

# The Public

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a Weekly Narrative of History in the Making.

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## EDITORIAL

### The Immediate Duty.

In the controversy with their employes the railroad managers take the position that if the men persist in their demands, the corporations may break faith with the public. That is they will cease to give service although their franchises were given them on condition of furnishing service continuously. Should that occur it is the obvious duty of the governmental agencies through which the franchises were granted to declare them revoked at once. So far as the public is concerned the justification for the men's demands has nothing to do with the case.

S. D.



### Moulding Public Opinion.

One of the pathetic things connected with the militarist movement is the fatuity with which certain people persist in thinking they are creating public opinion. The last monthly statement of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States on the "overwhelming business vote for universal military training" is almost childish in its guilelessness. The statement, which purports to give the vote of 359 commercial organizations, says:

Organizations in 26 States voted unanimously in favor, in 16 other States the vote was overwhelming although not unapimous; 5 States failed to vote; in only 1 State was the vote against. Such a disclosure of public opinion is without precedent in this country. And as if to make this astounding fact doubly impressive a large map of the United States is given, showing how the several States voted. New Hampshire, Florida, Kentucky, Wyoming and New Mexico were the five States that shamed the nation by not voting. Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Colorado, and California were the sixteen States that qualified their patriotism by casting negative votes; still, it should be remembered that they were overwhelmingly in favor. Thus in South Carolina 5 or-

ganizations voted for, and 3 against universal military training. In Montana the vote was 4 for to 2 against. But their lukewarmness is overcome by the votes of Alaska, Hawaii, and the Philippines, which were unanimous in favor of universal military training.



Who will undertake to explain the intellectual process that led these men to imagine they were measuring public opinion in the United States by taking the vote of 359 commercial organizations? They ask: "How many business men would have ventured six months ago to predict that the commercial and trade organizations of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the leading business association of the country, would come out solidly for universal military training? Yet such a prediction would, if anything, have proven short of the truth." The veritable three tailors of Tuley Street!



But there is one fly in the ointment. Notwithstanding "public opinion has gone forward with giant strides since the outbreak of the European war," and the fact that the "navy-building program of the Senate includes eight capital ships for the first year," there is "no bill before either the Senate or the House which provides for a national system of universal military training." Here is something to give the country pause. Let those carping critics who are wont to look upon Congress as the quintessence of foolishness take note: Among all the strange and fantastic beings who frequent our chief legislative halls, none as yet has felt himself moved to offer a bill for universal military training. Let no one hereafter say that Congress contains all the mad men, or that it has done all the foolish things.

s. c.



### Where the Pork Goes.

The Vallejo, California, Evening News of July 20 offers good and substantial reasons why the citizens of that place should parade for preparedness. Its appeal, constructed on the House-that-Jack-built order, runs thus: If the parades are big enough Congress will vote for a big navy; a big navy will include big battleships; big battleships will mean a big dry dock, and other things to match, at Mare Island, with more ships, more sailors and marines; and the "effect of such a condition on the local business world can be realized by any school child." Therefore:

Every merchant who desires to witness such a condition will close his store next Saturday and urge his clerks to go to San Francisco and participate in the Preparedness Parade, which is to be California's

demand that our Army and Navy be made strong enough to insure perpetual peace in this country. Every Mare Island mechanic who has the best interests of the yard at heart and who desires to witness the local government plant developed to its greatest capacity will apply for leave of absence next Saturday and join the thousands who will march through the streets of San Francisco. No city outside of San Francisco should have a better representation in the parade than Vallejo, and the fact that "Vallejo is for preparedness" should be made known in no uncertain manner. The greater the demand from the people of the country for preparedness the sooner will a bigger Navy become a reality and the era of prosperity in Vallejo hastened.

Here is one answer to the question: Does patriotism pay?

s. c.



### Afraid of Thought.

The California State Tax Commission has done well in arousing thought among taxpayers in regard to taxation problems. It has done this by sending to each one a series of questions squarely calling attention to pending propositions to exempt industry and increase taxation of land values. It has not advocated the change but asked the taxpayers to express themselves either for or against and give reasons. This latter suggestion hurts the privileged interests. To give reasons means to give some thought to the subject. And Privilege dreads nothing so much as thought. It is therefore no wonder that the plutocratic San Francisco Chronicle is much perturbed over the matter and considers the incitement to thought as equivalent to coming out for the Singletax. That is a compliment which California Singletaxers should appreciate. In the meantime the Tax Commission's questions should not only be answered but copies of the answers should be forwarded by the writers either to Clarence E. Todd of the Home Rule in Taxation League, 150 Pine Street, San Francisco, that he may give them publicity, or should be sent to local papers for publication. Publicity as well as thought is unwelcome to predatory interests.

s. d.



### That Tricky Amendment.

The Illinois press—and especially such portion as is issued from Chicago, both in local dailies and in "patent insides" for the country weeklies—is calling attention to the necessity of changing the tax system of the State, "the worst in the country," by adopting the pending amendment. But the discreet voters will not be stampeded by this "scare" outcry. They will recall that this amendment was not put forth by, nor does it receive its chief support from, interests that have been conspicuous for eagerness to bear

their share of the public burdens. They will also recall that this amendment was first submitted to popular vote in a broad form, and that when it had been overwhelmingly endorsed in that broad form it was recast in a restricted form that permits the Legislature to relieve the big taxpayer, but leaves the small taxpayer worse than before.



Illinois voters should not forget that the pending amendment empowers the Legislature to exempt the capital stock of franchise corporations from taxation. Neither should they forget that the Legislature has made repeated attempts to relieve corporations from this tax, and was restrained only by the Supreme Court of the State, which declared such laws unconstitutional. If the Constitution be changed to conform to past acts of the Legislature, what inference is to be drawn as to that body's future acts? And when it is realized that the corporate interests that always have fought taxes, that instigated the Legislature in 1905 to pass a law exempting the capital stock of corporations from taxation, and that now evade these taxes through the connivance of assessors and boards of review contrary to law, it is scarcely to be supposed that the mass of the voters who pay the bulk of the taxes are so simple as to vote yes on this amendment.

S. C.



### Helping the Poorly Paid.

A much worried correspondent wants to know how the Singletax will relieve the condition of such people as the Steel Trust employes. This is a question that troubles a great many who do not understand the law of rent; and their confusion has come from the old habit of lumping all the agents of production into the two items, Labor and Capital. So common is this custom that unless one makes a careful study of the question, or has the error pointed out, little understanding will be possible. When it is realized that only a comparatively few persons have the time and the disposition to study fundamentals, and that it is difficult to make new ideas comprehensible, it will be seen why there are still some who wonder how the Singletax can help the employes of the Steel Trust.



The first point to bear in mind is that the Singletax gives expression to a general law, and is not an individual human act. That is, to remove all taxes from labor products is to cheapen the cost of production; and the greater gain to the producer will prompt competitors to enter the field until the price falls to a normal profit. The

increased production would necessarily require more labor, and the greater demand would tend to increase all wages. But the action of a union in control of its trade would be little felt outside of its own membership. Though the plumbers' union might raise the wages of its members, the fact that the membership is limited would confine its benefits almost entirely to its own members. Each advance in union wages would come only with the action of the particular union involved. To really benefit all labor it would be necessary for all labor to be unionized; and it still remains to be seen whether or not this is possible. Since no institution has ever been able to accomplish the feat of bringing mankind into a single organization, many doubt that it ever will be done.



But the beauty of natural law lies in the fact that it does not matter whether men are organized or unorganized, or even whether they believe there is such a law. A brick chimney must stand plumb, if it is to stand at all, whether its builder understands the law of gravity or not. Society must under the same penalty recognize and conform to the economic law. And if society does conform to the economic law all industrial relations will automatically adjust themselves. The whole trouble with the underpaid employes of the Steel Trust lies in the fact that they have no choice in the matter. There is nowhere else for them to go. They must accept the terms of their employers, or fare worse. But let it be supposed that the Government has set up a steel plant in which it announces a wage of four dollars instead of two. Will there then be any trouble over the wage question in the Steel Trust? As soon as the workman has it in his power to command four dollars a day from the Government mill he will not work for less in the trust mill. If Mr. Ford could take all the men that offer, and pay five dollars a day, wages throughout the country would rise to that figure. But since he is limited in his ability to use labor at that price, his liberal wage affects only his own men.



