed the proposition. But that did not prevent the interests from spreading broadcast copies of the editorial with the last sentence omitted. This made it appear to those who had not read the original as though Equity had endorsed the proposition. It was a deliberate effort to deceive voters who might be influenced by what they believed to be the position of a direct-legislation organ.



Since it is possible that stability measures may come up again, not only in Ohio but elsewhere, it would be well to show that the six-year interval was by no means the only or the most dangerous feature of the proposal. It would have enabled enemies of progressive measures to fight in the courts every attempt to submit them. And it would have made possible such tricks as were made clear in an address by Herbert S. Bigelow.

Suppose the people wished to amend their constitution to carry out some play to abolish poverty—no matter what, but something that the people believed would help.

Those wishing to defeat the project could frame two amendments, incorporating this project in these two amendments with other provisions which would render them utterly obnoxious. Then, with a few hundred dollars, solicitors could be hired to get the necessary signers to put both these amendments on the ballot at one election.

After the defeat of these amendments it would be impossible for the friends of the project to submit it in good faith.

Although the stability amendment presumably would give to the friends of any cause two chances before the people, before putting the lid on, yet, as the above illustration shows, a project could be defeated by being incorporated in bad faith in bad amendments, and the friends of the project thereby shut out from any chance of presenting their cause to the people.

Under such circumstances the Initiative would have been so badly crippled as to be nearly useless. It is needless to say that neither Dr. C. F. Taylor, editor of Equity, nor any of his editorial counselors, had the slightest desire to help such a measure. It is further needless to say that the Con-

stitutional Stability League well knew that they did not. But that did not stop it from using their names so as to give a false impression of their position. The contemptible trick did not accomplish its object, but should nevertheless be exposed that those responsible for the Stability League's methods may be discredited in future campaigns.

S. D.



A Clear Warning.

Ohio liquor men have succeeded within a year in reducing by one-half a statewide majority of 82,000 against prohibition. If they continue to act as catspaws for predatory monopolistic interests, as they have in the past, Ohio will surely become a dry State in the very near future. In endeavoring to cripple the constitutional Initiative, through the so-called "stability" proposal, they drove many democrats to vote for prohibition who would have preferred to oppose it. These voters will certainly continue to support prohibition should the liquor interest continue its fight against democracy. To any but a group of bourbons the notice given at this election would be sufficient. It remains to be seen how capable of understanding so clear a warning Ohio's liquor men may be.

S. D.



Pueblo's Loss.

Though two years ago Pueblo, Colorado, voted to apply the singletax locally, the law was never enforced properly. The measure was faultily drawn, and a hostile assessor valued property with evident intention of discrediting the law. For the current year, improvements under the act were half exempt, and would practically have been entirely so in 1916. That much once accomplished not even the hostile assessor could have prevented a demonstration of advantages. But the opposition was alert and shortly before election put on the ballot a repeal proposition. Though, as is usually the case, this opposition had on its side the money and influence of local land speculators, and of big mining corporations, and though many voters were deceived by the assessor's tricks, the repeal proposition carried by only a small majority. This should not be hard to overcome by the time that the question can be again submitted. But in the meantime Pueblo loses a chance to lead in progress toward better conditions.

S. D.



Reformers Who Make Reform Odious.

Philadelphia returns to gang rule after four

years of experience with the administration of a well meaning reform mayor, who had no fundamental knowledge of reform whatever, and no desire to acquire it. Such reformers in office usually make gang rule popular.

S. D.



Schenectady Corrects a Mistake.

Voters of Schenectady, New York, have corrected their mistake of two years ago when they defeated Mayor George R. Lunn for re-election. They have just re-elected him. It is a triumph for genuine good government. It means more than a little efficiency and care in spending money for conventional things. It embodies a demand that reform be fundamental, and that its first object should be general economic betterment. Schenectady's repentance may well be taken as an indication of what Cleveland will do after two years' experience with a reactionary Mayor.

S. D.



A Test of Fitness.

The majority of voters of New York City, who hold women unfit for suffrage, showed the extent of their superiority by electing a Tammany ticket. The voters of Schenectady who endorsed suffrage at the same time re-elected George R. Lunn. It does seem as though Schenectady voters were the better qualified to pass on the fitness of others for the suffrage.

S. D.



Political Inexpediency.

On a platform declaring for preparedness, Governor Walsh of Massachusetts was defeated for re-election by 6,500 plurality in spite of a creditable record. The result is probably not entirely attributable to that plank, but it ought to be clear that espousal of the preparationist cause can bring no votes to Democratic candidates. If the preparationists are right, the Democratic party should endorse the Republican candidates. If they are wrong, the party that endorses their views discredits itself and its candidates.

S. D.



President Wilson's Mistake.

The causes of war are economic. The way to avoid war is to remove these causes. That requires legislation to give us free trade with all the world and opening of our natural resources to all who wish to use them. Armies and navies cannot give us this. In turning toward preparedness, instead of toward economic justice, President Wilson has made a most serious mistake.

S. D.

A Disappointment.

President Wilson's stand, as outlined in his New York speech, has brought dismay to many of his staunchest friends. Some are asking themselves if this is the parting of the ways. To break with this man who has been the embodiment of so much hope is hard; yet to follow him in the new course he has laid may be harder. Such a military plan as he has outlined, if proposed by a standpat Republican, or by an old-line Democrat, would have caused no surprise; but that it should have been put forth by the man whom so many have looked upon as the leader of a new democracy is most discouraging.

The pathos of it all is that this monstrous military plan is proposed by a man of peace. For President Wilson does stand for peace. He has proven it during the whole time of the Mexican tangle; he has demonstrated it in the sharp clash with Germany; and his every utterance from first to last has breathed of international justice and the comity of nations. It is not as to purpose that complaint is now made, but as to the means by which he would avoid war. And here again will arise confusion over our awkward dilemma. Practically all Americans believe in some preparation for defense. Mr. Bryan is by no means a non-resistant. Not only has he served as a volunteer soldier, but he admits today that he might in the future fight in defense of his country. That is all that Mr. Wilson advocates, a preparation for defense. The difference between them is not one of kind, but of degree. Who is to say: This much is legitimate defense, and That much is militarism? Can we say that Mr. Bryan's is the only course to pacificism, and that Mr. Wilson's leads inevitably to militarism? Must the pacifist turn from the greatest peacemaker who has occupied the Presidential chair to seek another leader? Or shall he remain, and by persistent and consistent opposition cut this monstrous military program to proper proportions?.

Political leaders are not to be measured by the absolute, but by the relative. It is not a question of having an ideal leader, but of getting the best leader available. What alternative is in sight? Who measures up anywhere near to Mr. Wilson in the requirements of a democratic leader? In this same speech that has brought such dismay to his friends the President promises diligence, firmness and self-possession in solving the "great domestic questions" that confront us. Mr. Wilson has been a growing man. His understanding has

broadened and deepened since he took office; and he has a poise and firmness that make him an efficient leader. But not even he can put through this military program unless the people of the country wish it. And if they do wish it it will be put through in spite of any opposition. This is a representative government, and the people do have their way.

As President Wilson took Vera Cruz to prevent Congress from yielding to popular clamor and declaring war on Mexico, so he may himself have yielded to the clamor for preparedness in presenting this military program. But if this be his purpose, he has overshot the mark. He has conceded altogether too much. It will be the duty of the more moderate thinking leaders, in and out of Congress, to trim this program to legitimate dimensions. And if the President wishes to retain the allegiance of the democratic Democrats it will be necessary for him to minimize his military plans and to maximize the "great domestic questions." He must not overlook the fact that Washington is in the eastern edge of the country, where people suffer from conservative provincialism. There is a large territory and many people west of the Allegheny Mountains. They applaud the President's international idealism, but they do not wish to see it held aloft on bayonets.

S. C.

Dollars for War and Cents for Peace.

