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a Weekly Narrative of History in the Making.

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## EDITORIAL

### The Object of Its Existence.

Roosevelt wants "national honor" to crowd aside economic issues in the coming campaign. That is the sole purpose which jingo "national honor" is intended to serve.

s. d.



### Lest We Forget.

It may appear to some that the public attacks upon all who have to do with the punitive expedition in Mexico is ill advised. It may seem even approaching cruelty and inhumanity for American newspapers and public men to ridicule the expedition, and make sport of its alleged helplessness. Such words are copied by Mexican papers, and magnified by Mexican alarmists; and the people of that country, not realizing that this is a Presidential year—in which it is considered legitimate to suspend all the rules of decency and honor for the sake of winning the election—may take these reports seriously, and attack the "Gringos," as they did at Parral. Should these wanton criticisms of the Administration and the military arm of the Government be continued with sufficient virulence, it is possible that they may succeed in provoking a general attack upon our troops, which, if successful, might enable the outs to win the election. That may be considered hard on our boys at the front; but that is their misfortune. They should have thought twice before entering Mexico in a Presidential year. Other things being equal, Americans at home might support them; but nothing, not even their safety, can stand in the way of a political campaign. The opponents of the Administration must win the November election, no matter what becomes of our soldiers in Mexico. For what are the lives of a few of Uncle Sam's boys at the front, compared with a hundred thousand political offices, and the right to increase the toll of Privilege?

s. c.



### The Test.

A surprisingly narrow range of vision, even for the jingo papers, is shown in their construction, as

relating to readiness to go to war, of President Wilson's question: "Are you ready for the test?" At a time when inflammatory war talk is so freely indulged in, every moral or mental weakling is quite ready to join in the chorus. It is not reasonable to suppose that the President thought so little of his hearers as to ask if they were capable of doing that. The test that does await the people is not so easy a one, as whether they can float with the current. It is whether they can and will go against it. Whether, for instance, having dispersed the outlaws who threatened the Mexican borders, they have the courage to ignore insulting taunts—inspired, probably, by interests desiring permanent occupation—and retire from the country. That is the kind of test of moral and mental quality not so easy to endure. Is America great enough to stand it? s. d.



### Why Congress Hesitates.

It may seem like a straining of the facts to say that Congress pauses in the face of the militarists' program because they believe the people are against it, but it is not unlikely that a good many Senators and Representatives have their doubts as to a popular endorsement of the great army and big navy plan. It is a significant fact as noted by many members that this question has not been voted upon; and it is taking a long chance for politicians to reverse the established policy of the country without first submitting the question to the citizens. From the formation of the Government down to the Congressional election of 1914 it has been the unquestioned policy of this country to keep out of European politics, and entangling alliances, and mind our own business. Since that time the people have not spoken. All the blood and thunder talk that has afflicted our ears has come from flighty politicians, nervous editors, greedy armament manufacturers, and excitable citizens. Just how many of them there are all told remains to be seen. Judging from the clamor they raise—and apparently they have that in mind—they have an overwhelming majority. But it should not be forgotten that one pig fast under a gate will make more noise than a whole drove at pasture. We have pursued the American course for well on to a century and a half; surely we can wait the few intervening months till the November election, before adopting the policy of Europe. There is an unmistakable change in popular sentiment. It is more and more apparent that the Preparedness demonstration was artificial. Now the quieter, reflecting citizens are beginning to give expression to their thought. The question is too momentous to

be decided by this Congress. Let us wait till the people speak. s. c.



### Is Roosevelt Incendiary?

In his jingo statement of April 13, Theodore Roosevelt said:

"We stand for peace, but only for the peace that comes as a right to the just man armed and not for the peace which the coward purchases by abject submission to wrong. The peace of cowardice leads in the end to war after a record of shame.

The Filipinos obtained peace by submitting to wrong perpetrated by the United States. Does Roosevelt consider them cowards for doing so? Does he hold that they should once more take up arms for independence, should Congress refuse to grant it? The Colorado strikers obtained peace by submitting to Rockefeller. Does Roosevelt hold that they should have continued armed resistance? There is a long list of similar purchases of peace by American laborers, even after the courts denied them their constitutional rights. Roosevelt declares such submission cowardly. Fortunately his foolish remarks are not likely to be taken seriously. Otherwise there would be a state of disorder and violence from coast to coast.



### Two Ways of Saying Nothing.

Justice Hughes keeps silent on the political issues of the day, although apparently ready to accept the presidential nomination if tendered, while Theodore Roosevelt roars loudly over them. But is not the Justice's method of saying nothing worth while more rational than the Colonel's way of saying exactly the same thing? s. d.



### Weeping Cassandras.

That the militarist wave in this country is receding may be inferred by the laments of its prophetesses. In spite of their spells, charms, and incantations, the public turns an indifferent ear to the evil forebodings. When a wild-eyed and disheveled prophetess screams out that there are two hundred thousand veteran Japanese soldiers on our Pacific coast, ready at a signal to rise and take possession of the country, a good natured public wonders at the lengths newspaper publishers will go to increase their circulation. When she hoarsely mutters of the impending doom that awaits us at the hands of the European victor, the people regret that so many farmers and artisans were spoiled in order to make near-statesmen. And when she raves over our impotency in the face of the Mexican trouble, the thoughtful citizen stops his ears

till the frenzy subsides. The truth is beginning to dawn upon the afflicted prophetess that she has been over-acting the part. When men of sufficient parts to get into Congress declared our forts were useless, our guns were without ammunition, our submarines would not run, our aeroplanes would not fly, and our battleships could not fight, the practical-minded citizen asked himself, What's the use; if we have nothing to show for the stupendous amounts of money already expended, why spend more? Besides, he reflects, if the militarism of Europe could not prevent war, while the pacifism of America has avoided war—save those of our own making—why should we adopt a discredited policy? Serious and momentous tasks await us; shall we permit our attention to be diverted by every nervous and over-wrought alarmist that chooses to set up the cry of "Wolf, Wolf"? s. c.



### Militarism in the Schools.

A move to weaken the public school system is the preparationist demand for compulsory military training. To use the public school for an evil purpose is to furnish a powerful argument to its enemies. Moreover, if the schools are to become an efficient part of the military system, there are many things besides military tactics which must be taught. This fact was well explained in a letter from Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, which appeared in the Boston Advertiser of March 28. Therein Mrs. Mead said:

In view of this increasing peril, sane Americans must insistently proclaim that armaments and defense are not synonymous. Granted that every man and woman should be trained to serve the State and required to serve when called. This no more requires every man to be a soldier or in the reserve than it requires him to learn farming or manufacturing to defend his country. An army would be simply a naked, starving mob, fighting with sticks and dead within a week's time were it not for all the workers behind it.

That means, as Mrs. Mead further points out, that instruction in preparedness for ordinary living is the first requisite for defense. But questions relating to this kind of instruction are the very ones that military preparationists insist on putting aside, while shouting about "national honor" and fretting over "national danger."

s. d.



### Preparedness Versus Economic Emancipation.

The Chicago Tribune bewails the lack of enthusiasm on the part of employers which prevents employes from joining the National Guard. In its issue of April 12, it says:

They will approve of the organization in general,

but they do not care to see their own employes going to training camp in the summer. Some of them are openly hostile, but most of them merely will not continue to pay wages during the period of training and do not assure the recruit that his position will be kept for him.

Is this not a natural consequence of economic conditions which make jobs scarce? If the State would cease to encourage monopolization of opportunities employes could afford to be indifferent whether their positions were held for them or not. Moreover, is not the attainment of that economic freedom a more important matter than military service to men whose means of livelihood is controlled by others? That is a consideration which will not down, even though a well-fed Roosevelt does roar that that is "an appeal to the belly and not to the soul." Every social worker knows that until the body has been cared for it is useless to try to save the soul.



The Tribune asks in the issue of April 15:

What justification is there for the government's refusal to prepare the national guard for the service it may be called upon to perform at any moment?

Admitting, for argument's sake, that there is a service for which the guard is needed, the neglect of the government to prepare for it is not nearly so culpable as neglect to abolish economic injustice due to bad laws. If the greater neglect can be endured in patience, the lesser one is not worth mentioning. On the very same page on which the Tribune frets and fumes over the national guard it expresses opposition to the clause of the Crosser bill vesting in the United States government title for all time to the land which, the bill provides, shall be opened to the unemployed. So, while crying for defense it opposes interference with a system that has taken from 60 per cent of the people nearly everything worth defending. Shouting for preparation against an imaginary foreign enemy, The Tribune is content to let the ravages of a real and formidable domestic enemy continue unhindered. Such is the average preparationist's position.

s. d.



### The Mystery Deepens.

Says the Bethlehem Steel Company:

The United States has for twenty years obtained the highest grade of armor and has paid a lower price for it than has any other great naval power.

Which makes it even harder to understand why a billion dollars spent on the navy should leave us, not only with one of lower rank than others, but one declared by preparationists to be unfit for any use.

s. d.