The thing necessary then to relieve the Steel Trust employes is to furnish sufficient employment at a higher wage to all who offer. No union can do this; no single employer however great can do it. Not even the Government itself could meet such a requirement. Nothing but nature, the great All-Mother, can do it. If there were more people on earth than nature can feed, even the All-Mother would be helpless to relieve her children. So, too, would she be helpless to save

her children if the larger part of the earth were locked up in idleness. This in fact is the present condition. There is ample room and provision for all, but it is locked up. The earth, in short, is held out of use by speculators, and men who would be glad to use it are denied the opportunity, and are compelled to go to the Steel Trust for employment. So great is the number and so pressing is their need that instead of demanding decent wages from the company they are willing to take whatever is offered, down to the point of a bare living.



Let it be supposed that a policy is adopted that will unlock the earth, a policy that will take the profit out of land speculation, a policy that will not only remove the profit from holding vacant land, but will make it a burden. In a word, let it be supposed that all unused lands are made free. Henceforth, so long as a human want remained unsatisfied men would resort to this free land, whether agricultural, mineral, timber, or water power, to supply the thing wanted. But if capital is to develop the unused mineral lands it will need labor; and so will those who use the timber, the agricultural lands, and the water power. Their need for labor will be greater than the supply, and they will try to get men to leave their present employers by offering them higher wages. And they will continue to offer higher and higher wages until the production overtakes the demand. And, as the production never can overtake demand, because man is the creature of unsatisfied desires, wages will advance as long as progress continues.



Here is the answer to the question as to how the Singletax will help the employes of the Steel Trust, or of any other trust or corporation. By removing all taxes from production, and placing them on land values, there will be no advantage in holding land idle. Profit can be had only by using it. And since there is very much more land in the world than man can use, the ever-increasing demand for labor will force wages upward till they represent the full product of the laborer's toil. Nature, the All-Mother, can and will employ all her children if she be made accessible. The Singletax will do this by destroying the profit in land speculation, and compelling the use of all valuable land. This is as absolute as the law of gravity, or the conservation of energy. It will solve the wage problem universally as certainly as eating will assuage hunger.

s. c.

### Hughes on Fundamental Rights.

Suffrage is a fundamental right because all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The same principle justifies the demand for Philippine independence. In a speech at Spokane on the 14th Mr. Hughes, the Republican Presidential nominee, upheld suffrage on the ground that it is a fundamental right. That is good democracy. He did not go into details explaining the right, but, since it is not to be supposed that he wanted to equivocate, he must have taken for granted that all his hearers accurately understood what he meant. He thus gave ground for hope that he would continue to champion at least one fundamental right. But two days later at Portland he forgot all about it. He objected to Philippine independence, although he is certainly aware that the Filipinos have never consented to domination by the United States. Does he hold that a fundamental right should be respected in one case and violated in another? There seems to be no other explanation, and that reduces the value of his championship in any case. An attack upon a fundamental right in one instance is an attack upon it in all.

s. d.



### Political Humor.

Not the least diverting of this campaign's many diversions is the part played by the women, who are beginning to reap the fruits of their long years of labor. They are at last emerging from the class of Indians, criminals and idiots, and are upon the point of being made citizens of their country. But this transition has its humorous as well as its tragic aspects.



President Wilson believes in woman suffrage, and has voted for it in his State, but he does not favor the national amendment. The Democratic platform, framed under his direction, endorses the suffrage. Mr. Hughes in his speech of acceptance endorsed the Republican platform, whose declaration is similar to that of the Democratic platform, but he had nothing to say about the Federal Amendment. The next morning, at the instigation of some shrewd politicians who saw an opportunity to embarrass the President, he declared himself in favor of the amendment. As a result of this the National Woman's party has rebuked President Wilson, who favors the suffrage through State action, and has voted for it when presented in his State, and has endorsed - Mr. Hughes, who approves of the Federal Amendment, but who did not vote for suffrage when presented in his State.

This action of the National Woman's party adds spice to the campaign, and the President will have to suffer the penalty of consistency; but it may be doubted if the action of the women is wise. The situation is at best a technical one. There is not the slightest probability that the amendment, if passed by Congress, can for many years be carried in three-fourths of the States. Meantime the favorably inclined States could be won through State action. By seizing upon this technical phase, which does not at all correspond to the real situation, the Woman's party is accentuating the personal antagonism without advancing the principle. It was inevitable that as long as the men's parties opposed the suffrage as men that there should be women's parties; but it is to be hoped that both men's and women's parties as such will disappear as soon as possible. Our parties or political groups should be of citizens, acting upon principles.

S. C.



### Civil Service Legerdemain.

One of the lesser issues that politicians are using to distract the attention of the voters from the greater is that of civil service. Few questions have arisen in American politics that have evoked warmer encomiums from candidates seeking election and met with cooler reception from officials in office. An administration succeeding itself has no trouble with the civil service. Office brokerage may be carried on to any degree without arousing public attention. It is looked upon as a family affair, in which outsiders never intrude. But no sooner is the administration overthrown than a great solicitude is experienced by the "ins" lest the civil service be prostituted. And to make sure that the new administration will have a good example to follow the retiring President as a final act covers all his appointees into the civil service. Mr. Hughes need have no fear that President Wilson will observe the civil service laws just as Mr. Taft did, and just as other Presidents have done. Should the President meet with defeat he will bring every appointee possible under the civil service. And when Mr. Hughes succeeds to the appointing power he and the practical politicians who have compassed his election will devise just as many ways as the Democrats have for finding places for the faithful.



Office brokerage and the selection of public servants for clerical positions because of their political pull is not a high order of statesmanship. Doubtless we shall in time outgrow the practice. But, bad as it is, it is not so bad as the hypocrisy

of men who would secure office upon such a palatable subterfuge. How, it may be asked, did all these Republicans who have been displaced themselves secure office? Did they qualify in competition with Democrats, or were they appointed as "deserving" Republicans, and the civil service law spread over them to keep out the "deserving" Democrats? The philosopher who said men were but children of an older growth did not specify how much older.

S. C.



### A "Decent Protectionist Measure."

Mr. Hughes says that "you couldn't get a decent protectionist measure out of a Democratic Congress." He is right. It is also a fact that a "decent protectionist measure" is not to be had from a Republican Congress, a Socialist Congress, a Prohibitionist Congress or any other Congress. The reason is that a "decent protectionist measure" is an impossibility. Mr. Hughes might as well talk about a decent burglary. A decent Congress will pass no protectionist measure of any kind.

S. D.



### The Turn About on the Navy.

As Democratic leader in the House, Congressman Kitchin confessed an embarrassing truth when he said that if the President was right when he opposed the big navy program he must be wrong now. He might have gone further. The President was able to justify his position when he opposed the big navy program. He has never justified his turn about. A few Democratic Congressmen like Warren Worth Bailey have refused to stultify themselves, even though their refusal displeases the President. These Congressmen are not only better Democrats but better friends of President Wilson than their many colleagues who let themselves be influenced by him into taking a wrong stand.

S. D.



### Ashamed of "Humanity."

Several correspondents have been at pains to drive home to us the significant fact—which we might otherwise have overlooked—that in Hughes' speeches, elaborate and full as they are, there are no appeals to "Humanity" and no use of the phrase "human beings." We are told that Hughes, manifestly, is content to be a candidate for the presidency of the United States and has no ambition to serve or represent Humanity. He leaves such "higher" pretensions to Wilson, the phrase-maker. These are remarkable comments. The intellectual, the high-minded, the judicious Republican candi-

date is ashamed of the word Humanity, or regards its use as a sign of sentimentality and weakness! And the majority of the American people are supposed to be relieved and grateful at the thought that, at last, they have a leader who explains frankly and boldly as a mere American and in the name of purely American rights and interests! Shades of Lincoln and of the fathers of this Republic. A great party and its candidate are "tired" and ashamed of "humanity" and "human beings."



But let us take a closer look at this extraordinary fact. Hughes is content, we are to understand, to speak as an American and for Americans, to demand respect for their rights and interests. Are, then, these rights and interests repugnant to, or inconsonant with the right and interests of Humanity? If so, why should any strong power pay any attention to our demands? If we merely demand that, regardless of right, of justice, of Humanity, in short, our lives and dollars be respected, why should any power that is not afraid of our might stop to listen? If, on the other hand, our demands are just and right, what makes them so—what, if not their universal *human* import and significance? What is international law—to which we have so insistently appealed in our protests and demands—but a body of rules dictated by Humanity, by decency, by civilization? International law is a limitation upon the strong, why should they submit to limitation if appeals to humanity are offensive to sturdy, healthy nations? By the way, Hughes himself has said in a Detroit speech that Americans are "idealists," not materialists and dollar-worshippers. If the correspondents who interpret him are right, we have a most singular type of idealist, a type that is ashamed of Humanity, of Righteousness, and feels comfortable only when it speaks of dollars lost, or not earned, and of lives taken by other nations who are equally contemptuous of humanity. Perhaps the windy, overworked correspondents have imagined a vain thing and have done Hughes an injustice. But think of their own state of mind in calling our attention to the alleged contrast between Hughes and Wilson and in fancying that the American people (a religious and civilized people, we suppose) will gladly hail the candidate who avoids the word Humanity, the phrase "human beings," and who emphasizes the selfish, the narrow, the nationalistic aspect of our case against the nations that have violated our rights and interests.