The proposition of the Administration to spend fifty million dollars in establishing lines of merchant ships between this country and points where the present trade is not sufficient to invite private enterprise has been denounced as gross extravagance and an unwarranted use of the people's money. But when the same Administration proposes a naval construction plan requiring five hundred million dollars as an intitial outlay—and no telling how many hundred millions to follow—it passes unrebuked by the very persons who begrudged the comparatively few dollars required by the peaceful merchantmen.

S. C.

Invincible Preparedness.

Preparationists have laid plans for enlarging our army and navy that will cost two billion dollars. This will lead to greater armaments on the part of other nations; which in turn will necessitate still more preparation on our part. Instead of entering upon this foolish rivalry, let us at the end of the war give that two billion dollars for the care of the widows, orphans and cripples of the

warring countries. The fraternal feelings awakened will make us stronger than all the navies combined. If we must spend two billion dollars, let us get our money's worth.

s. c.



Easy Money.

Chicago needs a new post office. Some time ago Congress appropriated a million and three-quarters of dollars to purchase a site. But those having it in charge dawdled over the matter so long that the price of the land in question has gone up to five million dollars. Congress must now appropriate three and a quarter millions more, or take a less desirable site. This is a striking example of how the landowner forestalls industry. The land in question, although near the heart of the city, contains such wornout improvements as to be little better than vacant land. A short time ago the Northwestern Railroad built a magnificent depot just north of the two blocks in question, and while Congress was hesitating the Pennsylvania Company came to an agreement with the city by which it was to put up a still finer depot south of the land. Naturally these two blocks bear a different relation to the community now from what they did before. So the owners of the two blocks—naturally—demand from the public the extra three and a quarter million dollars, because of what their fellow citizens have done. And—also naturally—the great political leaders who shape the affairs of the American public acquiesce in the holdup demands, and plan a lobbying campaign to secure from Congress the extra money. Perhaps this is one of the instances that Professor Seligman had in mind when he said the untaxing of buildings, and the consequent increase in the tax on land, would “violate some of the most elementary principles of equality.”

s. c.



Overlooking the Main Point.

The summer conference of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, held at Hampton, New Hampshire, made some excellent contributions to the world's peace thought. Senator Henri La Fontaine of Belgium, and president of the International Peace Bureau, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, John Spargo, Rose Pastor Stokes, Professor Charles Zueblin, Dr. George W. Nasmyth and a number of other public-spirited men and women considered the question of international peace as the natural condition of human society. Senator La Fontaine urged his idea of an international court, and Professor Zueblin presented interna-

tional free trade as the indispensable basis of peace.



The sessions devoted to the question of unemployment, however, were not so satisfactory. None of those who discussed the question seemed able to grasp the fact that unemployment is merely a symptom of a constitutional disturbance, to be cured only by removing the fundamental cause of the disturbance. Mrs. Florence Kelley devoted her attention to considering the need of laws limiting the hours of labor. Dr. I. M. Rubinow advocated the strengthening of trade unions, the establishment of minimum wage laws, setting up employment bureaus, organization of industrial education, adjustment of public works to the labor market, and unemployment insurance. Neither these nor the other members who spoke at the Conference saw fit to mention the simple and practical means at hand for untaxing industry. This is the more surprising, because progressive Socialists recognize the land question as part of the industrial problem, and have come to look upon it as the first step. Whether or not the Socialists and the Singletaxers are to keep company beyond the settlement of the land question, there would seem to be no reason why they should not unite for that purpose. To socialize all industry, even if that should prove to be an economic necessity, is an undertaking that may require generations to accomplish; for it rests upon a reversal of the common manifestations of human nature, and must await the slow process of evolution. The Singletax, however, appeals to the very elements in human nature that are now dominant, and it will be accepted as fast as it is understood. It is only a part of the industrial problem; but since the Socialists must in any event solve the land question, they would seem to be following the line of least resistance by supporting the Singletax proposition as far as it goes. The Socialists can consistently support the Singletax movement, because they believe in socializing rent as well as industry; but the Singletaxers cannot consistently support the Socialistic program, because they believe in socializing rent only.

s. c.



Singletaxers and the Tariff.

A correspondent inquires as to the attitude of Singletaxers toward the tariff question. The Public does not presume to speak for Singletaxers as a body; but speaking from what it conceives to be a Singletax point of view, and in accordance with what it believes to be the general belief of Singletaxers, it holds that taxes on trade should

be treated the same as taxes on industry, for trade, indeed, is a part of industry. Both are conducted for the purpose of satisfying human desires, and the fewer the burdens placed upon them, the more will a given effort satisfy. Since land values, which are created by the people as a whole, will supply all the revenue needed for National, State and municipal purposes, there is no need for a tariff for revenue. And the untaxing of industry in this country will give Americans such an advantage over foreign countries as will make a protective tariff ridiculous. Should other countries also abolish their tariffs and taxes on trade, the advantages of a local market will furnish all the protection that any legitimate industry can claim.



The advocates of the protective tariff offer the specious reason that it is necessary in order to equalize the difference in the cost of labor here and abroad. And the laboring men, accepting this plea, vote for that policy. The real defense of a tax on trade, however, is the same as that for a tax on industry; it lies in the ignorance of the people who pay the tax. The assumption is that, were an industry paying its workmen three dollars a day thrown into competition with one paying two dollars a day, the former would be compelled to reduce wages to the level of the latter. The fallacy of this argument has been shown again and again to all who have given it honest consideration. High wages do not necessarily mean high cost of labor. There is no extensive business that does not employ men at various rates of wages and salaries; yet the managers of these industries do not consider the higher priced men as high cost men. Nor are the high-priced men in the company cut down to the level of the low-priced men. If low wages meant cheap labor, England and Germany would set up their factories in India and China. Instead, their factories are in high-wage countries, and the goods are sold in low-wage countries. The fact is that the labor cost of a yard of cloth made in England or Germany is less than the labor cost of a yard of cloth made in India or China.



Again, every advance made toward free trade has resulted in a higher standard of living and greater wealth for the country. When the little German States abolished the tariffs by which each was protected from the others, and entered into the Zollverein, it resulted in such prosperity that it led directly to the formation of the German empire. The abolition of the tariffs between the American colonies was followed by such prosperity

in the newly established Republic that no one has ever presumed to advocate a change in the Constitution that would permit the re-establishment of tariffs between the States. If absolute free trade among the American States has resulted only in good, why should anyone doubt that free trade between the States and Canada would result in good? or between the States of North America and the States of South America? or, in short, between the United States and all the world?



The Singletaxer takes his stand on the old-fashioned doctrine of natural rights. Accepting the declaration that all men have an equal right to life, he contends that each man must have equal access to the raw materials out of which his sustenance must come. And since he owns his own body, and has a common right in the raw materials, it logically follows that he has the right to the wealth that his hands produce. But production without exchange would be less than the condition of the most primitive savage. The subdivision of labor and the efficiency of experts are possible only with trade. If, therefore, the free man has a right to what he produces, he must have the right to free exchange, for that is one of the chief elements in production. As no man can consistently deny another the right to produce, so he cannot consistently deny another the right to exchange. The tariff, therefore, is not only unsound economically, but it is immoral. And the government that levies taxes on production or upon trade, while neglecting to take the land values that are created by its own activities, is immoral.

s. c.



An American.

Brand Whitlock's contemplated return to the United States for rest and recuperation turns attention once more to stricken Belgium. Seldom does a nation have such an opportunity to serve a fellow nation as did the United States in succoring Belgium; and never has a nation had a more fitting agent to give expression to its benevolence. But this was no accident or chance. Brand Whitlock had already won his spurs as a champion of the people. He had spent years in battling against evil institutions in Toledo and had done much toward re-establishing the people in their rights. He is a forward-looking statesman. His efforts in practical politics have been reinforced by his eloquent pen. After years of strenuous life he was made United States Minister to Belgium, in order that he might have a little rest and secure time for literary work. But scarcely had he ar-

rived at his post than the war broke out, and he began the stupendous work of succoring a nation. It may be doubted if any man ever realized more fully the possibilities of his opportunity. Americans are proud of Brand Whitlock. S. C.