### Confess Protection a Fraud.

In preaching against establishment of a government armor plate factory the Bethlehem Steel Co. says:

Figures officially compiled for the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs from the Naval Year Book show that under conditions prevailing just before the present European war, the chief naval powers were paying these prices for armor: England, \$503 per ton; France, \$460; Germany, \$490; Japan, \$490; United States, \$425.

Reporting to the Secretary of the Navy in 1906, a committee of naval officers headed by Capt. Kossuth Niles, said:

In 1896 the prices in this country were closely on a par with those abroad. On all other contracts (since that time) this country has paid distinctly less than has been paid in any foreign countries for armor of equal quality.

Then since 1896, at least, the protectionist claim has been false, that the American steel industry can not meet foreign competition. Moreover, the corporation offers to reduce its price \$30 a ton should Congress reject the government factory proposition. Having misstated the case when they asked for protective duties, why should the steel magnates expect confidence to be placed in what they have to say now? S. D.



### What Might Have Been.

The desertion of Mr. Root for Mr. Roosevelt by the New York Tribune is the last act necessary to verify the fellowship between the leaders of finance and politics. There may be rumors of such an understanding; there may, indeed, be evidences of its truth, but the plain, ordinary citizen cannot feel certain of the fact until he knows the position taken by the Tribune. Never since the paper drifted away from the influence of Horace Greeley has it been known to make a mistake. Its prescience is unailing; its touch is sure. Both instinct and reason enable it to pick the friends of Privilege. And now that it has spoken there will be a rallying of monopoly beneficiaries, and the candidacy of the Colonel will assume a momentum heretofore lacking.



This fresh impulse to Mr. Roosevelt's candidacy makes pertinent the New Republic's exposure of his "Belgian Policy." In his reckless and unreasoning opposition to everything the Wilson Administration has done the unthinking have been led to believe that all the country's troubles would have been avoided had he been President. One of his favorite stunts is to abuse Mr. Wilson because he did not protest against the invasion of Belgium. It matters not how meritorious the President's course may have been in conducting difficult diplomatic affairs, the fact that he did

not denounce the violation of Belgium's neutrality outweighs it all. It has been considered remarkable that the Colonel himself did not denounce this act until more than three months after it occurred. Some of his friends excused the delay on the plea that it was his first public statement on the Belgium matter. But the New Republic of April 8 quotes from Mr. Roosevelt's article in the Outlook of September 23, 1914, in which he considers the Belgian matter at length, expressing sympathy for the outraged country, acknowledging the necessity for our neutrality, and regretting our inability to do anything without violating that neutrality. Continuing, he says:

Of course, it would be folly for us to jump into the gulf ourselves to no purpose; and very probably nothing that we could have done would have helped Belgium. We have not the smallest responsibility for what has befallen her, and I am sure that the sympathy of this country for the suffering of the men, women and children is very real.

Not the slightest indication is there that he would have protested the invasion of Belgium, or that he at that time thought the President had failed in his duty.



The advantage of the critic over the actor lies in the fact that he enjoys second thought; he can profit by the other's mistake. But Mr. Roosevelt is not content with that; he avails himself of third thought. He saw the President's act, and after nearly two months' reflection, after Liege, Louvain, Namur and the battle of the Marne, he records his opinion; but still further reflection during the following six weeks prompts him to express another and radically different opinion. Whether or not this political Flibertigibet will stick to his third judgment will depend upon its vote-getting power. In answer to correspondents who have asked the New Republic why it emphasizes this conduct of Mr. Roosevelt, the editors say:

We have emphasized it because a real injustice has been done to President Wilson, and because great harm has been done to his prestige in the Allied countries. For Mr. Roosevelt has led the world to believe that he would have played a nobler part at the time Belgium was invaded, and has given the weight of his name to the accusation that America shirked its duty. These documents show that in August, 1914, Mr. Roosevelt was still under the spell of the old American habit of non-interference. The final reason for pressing the point is that it illustrates vividly that absence of intellectual candor which is the bane of American politics. If Mr. Roosevelt would only confess that he is human, that he has changed his mind, it would be like a gale of fresh air in American public life. But in politics only very great men make such confessions. This is a striking example of the difference be-

tween the theory and the practice of the doctrine of the "Square Deal."

s. c.



### The High Price of Gasoline.

There is no mystery about the high price of gasoline. It is high because the Standard Oil Company enjoys legal privileges, denied to other producers. Through these privileges independent producers are hampered so that effective competition is not possible. The anti-trust law does not interfere with privilege. Congressman Bailey has introduced a bill for development of oil bearing lands on the public domain. If passed, that would deal the Standard's monopoly a heavy blow. But the present Congress is not one that looks with favor on bills the passage of which would accomplish such results.

s. d.



### Learning Good Citizenship.

Clerks, professional men and business men, great and small, who pride themselves upon their part in shaping the course of empires will have to look to their laurels. The hungering after knowledge that distinguished the feminine half of our citizenship when it went into Chautauqua courses and Browning clubs, has taken up with the same eagerness the study of civics; and just as the franchise has been given them, nay, even in anticipation of its coming, they have begun the study of sociology and political economy. The Chicago Political Equality League, the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, the Woman's Democratic Association, together with the women's ward clubs and the various other women's organizations, invite experts in government to address their meetings. The earnestness and the persistency with which these associations discuss fundamental principles would put to shame a majority of the male voters who are still in doubt as to the advisability of letting women vote.



The real effect of this study on the part of the women will soon be manifest when candidates for public office appear before them, asking their votes. The time-honored custom of making general promises will not avail. They will have to answer categorically questions heretofore ignored; and the knowledge of their questioners will prevent dodging or evasion. The same test will be applied to candidates seeking office that we apply to contractors or other commercial and professional agents. They will have to demonstrate that they understand the work to be done. The reason government service is generally so inferior to private service is because of the employment of unfit

agents. No citizen would employ a building contractor to erect a dwelling until he had assured himself that the agent understood that kind of work; but he will employ a man to enact laws for his city, state or country who has given no evidence that he either understands the nature of the problem or has the integrity to perform his duty. It is in this that woman's enfranchisement will produce the first beneficial change; for not only are they learning something of the fundamental principles of government, but the fact of their doing so will shame the male voters into making better preparation for the discharge of their duties. Along with the right to vote goes the duty of voting intelligently.

s. c.



### Giving Away Public Property.

Those Congressmen who would give the water-power of the country over to private interests upon their own terms, have their imitators on the Chicago Board of Education. Notwithstanding the object lesson they have in the fact that their office stands upon the remnant of Chicago school land which, had an earlier board known enough to retain would have provided sufficient revenue to run the whole school system, certain members of the present Board wish to sell the 1,030 acres of school lands that have come into their hands through the annexation of suburbs. Complaint is made that the lands are producing no revenue, and that therefore they should be sold. When it is remembered that these lands cost the school fund nothing, that they are not subject to taxation, and that they are growing more valuable every day, the public is left in a state of amazement at the impotency of a school board that with all these advantages cannot find use for land that private purchasers would. What member of the Board, if he personally held the land under such conditions, would sell it?

s. c.



### Teachers Victims of a Conspiracy.

After a thorough investigation, the Illinois Legislative Voters' League has found the charge to be true that the journal of the State Senate was altered after adjournment, so as to make it appear that two resolutions had been adopted which had never come to a vote. One of them was the resolution authorizing the committee, headed by Senator Baldwin, to investigate the Chicago school situation. All that this committee did was to hear testimony of persons determined to discredit the Teachers' Federation. It declined to hear evidence in rebuttal. The object evidently was to furnish some sort of an excuse for the rule—now being contested in the courts—against the Teach-

ers' Federation. That back of it all are big financial interests, afraid to come out in the open, is shown by the alteration of the journal. An act of that kind would not be committed out of public spirit. There must have been at bottom a criminal conspiracy. Some of the school board members who have let themselves be used as tools of the conspirators may not have been aware of the true motive back of the rule. In that event, now that the matter has been made plain, they can clear themselves by reversing their position on the anti-Federation policy.

S. D.



### A Poor Time to Oppose Progress.

A tribute to the effective work of progressive reformers is the effort to form a so-called "Sound Government League" in Chicago to oppose all further progress toward democracy. The eminently respectable public-service-corporation officials, big bankers and business men, who have taken it upon themselves to form this organization, single out the Initiative, Referendum and Recall as the measures calling for immediate attention. A very unfortunate time was selected to launch such a movement in Chicago. The city is threatened with loss of its automatic phone system, because the citizens have no power to overrule the City Council. Then there is the falsification of the State Senate Journal, which has just been exposed. The Initiative and Referendum would give dangerous opportunities for interference with the enterprising persons who use such crooked methods to put through legislation. The lack of such a safeguard may not seem to be a serious defect to interests, which profit from its absence, but the ordinary citizen has good cause to feel the need.