VICTOR S. YARROS.

## THE PROFESSORIAL SUPERSTITION.

There seems to be a tendency in some quarters to appeal to the authority of college professors for the settlement of questions relating to social reform. Professor So-and-So's endorsement of a given proposition is supposed to increase its chances of success or failure. A case in point is that of Professor Seligman, of Columbia University, New York, who has, for many years, opposed the Singletax. Yet the Singletax idea spreads faster and faster. Does his attitude count for anything in the long run? And is a professor, as such, of any significance whatever outside the field of abstract exposition?



In discussing this matter, it has to be remembered that all professors are not in the field of economics. As the sociological opinions of a professor of music or engineering are not *prima facie* worth any more than those of any other layman, we must be understood as confining ourselves in these remarks to professors of the social sciences. With this qualification, it should be emphasized that professors of economics, or political science, or sociology, are not primarily concerned with reform at all. Their mission is not to reform, but to explain. They are beneficiaries of the existing social system; and, in last analysis, their function resolves itself into the study and interpretation of the established order.

For example, conventional economics, from Adam Smith down, turns out to be founded on assumptions bound up with bourgeois industrial and business methods. At the point where the business man is hazy on fundamental economic analysis, the professor himself is correspondingly vaporous. If the business man puts machinery, cash, and land into the category of "capital," the professor is ready with a voluminous explanation justifying the confusion of things that differ. If chattel slavery happened to be legal, he would show how human flesh is of the same nature as "other kinds of capital." And if the consensus of business opinion is that the existing order should not be changed, the professor, on his part, will solemnly advise us to spend a thousand years in learned "research" over the question whether it is wise to progress half an inch.

This is not sarcasm. It is merely recognition of the essential nature of the professorial office, which is that of explanation, and hence, ultimately, of conservatism. The professor of economics, as such, has no more business with reform than a mani-

curist has with the Apostles' Creed. If the contrary be maintained, why is it that professors who oppose the Singletax are not disturbed in their official tenures, while the rare, occasional, and exceptional academic gentlemen who endorse the Singletax or other immediately dangerous radicalisms, are usually kicked out on one pretext or another?

The fact is, that the conventional professor's opinions about current social problems have no more effect on human history than volumetric analysis of the atmosphere has on the flight of airships. The appeal to the college professor is carried into the wrong court. As a class, professors have always been partisans of the *status quo*, which means that they are tacitly tory or explicitly standpat. You might as well go to a smallpox hospital for your health as to take Professor Seligman's advice on the Singletax. The Columbia professor has published an attractive work on the "economic interpretation of history," which shows that human affairs have been controlled by the unconscious pressure of material interests. This thesis holds true, he would have us to believe, up to the point where the professor of economics tries to get into the game of contemporary affairs and tell the citizens how to vote; but at that point, it suddenly ceases to apply; and the academic gentleman is to be accepted by a guileless public precisely as if he were not answerable to a reactionary board of trustees.

The idea that academic economists, as a class, count for anything positive in the march of history is, therefore, mere superstition. It is a piece of mythology, fostered by the very interests which stand to gain by the notion that professors are authoritative guides in the business of life. The farmer and the city laborer bow no longer to "expert" opinion; and the middle class business man is beginning to feel that an imposing professor is only an impostor. The final refuge of the conventional economist is with the captain of industry whose graft needs an apology or a whitewash. And so, with the exposure of big business and the advance of democracy, the professorial superstition is dying out. After awhile, academic economists will have a chance to become what the best of them are anxious to be, namely, human persons with a useful place in the scheme of culture.

LOUIS WALLIS.



Strange it is that men should admit the validity of the arguments for free discussion, but object to their being "pushed to an extreme," not seeing that unless the reasons are good for an extreme case they are not good for any case.—John Stuart Mill.

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

### CAMPAIGNING IN CALIFORNIA.

San Francisco, Cal., Aug. 16

Only five days remained in which to file names for the Singletax initiative when my attention was called to the lack of signatures from the Santa Clara valley.

Straight to the Labor Temple in San Jose I went and was received there with open hearts. All the officials and business agents became willing helpers, but canvassers were few, for this is fruit season and idle hands are scarce.

A visit to the newspaper office disclosed a Singletaxer is the busy editor, and a short ad with a write-up in the news column opened the campaign.

Canvassing the union men was easy, a great number having already signed the home rule petition, believing it to be Singletax. Their meeting was thrown open to me and I addressed several each evening, being received with the greatest courtesy. A man who would not sign the petition for a free earth was a rare specimen.

A round of the municipal, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. employment bureaus, appeals to personal friends—storekeeper, lawyer, butcher, minister, real estate man, teacher, contractor, Christian Science practitioner, janitor, housewife, elevator boy, hair dresser, Republicans, Democrats, Socialists—brought canvassers. Each took up the work, realizing that Singletax was his own fight. One was a man who had recently lost his little ranch after years of labor and struggle. Poor man, he had nothing left in the world. I said, "No one knows better than you what the burden of taxation means to the small farmer; go into this work with your whole heart." "Ah," he replied as he departed with a petition, "the heart has gone out of me." He never came back.

Another, a lady, who came through the Christian Science practitioner, was remarkably successful. At the San Jose Coffee Club I chanced to overhear a young woman say that she needed employment. I offered her work obtaining signatures. A very few words sufficed to explain to her the Singletax, for all the land around her former home is owned by Miller and Lux, who pay only nominal taxes on their millions of acres, while the small farmers pay the major part. Her father paralytic, her mother sick, they had lost their home. She worked with a will in her appointed district, feeling that she was doing things for other laboring people as well as for herself.

Over the telephone came a voice, "The paper says you want men to secure names on the Singletax petition. I'm as good as any man. Will you take me?" Straightway she went to her brother-in-law's laundry, where, while he threatened to discharge any worker who signed the petition, she urged, "Don't listen to him. He's just grafting off you workers. Sign this petition." They signed.

We got signatures wherever there were groups of workers. To one man I said, "We want someone to work the breweries." Grinning broadly he replied, "I'm the man."

One Socialist in Morgan Hill obtained the signa-

ture of practically every voter there in less than two days, filing his petitions in the nick of time.

It was a strenuous finish. Laughingly several university students (former high school pupils of mine) told of going to homes before breakfast, calling some people even from their beds. Earnestly canvassers and signers took up the cry for a free earth, and, with the able help of the Rev. Robert Whittaker, Baptist minister and Socialist of Los Gatos, we filed 3,000 names in four days.

MINNIE MACKAY DUXBURY.



San Francisco, Aug. 16.

California has placed the Statewide Singletax Initiative on the ballot with a net filing of 88,143 names. The ease with which signatures were secured when straight Singletax was explained to the voters augurs well for success in November, but had it not been for the yeoman service of Mr. Luke North, editor of Everyman, the measure would undoubtedly have failed at this time.

San Francisco is preparing to open the campaign with tremendous enthusiasm. A larger office has been secured at 530 Pacific building, where citizens are calling daily for literature and arguments with which to bombard the enemy.

When the Initiative hung in the balance and money was so desperately needed to pay for signatures, a member of the League negotiated a loan on some unimproved property to meet the demands of the last day. The attorney who transacted the business derived considerable amusement from the spectacle of a person mortgaging land to obtain money to compel the State to confiscate it. The little incident simply illustrates the fighting spirit of our people in this battle royal for the success of a simple revolutionary measure.

Money is urgently needed for educational work. The voters must be reached by simple leaflets, enthusiasm must be kept alive by huge meetings, the press must be utilized to the fullest extent in this great struggle. Workers are in demand.

Those who desire a share in securing a free earth for a free people should communicate or call at the local headquarters, Statewide Singletax League.

DR. ETHEL LYNN,  
Secretary-Treasurer,  
530 Pacific Bldg.