Herman Ridder.

It is doubtful if any American of German extraction since Carl Schurz has more fittingly expressed the sentiment of his countrymen than Herman Ridder. Faithful to his race he did not compromise his loyalty to his country. He was broad-minded enough to put principle above partisanship, and he had the independence to break with his party when he thought it in the wrong. Nor did he stop his ears to reason when so many of his countrymen allowed themselves to be swept from their feet by the present war. The criticism that Americans have to make against many fellow citizens of German origin is not that they sympathize with Germany, and are eager to see it win in the present contest, but that some have permitted designing men to lead them into the position of defending Germany right or wrong. To those extremists the invasion of Belgium, the sinking of passenger ships and the shelling of undefended towns were legitimate acts of war. They even went so far as to assail President Wilson when he presumed to protest. Acts that the German government itself has since disavowed were defended wholeheartedly by these ultra partisans.



Herman Ridder was not one of these. When the Lusitania was sunk, and the applause of the Germans in this country and Germany brought forth such an emphatic rebuke from the general American public, Herman Ridder said in behalf of his people:

Nor is this the time to burden millions of American people with unjust and unnecessary anguish of mind. The German-Americans must suffer in any conflict between the United States and Germany many pangs of which their fellow citizens can never know anything. It is rather a time for showing them the greatest degree of consideration. They have fought to uphold the flag in the past, and they will do so again against any enemy whatsoever. They deserve the fruits of past loyalty until they have forfeited the right to claim them.

It is fortunate that the passing of a leading newspaper man can be accompanied by the repetition of such temperate words. And it is to be hoped that the after feeling that comes with such an event will awaken kindred sentiments in the minds of those extremists who have placed the Germans in this country in a false light. S. C.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

MARYLAND'S REFERENDUM.

Washington, November 8.

On election day the State of Maryland by a majority not yet tabulated, but believed to be equal to thirty thousand, adopted four very important constitutional amendments. One of these provided for the Referendum on State-wide measures on the petition of ten thousand voters, and on purely local laws on the petition of ten per cent of the voters of the county.

The second amendment provided for the classification of property, giving the Legislature the right to determine what should be the subjects of taxation and giving a like right to the authorities of the several counties. The text of it, and we believe it to be extremely important, so far as material to this question, is as follows:

That the General Assembly shall, by uniform rules, provide for separate assessment of land and classifications and sub-classifications of improvements on land and personal property, as it may deem proper; and all taxes thereafter provided to be levied by the State for the support of the general State government, and by the Counties, and by the City of Baltimore for their respective purposes, shall be uniform as to land within the taxing district, and uniform within the class or sub-class of improvements on land and personal property which the respective taxing powers may have directed to be subjected to the tax levy.

Still another amendment, providing for Home Rule for the Counties, and for the City of Baltimore, giving these jurisdictions the power, subject to the legislative definition of the jurisdiction in the first instance, to form their own charters and make their own laws. This is coupled with a twenty per cent initiative. This initiative is too large, but nevertheless can be worked without any great practical difficulty in any County of the State.

A fourth amendment relates to criminal matters, and may be quoted in its entirety:

The General Assembly of Maryland shall have the power to provide by suitable general enactment (a) for the suspension of sentence by the court in criminal cases; (b) for any form of the indeterminate sentence in criminal cases, and (c) for the release upon parole in whatever manner the General Assembly may prescribe of convicts imprisoned under sentence for crimes.

It will still be necessary for the Legislature to carry out its Constitutional duty providing for the classification and sub-classification of improvements and personal property, and also passing laws to make the other amendments more effective.

J. H. RALSTON.



THE FISCAL INQUIRY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington, D. C., Nov. 8.

In the investigation of the half-and-half system in the District of Columbia by a Congressional Committee, there are two principles involved, which are of more than local interest, viz.: just taxation and popular government.

Since 1878, when the present form of government and the half-and-half system were adopted, the Dis-

tract has been resting quietly on its oars. The half-and-half system was working day and night, land values were growing, and the real estate interests were content with the *status quo*. The first signs of trouble appeared when Representative Ben Johnson of Kentucky became chairman of the House District Committee. Mr. Johnson and several of his colleagues in the Committee soon came into conflict with the big business interests of the District. They became convinced that the half-and-half system was a species of special privilege in favor of the District at the expense of the tax-payers outside of the District. In the spring of 1914 they made a desperate effort to repeal the half-and-half system by attaching riders to a tax-reform measure which had been introduced in Congress by Henry George, Jr. These riders imposed a heavy rate of taxation on all forms of property in the District, including personal property, visible and invisible, the object being to raise sufficient revenue to defray the entire cost of the District government without any contribution from the Federal treasury. The mutilated George bill was such a travesty on the principles of just taxation that Mr. George was compelled to go upon the floor of the House and to help in defeating it. It was then decided by Congress, in order to put an end to the long-standing controversy over the half-and-half question, to appoint a Joint Congressional Committee to determine what proportion of District expenses should be paid respectively by the District residents and by the United States. The members of the Joint Committee are: Senator Chilton of West Virginia, chairman; Senator Saulsbury of Delaware, Senator Works of California, Representative Cooper of Wisconsin, Representative Rainey of Illinois, and Representative Gard of Ohio. The public hearings began on October 20, 1915, in the Senate Office Building.

In Washington, as in every other American city, there is a ring of privileged interests. The special interest involved in this fiscal inquiry is the real-estate business, the business of booming real-estate values. Over a year ago, the Citizens' Joint Committee was organized, representing the Board of Trade, the Chamber of Commerce, the Retail Merchants' Association, and a number of citizens' associations throughout the city. The working head of this organization is Henry B. F. Macfarland, a former Commissioner of the District, who is a very able and plausible advocate. In the public hearings, he has been assisted by Mr. Worthington, a prominent local attorney, and Mr. Noyes, the editor of *The Evening Star*, which is the wealthiest newspaper company in the city. The Citizens' Joint Committee prepared an elaborate brief consisting mainly of historical facts regarding the District and statistical tables. Based upon figures obtained from the Census Bureau, elaborate comparisons were made between the rates of taxation in Washington and those in other American cities, with a view to demonstrating that taxes here rank high as compared with rates in other cities.

After the representatives of the Citizens' Joint Committee had been heard, Herbert J. Browne was called to the stand. He is a well known expert in real-estate values and assisted the George sub-committee in preparing the George Report of 1912 on taxation and assessments in the District. Mr. Browne

had filed a well-prepared brief, in which he scored the system of assessing property in the District and advocated the abolition of the half-and-half system, proposing in its place a heavy tax on land values as the only source of revenue, except liquor licenses. Mr. Browne is a thorn in the side of the big real-estate interests and a howl of delight arises whenever someone succeeds in proving that his figures are a little "off" in some respect.

It was next arranged by Col. H. Martin Williams, president of the Tax Reform Association, that representatives of our organization should be heard. In July last, a special committee on fiscal relations, consisting of B. F. Lindas, E. J. Dakin, George A. Warren, James Hugh Keeley, Mrs. Jennie L. Munroe, Charles S. Davis, Herbert L. Adams and the writer of this article prepared a concisely written brief, in which we traced the history of the half-and-half system, showing how it had contributed very largely to the enhancement of land values, so that the amount of the Federal subsidy had been capitalized from year to year by the big landed interests of the District. We tried to show that under the present system of taxation, the local benefits of the half-and-half system flowed into the pockets of the few, while the many paid the penalty in high-priced home sites, high rentals, and congested and overcrowded alley slums. We proposed two practicable methods for readjusting the fiscal relations between the United States Government and the District:

1. A complete separation between Federal and municipal functions and the establishment of local suffrage and self-government; or
2. A continuation of the partnership plan, the National Government and the District residents to contribute towards the expenses of the District in proportion to the value of the land occupied respectively by the U. S. Government and the private residents. We urged the necessity for a just and scientific system of taxation, including the single tax on land values, a tax on local monopolies, and a graduated tax on inheritances. We pointed out the fact that the exact proportion to be contributed by the National Government was of less importance than the system of taxation by which the local revenues were to be raised.