S. D.



### The Postal Censorship Evil.

Denial of freedom of speech and of the press in belligerent countries is explainable, though not excusable, on account of the war. But in the United States, though it is not at war, the same evil exists and is growing. In the matter of postal censorship it cannot be said that the present administration is an improvement over its predecessors, if, indeed, it is not worse. The suppression of Regeneracion, the Los Angeles organ of Mexican radicals, is one of these inexcusable outrages. Another more recent is debarring from the mails, on very strained construction of the postal laws, of the San Francisco paper, The Blast. The question is not relevant whether the offending articles in these papers were right or wrong. Any despot will unhesitatingly concede the right to

spread generally accepted ideas. But Freedom depends on the right to spread ideas not generally accepted, ideas which may seem false, absurd or shocking to the great majority. It is high time that a halt be called on these outrageous official acts. Postmaster General Burluson has an opportunity to do democracy a service by putting an end to them. Congress should call these postal officials to account, if the Postmaster General does not.

S. D.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### A FEW FACTS ABOUT INDIA.

Chicago, April 17, 1916.

India has a population of nearly 330,000,000, a little over 220,000,000 are Indians, over 70,000,000 are Mohammedans, about 12,000,000 are Buddhists, 3,000,000 are Sikhs. India is a paradise of high paid officials. No country on the face of the earth pays so high salaries to the officials as the British Government in India. At the same time one must know that over 130,000,000 of Indians have hardly rice soup to drink once a day.

The salary of the Viceroy and Governor-General is about \$90,000 a year. Besides he needs a sum of \$700,000 for the maintenance of his palaces and for his traveling expenses. The salary of the Ministers is \$27,000 a year. The salaries of the Governors in India is about \$40,000 a year. Besides, each of these gentlemen needs a sum of \$100,000 a year.

The people of India spend annually a sum of \$150,000,000, directly and indirectly, for the maintenance of the British army in India. The people have also to pay nearly \$21,000,000 a year for the maintenance of the English judges. The English Police Department in India costs the people nearly \$26,000,000 a year. At the same time for the education of 330,000,000 of people the Government does not spend more than \$16,000,000 a year. Under the heading of Home Charges, India spends from her own revenue in England annually a sum of \$100,000,000 and over. There is not a single free school in the whole of India. There is one school on the average to seven or eight square miles. Only 10 per cent of the children of the whole nation are able to attend the schools. India has the largest number of poor people in the world, and the income per head per day is about half a penny, consequently, only the children of the well-to-do can attend the schools. We have not a single mining or metallurgical school in India. In fact, we have not a single technological institute in the whole country.

In the three native States of Baroda, Mysore, Indore, education is compulsory.

The greatest need of India today is industrial education. The foreign trade amounts to nearly \$1,700,000,000 a year. That means the raw materials of India go to the foreign countries and manufactured goods come to India. We have in India an army of at least 100,000,000 people who cannot spend more than 20c a year for their clothing. If a sickness visits the homes of these unfortunate

people then death is sure to visit them, since poverty is so great that hardly one out of hundreds is able to pay for medicines and medical attendance. Should one visit the Indian cities and towns, he will see the most pathetic picture of poverty, distress and suffering of all kinds.

There are many Indians interested in securing European and American knowledge for their countrymen. If a few Singletaxers could visit India and lecture about the doctrines of Henry George, they will find a great field to work. They will find that a number of native rulers will be glad to listen to them, and the Singletax system may be applied in certain States. If Singletax literature could be translated into half a dozen Indian languages, I am sure the Singletaxers of America would do the greatest service to the patriotic, intelligent and statesmanlike Indian rulers as well as the general Indian public.

N. KRISHNA, PH. D.  
President Fondateur du Comité France-Indien.



### THE PUBLIC PAYS.

Toledo, O., April 10.  
The public pays! Such is the comment of the ordinary man on the results of the street car strike in Toledo.

At 10 a. m. on March 28, union buttons were distributed among the motormen and conductors working for the Toledo Railways and Light Co. One hour later the news was received at the Central Labor Union Hall that men wearing these buttons were being discharged. By 3 o'clock in the afternoon there was not a car in motion in the whole city, the men having either gone on strike or been locked out by the company. The public walked home from work that day, and had an opportunity to meditate over the possibilities of smashed windows, dynamited cars, maimed scabs, and imprisoned strike leaders.

J. J. Coach of the Coach Detective Agency of Cleveland, and Benj. F. Striebling of a Toledo private detective agency were reported to have been in conference with President Frank R. Coates of the Rail-Light (Toledo Railways and Light Co.) relative to possible strike duty. The company offered to run fifty cars if furnished with six policemen per car for protection. All signs pointed to a repetition of the affair at Youngstown.

Strange things happen even in politics and labor strikes. Mayor Milroy refused to grant the protection, explaining that the policemen were needed for other duties. The electrical workers of the company threatened a sympathy strike at the first attempt to run the cars. Such a strike would have completely tied up the company's plant, and paralyzed about three-fourths of the city's industries, for it should be remembered that besides operating 116 miles of city railways, the company also provides current for light and industrial purposes, operates an artificial gas plant, sells coke for fuel, installs and operates all the electrical signs and conducts a store for the sale of electrical appliances. It is, therefore, not entirely surprising that the company saw fit to issue a statement saying that "during the present strike it is not our intention to import any men to man our cars."

On Friday, March 31, Mayor Milroy notified both parties that unless the conferences between the contending parties resulted in a speedy settlement of the difficulties he would order a petition to be filed with the federal courts to declare the Rail-Light bankrupt and to have a receiver appointed to take over the entire plant of the company. No agreement having been reached by Monday morning, April 3, the petition was filed with Judge Killits. Both sides were given till April 16, and later till April 10 to reach an agreement. Neither side desired the receivership, and on Sunday afternoon, only a few hours before the expiration of the time-limit, the extra editions of the newspapers reported the end of the strike.

The men were granted recognition of the union, a three-year contract, an increase of three cents an hour in wages, a ten-hour working day for motormen and conductors, one-and-a-half time pay for overtime, an eight-hour day for the shopmen, a 15 per cent wage increase for the shopmen, and an eight-hour day and 12 per cent wage increase for the electrical men. This was won without the destruction of a cent's worth of property or the spilling of a drop of blood. The strike was probably one of the most peaceful in the history of the country.

Who pays for all these? Not the men, not the company, but the public. It paid exorbitant rates to bus owners during the two weeks of the strike. It is now called upon to pay increased passenger fares.

Several years ago, the people of Toledo, acting at the suggestion of Mayor Schreiber, won for themselves a three-cent fare during workingmen's hours through the simple expedient of refusing to pay any other fare. Now the old rates of five cents cash, six tickets for a quarter, have been restored. The company seems bent on making the city pay for the concession to the strikers. Whether the people, who recently voted by an overwhelming majority against extending the company's franchise, and the city administration, which is pledged to municipal ownership, will be able to successfully resist the company or not remains to be seen, but in the meanwhile these facts stand out prominently: The employes get more wages, the company more dividends—and the public pays.

HYMAN LEVINE.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### NEED OF NATIONAL DIRECT LEGISLATION.

Buffalo, N. Y., April 14, 1916.

On March 13, 1916, Congressman Warren Worth Bailey introduced in the House of Representatives a National Public Opinion Bill (H. R. 13109). This was referred to the committee on the Judiciary. The bill was proposed by the Referendum League of Erie County, New York, and prepared by its legal adviser, Albert H. Jackson, Esq. The purpose of the bill is to make it possible to submit to the voters of the nation, as a community, any question of public policy at the general election of the Congressmen, in order to obtain their corporate opinion thereon. The bill provides that any number of ques-

tions may be submitted on a petition of five hundred thousand voters, not over fifty thousand being from any one state, or questions may be submitted by a majority resolution of Congress. States are requested to enact laws to carry out the purpose of the bill, as all national elections are taken by states and the election machinery is under the control of the states. There is no legal way, at present, of determining the will of the people, which their representatives, according to the theory of our government, are elected to carry out. Provisions are made, through the elections of President and Vice President, senators and members of the House of Representatives for the choice of these representatives, but there are many influences brought to bear upon the elections of these representatives, and it is impossible to determine what the opinion of the national community is on any one issue. The party system confuses the expression by election, because an official may be elected as a rebuke to the party which has been in power. The personality of the candidate, party prejudice, and of late, sectarian and racial prejudice may become deciding factors in the elections. A party voter approves a long list of planks in the party platform as a whole, and the opposing party voter approves a similar list in another party's platform when, as a matter of fact, each voter, generally, would like to indorse some planks and condemn others in his party platform. That the election does not accurately reflect the voters' opinion on policies is illustrated by the fact that New York elected representatives to the last New York State Constitutional Convention. The majority was overwhelmingly Republican, but the proposed Constitution submitted in 1915, was rejected by nearly half a million majority. Under this bill, the voters may express their approval or disapproval of separate national government policies on their merits, free from the confusion incident to party prejudice or the personality of candidates, and without reference to any other proposition.