## FOREIGN RELATIONS AND THE DAILY PRESS.

Washington, D. C., Aug. 14.

At the sessions of the General Sunday School Association and of the Young People's Christian Union, recently held at New Haven, Conn., composed of lay and clerical delegates from Universalist churches and Sunday schools throughout the United States, the following resolutions relating to the question of war and peace were passed:

1. That we are opposed to all war, except in the case of actual invasion and for the defense of the lives of our people, of the free institutions of our country, and of human liberty and justice, as contrary to the spirit and teachings of Jesus;

2. That we are grateful to the President of the United States for preventing war between ours and any other nation during his administration, that we sympathize with

him in the tasks of immense difficulty that he must perform, and that we thank him for using his utmost endeavor to adjust the differences between the United States and other countries by arbitration rather than by armed conflict.

It is worthy of note that these resolutions were first passed by the General Sunday School Association. Resolutions of a similar import but not so acceptably worded which were presented at the Young People's Convention were withdrawn in order that these might be substituted. This incident gave the Daily Register, of New Haven, an opportunity to publish the misleading statement that a "Resolution referring to European war [was] withdrawn after opposition to it arises." The resolutions that were displaced were published, but the ones substituted were not, thus putting the conventions in a false light. When the editor's attention was called to this state of affairs he promised to make amends, but he failed to redeem his promise. New Haven is the location of the immense factories of the Winchester Repeating Arms Company, and it would seem that the domination of the munitions manufacturers over the local daily press is complete, even to the extent of dictating what shall appear in their news columns.

But is New Haven an exceptional case? False and misleading statements on the part of the daily press, particularly in the matter of promoting "preparedness" parades, have already begotten in the public mind an impression that the broadsides of "Bethlehem Steel" advertising have had a subsidizing effect upon many of the papers carrying the same. Yet some people wonder why it is that the newspapers have so little political influence. When we can not depend upon the daily press to tell the truth in regard to current events where are we? In honest news-gathering truthfulness is fundamental, and when a newspaper ceases to observe this cardinal principle it ceases to deserve respect.

D. C. WASHINGTON.



## LOCAL TAXATION FIRST.

Reading, Pa., Aug. 12.

The evils of monopoly have been peculiarly demonstrated by Vancouver, B. C. She was so far ahead in adopting a sensible system of local taxation that she practically had a monopoly of it; and this fact caused trouble. But it does not follow that the adoption of a sensible system of local taxation is anything else than sensible.

Vancouver's exemption of improvements from taxation so encouraged the making of improvements that the city grew with remarkable rapidity; and this remarkable growth so increased the demand for land that land values boomed—with evil results as always—notwithstanding the (insufficiently) increased taxes put upon them. If improvements had been similarly exempted in other communities, there would have been no such abnormal growth in Vancouver, and its sensible system of taxation would have worked normally. It is clear enough that the practical monopolizing even of such an advantage would better be avoided if possible.

But the fact remains that the adoption of a sensible system of local taxation is the best possible step towards its general adoption. Otherwise revo-

lution not evolution must be contemplated. We cannot reasonably expect to get the single tax complete at one jump. The principle must be applied as opportunity offers, even though it be done at a disadvantage.

Vancouver suffered the disadvantage of standing alone; but her example will be followed. Pastoriza's great work at Houston, though he doubts its effects himself, is certainly the most valuable of pioneering. The handicap of being alone in sensible taxing will naturally disappear, for competing communities must follow. In Pennsylvania the cities of Pittsburgh and Scranton are legally required to gradually exempt fifty per cent of improvements; and before this has gone into effect far enough to show any striking, let alone dangerous, results, other cities of the State are endeavoring to have the privilege of doing likewise extended to them, so that they may be in position to compete fairly for improvements. Is not this the way of natural growth, the line of least resistance for single taxers to particularly follow?

W. G. STEWART.



### THE "OLD GUARD" STILL ALIVE.

Bradford, Pa., Aug. 14, 1916.

One of the reasons advanced by Mr. Robins for declaring for Hughes, was that the nomination of Mr. Hughes sounded the deathknell of the "old guard" in the Republican party. This may be true and I sincerely hope it is, but I am inclined to think he has taken too much for granted. He states the nomination of Hughes was not two hours old when the most resourceful general of the "old guard" was dropped overboard into political oblivion. The forced retirement of William Barnes, Jr., was the high sign to all who wished to know and understand that the control of the Republican party had passed forever from the "old guard" of 1912. This statement recalls to mind how often T. C. Platt, as the Republican boss of N. Y. State, was hurled into political oblivion, only to come back as strong, if not stronger, at the next election; and this was demonstrated here in Pennsylvania.

The Philadelphia North American, the mouth-piece of the Progressive party in Pennsylvania, if not in the nation, has for years opposed the leadership of U. S. Senator Boise Penrose in the Republican party, holding him up to public ridicule on every occasion that presented itself, and succeeded, so far as to defeat Mr. Penrose's personal choice for state treasurer (Mr. Plummer) for election to that office. Mr. Berry, a Bryanite and a Singletaxer was elected and the capitol graft scandal was the result. Did that hurl Boise Penrose into political oblivion? Everybody at the time was inclined to think so, myself included. I could not understand how any man or a machine could exist, politically, after that expose. Is he dead? Suffice it to say he is still doing business at the same old stand, as powerful as before, if not more so.

How did it happen? Perhaps reviewing a little progressive political history, prior to and up to 1912, will explain Mr. Penrose's political come-back. For some years prior to the 1912 Republican State convention, at the time when the agitation for direct legislation was at its height, The Philadelphia

North American was carrying on a State-wide campaign of education along direct legislation lines, and it did excellent work in that campaign; it woke the people of this state up to the needs of direct legislation. It held men like La Follette, Clapp, Bourne and all the others fighting for these reforms up as a shining example, in contrast to our United States Senator, Mr. Penrose, whom it characterized as a Standard Oil tool.

The Republican convention in this State in 1912 was absolutely controlled by the progressive wing of the Republican party, and they dictated the platform which was drawn up. William D. Lewis was chairman of the resolutions committee. Did they declare themselves in favor of direct legislation? Not one word in that whole progressive platform in reference to direct legislation. Why? The Philadelphia North American with brazen effrontery tells us why in one of its issues following that convention.

Because some of the leaders did not feel as if they were ready to commit themselves that far. To my mind it showed just how sincere they were in advocating the Initiative, Referendum and Recall and simply proves to my mind what I have long ago suspected, that it was not so much their desire to help the people to help themselves, as it was to give them a change of master, and I am confirmed in this conviction by what I know and see of the so-called progressive leaders here in Bradford. They are in the main a bunch of disgruntled politicians.

Mr. Robins states that Governor Brumbaugh, backed by the rank and file of the voters in the Republican party, is breaking boss control in this state. I hope it is true. But in view of the fact that the gang put one over on the Governor in the recent primary fight for delegates goes far to disprove that statement. They showed where the Governor had sworn to a false list of campaign expenses during his campaign for Governor.

It is only fair to say I do not think the Governor did this deliberately, but it shows they do not fear him. Watch their smoke.

PETER VANDERWENDE.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### BANKS AND FARM MORTGAGES.

Boston, Aug. 17, 1916.

As one of the directors of the Massachusetts Farmland bank, may I make a slight criticism of the article on rural credits on page 726? Would not a categorical denial of the premises of your correspondent have been better?

The banks do not borrow the money from the government. The banks, as distinguished from the farmers, have only a temporary existence. The new law provides merely for the temporary capitalization of the banks by the government, with the idea that the borrowers shall eventually be the only stockholders of the banks. When this has come to pass, the whole system will merely consist in the farmers pooling their mortgages and through a bond issue thereon, borrowing the money for themselves from

the general public. A single farm mortgage may be an 8 per cent risk, but a group of 100 or more mortgages ought to command a much lower rate of interest. The aim of the new law is merely to enable the farmers to mobilize their credits, and thus get the same low rates that now prevail in other established lines of business.

ROGER SHERMAN HOAR.



## HUGHES THE STANDARD OIL CANDIDATE.

Stoux Falls, S. D., August 18.

It has been true, of all time, that the people who control governments shape legislation so as to advance their own interests.

Now, the great trusts, banking and financial combinations of the capitalists which have been established to govern and control and exploit labor have become the dominant class.

Since Wilson become President, they have completely captured the Interstate Commerce Commission.