The Tax Reform Association was represented in the hearings by W. D. Mackenzie, James Hugh Keeley, Arthur P. Davis, and Walter I. Swanton. Before we were called to the stand, we realized that a new element had been injected into the controversy. On the first day of the hearings, a member of the Congressional Committee presented a tentative resolution providing for the abolition of the District of Columbia, whose affairs should hereafter be managed by some department of the Federal Government, all of the expenses of the District to be paid by the Federal Government, and the people of the District to be taxed at such rate as might be determined by Congress. For some reason there appeared to be a sentiment in the Committee not in favor of greater democracy and local self-government for the District, but for a greater degree of Federalism and absolutism. It was therefore necessary for us to show that the adjustment of the fiscal problem was intertwined with the question as to what form of government should be established in the District. We undertook to show, first, that local

self-government is necessary and desirable if Washington is to be made a model city and a worthy capital of the Republic; second, that the people of the District are entitled to all the rights of American citizenship, and that Congress has full power to establish self-government in the District; third, that, as above indicated, there are two alternative methods by which the fiscal problem may be settled; and fifth, that radical reforms in the local system of taxation are necessary, in order that all may share equitably in the benefits of whatever fiscal arrangement with the National Government may be adopted.

Mr. Keeley gave a very interesting historical sketch of the District government, and made a strong plea for suffrage and local self-government. The advantages of the singletax were presented by Arthur P. Davis, Director of the Reclamation Service, in an eminently forceful and logical manner. Mr. Swanton exhibited the charts which have heretofore done yeoman service in illustrating the singletax at meetings of citizens. Other citizens appeared on the witness stand, mainly on the side of popular government and just taxation.

Mr. Oliver P. Newman and Mr. Louis Brownlow, the two civilian District Commissioners, have just submitted their recommendations. They favor a continuation of the present form of District government and recommend a new fiscal arrangement to take the place of the half-and-half system. Under this arrangement, the U. S. Government would continue to appropriate funds for the District, and would levy taxes on the residents of the District which would be no higher than the rates paid in other cities. Expressing my own personal views, I will say that these recommendations are disappointing. The people of the District, under the proposed system, will still be compelled to go on bended knees to the District Committees of Congress to secure appropriations for city improvements, and to submit their appeals to the District Commissioners whom they do not elect, and over whom they have no control, in order to secure an equitable distribution of the funds appropriated by Congress. Under this system, Congress, already overburdened with national affairs, will continue to act as a municipal council for the city of Washington. How much better it would be for Congress to grant a charter to the city of Washington, turning over to the city certain well-defined municipal functions of a purely local character, empowering said city to levy taxes to defray the expenses of the city proper, and leaving all purely Federal functions in the hands of Congress. This would be a real evolutionary step. The present form of government is anomalous, undemocratic and un-American, and must sooner or later give way to a modern, efficient, and democratic form of city government. It is gratifying to note, however, that both of the civilian Commissioners came out squarely for the singletax, advocating a reduction of 10 per cent per annum in the rate of taxation on improvements, and a corresponding increase in the rate on land values, this shifting of taxation to continue for five years, when the rate of taxation on land values would be double that on improvements.

It is too early to predict what the outcome will be, although it is very probable that some such system as that adopted by Messrs. Newman and Brownlow will be adopted by Congress. All that the

little band of radicals and progressives in Washington can do is to appeal to the American people to back us up in our fight for both just taxation and fundamental political democracy at the heart of the Republic. If we win our fight, it will be a victory whose effects will be felt for good in every state in the Union. If we lose our fight, the present conditions, which certainly do not set a good example before other American cities, will continue indefinitely. We hope that every progressive member of Congress, especially those hailing from States which have adopted woman suffrage and genuine popular government, will make a note of our dilemma. We need their support in the coming fight for justice in the Senate and House.

Congress has absolute jurisdiction and responsibility in the District of Columbia, but the people of the District have certain political and economic rights which Congress is bound to respect. By all means, let Washington be a great National Capital, but it should also be made a model American city.

WILLIAM D. MACKENZIE.



THE BODENREFORM CONFERENCE.

Berlin, Oct. 12, 1915.

The annual conference of the Bund Deutscher Bodenreformer was held this year at Bielefeld in Westphalia, on October 1st to 4th. The attendance was large and exceeded all expectations both in size and enthusiasm. It was the first conference held since the war began, and it was thought that the distractions of the war would cause interest in the land reform movement to flag, but quite the opposite is the case. The great drawing card was the Soldier's Homesteads programme, which the Bodenreformers and others are pushing with great vigor. Over 1,750 societies and organizations have subscribed to the General Committee for Soldiers' Homesteads. The most prominent among these is the Association of German Cities, an organization composed of the executive officials of all the cities in Germany which have less than 25,000 inhabitants, representing 800 cities with a total population of over five million.

The law as provisionally framed provides that every soldier or soldier's widow shall have a claim upon his local government for a homestead. The land is to be divided according to its availability into cottage gardens, truck gardens, and small farms, and is to be leased to the veteran at will. During his lifetime, that of his widow or the minority of any of his children, the rent is not to be increased, after the original tenant's death and the coming of age of his heirs the land is to be appraised at its full value, and the leasing system is to be continued indefinitely, the community collecting the annual economic rent. Improvements are of course the property of the lessee, but the corporation owning the land shall have the right to purchase them in case he should wish to leave. Provisions are also made for establishing land banks, under government supervision, whose function shall be the loaning of money to finance the homesteads, and this is to be done under terms permitting the lessee to amortize his debt in the course of a long term of years. In no case are such loans to be a lien upon the land.

The city, county or state shall be obligated to provide a homestead to every soldier who desires one and in accordance with his needs. There must always be a definite proportion of land available for this purpose. It is well known that the various governing units of Germany own great tracts of land. Berlin alone owns 50,000 acres, most of which could be made available for homesteads, and all of it is along lines of excellent suburban service.

The advantages of this system are numerous. Besides taking the city dweller out of the tenements into the open country, where he could live more healthily and cheaply, it would also tend to reduce rents within the city, and above all would ultimately bestow in perpetuity the economic rent of vast tracts of closely built up land which would be removed from speculation and would be a constant source of income. It has been demonstrated at Fairhope and Arden, that land adjoining the enclave is always relatively cheaper than the leased land. If this is a law that holds good generally, it would provide an indefinite amount of land, the capitalized value of which would be greater than it was while under private ownership.

On the third day of the gathering, the delegates were greeted at the Hermann Monument in the Teutoburger Forest by the Prince of Lippe-Detmold, who although he rules a small state is as much sovereign in his domain as the King of Prussia is in his. His presence is regarded as significant of the favor in which the movement is held in some influential circles.

The keynote of the conference was struck by President Damashke in his opening address. "We are not striving for a means but an end. It is not the Erbaurecht, not the unearned increment tax, not even taxation of land values. What we want is that the land of Germany shall become the heritage of the whole German people."

Geheimrat Schrameir, "the man who made Kiauchau famous," in reply to the greetings of the American delegate, spoke regretfully of the disturbance the war had caused in the former cordial relations among land reformers throughout the world. "The onset which had been started by the English Land Reformers has come to a stand still. The only people who are continuing to attack the land reform problems with the same energy as in times of peace are the Germans."

JOSEPH DANZIGER.

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, November 9, 1915.

The Suffrage Referendums.

Complete returns from Pennsylvania show that the majority against suffrage was 43,588. Since the adverse majority in Philadelphia was 45,216 it follows that in the State outside the proposed

amendment had a majority of 1,628. Allegheny County, containing the city of Pittsburgh, returned a suffrage majority of 2,123. Complete returns from Massachusetts show that suffrage was defeated by 132,083. In New York the anti-suffrage majority was 175,000. [See current volume, pages 1025, 1029, 1030, 1055, 1073.]