For instance, as to whether the national government should spend enormous amounts for exaggerated preparedness. The Declaration of Independence states that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and yet it seems to have become possible that the national government claims the moral right to hurl the people of this country into aggressive war without their express consent. Suppose that our national government, moved thereto by the invisible government, should pursue such a course as would involve this country in an aggressive war as distinct from a war to defend actual invasion of our territory, without the express consent of the people, how would our people be in a different position from the people of Germany who, as many of us think, were hurled into this war without being consulted, and who, once being in the war are obliged, from a sense of national loyalty, to become part of a great mill that grinds out death and loss.

The readers of The Public are requested to write the members of the committee on the Judiciary, from their several states, and to the Hon. Edwin Y. Webb, chairman of that committee, urging its favorable consideration of this measure. Copies of the

bill will be sent to any one desiring it, and there ought to be an organization to carry on a systematic pressure for the adoption of the measure. It is, therefore, hoped that the readers of this article will be moved to form such an organization in their several localities and to correspond with the Referendum League of Erie County, 405 Erie County Bank Building, Buffalo, N. Y., when such local organizations shall have been formed.

LEWIS STOCKTON,  
President Referendum League of Erie County, New York.



## BEAT THE POWER GRAB!

Millford, Pike Co., Pa., April 10.

The iniquitous Shields bill, giving away the water-powers on our navigable streams, has been driven through the Senate, but it has not passed the House. There is still a good chance not only to stop this raid on public property, but to pass a fair and honest waterpower bill in its place.

Everything I have said about the Shields bill was confirmed in the debate. According to its own supporters, this bill turns over to the power interests waterpower equivalent to twice the mechanical power of every kind now used in the United States, or enough to meet the needs of two hundred million people. This it does in perpetuity, although pretending to limit the grant to fifty years. Small wonder there is pressure to get it through.

On March 21 a substitute for the Shields bill was reported to the House of Representatives. Unlike the Shields bill, this House bill makes no perpetual grant of public waterpower, but wisely and in fact sets a limit of fifty years. Nevertheless, it is not yet a good bill. For example, it gives away the public waterpowers without compensation. There is no reason why the waterpower corporations should not pay for what they get. The rest of us do. The House bill should be amended accordingly.

If the House corrects its own bill and then passes it, the good bill from the House and the bad bill from the Senate will go to the conference, and the differences will be adjusted by the conferees. The managers of the waterpower campaign believe that a majority of the conferees will be friendly to them, and will report a bill in their interest. They will then try to rush the conference bill through, probably in the confused and crowded final hours of the session. Such a plan has often served the special interests in the past, and it is dangerous now.

During the debate on the Shields bill, this course was openly advised. There was under discussion an amendment giving preference to the applicant for a public waterpower who offers the best terms to the public. One of the supporters of the Shields bill, Senator Nelson of Minnesota, after referring to the amendment as "bad and vicious," went on to say:

It is something that we can eliminate in conference. \* \* \* We might let it go in and then dispose of it in conference. (Congressional Record, March 8, 1916, page 4235.)

We can beat this plan only by letting the people understand the facts. This the power interests have set out to prevent by confusing the public mind with interested statements and personal attacks.

Help is wanted once more to get the House to pass

a good bill, and then to stand by it, no matter what the conferees may do. If the House stands firm, the people will win this fight. But the House needs to know that the people are behind it.

Let attention be called again to the Ferris bill, a good bill dealing with waterpower on public lands and National Forests, which has twice passed the House. An undesirable substitute, the Myers bill, now before the Senate, gives the public waterpowers away in perpetuity. Under it, the power interests could occupy and exploit the Grand Canyon itself, the greatest natural wonder on this continent.

The waterpower interests want everything or nothing. In the last eight years they have killed eight waterpower development bills that were fair both to the corporations and to the public. What the people need is waterpower development on equitable terms without further delay. They can have what they want by letting the House know it.

GIFFORD PINCHOT.



### OBJECTIONS TO THE INCOME TAX.

Bryn Mawr, Pa., April 15.

In his discussion of the Expediency of the Income Tax, on page 344 of *The Public*, Mr. Marsh misses the point of my argument. I do not criticise the income tax because it falls short of complete Singletax. My objections are that it is neither just in itself nor expedient as a step towards Singletax. It cannot be defended without denying inalienable human rights and upsetting the foundation upon which the Singletax is based. The right of the individual to property springs from the axiomatic right of life and liberty. In defining a public property the Singletax respects the right of private property. It is not a happy-go-lucky method of getting even with the rich, but a practical plan of securing social justice. The income tax, on the contrary, does not distinguish between public and private property, and would leave intact the system of industrial slavery and all its concomitant evils.

Singletaxers share with Socialists, Anarchists, Philanthropists, Eugenists and many other groups a feeling of compassion for the poor and the miserable, the down-trodden and the oppressed; but we differ with them in having a remedy based upon natural law and justice. The income tax cannot be defended on these grounds, however tempting a means it offers for recovering some of the plunder from the beneficiaries of privilege. It establishes a partnership with government which will tend to make privilege even more secure. Protected by it, the legislative landlords of England are able to prevent the faintest encroachment on rent even at this time of dire need, when the burdens of the poor are being ruthlessly multiplied.

The obstacles in the way of the Singletax are admittedly great, but they will disappear as soon as public opinion has been sufficiently informed. If we grow discouraged and turn to false gods in our desire to be practical, our goal will prove even more distant than it appears to Mr. Marsh. Ours is a democratic movement and it cannot be advanced by indirection or subterfuge. Let us demand with what passion and eloquence we may the immediate repeal

of laws which sanction the theft of ground rent and the denial of the common right to use the earth. Let us support any political measure, no matter how timid, that does not contradict the principle of justice which is the very foundation of our argument. But let us be quick to repudiate false doctrines, even if they seem to offer immediate and glittering results. We cannot afford to burden with sophistries a cause whose standard is justice to all men.

FRANK W. GARRISON.



### CLEARING A MISUNDERSTANDING.

New York, April 15.

I must take issue with Benjamin C. Marsh as to many of the statements appearing in his letter, published in *The Public* of the 14th.

I would not make mention of these were it not that many so-called Singletaxers have fallen into the same habit of thinking. Says Marsh: "Despite the interest in land value taxation, it must be frankly admitted by most ardent Singletaxers that there are only a few thousand out and out Singletaxers in the United States." I wonder where he gets his figures. The whole spirit of progressivism in the United States has at its base the light held on high by Henry George. Wherever you find an intelligent progressive or radical movement, a movement to bring back to the producers the product of their hands you will find a genuine "dyed-in-the-wool" Henry George Singletaxer behind it. He says again: "It must be equally frankly admitted that the name Singletax arouses a good deal of antagonism." This is a bold assumption.

The philosophy of Henry George was named the Singletax. No matter by what other name the things Henry George stood for may be called, the opposition would always call it the Singletax. Unfortunately, neither Mr. Marsh nor those thoughtful workingmen of whom he speaks, have even begun to grasp the things Henry George labored for. It is best evidenced by the other statement: "It is well to remember that Henry George got his vote, not on the land question appreciably, but because he was such a consistent fighter for the rights of the working people." Henry George never fought for the rights of the working people as a class. Using Henry George's own language, let me remind Marsh, "I am not for workingmen, I am for men." The sooner friends rid themselves of the notion that a half a loaf is better than a whole loaf, the sooner will we get somewheres near the goal we are aiming for.

WM. LUSTGARTEN.



### MILITARISM AND PUBLIC OPINION.

St. Louis, Mo., April 16, 1916.

Last Friday evening I attended an "Anti-Militarism" meeting here.

The audience filled the hall to capacity, extra chairs being brought in, and I am told that hundreds were standing in back and from eight o'clock until nearly eleven they stayed and eagerly received the message brought to them by the speakers.

It was the most enthusiastic and appreciative audience that I remember having been in—aside from some of our singletax gatherings. Every point

made by the speakers was grasped by the audience and vigorously applauded.

I was especially pleased with one thing, and that was that when Prof. Scott Nearing was introduced he received an ovation. It was just such a thunderous welcome as one would expect for a nationally known and beloved leader. It lasted without diminution for a couple of minutes, until he held up his hand and started to speak.

This crowd was no gathering of Doubting Thomases, grudgingly and questioningly hearing "the other side," but a thoroughly sympathetic opposition meeting, emphatically opposed to "preparedness," understanding it, and body and soul in accord with the speakers.

The speakers were Prof. Berle, Amos Pinchot, Scott Nearing, James Maurer and Rabbi Wise. All honor to these brave men.