These great interests are represented by great corporations and the individual members are shareholders. It is the most heartless form of society ever known to man—far worse than the feudal lord, because he was an individual and had some human traits, character and sympathy. In other words, we have become a government of artificial persons, holders of shares in these artificial persons and their hired men. The government is no longer at Washington. It is located in New York and the rulers of this country are known as the House of Morgan and the House of Rockefeller. They name our officials; they reach out into the States and take interest in its affairs; they have a vast literary bureau and own great numbers of magazines and newspapers and subsidize, very largely, all the others they do not own. When they wish to create public sentiment for their big lines of business they set their literary bureau in motion.

Hughes, their candidate for President of the United States, was, but a few years ago, superintendent of Rockefeller's Fifth Avenue Baptist church Sunday school, and he was taken from that exalted position of teaching the young Baptists of New York what he didn't know was so—which is but a short step from teaching what a man knows isn't so—by his master and made Governor of the State of New York.

As Governor, the only thing he did was to suppress race-track gambling. The same interests that paid the expense of his election were the interests in New York which put him on the Supreme Bench. Two years ago, through their literary bureau, they began paving the way for his nomination on the Republican ticket for President. They began attributing to him virtues he did not possess, intelligence that nature had not provided for and knowledge which he is not capable of acquiring.

On the bench, he was their subservient slave. He consolidated great trusts and combinations by legislative enactment of the Supreme Court, having signed the opinion in the Danbury hatters' case by which the anti-trust law is alone made to apply to labor organizations. Having, in fact, done everything that the exploiters of the American people

desired to have accomplished in a judicial way, they now propose to put him in the Presidential chair.

I was in Chicago for five days up to the day of the convening of the Republican national convention. I conversed with great numbers of the most prominent men in the party and, several days before the convention met, I told Penrose of Pennsylvania and John Dwight of New York that Hughes would be their nominee and the reason for my opinion was that I found the managers, agents and representatives of the Standard Oil Company in the hotel lobbies everywhere working for Hughes. I talked with some of the organizers for some of the great industrial and mercantile combinations and, without exception, they were for Hughes and, with great confidence, predicted his nomination.

In spite of all these facts, I think that Hughes' election is preferable to the election of Wilson, for, while Wilson has done some decent things, Hughes will never do a decent thing, and the record of persecution and enslavement which has resulted in the robbery of the American people of what they have produced had better culminate in the election of Hughes and thus more rapidly overthrow a social and economic system which has resulted in the accumulation of all the result of the toil of the people of the United States in four hundred thousand families.

Hughes has great contempt for the laboring people who produced the wealth, but great respect for the wealth which they have produced after it has passed out of their hands into the hands of the class that produced none of it.

R. F. PETTIGREW.



## OBJECTIONS TO BILLBOARD ADVERTISING.

Urbana, Ill., Aug. 21.

The billboard lithograph which supplemented your issue of August 18 will doubtless seem to many persons a hopeful sign of the times. Certainly the New York State Singletax League is to be commended for spending money and time to advance the unselfish ideas in which it believes. But billboard advertising is offensive to lovers of beauty, and it is not the most efficient means of education. The press is more effective and does not disfigure the landscape.

The billboard nuisance has gone so far that one can no longer look out of the car windows between New York and Washington without seeing the country disfigured by these gaudy and impertinent signs. The American Civic Association has been battling for billboard reform for many years and several States have imposed severe restrictions upon their use. The Friends of Our Landscape have also worked against the desecration of American scenery. The "billboard trust" has a capital of several millions and is difficult to control.

Henry George said that the Singletax makes all other reforms easier. Let us hope that the New York State Singletax League will do what it can to help billboard reform. I can understand the peculiar appropriateness of trying to connect land reform with the land, but can it not be done without disfiguring the landscape? Surely. Billboard advertising is mere publicity—not educational work.

It can merely keep an idea before the public; it cannot educate, persuade and convince as well as the book, tract, magazine article or newspaper story—to say nothing of the spoken word.

Singletaxers should be friends of the Landscape and Friends of Beauty.

WILHELM MILLER.

## A LEGACY OF WATT.

Colfax, Wash., Aug. 15.

Press dispatches of a few days ago mention a shortage on the railroads of Oregon of 926 cars in a single day. This was not an isolated instance, but was and is typical of railroad conditions throughout the United States. Stung into action by complaints of shippers, the Oregon State Public Service Commission has instructed the Southern Pacific railroad to furnish adequate equipment, or be held to "strict accountability" for damage to shippers through failure to provide cars as ordered—"so far as the Commission can hold the railroad to accountability."

Sad is the lot of American railroads in these "days of change." In the good old days of private ownership (of the government and all that therein is, on the part of the railroads) rates were "fixed," land grants granted and equipment supplied, not by order of the Interstate Commerce Commission, nor by any meddling State Public Service Commission, but solely at will by the railroads themselves—"the public be d—." But now—now—full page advertisements appealing to the charity of the same long-suffering public; pleas that agitation makes impossible the flotation of stocks and bonds to raise funds, for necessary increases in equipment and rights-of-way (we doubt it not); appeals to boards of arbitration; education, scramble, agony—no longer able to pay adequate dividends (on excessive capitalization); equipment and rights-of-way going from bad to worse except in peculiarly well-favored localities.

Abnormal demands for equipment (due to war conditions, the scarcity of ships and terminal facilities and the necessity of moving crops and other supplies overland) brought about acute congestion of traffic during the past crop-year; and the new crop faces a greater scarcity of ships on all coasts, with a positive decrease in railroad equipment over that of a year ago. Even at this writing a nation-wide strike brews, and, with all the wheels of industry crying for a labor-supply greatly reduced by the demands of war, there is little likelihood of the railroads securing a settlement favorable to increased dividends or increased funds for development and equipment. Soon the starving nations of central Europe may be pleading for American foodstuffs, and (thanks to our wonderful American ideal of private ownership of both public and private property) our decrepit system of railroads will permit comparatively scant aid to our hungry brothers across the seas.

What will be the outcome? Will a forgiving public turn the other cheek, or, to put it more generously, "see sense" and "dig up" more liberally in the way of increased rates and purchase of railroad securities? Or are we about to see more "intervention," and, if so, how will the rights of the intervenors be secured? Would it not appear that a real issue is about to "loom" upon the political horizon? And

where, then, will our friend, Mr. Hughes, stand, and where our own Woodrow?

Things were "different" in the old days of railroad domination; but afar we can hear (and possibly not so far, either) vox populi whispering in stentorian tones, "quo vadis, domine?"

HARRY W. OLNEY.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, August 22, 1916.

### Labor Troubles.

At President Wilson's conference with railroad managers and employes at the White House on August 15 the President suggested as a compromise the granting of the men's eight hour demand, withdrawal by the railroads of counter proposals, withdrawal by the employes of demand for time and a half for overtime, and investigation by a federal commission of the working of this plan, both sides being free to act after this commission shall have reported. On August 16, the representatives of the employes announced acceptance of the plan but the railroad managers refused. The President at once sent messages to the presidents of the various roads to come to Washington and discuss the matter. A number responded and came, but all efforts to secure their consent to the plan have so far failed. The President announced that he will call in the big financiers interested in the roads should he fail to secure an agreement with the titular heads of the corporations. On August 21, after a conference with the railroad executives, the President pointed out to them the disastrous result of tying up traffic and declared that should it come the American public would fix the responsibility and he added, "the responsibility of failure will not rest with me." [See current volume, page 777.]

For several days it seemed as though another street railway strike impended in New York City. After the settlement which ended the strike the corporations discharged a number of men who had been active in the difficulty. A demand for their reinstatement was made by the unions under penalty of another strike. On August 21 the companies yielded by reinstating 14 men, and agreeing to submit to arbitration the cases of 35 other men.

### Congressional Doings.

The House passed on August 15 the big navy bill of the Senate by a vote of 283 to 51. The bill authorizes construction within three years of

10 battleships, 6 battle cruisers, 10 scout cruisers, 30 destroyers, 9 fleet submarines, 38 coast submarines, 3 fuel ships, a repair ship, a transport, a hospital ship, 2 destroyer tenders, a fleet submarine tender, 2 ammunition ships and 2 gunboats. The opposition to the bill consisted of 35 Democrats, 15 Republicans and one Socialist. [See current volume, page 777.]