Miscellaneous Referendums.

The majority against the proposed constitution in New York is about 450,000. In Ohio prohibition was defeated by about 40,000, as compared with 82,000 a year ago. Outside of Hamilton County, containing the city of Cincinnati, it had about 20,000 majority. The proposed stability amendment limiting the use of the Initiative was defeated by about 70,000. An amendment exempting bonds from taxation was beaten by about 10,000. The congressional gerrymander of the Republican legislature on which the Referendum was invoked was beaten by about 35,000. Massachusetts appears to have adopted a taxation amendment allowing imposition of an income tax, and another allowing land purchases by the State for homesteading purposes. In Toledo, Ohio, a proposed 25 year street railway franchise passed by council was rejected on referendum vote. In Cincinnati a ten year franchise to the electric light company allowing a charge of 9 cents was upheld on referendum. Detroit defeated by about 5,000 majority a proposition to purchase the local street railway company. Maryland voted on four amendments, a report of which is on page 1095.



The Cleveland Result.

The Cleveland mayoralty election resulted under the preferential vote in election of Harry L. Davis, Republican, although Peter Witt had a plurality of first choice votes. The vote was as follows:

	First Choice.	Second Choice.	Other Choices.	Totals.
Harry L. Davis...	36,844	8,549	2,378	47,771
Peter Witt	39,861	3,569	1,510	44,940
Miner G. Norton..	14,293	8,535	3,599	26,427
Charles P. Salen..	5,856	7,827	4,485	18,168
C. E. Ruthenberg	5,940	4,669	2,517	13,126
Richard Koepfel..	475	416	976	1,867

The result was obtained by adding to first choice votes the second and other choices obtained by each candidate. Since no candidate had a majority the plurality candidate was declared elected. [See volume xvii, p. 1211; current volume, pages 1047, 1073.]



Although a Republican was elected Mayor the newly elected council will contain 16 Democratic members as against 10 Republicans and Independents. At a meeting of the Democratic majority on November 4 it was decided to push for

extension of 3 cent electric light to all parts of Cleveland, and to fight for other progressive measures that have been advocated by the Johnson and Baker administrations.



Socialist Successes in New York.

Former Mayor George R. Lunn was re-elected Mayor of Schenectady, New York, on November 2. He received 6,069 votes as against 5,035 for the Republican candidate and 3,333 for the Democratic nominees. Dr. Charles P. Steinmetz, Socialist, was elected president of the common council. They further elected two councilmen. But the Republicans elected other officials and a majority of council. In New York City A. J. Shiplacoff, Socialist, was elected to the Assembly from the 23rd District.



Pueblo Goes Backward.

By a majority of 187, Pueblo, Colorado, voted on November 2 to repeal the Singletax amendment to the city charter, adopted in 1913, and which was to go into full effect in 1916. [See current volume, pages 1054, 1073.]



Tax Reform in the District of Columbia.

At the hearing of the Congressional Committee on the District of Columbia on November 2, Arthur P. Davis urged application of the Singletax to the District and presented the arguments in its favor. In reply to a question by Senator Works of California he said, as reported by the Washington Star:

"We have land, taxes on improvements and taxes on various activities, including special licenses. All of these are unwise except the taxes on land values. The holder of land gets his share of public protection. I believe the ideal system would be to tax lands at their selling value, or, in other words, to preclude the possibility of speculation. I would not recommend this change to be made suddenly, as it might be too much of a jar, but I would say that is the ideal condition, the goal toward which we should set our course."

"How long would you give to make the change?" asked Senator Works.

"Not over five years."

"If it should jar it would be a jar in the right direction?"

"Yes, indeed."

Charts were shown the Committee, prepared by Walter I. Swanton, which showed the tax situation as it exists. These showed great inequalities in assessments. Home rule for the District was advocated by A. S. Trundle. [See current volume, page 1073.]



Correction.

The statement is erroneous on page 1077 declaring that the act nullified by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court placed a State tax on anthracite

coal of 2½ cents a ton. It should have stated 2½ per cent ad valorem on coal at the mouth of the mine ready for shipment. Concerning this matter Samuel Milliken of Philadelphia states:

It is estimated that the companies, generally paying enormous dividends, have collected from consumers about \$10,000,000! The Philadelphia Record respectfully suggests to them that, as they cannot return the money to the small purchasers, they spend it on hospitals, etc., in the coal regions. I think I see them doing it—when the pigs begin to fly.

Before the law was passed (championed by Attorney General Brown) I pointed out to him that the tax was wrongly placed. But my advice was disregarded—same old story!



To Continue Work of Industrial Relations Commission.

Steps were taken on November 8 to form an organization to continue the work of the Commission on Industrial Relations and to urge upon Congress the adoption of the recommendations contained in the Walsh report. The new organization is to be known as the Industrial Relations Committee. A preliminary organization has been formed consisting of the following: Frank P. Walsh, Amos Pinchot, Frederic C. Howe, Bishop Charles D. Williams, Dante Barton of the Kansas City Star, John B. Lennon, James O'Connell, Austin B. Garretson, John P. White of the United Mine Workers of America, John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Helen Marot of the New York Women's Trade Union League and Agnes Nestor of the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago. Basil M. Manly, who wrote the Walsh report, will be director of research and investigation under the new organization. Associated with him will be George P. West, author of the report on the Colorado strike, and Otto F. Bradley in charge of an anti-tuberculosis campaign in Wisconsin. The first effort of the Committee will be directed to securing the printing and distribution, free of charge, of the final report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, and also of the testimony taken at public hearings. It will oppose any new taxes on labor or any bond issue to pay for a greater army and navy. While taking no part in the preparedness fight, it will urge that if such policy be decided upon, the expenses be met by an inheritance tax or a heavier income tax. It will resist repeal of "salutory labor legislation." It will act in the case of labor difficulties by helping to call "attention to the economic as well as the political evils that exist in the communities in which the poorly paid individual wage earner pits his feeble and entirely negligible bargaining power against that of the huge corporation." The work will be financed by subscriptions from all in sympathy with its purpose. [See current volume, page 1029, 1041.]

Chicago Garment Workers' Strike.

Mayor Thompson of Chicago refused on November 5 the request of the city council's strike committee to appoint a citizens' committee to deal with the garment workers' strike. The Mayor declared that the strikers were misbehaving and until they went home and acted properly he would do nothing. On November 8 Miss Ellen Gates Starr of Hull House, who has been helping the strikers in picketing, was arrested for refusing to "move on" at a policeman's demand. Her place was immediately taken by Mrs. F. I. Lillie, daughter of R. T. Crane. When asked by the policeman to move, she declared and challenged him to arrest her, saying, according to the Chicago Herald, "You do not dare to arrest me because I am rich. You do not arrest the rich." The policeman refrained from molesting her. An affidavit was presented to States Attorney Hoyne by the attorney for the strikers presenting the confession of a special policeman telling that he had been employed as a slugger to assault strikers and also to make trouble for non-union workers in such a way as to throw blame on strikers. [See current volume, page 1075.]



Chicago School Board Affairs.

The Chicago City Council on November 8 rejected the confirmation of three of Mayor Thompson's school board appointees. These were Reverend John P. Brushingham, A. Sheldon Clark, and Charles S. Peterson. A fourth appointee, W. N. Selig, withdrew his name. Appointments were confirmed of Mrs. F. E. Thornton, Max Loeb and Harris W. Huehl. The vote was 30 to 39 on Mr. Brushingham, 31 to 38 on Mr. Clark and 25 to 43 on Mr. Peterson. The latter is the reappointed member who had voted for the rule against the Teachers' Federation. The vote for confirmation of Mrs. Thornton and Max Loeb was 47 to 22; of Mr. Huehl, 48 to 21. [See current volume, page 1074.]