There is one thing worthy of special mention, and that is the way in which the audience expressed their disapproval of the newspapers. Each speaker mentioned some incident where the newspapers had suppressed or distorted the facts, and the audience expressed its hearty approval of the speaker's denunciation. I believe it is a very hopeful sign, when the newspapers are so thoroughly discredited in the minds of thousands of people, that a representative meeting such as this will hoot the newspapers of their city.

After this meeting I can say to take heart and be of good cheer, for there is yet sufficient sanity among the American people to keep the war-traffickers from rocking the boat. We are a host.

W. E. WHITE.



### WASTING MILLIONS.

Oak Park, Ill.

Eight hundred million dollars collected by taxation was spent in the United States last year to maintain institutions for dependents and defectives, more than double the cost of ten years ago.

Seven hundred and fifty million dollars collected by taxation was spent for free public schools in the United States last year.

In 1829, in the city of Philadelphia some public-spirited citizens attempted to organize a meeting to promote the idea of free public schools, to be supported by general taxation. They were set upon by the police, beaten, thrown into prison, called anarchists and undesirables.

Some property owners said it was confiscation to tax one man's property to pay for the education of another man's children. It has since been thoroughly demonstrated that free public schools are most beneficial institutions.

Last year over ten million dollars was paid in mothers' pensions in the twenty-six States now operating this system of abolishing child poverty.

Congressman Keating and Senator Kenyon have introduced into the House and Senate of the United States a joint resolution to authorize the President to appoint a commission to inquire into the causes of child poverty and suggest remedies therefor.

This commission will find some way to abolish child poverty and thereby save the taxpayers

millions of dollars and will also find a way to save the great waste of child life.

Half of the children born of parents who are poor die before they reach the school age, six years.

This the richest country in the world, blessed with abundant natural resources and a power of production unequaled in the history of the human race, can abolish child poverty and at the same time save the taxpayers millions of dollars now being spent to care for dependents and defectives that have been ruined by child poverty.

Those surviving child poverty are the weak (physically, mentally and morally), who fill our jails and asylums.

I now ask every patriotic citizen to write to their congressman and ask for a copy of this resolution (known as H. R. Res. 142), and then write to their senators and congressmen and give their aid to this attempt to improve the health and happiness of the children of our country.

HENRY NEIL.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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Week ending Tuesday, April 18, 1916.

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### Congressional Doings.

The Senate adopted on April 11 by 40 to 32 the amendment to the sugar repeal bill, limiting the tariff extension to May 1, 1920. The bill was then passed without opposition. It went to the House for concurrence in the amendment. A resolution introduced by Senator Kenyon was adopted directing the Attorney General to submit all reports of investigations into the high price of gasoline. By a vote of 43 to 22 the Senate on April 14 adopted an amendment to the Chamberlain army bill, appropriating \$15,000,000 for establishment of a government nitrate plant. [See current volume, page 344.]



An effort was made on April 13 to call up for passage the resolution to print 100,000 copies of the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations. It was blocked by the objection of Senator Smoot of Utah.



The immigration bill with amendments was reported to the Senate on April 17. The amendments allow an admissible alien to bring in his father or grandfather if over 55 years of age, or his wife, mother, grandmother, or unmarried or widowed daughters, regardless of age. Immigrants are to be excluded for commission or advocacy of political offenses when these constitute a felony.



On April 12 Miss Margaret Wilson, daughter of the President, appeared before the House Dis-

trict of Columbia Committee to urge passage of the bill authorizing the use of school houses in the District as community centers.



Congressman Warren Worth Bailey on April 13, in the course of an address on the agriculture appropriation bill, included a chapter from Henry F. Ring's "Problem of the Unemployed," explaining the land question. The address has been printed in full in The Congressional Record of that date, beginning on page 6933.



#### Wilson's Jefferson Day Address.

In an address to the Common Counsel Club at Washington on April 13, in commemoration of Jefferson's birthday, President Wilson said in part:

I was talking one day with a gentleman who was expounding to me the very familiar idea that somebody—I dare say he would have preferred to name the persons—should act as guardians and trustees for the people of the neighboring republic of Mexico. I said:

"I deny you to show a single example in history in which liberty and prosperity were ever handed down from above."

Prosperity for the great masses of mankind has never sprung out of the soil of privilege. Prosperity for the great masses of mankind has never been created by the beneficence of privilege.

There are only two theories of government. The one is that power should be centered in the control of trustees, who should determine the administration of all economic and political affairs. That is the theory of the Republican party. A carefully hand-picked body of trustees. The other theory is government by responsible and responsive servants of the great body of citizens, able to understand the common interests, because in direct and sympathetic touch with the common desire and the common need.

This country has not the time, it is not now in the temper, to listen to the violent, to the passionate, to the ambitious.

This country demands service which is essentially and fundamentally non-partisan. Some gentlemen will learn this soon, some will learn it late, but they will all learn it so thoroughly that it will be digested. This country demands at this time as it never did before absolutely disinterested and non-partisan service.

Gentlemen, are you ready for the test? God forbid that we should ever become directly or indirectly embroiled in quarrels not of our own choosing and that do not affect what we feel responsible to defend, but if we should ever be drawn in, are you ready to go in only where the interests of America are coincident with the interests of mankind, and to draw out the moment the interest centers in America and is narrowed from the wide circle of humanity?

If you are ready, you have inherited the spirit of Jefferson, who recognized the men in France and the men in Germany who were doing the liberal

thinking of the day as just as much citizens of the great world of liberty as he was himself, and who was ready in every conception he had to join hands across the water, or across any other barrier, with those who held those high conceptions of liberty which had brought the United States into existence.

These are days that search man's heart. These are days that discredit selfish speech. These are days that ought to quiet ill-considered counsel. These are solemn days, when all the moral standards of mankind are about to be finally tried out. And the responsibility is with us, gentlemen, with us Democrats, because the power for the time being is ours, to say whether America under our leadership shall hold those eternal balances even, or shall let some malign influence depress one balance and lift the other till we shall look around and say, "Who stands for the old visions of liberty and whose eyes are still open to those spiritual images conceived at our birth?"



#### Roosevelt's Latest Statement.

In a public statement on April 13, Theodore Roosevelt said in part:

From time to time, it has recently been announced that the fight against Mr. Wilson is to be waged only, or almost only, on the tariff. Such an appeal would be to the belly and not to the soul of the American nation.

By all means provide for the things of the body, but only on condition that we treat the body as the servant of the soul.

I believe heartily in a protective tariff.

Unless we return to a protective tariff, preferably administered through a commission of experts, we shall face widespread economic disaster at the end of this war.

But this is not the great issue on which the fight is to be made if the highest service is to be rendered the American people.

The issue is that the American people must find its own soul. National honor is a spiritual thing that cannot be haggled over in terms of dollars. We must stand not only for America first, but for America first, last and all the time, and without any second. . . .

We can be true to mankind at large only if we are true to ourselves. If we are false to ourselves, we shall be false to every one else. We have a lofty ideal to serve, a great mission to accomplish, for the cause of freedom, and of genuine democracy, and of justice and fair dealing throughout the world. . . .

We must stand for national conscience, for national discipline, and for preparedness, military, social and industrial, in order to help the soul of this nation.

We stand for peace, but only for the peace that comes as a right to the just man armed, and not for the peace which the coward purchases by submission to wrong. The peace of cowardice leads in the end to war, after a record of shame.



#### Fight for Fair Elections in Oklahoma.

The effort of the Democratic machine in Okla-

homa to disfranchise Republican and Socialist voters has been met by the initiation of a bill by the Socialists, which has been signed by 68,000 voters, submitting a fair election law to be voted on in August. The Legislature, having a large Democratic majority, passed an election law placing appointment of all registration officers in the hands of the Secretary of State. Other provisions in the law give these registrars such broad powers that they can disfranchise with or without cause any voter obnoxious to them. The initiated bill puts the city clerk of every town of 1,000 in charge of local registration, and provides safeguards for legal voters threatened with disfranchisement.



#### Preparationists Challenged to Debate.

A challenge to advocates of radical increases in the armament of the United States has been issued by the American Peace Society, with headquarters at the Colorado Building, Washington. The Society has a list of speakers prepared to represent it in a series of public discussions on the question of what principles the country should be prepared to defend by armed force. Arthur D. Call, secretary of the Society, said that it proposes to debate the preparedness issue, not with a purpose of opposing any reasonable proposal for necessary defense, but of calling upon those who make the proposals to define the policies and rights for which they would have the power of the nation used, and to prove their claim for the necessity of increasing armament. The question which the Society proposes for discussion is as follows:

What national rights, foreign policies, or international principles, which the nation should be prepared to maintain, require the increases in the army and navy now so widely advocated for the United States?

Challenges have gone forward to Hudson Maxim of the Maxim Munitions Company, Col. Robert M. Thompson, president of the Navy League, Rep. Augustus P. Gardner of Massachusetts and Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University. Among the Society's representatives are Mr. Call, Rep. Oscar Callaway of Texas and Prof. William I. Hull of Swarthmore.