On August 16 the Senate passed, by a vote of 37 to 22, the Philippine bill as reported from conference. The bill gives to the Filipinos a large measure of home rule, but the Clarke amendment has been eliminated which would have fulfilled the Democratic platform pledges of 1900, 1904, 1908 and 1912. Instead there is an indefinite promise of independence whenever the Filipinos may have demonstrated their ability to maintain a stable government. The Senate also passed two resolutions introduced by Senator Penrose for investigation of alleged violations of the civil service law. On August 19 the Senate passed the workmen's compensation law, which had already passed the House. On August 21 the Senate passed the Gallinger resolution for an inquiry into the authority for retaining George Rublee on the Federal Trade Commission. Mr. Rublee's appointment on the commission had been rejected by the Senate, as a personal favor to Senator Gallinger. He has been retained, however, without salary.



The President vetoed on August 18 the army appropriation bill because it exempted retired officers from discipline.



#### The Danish Treaty.

Forty-seven of the 61 members of the Landstung, the Danish upper house, placed themselves on record on August 16 as opposing the sale of the Danish West Indies to the United States before the election of a new Parliament has taken place. A press dispatch from St. Thomas, Danish West Indies, on the same day stated that an unofficial vote of the inhabitants of the Island of St. Croix had been taken on the preceding day, resulting in 5,000 to 11 in favor of annexation to the United States. The population of St. Croix is 18,590. [See current volume, page 778.]



#### Real Preparedness in Chicago and Elsewhere.

A series of conferences on real preparedness are to be held in a number of cities. These are an outgrowth of the conference held in Washington June 28 and 29 of which Benjamin C. Marsh was secretary, and at which a permanent committee was appointed containing among others, Frederic C. Howe, John J. Hopper, Amos Pinchot, Frank P. Walsh, Lincoln Steffens, Frederic C. Leubuscher, Charles H. Ingersoll, Dr. J. W. Slaughter, Mary Ware Denett, B. W. Huebsch, Herbert J.

Browne, Dante Barton, Wm. W. Stoddard, F. L. Cranford, Edward T. Hartman, Roger N. Baldwin, Gustavus Tuckerman, Charles L. Babcock, Frederick F. Ingram, John A. McSparran and F. W. Hinrichs. Resolutions at this conference showed the need of economic preparedness and demanded as a fundamental measure the breaking up of land monopoly through untaxing of improvements and heavier taxation of land values. Other demands are for progressive taxes on incomes and inheritances, government ownership of natural monopolies, insurance of workers and a uniform child labor law.



A conference was held at Buffalo on August 22. This is to be followed by one at Cleveland on August 23, at Detroit on August 24 at Chicago in Schiller Hall, on August 25 at 2:30 and at 8 p. m. Judge Edward Osgood Brown will preside. Mrs. Joseph Fels and Dr. J. W. Slaughter will speak. Other meetings are to be at Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Des Moines, Kansas City, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Manchester, New Hampshire and other cities.



#### Taxation Sentiment in California.

The California State Tax Commission is sending a list of questions to taxpayers. For this action it has been denounced by the San Francisco Chronicle in its issue of August 16 for coming out for the Singletax. The questions are as follows:

- (1) Would you favor the exemption from taxation of all factories and manufactured products? (Effort is being made along this line in several States, particularly New Jersey.) Give reasons.
- (2) If most of our public revenue continues to come from property taxation, do you believe any property should be exempt from paying in some way its percentage of such tax? If so, what property would you exempt?
- (3) Would you favor the discontinuance of the tax on personal property and the adoption of a reasonable income tax in its place? (This has been recommended by various tax commissions, and has been partially put into operation in Wisconsin, and recently adopted in Massachusetts.) Give reasons.
- (4) Do you believe improvements on land (houses, trees, etc.) should be taxed in the same proportion as the land itself? Give reasons.
- (5) Do you favor the gradual reduction of taxation upon buildings, trees and vines and the assumption of that tax burden by the land? Give reasons. (This proposition has been discussed in New York and other States, and attempted in Canada, New Zealand and elsewhere. It is estimated that land in California is assessed at about one-half its full value, and it has been argued that if it were assessed at full value, improvements could be exempted without increasing the tax rate.)
- (6) It is argued that land values in cities and other social centers are greatly augmented by the amount of population, and that the community itself, and not any effort on the part of the owner of the

land, gives it the high value. If this is true, do you, or do you not, believe that a man who gains this extra wealth from the community, instead of by his own efforts, should pay a greater tax proportionately? Give reasons.

(7) If you state in your answer to the preceding question that you are in favor of a greater tax upon unearned land values, then what percentage of this unearned value do you believe should rightly come back to the community, instead of being retained by the owner? Give reasons.

(8) Do you believe that land held for speculation should be taxed heavier than the land used for home, agricultural or business purposes? Give reasons.

(9) Do you favor the idea of setting aside certain classes of property to be taxed for certain purposes (for instance for State or county purposes solely) without regard to the relative burden of tax borne by the different classes of property? Give reasons.

(10) Do you favor classifying property according to its earning ability and taxing it in proportion to that ability? Give reasons.

(11) Do you favor a system of indirect taxation for city and county governments, similar to that now used by the State? Give reasons.



### The Niagara Conference.

The Sixth Annual Joseph Fels Fund Conference was held at the International Hotel, Niagara Falls, New York, on August 19, 20 and 21. Alice Thacher Post was made permanent chairman. An address of welcome was made by Mayor George W. Whitehead and responded to by Louis F. Post. Mrs. Joseph Fels presented to the conference a proposed change on which she asked advice. She had put the expenditure of funds which she contributes to the cause in Great Britain in the bank of "The English section of the Joseph Fels Fund International Commission." She wants to establish in the United States an American section of the same international commission, with headquarters in New York City, to handle her contributions to the cause. Under this arrangement the present commission would, technically at least, be discontinued and she further suggested that the conference take steps to create and incorporate a National Singletax Association which could handle all funds contributed by others than herself. The following resolutions were passed after considerable discussion:

That the Joseph Fels Fund Commission be discontinued and that there be substituted in its place what shall be known as the American Section of the Joseph Fels International Commission to be created by Mrs. Fels and located in New York City.

It then voted to refer to a committee to be appointed by Mrs. Fels, the devising of plans for creation of the proposed National Singletax Association. The committee is to report to a conference of singletaxers, which it is empowered to call. The Conference adjourned to attend the Canadian Conference at Niagara Falls, Ontario.

The second day of the gathering was devoted to hearing from State representatives present and through letters from unrepresented places of propaganda and political activities. Propaganda activities reported on were The Public, The Ground Hog, Singletax Review, Singletax Herald, Philadelphia News-Post, and American Economic League's press bureau and news service. Lecture work was reported on by Louis Wallis. Political activities were reported on from California, Colorado, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Delaware, Illinois, Oregon, North Dakota, and the District of Columbia. In the morning session an ovation was tendered to two grandchildren of Henry George Miss Beatrice George and Henry George Atkinson.



On the last day Bolton Hall told about the singletax colonies at Fairhope, Arden, Tahanto, Halidon and Free Acres. Daniel Kiefer reported on the result of circularizing the 22,000 individuals listed in Who's Who. Of those who replied 555 were unqualified singletaxers, 743 favored land value taxation, but were not thoroughly in accord with singletax doctrine, 457 wanted information, 231 were indifferent and 225 opposed. Mr. Max Hayes spoke by invitation on the Socialist party, Mr. Robert Macaulay on the Singletax party and Judge Henry Neil on mother's pensions.



Resolutions were adopted expressing confidence in and commendation of the Joseph Fels Fund Commission, grateful recognition of the work of Joseph Fels and of Mary Fels in organizing and supporting since 1907 the work of the commission and special acknowledgment of the continuous, unpaid and devoted service of Daniel Kiefer. The hope was expressed that Mr. Kiefer and his fellow members of the commission participate in, cooperate and otherwise promote the proposed national singletax organization. The following was added:

And Resolved, That this conference is aware that no formal resolution can adequately express our individual personal obligation and grateful affection to Mary Fels for her constant devotion and inspiring leadership.

Another resolution declared that state and local organizations should direct work according to their judgment and settle differences of opinion within their own organizations. In regard to California and Oregon the following were passed:

Resolved, That recognizing the value of the work accomplished in placing on the ballot in Oregon the so-called People's Land and Loan Measure and in California the measure known as the Great Adventure, and in view of the fact that those measures are the only measures intended to promote the Singletax to be submitted in those States this year, this conference recommends to the Fels Fund Commis-

sion and Singletaxers generally financial as well as moral support of those measures.

Resolved, That it is the sentiment of this convention that the endorsement of the California and Oregon campaigns is in no sense a reflection upon those Singletaxers in California who favor the adoption of an amendment favoring Home Rule in taxation.