President Wilson and the Preparedness Issue.

President Wilson yielded to the demand for preparedness in an address to the Manhattan Club at New York City on November 4. He said in part:

In no man's mind, I am sure, is there even raised the question of willful use of force on our part against any nation or any people. No matter what military or naval force the United States might develop, statesmen throughout the whole world might rest assured that we are gathering that force not for attack in any quarter, not for aggression of any kind, not for the satisfaction of any political or international ambition, but merely to make sure of our own security. We have it in mind to be prepared not for war but only for defense; and with the thought constantly in our minds that the principles we hold most dear can be achieved by the slow processes of history only in the kindly and wholesome

atmosphere of peace, and not by the use of hostile force.

He advocated increase of the regular army, training within the next three years of a citizen force of 400,000 men, and the spending of \$500,000,000 within the next five years in increasing the navy. This increase to consist of 15 to 20 dreadnoughts and cruisers, 100 submarines, 70 torpedo boat destroyers, a fleet of aeroplanes and dirigibles and hospital and supply ships. In speaking of domestic dissension he said in part:

The only thing within our own borders that has given us grave concern in recent months has been that voices have been raised in America professing to be the voices of Americans which were not indeed and in truth American, but which spoke alien sympathies, which came from men who loved other countries better than they loved America; men who were partisans of other causes than that of America and had forgotten that their chief and only allegiance was to the great government under which they live. These voices have not been many, but they have been very loud and very clamorous. They have proceeded from a few who were bitter and who were grievously misled. . . . May I not say, while I am speaking of this, that there is another danger that we should guard against? We should rebuke not only manifestations of racial feeling in America, where there should be none, but also every manifestation of religious and sectarian antagonism. It does not become America that within her borders, where every man is free to follow the dictates of his conscience and worship God as he pleases, men should raise the cry of church against church. To do that is to strike at the very spirit and heart of America.



In a statement replying to the President's remarks on preparedness, William J. Bryan said in part on November 5:

The President will not assume that he is more deeply interested in the welfare of his country than the millions who elected him to be, for the time being, their spokesman.

He has announced a policy which has never before been adopted in this country, and never endorsed by any party in the country he has no way of knowing, until he hears from the people, whether he has correctly interpreted the will of the public. His appeal is not to any party, but, as he says, to men of "all shades of opinion."

The President says we should be prepared, "not for aggression, but for defense." That is the ground upon which all preparation for war is made. It is a false philosophy, and, being false, it inevitably leads into difficulties.

If there is any truth in our religion, a nation must win respect as an individual does, not by carrying arms, but by an upright, honorable course that invites confidence and insures good will. The president himself admits that there is no reason for a change. He says:

"The country is not threatened from any quarter. She stands in friendly relations with all the world. Her resources and her self-respect and capacity to care for her own citizens and rights are well

known." And to make the statement more emphatic, he adds "There is no fear among us."

If we're not threatened by any nation, if our relations with all nations are friendly, if everybody knows that we're able to defend ourselves if necessary, and if there is no fear among us, why is this time chosen to revolutionize our national theories and to exchange our policy for the policy of Europe?

I hope the President will not be deceived by the atmosphere of the Manhattan Club. That is the one place in the United States where the mammon-worshipping portion of the Democratic party meets to exchange compliments—there is no group farther removed from the sentiment of the masses, whether you measure that sentiment by economical, social, or religious standards.



Call to Americans of Foreign Extraction.

A call to American citizens of foreign birth or parentage to take action against an unneutral policy has been issued by a committee headed by William Lustgarten, 68 William Street, New York. The call says in part:

The time has come when to remain longer silent is to place the great mass of loyal American citizens of foreign birth or foreign parentage under a burden of unjust suspicion and undeserved reproach. For months there has been an element in this class of foreign origin who have carried on in these United States the propaganda of their foreign sympathies, not as fair American participants in the open channel of public debate, but secretly and in alliance with agents of foreign monarchies. They have lent their aid to plot and subterfuge of secretly subsidized organizations and to acts designed and executed for the purpose of embarrassing the government of the United States and its President in the delicate and troubled hours of this European conflict. . . . They have bowed to the monstrous idea of dual citizenship and lent themselves to the manipulations of foreign interests to whom the liberty, democracy and free ideal of these United States of America have been and are abhorrent. . . . American citizens of foreign birth or foreign name must rise to the responsibilities of their citizenship and write themselves plainly and unmistakably into the record of American history in these times or be classed with those to whom American citizenship is but a folded piece of paper and who have proved themselves fundamentally impossible of assimilation.

We therefore call upon all American citizens who have or whose parents have established themselves and their posterity in these United States believing in its democracy, its equality and its liberty to communicate with William Lustgarten, 68 William street, New York, for the purpose of joining in steps looking toward action either by resolution or formal organization as may seem best.



Mexico.

General Villa failed to capture Agua Prieta, and withdrew his exhausted army to Naco, Sonora. He claims to have 13,000 men under his command. No plans are announced for the future, but unofficial reports credit him with a desire to make his way to the Pacific Coast where he can establish

a port through which to get supplies. The United States authorities refused him permission to send his wounded over American territory to El Paso. [See current volume, page 1075.]



General Carranza was greeted at Piedras Negras on the 2nd by Elizo Arredondo, who presented him with papers of recognition from the Washington Administration, and by John Lind. Much anxiety on the part of great land owners is reported because of the announced policy of General Carranza to make all pay their taxes. To newspaper representatives on the 5th he announced a vigorous agrarian policy, that includes provision of land for the deserving soldiers, and taxes on the vacant land held by the large holders. He will insist upon the payment of back taxes, which for years have remained unpaid. He has had a commission for nearly a year making a re-valuation of the land. It is nearly ready to report. He declares the school system in the country under his control is better than it ever was. He promises freedom to all religions on condition that priests and ministers observe the constitutional requirement that they take no part in politics. General Carranza has assumed a kindlier attitude toward the United States since his recognition; and he made a good impression on Mr. Lind and on the representatives of the press.



General Jose Orozco has confessed to the United States district attorney to participation in a plot to restore General Huerta to power. The venture, he says, had been financed to the extent of \$11,000,000 and a large amount of arms collected on the border. General Huerta's arrest by the American authorities frustrated his designs.



Japan.

Elaborate and mystical ceremonies accompanying the coronation of the Emperor, Yoshihito, who succeeded his father, Mutshito, July 30, 1912, were begun on the 7th, when the Emperor and Empress with a gorgeously gowned retinue arrived in the ancient capital of Kioto. The Diet has appropriated 5,000,000 yen to defray the cost of the ceremonies, which will be a combination of the ancient traditional observances, joined with the present-day customs that have been adopted by the modernized empire. [See vol. xv, p. 780, current volume, page 1075.]



European War.

Nothing has come of the determined drive of General von Hindenburg against the Russian line from Dvinsk to Riga. The German offensive appears to have spent its force, and the initiative has passed to the Russians, who are slowly pressing the invaders back at both Riga and Dvinsk. In Galicia heavy fighting continues, with the ad-

vantage slightly in favor of the Russians. On the western front the Germans have repeatedly assumed the offensive in the Champagne district, and have made some very slight gains, but without materially changing the line. Artillery duelling has continued on the British front, and in Belgium, but there have been no general engagements. [See current volume, page 1075.]

Renewed fighting is reported from the Dardanelles, but no results are announced. Italy continues her vigorous campaign in the mountains and along the Isonzo River, making small gains from the Austrians. The Italians have landed a force at Avalona in Albania.

The Teutonic forces still move southward through Serbia. They have effected a junction with the Bulgarians north of Nish, which gives them rail communication from Belgrade, through Nish and Sofia, to Constantinople. But the road will have to be fortified before it can be depended upon as a line of communication. The Bulgarians have taken Nish and extended their line a few miles to the west. The Germans have crossed the western branch of the Morava River, and have taken Krushevatz. But the Austrian end of the line has met a check by the Montenegrins at Grahovo. The Serbian capital has been moved temporarily to Rashka, directly west of Nish. The Allies have a sixty mile line extending east and west in southern Serbia, the eastern end being east of Strumnitza, where the French are still pressing back the Bulgarians. Troops of the Allies are still landing at Saloniki and at Kavala.