#### Falsification Charge Upheld.

That the journal of the Illinois State Senate was falsified to make it appear that two resolutions never voted on were passed is the charge made public by the Legislative Voters' League on April 12. These resolutions are Nos. 76 and 77. One provides for an investigation by Senator Baldwin's committee of Chicago school affairs. The other provided offices in Chicago for convenience of State Senators. The League says:

The league has sent letters of inquiry to each of the fifty-one Illinois state senators concerning

charges that have been made to the effect that the senate journals during the last regular session of the assembly were falsified. The league believes the charges are true with regard to the supposed senate consideration of senate resolution No. 76 and the introduction and adoption of senate resolution No. 77. According to the senate journal, resolution No. 76 was introduced and adopted on June 19, 1915. In reality it never was adopted nor considered on that day. As to resolution No. 77, investigation seems to have proved conclusively that not only was this resolution never considered or voted upon, but it was never introduced in the senate for such consideration. Apparently some person or persons deliberately changed the senate records of the date of June 30 to show that this resolution was duly introduced and adopted. The league has received some thirty-five responses from state senators to its letter of inquiry. Not a single senator has said that his recollection of the two resolutions was similar to the printed record of the senate journal.

[See vol. xviii, pp. 907, 1025, 1054, 1219.]



#### Results of Repealing Singletax in Pueblo.

A bulletin issued by the Pueblo, Colorado, Singletax League shows that the repeal of the Singletax law has put higher taxes on small home owners and lowered the taxes of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and other wealthy corporations. Had the Singletax law remained in force, 1,472 lots owned by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, all but 17 of which are vacant, would have paid \$18,931.48 in taxes. The repeal of the law made the corporation's tax bill on these lots less by \$6,815.07. In the case of small home owners a different result is shown. A number of concrete examples of this have been presented by the League. In assessment of personal property figures are presented showing that the wealthy have been favored. The League promises to re-submit the Singletax at the next election. [See vol. xviii, p. 1243.]



#### European War.

Verdun has assumed a speculative interest in the minds of the war critics. None presumes to predict that the Germans will cease their assaults; but many are convinced that the fortress will not be captured, and are casting up the results of the nine-week battle. The losses have not been announced officially by either the French or the Germans. Those who pronounce it the greatest battle in history estimate the combined losses at 400,000 men, killed, wounded and missing. The assailants have driven the defenders from their outlying, or first line, positions on all sides, which nets them in territory approximately 100 square miles. The French second line defenses are unbroken at all points save Fort Douaumont, north of Verdun, which has been destroyed. The week has seen continuous artillery fire, and many in-

fantry actions; but these are of less frequency, and appear to be conducted upon a decreasing scale. As activities in the immediate vicinity of Verdun slacken, more fighting occurs at other points on the western front; but no material changes in the situation appear to have taken place. [See current volume, page 347.]



Weather conditions still prevent extensive operations on the eastern front. The Germans are reported to be increasing their offensive on the Riga-Dvinsk front, and extending southward to Lake Narotch, east of Vilna. In Galicia the Russians continue to make small gains from the Austrians on the Strypa river. No new developments are to be noted in the Balkans. Greece is reported to be in distress over a demand of the Allies that the Serbian troops, who have been refitted at Corfu, be permitted to pass by rail to the Saloniki front, instead of going through the submarine-infested waters. The Central Empires have protested against this as a violation of Greek neutrality. A treaty is reported to have been signed by Germany and Roumania permitting the exchange of domestic products.



On the Armenian front the Russians report complete failure of the desperate efforts of the Turks to retake Erzerum. After a six-day battle at various points on a line extending from Trebizond to Bitlis the Turks retreated, pursued by the Russians. On the Black Sea coast the Russians overcome the last obstacle before Trebizond; but it is predicted that the taking of the port will be more difficult than the capture of Erzerum. The British relief expedition ascending the Tigris River, which has been delayed by the flooded country that prevented land operations, has at last succeeded in defeating part of the Turkish defenders, and is thus brought a little nearer to the beleaguered forces at Kut-el-Amara. No word is given out as to the condition of the garrison. The Turkish government acknowledges torpedoing the Russian hospital ship in the Black Sea, but says because the Red Cross was not sufficiently clear that the ship was mistaken for a transport.



Greater activity on the Isonzo front is reported by the Italians as a means of preventing the Austrians from sending re-inforcements to the Germans before Verdun. The Italians in the Trent region are reported to have attained positions that will enable them to descend upon the Austrian plains when the snow has melted.



Evidence regarding the attack on the Sussex and other vessels has been received by the United States Government, and it is announced that the note to Germany has been agreed upon by President Wilson and his Cabinet. It is said that the

whole subject has been treated, and that unless satisfactory assurances are forthcoming diplomatic relations will be broken off between the two countries. The submarine warfare results in frequent losses of ships; and great activity of aeroplanes prevails; but no new Zeppelin raids on England are reported.



The British Cabinet is reported to have agreed not to conscript married men. The conscriptionist press and other advocates are making a bitter attack on the government. Conscriptionist sentiment in Canada is increasing. The government is seeking means to send to Europe a larger proportion of the remaining 1,274,679 males between 18 and 35 years of age. Switzerland is receiving arms from Germany that were ordered before the beginning of the war, which is taken as evidence that the Central Powers do not intend to attack the Republic.



#### Mexico and the United States.

The most serious mishap that has attended the punitive expedition occurred at Parral, near the southern boundary of the State of Chihuahua, where 150 cavalry under Major Frank Tompkins were attacked by the Mexican populace on the 12th. Reports of the affair, which are still very meager, are to the effect that some of the American troops, unarmed, entered the town to buy food, that they were fired upon by some of the citizens, that they retreated to their camp outside of the city, where they were attacked by citizens. Two American soldiers and forty Mexicans are reported killed. Much excitement was aroused in Mexico. The Carranza authorities are urging the withdrawal of American troops, or the limiting of the number, and the setting of a definite time for withdrawing. The American Government, while conducting negotiations in a friendly spirit, and with renewed assurances that the punitive expedition will not be turned into armed intervention is at present indisposed to quit the country until Villa has been taken or killed. [See current volume, page 347.]



Repeated rumors of Villa's death from a wound incurred in the first battle with the Americans aroused new interest by a circumstantial report of the finding of the bandit's body. The body is being taken to Chihuahua, where it will be examined by the American consul and others, to determine if possible whether it really is that of the man sought. Meantime the hunt for the bandit chieftain continues with undiminished vigor.



General Carranza, together with his staff and cabinet, entered Mexico City without ceremony on the 14th and took up his quarters at the national palace.

**Obituary.**

Peter Seibert of Fayetteville, St. Clair County, Illinois, died at his home on April 7. For many years he had been an active worker for the Singletax and other democratic reforms. He was a farmer by occupation, and a large land owner. In 1890 and 1892 he was elected to the Illinois State Senate, where he distinguished himself by fighting the many corrupt measures introduced and passed. It was during his second term that a bill came up for a vote conferring on women the right to vote to the extent that the constitution allows. The measure was similar to the one that became law in 1913. His constituency was influenced by the belief that woman suffrage would lead to prohibition, and was therefore bitterly opposed to the bill. To vote for it clearly meant political death. But holding suffrage to be a natural right of all, he felt he would not be justified in refusal to help its extension. So, although himself a strong libertarian, he voted in favor of the measure, regardless of political consequences. He was never re-elected. In the legislature he led the successful fight for the Australian ballot, and worked for other progressive legislation. Governor Altgeld numbered him among his strong friends and supporters.



James Hagerty died at his home in Burlington, Iowa, on April 10, aged 86. He was a personal friend of Henry George and for more than 30 years had been a worker in the Singletax cause. He was particularly diligent in furnishing the press with material when opportunity offered. He was twice elected by the labor vote as councilman-at-large of his city. Five sons and three daughters survive him.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—A mothers' pension law providing a maximum of \$40 a month has been passed by the legislature of Michigan.

—George W. Peck, editor, author and politician, died in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on the 16th, at the age of 75 years.

—At least seven passengers were killed and 35 injured in a collision on the New Haven railroad near Bradford, R. I., on April 18.

—Louis Wallis is on a lecturing tour of northern Illinois, beginning at De Kalb on April 14 and covering the territory thence to the Mississippi.

—The revenue derived by the Chinese government in 1915 from its salt monopoly amounted to \$69,000,000, which was \$10,000,000 more than the preceding year.

—Army maneuvers as a part of the annual spring training of the American troops at Panama will take place this week. It is expected that 5,000 men will participate.

—The Russian finance minister reported to the council of empire that despite a war expense of 12,000,000,000 rubles, the abolition of the alcohol monopoly enabled the country to increase its savings 2,000,000,000 rubles.

—The invention of a cheap substitute for gasoline is claimed by Louis Enricht of Farmingdale, L. I. A press dispatch of April 15 represents him as saying that his invented compound will do the work as efficiently as gasoline and will cost but 1½ cents a gallon.