Another resolution carried as follows:

That this conference approve and urge the adoption of the bill for Free Trade with American countries introduced into the House of Representatives by Warren Worth Bailey on March 17, 1916, and now pending before the Ways and Means Committee.

The following telegram was ordered sent to Frank P. Walsh:

Realizing the great work you have done for social justice and a freer earth for all mankind, the Sixth National Joseph Fels Fund Conference sends you cordial greetings and congratulates you upon your achievements.

As authorized representative of the Democratic National Committee State Senator Burd of Buffalo addressed the Conference on the Conservation plank of the Democratic National platform. Though authorized to speak for the party Senator Burd said he expressed his individual views only.



The Conference closed with a banquet at which the toastmaster was John F. McHowie of Buffalo and the speakers as follows: Professor Earl Barnes, Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, James A. Robinson, John B. McGuaran, F. F. Ingram, Herbert S. Bigelow, Louis F. Post, Mrs. Joseph Fels and F. J. Dixon. Brief remarks were made by Robert L. Scott, Dr. Mary D. Hussey, Dr. J. W. Slaughter, A. P. Canning and Sylvester E. Croll. The closing remarks were made by Mrs. Alice Thacher Post.



#### Canadian Singletax Conference.

Singletaxers of Canada met in conference at the Clifton Hotel in Niagara Falls, Ontario, on August 19 and 20. On the first day's session action was taken in favor of forming a Canadian National Singletax League. On the following day a resolution was adopted urging upon the Dominion Parliament the justice and expediency of raising extra revenue by a tax upon the land values of the Dominion. It was pointed out in the resolution that the national debt of Canada already exceeds half a billion dollars, and at the present rate of expenditure will in all probability reach one billion dollars at the close of the war. This prodigious debt and also the pension fund for disabled soldiers and their dependents would necessitate an enormous increase in Canada's national revenue. It was declared no material increase in revenue could be derived through customs duties without seriously increasing the cost of living and crippling trade, adding greatly to the burden of the Canadian people. The land values of Canada

were a national resource, created by the community at large, which might be taxed without interfering with industry, crippling trade, or increasing the cost of living, but, on the contrary, would have a reverse effect of forcing idle land into use and promoting enterprise and business activity. It was estimated, for instance, that a tax of one per cent on land values of Canada would produce an additional revenue of approximately \$80,000,000 per annum with a maximum of equity and certainty, and might be collected through existing municipal organizations with a minimum of expense. The resolution was moved by Mr. Henry Timmis, Montreal, seconded by Mr. A. W. Roebuck, Toronto.



Action was taken urging upon the Government of Canada "the necessity of freeing the industry of the country from the burdens of taxation and of levying upon the natural resources of our country for whatever sums may be necessary for the carrying of our cause to a successful conclusion." Resolutions were also adopted condemning the movement "to perpetuate the evils of war by transferring from the battlefield to the economic field, as is illustrated in the proposal of the Paris conference to increase the cost of living and the burden of the people by still further obstructions to trade and commerce." Local governments were also urged to guard against unemployment after the war by taxation of land values. On adjournment the members proceeded to the New York side of the river and joined with the United States Conference.



#### Mexico and the United States.

The Mexican Ambassador to the United States, Eliseo Arredondo, announced at Washington on August 16 that "the Mexican railway between Vera Cruz and the city of Mexico will soon be turned over to the owners, the English corporation, as the country near by has been cleared of rebels and the government does not need it any more." He also reported that "There is no condition of hunger in the country, as conditions are daily improving with new crops now being harvested." [See current volume, page 780.]



#### The European War.

On the Western front the news reports continue telling of hard fighting, but little that may be considered of material importance. On August 15 the British regained in the Somme region the trenches lost on the preceding day. On August 19 further advances were reported by General Haig's forces. In the Verdun region some advance by the French forces is also reported.



On the Eastern front the Russians captured on August 15, Jablonitza, in the Carpathian re-

gion, which is described as commanding the gateway into Hungary. An advance into Hungary has since begun. The Russian advance has also got to within a few miles of Lemberg, the capital of Galicia.



An advance by the Allies from Salonika in Greece towards Bulgaria was begun on August 18. The British and French have crossed the Struma and are pushing northeastward. The Serbians have started toward Monastir, but were met and defeated by the Bulgarians on August 20 at Banica in Greece and forced to evacuate the town.



On the sea submarine warfare has been renewed. Two British cruisers, the Nottingham and the Falmouth, were sunk by German submarines in the North Sea on August 19. Thirty-eight men are reported lost. Reports from London claim that one of the submarines was destroyed and another damaged.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Governor Whitman of New York was endorsed for re-election on August 19 by William R. Hearst's Independence League.

—George R. Lunn, Socialist mayor of Schenectady, New York, has accepted the Democratic and Progressive nomination for Congress in his district.

—Judge Albert Nortoni of St. Louis, Progressive nominee for Governor of Missouri in 1912, has been selected by the Democratic Campaign Committee to direct work among Progressive party voters.

—A treaty between the United States and Great Britain for protection of insect-destroying-birds on both sides of the Canadian boundary was signed on August 16 at Washington by Secretary of State Lansing and the British Ambassador.

—James Charlton of Houston, Texas, has been nominated for the fifth consecutive time by the Democrats of Harris county for county treasurer. The nomination is equivalent to election. Mr. Charlton is a Singletaxer who has been active in aiding the work of Tax Commissioner J. J. Pastoriza.

—An unusually violent hurricane swept along the Gulf coast in the neighborhood of Corpus Christi, Texas, on August 18. Great damage was done to houses and other property. The militia men and regular soldiers encamped nearby were driven from their tents and forced to take refuge in the city.



What is the reason that we are building ships of war and increasing the size of our navy? It is because the millionaire monopolists are becoming afraid of a poverty-stricken people which their oppressive trusts and combinations are creating. It is because great wealth, unjustly acquired, always wants the security of standing armies and navies.—Henry George.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### No Preparedness Without Private Profit.

Capper's Weekly (Topeka, Kas.), Aug. 12.—Last week many persons found in their mail a letter from Mr. Schwab's Bethlehem Steel Co. in which that concern, which has more than any other in the world profited by "war contracts," shows up the falseness of the charges brought by its enemies in Congress that it ever overcharged Uncle Sam for armor. The Schwab fight at this time being to prevent the building of a government armor plate plant. In the letter the one significant statement is that "already abundant facilities for manufacture of war materials exist in the United States!" Do our eyes deceive us? What all of a sudden has become of the very keystone of the "preparedness" faith; namely, our unspeakable lack of the facilities and materials to fight with, even if we had the fighting men? Is it possible that the greatest munitions interest of them all now warns the nation that it needs no more "preparedness" in this important direction, is in fact in grave danger of overdoing it, and should call a halt? Who ever expected to see the greatest war materials plant, maker of armor plate and of guns, so soon issue a warning to Congress and the country that they are going too far with their "preparedness" game; that enough is enough?



### How the Dye Tariff Will Work.

Cleveland Press, Aug. 3.—The proposed tariff on dyestuffs is a fine example of the workings of "protective" tariffs. . . . Suppose the duty on dyestuffs equals 1 cent on enough color to dye a yard of cloth. The American textile manufacturer will have to pay the extra cent and will add it to his price—pass it on to the consumer. He can buy German dyes and American dyes at the same price, only in one case the custom house gets the extra cent and in the other the American dye manufacturer gets it. In either case the user of the cloth ultimately pays. But if, on account of high-priced dye, every yard of cloth made in the United States costs a cent more per yard than cloth made anywhere else in the world, we have handicapped our American textile manufacturer in his efforts to secure foreign trade. If he sells half the product of his mills at home and half in the foreign markets, there is the usual way of escape for him. He can ask Congress for an extra 2 cents of "protection" on cloth on the ground that because of the high cost of dyes he cannot compete with foreign weavers. This being secured, he can again raise the price of his cloth to American users 2 cents a yard, and having recouped on the dye tax he can—and will—sell his cloth in foreign markets for 2 cents a yard less than at home. So the American buyers will pay the duty on the dye in the cloth they use and on the dye in the cloth they do not use. This is what has been done for 50 years, but the dye problem, standing alone, makes an easily understandable example. The lesson is that we people here at home pay all the tariff taxes and that a quarter of our living expenses is made of these invisible

taxes—10 per cent of which (or less) go to the government and the balance into the pockets of the privileged few. This hurts farmer, worker and merchant. It helps, if at all, where help is least needed.