Greek politics have been in a state of ferment, following the resignation of Premier Zaimis on the 4th, after a vote of want of confidence by parliament. King Constantine refused to follow the constitutional course of inviting Venizelos to form a cabinet. Finally Mr. Skouloudis assumed the premiership, naming the retiring cabinet with the exception of Zaimis. As he represents a minority in parliament there is still doubt as to the stability of the new cabinet. Mr. Skouloudis is understood to be friendly to the cause of the Allies, but promises to maintain a benevolent neutrality.

Premier Asquith emphasized the declaration of Lloyd-George that Great Britain would fight on with the Allies till the war reached a successful issue. An inner council of three or five members of the Cabinet is looked for to have direct control of military operations. Lord Kitchener is on the Continent, presumably on his way to the Balkans. No announcement has been made as to his destination or purpose, but unofficial reports are to the effect that he will take general command of operations in the East. He consulted with General

Joffre and with Minister of War Gallieni, while in France.

Two German submarines are reported having passed Gibraltar, and sunk several ships in the Mediterranean. A German cruiser has been sunk by a British submarine in the Baltic.

The American note to Great Britain making protests against her blockade interfering with the trade of neutrals, was made public on the 8th. A strong stand is taken by the Washington Administration in behalf of all neutral nations. The note elicits commendation from the American press, and is taken seriously by the British press.

NEWS NOTES

—Thirteen persons lost their lives and 27 were injured in a factory fire in Brooklyn on November 6. The building had been condemned and safety measures required by law are alleged to have been neglected.

—The Senate of Chile approved on the 6th the arbitration treaty with the United States providing for an investigation by an international commission of differences that cannot be settled through diplomacy. [See current volume, page 805.]

—Governor Dunne called on November 8 a special session of the Illinois Legislature to meet on November 22. The session is to provide appropriations made necessary by a decision of the Supreme Court on November 4 declaring illegal appropriations made at the regular session.

—The Interstate Trade Commission announced on November 2 that it had undertaken an investigation of petroleum production, refining, transportation and marketing. This is the result of a resolution introduced by Senator Owen of Oklahoma, that passed the Senate at the last session, on account of complaints of independent refiners.

—The new Wisconsin law closing grocery and delicatessen stores on Sunday went into effect on November 7. It was generally disregarded in Milwaukee by the small dealers. District Attorney Zabel declared that public opinion is against enforcement, and he believes, moreover, that the law is unconstitutional. He said that he would ask the Governor for instructions.

—A conference on co-operation between cities and universities in training for public service is to be held in Cincinnati on November 15 to 17 at the University Auditorium. Speakers announced include Chancellor Charles R. Norton of Buffalo, Robert A. Falconer of Toronto, Hollis Godfrey of Philadelphia, Glenn L. Swiggett, secretary of the Pan-American Union; Charles A. Beard of Columbia, Henry M. Leipziger of New York, and others.

—Charles M. Milroy, progressive, was elected Mayor of Toledo, Ohio, on November 2 in a three-cornered race. Samuel W. McCall, Republican, was

elected Governor of Massachusetts over David I. Walsh by 6,606. Emerson C. Harrington, Democrat, was elected Governor of Maryland by about 3,000. A. O. Stanley, Democrat, was elected Governor of Kentucky, on the face of the returns, by 681. Thomas B. Smith, Penrose Republican, was elected Mayor of Philadelphia by 75,000 over George D. Porter, candidate of the Blankenburg administration. Edward Swann, Tammany Democrat, was elected District Attorney of New York by 50,000.

—An amendment to the Constitution of Peru has passed Congress by a large majority. If not vetoed by the President, it will automatically become a law. A Constitutional amendment must be passed by two consecutive Congresses, and be signed by the President. The present action is the second stage. President Pardo is a progressive Roman Catholic, and is expected to sign the act. The present Constitution reads: "The nation professes the Roman Catholic apostolic religion; and the State protects it and does not permit the exercise of any other." The amendment wipes out the words: "And does not permit the exercise of any other." [See current volume, page 839.]

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see current volume, page 1077) for the nine months ending September, 1915, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for September, 1915, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	\$2,529,575,095	\$1,302,281,591	\$1,227,293,504 exp.
Gold	12,936,680	265,871,213	252,934,533 imp.
Silver	35,557,489	25,276,972	10,280,517 exp.
Total	\$2,578,069,264	\$1,593,429,776	\$ 984,639,488 exp.

The exports of merchandise for September, 1915, the fourteenth month of the European war, were \$297,766,750, as compared with \$156,052,333 in September, 1914, and \$218,240,001 in 1913. The imports for September, 1915, were \$151,422,831, as compared with \$139,710,611 in September, 1914, and \$171,084,843 in 1913.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Reformers' Common Lot.

The Truth Seeker (New York), October 30.—The Truth Seeker has received from Carrie Chapman Catt, chairman of the New York state votes-for-women campaign committee, an official announcement that the stories the enemies of suffrage are circulating derogatory to the character of the leaders are untrue and their charges repudiated. It appears that antis, both men and women, are saying that the suffragists are immoral persons who advocate free love and other things destructive of the social fabric. . . . Mrs. Catt is considerably surprised as well as shocked that associations opposed should adopt such tactics, and says that "in all the world's history of reforms there was never so unfounded, treacherous and conscienceless an attack made upon those who have led them." . . . The truth is that the same unfounded, treacherous and conscienceless attack has been made on all leaders of reforms. . . . It is possible that the present leaders of the suffragist

movement . . . supposed that they were destined to be an exception to the rule and so get their reform over without paying the penalty that the treacherous and conscienceless opponents of justice always exact. The only known way to avoid the "mud throwing" is not to be a reformer; but if one will venture to enter the field against established customs he must be prepared to take what comes his way. . . . The stuff the antis are now putting out regarding the leaders of the suffragists is very likely adapted from Roosevelt's indictment of Socialists or from remarks made years ago by the Rev. Joseph Cook . . . about leading Freethinkers. The lady suffragists cannot come into the kingdom of reformers without this baptism, and would not feel at home there if they could.



An Aristocratic Army.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat, November 6.—The president's program "calls for the training within the next three years of 400,000 citizen soldiers, to be raised in annual contingents of 133,000." This number of men are to be taken for a longer or shorter period from gainful employments and subjected to "intensive training" in the arts of war. Who are to make up this vast body of soldiers? Certainly not very many workmen can afford to relinquish employment for two months or more a year. It is hard enough now for the vast bulk of wage workers to provide for their families. They could not provide for them if drawn from work one-sixth of the year. Then where shall we find the 400,000 men if not among the ranks of the toilers? Obviously among the leisure class, the rich or well to do. They alone can afford to give up two months or more a year to the "intensive training" which is to fit them for the defense of the country against an imaginary foe. Our army as now constituted is based on the feudalistic idea. It is not a democratic army. It is officered by men set apart as a privileged class for that very purpose. There is no hope of coming up from the ranks. The common soldier must remain a common soldier, no matter how long he may serve, no matter how high his efficiency, no matter what his actual merits. And now the aristocratic character of the army is to be enhanced by a citizen soldiery recruited, not from the field and workshop, not from the mill and factory, not from the mine and furnace, but from the bank parlor and the counting house, from those who lead lives of comparative leisure, from those to whom the loss of a day's pay means little or nothing, from the sons of rich families which can afford a diversion that wears the aspect of patriotic service. Can any one doubt how an army so recruited would come to be regarded by the great body of plain Americans when its composition and character should come to be understood?



Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever.—Macauley.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE LABORER.

By Elwyn Hoffman.

Coal have I digged and wood have I hewn,
Yet cold is my heart and drear;
And I shiver full oft for a bit of the flame
My Promethian hand brought here.