—The New York State Senate passed on April 14 the Welsh-Slater bill to provide military training for boys between the ages of 16 and 19. Senator George F. Thompson of Niagara cast the only vote in opposition, and was abused and vilified for this by Senator Ogden L. Mills of New York.

—The Illinois Mothers' Congress in session at Cairo on April 13 adopted a resolution urging passage by Congress of the Keating-Kenyon resolution for investigation of child poverty. Similar action has already been taken by Mothers' congresses in Colorado, Texas and Alabama.

—A series of addresses on various subjects will be given by Francis Neilson, M. P., the lecturer on Internationalism and World Peace. The addresses will be managed by Miss Barbara C. Leu, whose headquarters are at the rooms of the Woman's Peace Party, 116 South Michigan avenue, Chicago.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### Roosevelt Does Not Improve on Acquaintance.

Chicago Tribune (Militarist), April 18.—In a poll of newspaper editors which The Tribune has taken to discover sentiment in the middle western states of Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana, Mr. Hughes leads Col. Roosevelt and the favorite sons. It is safe to assume that the editorial preference reflects electoral preference or broadly indicates the direction of popular opinion. Hughes, it seems, is preferred to Roosevelt in the states canvassed, and in these states Hughes is little known and Roosevelt is pretty thoroughly known. No one knows what Hughes stands for; everyone knows what Roosevelt stands for. Hughes is in a position in which he finds it necessary, expedient, or possible to refrain from saying anything which might indicate how he would act if he were President. Roosevelt is as downright as it is possible even for him to be. Roosevelt has talked of national honor and national needs. Hughes has talked of nothing. It is apparent, then, from this poll that a man who represents blank in the minds of the men voting is preferred to a man who says he'll be a two fisted, upstanding defender of the United States. . . . It may be that the American nation politically will have only one notion from now until next November, and that notion, safety first, will be seeking a candidate for one predominant quality, and that quality pacifism; and will be interested in only one political resolution, and that resolution "We demand to be kept out of war; we do not care how or why."

### The Temperance Cause Must Not Shield the Interests.

The Standard (Chicago Baptist organ), April 8.—We believe thoroughly in the methods usually pursued by the National Anti-Saloon League and we honor them for the valiant fight which they are carrying on against the great American octopus—the liuogr traffic. But we dislike more than we can express to see this organization line itself up with the great corporation interests which are doing everything in their power to prevent the confirmation by the senate of Mr. Louis D. Brandeis' appointment to the supreme court. Their case is based upon the fact that in 1891 Mr. Brandeis was employed as legislative counsel by the Massachusetts Protective Liquor Dealers' Association and by the New England Brewers' Association to work against restrictive legislation aimed at the liquor traffic. That the league had to go back more than a quarter of a century before it discovered anything objectionable from its point of view in Mr. Brandeis' record makes the position of the National Anti-Saloon League in this matter all the more questionable. We wish the league would tell the public what considerations led it to oppose on so slight a ground the appointment of a man who at his own expense has rendered such conspicuous service as "the people's attorney" during this period. If Mr. Brandeis is unfitted for the supreme bench, it is not at all because of the reason alleged by the National Anti-Saloon League.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### THE FOOLISH FIFTY.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman in *The Forerunner*.

If fifty men did all the work  
And gave the price to five,  
And let those five make all the rules—  
You'd say the fifty men were fools,  
Unfit to be alive.

And if you heard complaining cries  
From fifty brawny men,  
Blaming the five for graft and greed,  
Injustice, cruelty indeed—  
What would you call them then?

Not by their own superior force  
Do five on fifty live,  
But by election and assent,  
And privilege and government—  
Powers that the fifty give.

If fifty men are really fools,  
And five have all the brains,  
The five must rule as now we find;  
But if the fifty have the mind—  
Why don't they take the reins?



Good men must not obey the laws too well.—Emerson.

## INTERNATIONALISM AND WORLD PEACE.

From Address of Francis Neilson, Member of British Parliament, to the City Club of Chicago on February 9.

To talk of internationalism while the war grows more and more bitter and complicated, and while the almost unanimous sentiment of each belligerent nation demands an overwhelming military victory, requires some temerity. But it is necessary for us, in the midst of all this, to lift our eyes for a while from the trenches, forget the daily stories of the progress of the war and try to understand the future, to vision what Europe will be when the great struggle is over. Never in history has there been a time when it was more important for men to meditate deeply on what the future holds.

Those who think that a treaty along national lines, made at the end of this war by the statesmen who have controlled European politics in the past, will insure a lasting peace, can know little or nothing, I think, of the treaties which have been made and broken by the nations of Europe since the days of Napoleon. Treaties are ephemeral things and are lightly regarded when national policies change—and these in Europe have been notoriously unstable. Based on national prejudices and concerned with national frontiers, treaties are a poor guarantee for the peace of the world.

What has been the outcome of all the centuries of fighting back and forth across Europe to change national frontiers? A map of ancient Greece and the Balkans is not substantially different from the map of today. In what way has humanity benefited from the turmoil and bloodshed which has taken place to move the boundaries of these countries back and forth? In what way has happiness been increased?

At the beginning of the war, internationalism was coming to be recognized as a great world force. There was closer contact between the peoples of the world, a better understanding and a finer sympathy, than had ever been the case in the history of the world before. The effort to do away with war and its inevitable accompaniments of murder, lust and pillage, was making great headway, and the establishment of economic freedom between the nations, which would go far to remove the causes of war, was a growing possibility.

Has this fine impulse for internationalism been wiped out by the great world war? Has it been crushed out by the tide of national patriotic sentiment? I think not. I believe that a great spiritual revolution is going on in the trenches, and that at the close of the war when the men return to their homes, they will demand that nothing of

this sort shall happen again. And the only way in which they can prevent it is to bring about a peace based on internationalism.

Consider the difficulties of a national settlement. A settlement along national lines is perhaps easy enough in the West, for it means merely the evacuation of Belgium and France, but what is to be the national settlement for Poland, for Finland, for Ukraine and the Balkans—particularly the Balkans? And what about Persia, and Egypt, and India? The problems in each of these cases are so involved, so difficult, that I see no hope for a national settlement. And furthermore, I do not see what good it would be if we got it. It would mean simply new tariff wars, new navies, new armies—and we would be no nearer to lasting peace than before this war began.

We must sooner or later break down the frontiers; we must have done with tariffs, for to these is chiefly due that pernicious system of foreign commercial concessions, supported by diplomacy, for the exploiting of the resources and industries of weak, undeveloped countries. These foreign concessions have been perhaps the chief stake in the diplomatic struggle between the nations of Europe and a prime cause of international jealousy and war. The settlement must break down these tariff barriers and establish economic freedom, if not all at one time, ultimately. It must be international in tendency. That it can be completely international in fact, to begin with, is perhaps beyond hope.

When economic freedom is established, production will be stimulated throughout the world, a great increase of leisure and happiness among the people will result, autocratic governments will lose their hold on the people and the establishment of political freedom will be brought about. Men will think in terms of men and not in terms of nations and boundaries. My hope for internationalism is born out of the spiritual revolution which I believe is going on at the front. What message will the men bring home from the trenches? I believe it will be one of internationalism and world brotherhood. And is it too much to hope that the "United States of Europe" will be the result?



## SHAKESPEARE SCRAPPED.

Written for The Public.

The tercentenary of Shakespeare's death is April 23, 1916. His birthplace is sacredly preserved, but his later dwelling house in Chapel street, Stratford, was vindictively scrapped. "And thereby hangs a tale."

In 1597 Shakespeare bought a Stratford house and lot known as the "New Place." He remodeled it and held it until his death.

After his death the house remained in his fam-

ily's possession until about 1660, when it was sold to the Clopton family. About 1703 they rebuilt it, but retained so much of the original structure that the house and Shakespeare's mulberry tree remained a magnet for pilgrims.

In 1752 the Cloptons sold the Shakespeare house to Rev. Francis Gastrel. He had a disagreement with Stratford folk, whereupon he removed to Litchfield. Feeling that his assessment at Stratford was too high, he protested, but in vain. Petulantly declaring that the house should never be assessed again, he wrecked it, sold the materials, and shook the dust of Stratford from his feet.

This sacrilege would not have been committed but for the curious fact that Stratfordians of that day fined men who committed or maintained improvements in the town, repeating the fine yearly while the offense was in evidence. It was a misdemeanor, punishable by fine, to beautify the town, but not to uglify it. The clergyman avoided his fine for maintaining the Shakespeare house; he destroyed the priceless relic.

To make effective their curious law the authorities of the town employed sleuths to watch vacant lots. Whenever they saw a man committing an improvement, they waited until the deed was done beyond recall. Then they fined the miscreant, repeating the fine as long as he persisted in his offense. To make the punishment fit the crime fines were graded, increasing according to the value of the improvement committed.

The Stratford sleuths were known as asses-sors; their victims were asses-sed. That was right.

SAMUEL MILLIKEN.



## UNREST IN ENGLAND.

From a Private Letter, Dated London, March 17, to Professor Scott Nearing of Toledo University.

As you will have gathered, things are at their worst here. The civil liberty that we are supposed to be fighting for is absolutely lost, and there is no doubt that autocratic Germany could give us no worse a political system to live under. We may not strike, we may not say anything calculated to prejudice recruiting for the Army or to impede the production of munitions of war, and you can well imagine the use which employers are making of this last fact; we may not even leave our jobs if we do not like them, and many of us must become traitors to our religion and conscience in taking up arms. The suppression of newspapers which dare to give correct accounts of ministerial blunders, the prosecution of trade union officials and members for various ordinary trade union activities, the monstrous abuse of the Munitions Act and the Military Service Act—all these occur in such profusion that we become almost hardened to them. The newspapers are not allowed by the censor to publish accounts of strikes (of which there are a few, even in these days), so that the public really thinks the Ministry of Munitions is fulfilling its function effectively,

whereas it has caused at least as much industrial unrest as the employers themselves.

I gather that trouble is anticipated amongst the U. S. Miners. Is the United Mineworkers the main organization? I suppose the miners are pretty strongly organized with you. Here they are among the very best organized, and, if the new "Triple Alliance" between the miners, the transport workers, and the railway men, uses its inherent power of labor monopoly, I do not see why a revolutionary expropriation of the capitalist in these industries should not come about after the war.

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## BOOKS

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### BEAUTIFYING THE OUT-OF-DOORS.

**The Prairie Spirit in Landscape Gardening.** By Wilhelm Miller. Published by the University of Illinois, College of Agriculture, Urbana, Ill. Free to anyone in Illinois who will sign a promise to do some permanent ornamental planting within a year.

Mr. Miller and the University of Illinois have rendered the State—and incidentally the whole country—an invaluable service in putting out this rare publication. Not only is it an eloquent appeal in behalf of the dormant esthetic sense, but it is in itself an example of the artistic spirit that it seeks to arouse in the reader. The man, woman or child who can consider these hundred odd views of landscape gardening, with their simple illuminating text, without feeling a desire to act upon the suggestions offered by the author needs special treatment.

Any instruction is good that will interest people in the out-of-doors, but doubly good are the teachings that couple reason with art; for the soul is more apt to be stirred when the mind is quickened by the senses. It is not alone that Mr. Miller appeals to the reader's artistic sense, but he stimulates and broadens the love of beauty by basing it on a philosophy of things. In a word, his foundation is nature. The Prairie Spirit is to be cultivated. It is not in bringing plants from the ends of the earth that Illinois is to be beautified; but by restoring, modifying and making available what nature did before man came into Illinois. Such men as O. C. Simonds, Jens Jensen and Walter Burley Griffin have pioneered the movement; and now the work is being taken up by thousands.

Perhaps the best feature of Mr. Miller's work lies in its service to the small home owner and the farmer. Landscape gardeners have always been available for the rich; but the poor have been confined to feeble imitations of the impossible. The very fact that the poor found it impossible to imitate the rich deterred them from attempting what they could have done. To be

shown so simply, and so encouragingly, that the highest achievement lies in aiding, not in thwarting nature, will open a new world to those so much in need of better surroundings. Those bare, wooden boxes, called by courtesy "homes," with their barren surroundings, are destined to disappear under the kindly cloak of native vegetation; and the formerly bleak homesteads of the countryside will be made over into country estates of name and individuality.

The Prairie Spirit is filled with useful information as to means and methods, with practical suggestions, with lists of native fauna, and a comprehensive list of literature—not forgetting the poetry. Wilhelm Miller has done the State University and the people of Illinois a great service, and it is to be hoped that the supply of this publication will last till it reaches every one who can use it.

S. C.

### THE SPOTLIGHT HERO.

**Theodore Roosevelt.** By Charles G. Washburn. Published by Houghton Mifflin and Co., Boston. Price, \$1.50 net.

Mr. Washburn gives us an intimate biography based upon a long and close acquaintance with his subject, but so well has the inimitable T. R. revealed himself to the world, that there is very little in the book that any man familiar with current events does not already know. So, reading, one asks himself the reason for this renewed popularity and access of fame. Why this re-gilding of the statue? Is it for some newly discovered opinion on morals, on literature, on ethics, on life? Or is it in the nature of a limelight burnished and trimmed against the time when the star shall again step upon the political stage? For the author tells us nothing new, or strange, or valuable; but he does emphasize in no uncertain note the fact that Roosevelt is for armaments, and preparedness, and big armies and navies, and amazing 'recall of judicial decisions,' and expansion, and Napoleonic usurpation as in the Panama case. Wherefore, seeking a *raison d'être* for the book, one adjudges it good campaign material—a clever document evidently designed to revive the popularity of Mr. Roosevelt—a popularity, as Mr. Post once wrote, "at a democratic crisis of a demagogic despot in the confidence of plutagogic schemers."

CHARLES J. FINGER.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### The Problem of Poverty.

In this eight-page pamphlet Joseph Dana Miller, editor Single Tax Review, 150 Nassau street, New York City, has made a concise statement of the greatest question confronting mankind. Mr. Miller treats the question fundamentally, showing the futility of amelioratory measures, and the necessity of

going to the root of the evil. The pamphlet may be had of the author for 3 cents per copy. S. C.

Defendant (in a loud voice)—Justice! Justice! I demand justice!

Judge—Silence! The defendant will please remember that he is in a courtroom.—Penn. State Froth.

A young American artist, who has just returned from a six months' job of driving a British ambulance on the war-front in Belgium brings this back, straight from the trenches:

"One cold morning a sign was pushed up above the German trench facing ours, only about fifty yards away, which bore in large letters the words:

"Gott mit uns!" (God with us).

"One of our cockney lads, more of a patriot than a linguist, looked at this for a moment and then lampblacked a big sign of his own, which he raised on a stick. It read:

"We got Mittens, Too!"—New York Evening World.

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Soak the clothes for 30 minutes while you do your other work. Then rub lightly, rinse and hang on the line. They'll be sweeter, whiter and cleaner than ever before.

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# "Greek" to Your Neighbors

**No. 1.**

Gentlemen: Our personal property is six small children and furniture, second hand, worth \$60. I am working in the stockyards for \$1.60 a day.

**No. 2.**

On August 31, 1909, Emil Woldt sold to Fred Waldren lots 11 and 12 in block 26, in the town of Tolleston, now a part of Gary, Indiana, for \$1,600.00. On September 8, 1910, Fred Waldren sold the same lots to Anna Mulcahy of Chicago, Ill., for \$8,000.00, a clear profit of \$6,400.00, or 400 per cent, in about one year's time.

Exhibit No. 1 is a copy of a letter written by a Chicagoan of foreign birth to the Board of Tax Assessors, in response to the usual form calling for a list of his personal property for taxation purposes.

Exhibit No. 2 is the first paragraph of a letter from a real estate concern in Detroit.

While the Chicagoan was mistaken in thinking that in this particular instance he would not be exempt, he is, we all know, taxed in his rent, on shoes, clothing and food he buys for his family. He is robbed of part of the earnings he gets (not to mention earnings he does not get), because the land monopolist gets away with a great deal he does not earn.

YOU, of course, see the force of this. It is TO YOU an old story, but to how many of your neighbors is it "Greek"? 99per cent?

With this question in mind, it is interesting to speculate on how many of those same neighbors of yours will see the point in 20 years—in, say, 1936. It depends on the educational forces of today and HOW THEY ARE USED. We may have effective book, pamphlet and periodical literature and still be only a diminutive educational power.

Are you using The Public to its fullest capacity? Begin now if you are not. Increased circulation for The Public means shifting the wrongly placed burden that now crushes some and handicaps all to where it can be carried with justice—and a song.

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By Edmund Vance Cooke.

Did you tackle that trouble that came your way  
 With a resolute heart and cheerful?  
 Or hide your face from the light of day  
 With a craven soul and fearful?  
 Oh, a trouble's a ton, or a trouble's an ounce,  
 Or a trouble is what you make it,  
 And it isn't the fact that you're hurt that counts,  
 But, only, how did you take it?

You are beaten to earth? Well, well, what's that?  
 Come up with a smiling face.  
 It's nothing against you to fall down flat.  
 But to lie there—that's disgrace.  
 The harder you're thrown, why, the higher you  
 bounce;  
 Be proud of your blackened eye!  
 It isn't the fact that you're licked that counts,  
 It's how did you fight — and why?

And though you be done to the death, what then?  
 If you battled the best you could,  
 If you played your part in the world of men,  
 Why, the Critic will call it good.  
 Death comes with a crawl, or comes with a pounce,  
 And whether he's slow or spry,  
 It isn't the fact that you're dead that counts,  
 But, only, how did you die?

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