I have given my strength to the useful plow,
And followed it after with seed;
Yet the grain is threshed, and the grain is ground,
And still do I know my need.

I have tended the flock on the lonely plain,
And sheared in the noisy pen;
And watched by the loom—yet the cloth I wear
Is Israel's dragged hem.

My brain has thought and my hand obeyed,
And my soul has dreamed its best;
Yet I lay me down, when the night comes on,
With a dead hurt in my breast!

Broad is the land my master owns,
And fruitful year to year;
But my estate is a rented lie
And my holdings lodged in fear!



THE SWORD OF DAMOCLES.

By A. Kiefer.

His name was Achilles Napolis, and he worked in a foundry. It was neither his name nor his occupation that attracted my attention to this tall, silent Greek, but rather the gentle patience with which he treated his tormentors, his fellow-workmen.

Achilles was a moulder's helper—that is to say, he was the scapegoat for all the mistakes made by the moulder whom he helped. His duties were to shovel sand, carry water, and stand ready to steady the crucible of molten metal as his lord and master, the moulder, poured a fiery torrent into the open moulds. Achilles worked from seven in the morning until six at night. For this he received two dollars. At the end of each week he would send seven of his twelve dollars back to Greece, to the little town of Sepolis, nestled there among the hills. Often, as he shoveled sand, or ate his noon-day meal of dry bread and sausage, his mind would drift back to the little vine-covered house, a little house which, though heavily mortgaged, was yet his own, and he would count the weeks until the time when he would return, rich with American dollars, and call this place his very own. Then he would be rudely awakened from his day dreams by a stream of angry curses, no less fiery than the metal which flared and sputtered as it rushed with

a menacing hiss into the waiting moulds. But he was used to this. It was rarely that any of his fellow-workmen spoke to him—in fact, to each other—without emphasizing their every remark with the vilest of oaths, and so Achilles took it philosophically.

"Six more week and I buy ticket back to Greece," he told himself one morning. Yes, six more weeks. All that day Achilles shoveled sand, but his thoughts were far away, among the sunny hills of his native land. He saw himself returning home, no longer a nobody, no longer a target for the kicks and curses of tyrannical bosses, but as a man of wealth and importance. He would be held up as an example of thrift and diligence, his word would carry weight in the councils of his native village, and the evil memory of his American exile would remain only as a nightmare.

They were pouring the last mould. In ten minutes the whistle would blow and the men would stream from the factory and scatter to their various homes. The metal hissed and barked as it rushed into the mould. Achilles winked and blinked as the fiery fluid seared his eyeballs. There was a warning shout, a crackling as of many rifles, and a rush of fleeing bodies, and—silence . . . but only for a moment. Then followed a series of awful screams. There had been a run-out; two men had been badly burned—Achilles one of them. When they reached him he had lost consciousness.

I inquired after him the next day. "Oh, yes, he was in the hospital—yes, he had lost his left foot." "Would he get damages?" Certainly not. Had he not been told that his work was risky and had he not signed a waiver on going to work? Besides, what did it matter? He was only a Wop.



HENRY GEORGE.

For The Public.

They cling, these leeches, to the lands that dead,
Once-gripping hands have seized. Foresight or luck
Picked out earth's arteries, their children suck;
To cure ill-nourishment the poor man's bled.
Far on dense streets are life and commerce led,
Each plot a toll-gate for each rumbling truck,
Each passerby must pay that bit of muck
Its toll of life blood ere his brood is fed.

Cried one, "Rise up! Strike off these parasites
Of prostitution, hunger, war; the blights
Of false economy; the fell disease
Of swoll'n land values."

Still at bloated ease,
The leeches cling, soft, loathsome as the dead
And Oh! their teeth are white, their lips are red!

VANE MAC NAIR.



As to what is the just distribution of wealth there can be no dispute. It is that which gives wealth to him who makes it, and secures wealth to him who saves it.—Henry George.

BOOKS

SPEAKING AS AN ART.

The Art of Public Speaking. By J. Berg Esenwein and Dale Carnegie. Published by the Home Correspondence School, Springfield, Mass. 1915. Price, \$1.62 postpaid.

The authors treat the subject, not primarily from a theoretical standpoint, but upon the basis of their own practical experience. A clue to their method is found in the observation that as the only way to learn swimming is to plunge into the water, so the only way to learn public speaking is to stand up and speak. If you want to swim or to speak, it is clear that nobody can do these things for you. The authors frankly say that all they can do is to offer suggestions about a process which is chiefly in your own control. Their book is a manual of simple, untechnical directions which could well be in the hands of all who desire to influence others by public speech. The reformer, for instance, must not only attract and grip attention as it moves along conventional channels; but if he is to accomplish anything over and above this he must also be able to manipulate attention so that unwonted thoughts and objects will appear interesting and important. This problem is before the authors as they take up such phases of the subject as concentration in delivery; influencing by exposition, description, narration, suggestion and argument; efficiency through changes of pitch, pace, emphasis, inflection and subordination; pause and power; gesture and utterance; acquiring confidence, etc. An ample appendix gives a large collection of concrete material on themes and subjects for practice in speaking.

LOUIS WALLIS.



AN EPOCH MAKING REPORT.

Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations. Frank P. Walsh, Missouri, chairman; John R. Commons, Wisconsin; Florence J. Harriman, New York; Richard H. Aishton, Illinois; Harris Weinstock, California; S. Thruston Ballard, Kentucky; John B. Lennon, Illinois; James O'Connell, District of Columbia, and Austin B. Garretson, Iowa.

In regard to this report the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Royal Meeker, to whom was assigned distribution of the issue of 10,000 copies, says that the edition was exhausted by requests received prior to August 23. With many unfilled applications on hand and more continually coming in, it is the plain duty of Congress to order a new edition printed, large enough to satisfy all requests.

The report has 448 pages. Of these 252 contain the now famous Manly report signed by Chairman

Walsh and Commissioners Lennon, O'Connell and Garretson. Next comes the unanimous decision whereby the terms "union shop" and "non-union shop" are to be used in lieu of "open shop" and "closed shop." Then follows the majority report wherein Commissioner Weinstock agrees with Walsh and the three Labor representatives regarding the four main causes of unrest as follows: Unjust distribution of wealth and income; unemployment and denial of opportunity to earn a living; denial of justice in the creation, in the adjudication, and in the administration of law; denial of the right and opportunity to form effective organizations. The majority further endorses State and Municipal ownership of public utilities.

Following the majority report is one by the four more advanced members advocating woman suffrage, public ownership of coal mines, and other matters and also quoting from the questions which Rockefeller and Mackenzie King refused to answer. There are some individual reports and supplemental statements. In one of these the criticism is answered which the employers' representatives bring against the Manly report. This criticism found that while the report says much about law violation on the part of employers it does not indict labor for similar violation. In reply the point is made that the Commission was seeking the cause of industrial unrest. Violation of law by Labor is clearly not one of these causes, but is an effect.

The report of Commissioners Commons and Harriman and dissenting opinions of Weinstock, Ballard and Aishton take up the last 142 pages.

This report is one of the most valuable of government contributions to discussion of economic and political problems. Congressmen and Senators should be informed by constituents everywhere that they should not neglect insisting on a sufficiently large edition.

S. D.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Fall of Tsingtau. By Jefferson Jones. Published by Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.75 net.

—The Log of a Non-Combatant. By Horace Green. Published by Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston. 1915. Price, \$1.25 net.

—Introduction to the Study of Sociology. By Edward Cary Hayes. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. 1915. Price, \$2.50 net.

—Taxation of Land Values. By Louis F. Post. Published by the Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis. Fifth edition. 1915. Price, cloth, \$1.00 net; paper, 50 cents net.

—The Problem of the Unemployed. Anonymous. Second edition. Published by The Problem of the Unemployed Publishing Co., Houston, Tex. 1915. Price, \$1.00 net.

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