### Censorship in Canada.

Ottawa (Ontario) Citizen, August 18.—Who is the supreme authority of this Dominion to decide what the Canadian people shall be allowed to read? Certain German papers deliberately written to incite alien residents in Canada to deeds of violence have properly been forbidden the mails since the outbreak of war. The war has also provided an excuse for some person in office to shut out radical papers like *The Masses*. When the Laurier administration tried to bar *The Appeal to Reason* for daring to discuss clericalism an awakened public opinion in Canada promptly put the government in its place. Now, however, public opinion would seem to have disappeared . . . and while the Canadian soldiers are fighting for what is called human liberty, some of the most vital principles of liberty are allowed to be flouted by ignorance and bureaucracy—without a word of protest from the civilian flock in Canada. A correspondent of the *Winnipeg Voice*, Mr. S. J. Farmer, writes to say that the English weekly, *Labor Leader*, has been banned by the Canadian government. The *Labor Leader* is a radical labor paper. But while it is allowed freely to circulate in the United Kingdom, by what high authority is it placed on the political index expurgatorius in this so-called democratic country? Has the *Labor Leader* committed the offense of publishing General Anderson's letter to General Gwatkin regarding the inefficiency of the Ross rifle? Or has it secured some later fact of the needless waste of Canadian lives by the political oligarchy in Ottawa? While the Socialist paper, *Vorwaerts*, is allowed to circulate in Germany, Canadian people have lain down and allowed their rights to be trampled upon. A halt should be called, and the exclusion of the *Labor Leader*—if it has been excluded, while it is free to circulate in Great Britain—might be taken as high time to put Canadian bureaucracy in its place again.



No society can make a perpetual constitution, or even a perpetual law. The earth belongs always to the living generation; they may manage it, then, and what proceeds from it, as they please during their usufruct. They are masters, too, of their own persons, and consequently may govern themselves as they please. But persons and property make the sum of the objects of government. The constitution and the laws of their predecessors are extinguished then, in their natural course, with those whose will gave them being. . . . Every constitution, then, and every law naturally expires at the end of thirty-four years (the average life). If it be enforced longer, it is an act of force, and not of right.—Thomas Jefferson.



The only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it.—John Stuart Mill.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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### OLD TOM HARDER'S REMARKS

Hughes.

“What was the noise about? It's not worth puttin' in the paper, but if you must know it wasn't anything but Jones. He switched off the telegraph machine, shut up the station an' run himself out o' breath to git a chance to read Hughes an' Roosevelt's acceptance speech to me.

“Yes, sir! After he got his second wind he did make a lot o' noise, but I'm not responsible for that. I tried to shirk, but had to stay by him an' listen. It tired me out. Yes! It seems like Roosevelt an' Hughes don't approve of the Wilson administration! It seems like they believe things would be a good deal better if they had Wilson's job. They seem to look at it as if it was a criminal offense to remove a man from a diplomatic job who believes in a protective tariff! They think there's something in that protective idea that qualifies for diplomacy. But the man must also believe in Roosevelt-Hughes Republicanism. A protective Democrat couldn't qualify, so the country is sure goin' to ruin, unless diplomacy an' protection an' Roosevelt an' Hughes are married to the government an' the Democrats are divorced.

“Sure! Wilson did a good many things they wanted to do, but he didn't do 'em enough. He didn't make war on Mexico enough. He didn't make the tariff protective enough. He didn't spend enough money on the army an' navy, an' didn't spend what he did, just the way Roosevelt-Hughes wanted it spent. The reserve banks don't suit Roosevelt-Hughes. Wilson knew Germany was goin' to sink the *Lusitania* an' didn't stop her like Roosevelt-Hughes would have done if they had held the job.

Yes, sir! I have an impression from Jones' readin' o' that speech that if Roosevelt-Hughes had been on the job all the nations of the earth would have been on their knees long ago prayin' for us to have mercy on 'em. In that view of it there's nothin' for us to do but to turn Wilson out an' put Roosevelt-Hughes in. Otherwise we go straight down to ruin.

“Now Roosevelt-Hughes don't say these things right straight out. Diplomacy don't say anything straight an' in plain words. But from Jones' readin' o' that speech that's what it means.

“The only clear thing of it all is that Roosevelt-Hughes endorses the platform an' accepts the nomination an' by implication he would be much obliged if we'd elect him.”

## JESUS WAS IN BERLIN AUGUST 1, 1914

A Sermon Preached in Plymouth Congregational Church, Lawrence, Kansas, September 26, 1915, by Noble Strong Elderkin.

"I came not to send peace but a sword."—Matthew 10:34.

Berlin.

The first day of August, Nineteen Fourteen.

Jesus of Nazareth, a citizen of the Fatherland.

The past few years a humble carpenter in the city of Berlin.

For weeks rumors of war have filled the air. Then August first, Nineteen Fourteen. Suddenly—as from a clear sky, "The enemies of, the Fatherland are at the gate!" At the gate—hideously armed! Ready to despoil and murder! Ready to murder and destroy! There is only one thing to do. There are not two things to do. There is only one thing to do. Jesus does that one thing. He flings aside his hammer and his saw. Rushes for his uniform. His soldier's uniform. Rushes for his sword. And his gun. And his bayonet. And his pistol. The next moment he is on his way to the colors. Then another moment and he is on his way to the front. What for? Why—to repel the attacks of the enemy. The enemy are at the gates of the Fatherland. Bent upon despoiling the Fatherland. They will kill. They will murder.

And before they kill and murder, THEY must be killed and murdered. But they are brother men. Bosh! Who said Bosh? Why—Jesus. Such monstrous stupidity! Brother men! The Fatherland is in danger. Its very life is threatened. Those that hate it are at the gate. Those that would cast it down headlong into a bottomless pit are at the gate. And to talk brotherhood at such a time! Talk brotherhood when the enemies of the Fatherland are not at the gate. He's off. On the way to the front. That's Jesus there in the second row. I like that swing of his. I like the set of his jaw. See that fist tightened at his side. I pity the man that faces his gun. Through Belgium. Into France. Then the mighty shout. "On to Paris!" What's in Paris? Why, the enemy. The enemy that must be humbled. What have they done? Done? Why, nothing. But they're the enemy. Who said so? The Kaiser. Does he know? Of course he knows. Then it's on to Paris. He sweeps along with the conquering host. Gayly. Resolutely. Back of them—moans and groans. Back of them—the rattle of death. Back of them—lakes of blood. Fields stripped of their crops. Villages that beamed and smiled but yesterday, in ruins. In smouldering ruins. Everywhere men dead and dying. Everywhere swords, guns, helmets, cloaks, battered cannon, writhing horses. The mire

choked with men. With dead men. A hollow where they had taken refuge—piled with them. Cowards! to have sought refuge. Why not stand up like men and take their medicine. The way he did. Some of them—still alive. Wriggling. Let them wriggle. On to Paris! He's in the first row now. Those that were in the first row are lying back there among the piles of dead. Brave Jesus. An iron cross upon his breast. None braver than he. Then the Marne. He had been such a pitiless fighter that they placed him in charge of a machine gun. It takes a fiendish fighter to man a machine gun. The thing is so inhuman. So cruelly inhuman. So they gave him a machine gun. Then the enemy came.

Young men like himself. Strong. Stalwart. Shoulder to shoulder. A solid phalanx. Singing. "It's a Long, Long Way to Tipperary"? No. A hymn. The second stanza of "Who is on the Lord's Side?" You could hear every word.

"Fierce may be the conflict,  
Strong may be the foe,  
But the King's own army  
None can overthrow;  
Round his standard ranging,  
Victory is secure;  
For his truth unchanging  
Makes the triumph sure.  
Joyfully enlisting  
By thy grace divine,  
WE are on the Lord's side,  
Savior WE are thine."

I guess he didn't hear them. Savior! Then the pitiless machine gun. And the singing ceased. The steady aim of the Nazarene. Not one of them should ever sing again. Then another line. And another. Singing. Until his gun belched death upon them. Then the singing ceased. He had stilled their song. He told me afterward in Berlin that it was all he could do to turn that machine gun on those fine young fellows as they came singing up the hill. I wish now he had not told me this. I did not like his squeamishness. These men were of the enemy. They got what they deserved. The enemies of the Fatherland deserve what these men got. It is just as well that he say nothing about this to anyone else. They'd take his iron cross away from him. They don't want the sniffing kind around. It was all he could do to turn the murderous instruments upon those young men—singing as they came! But he did. He did his duty. Like a man. Jesus the patriot. The gallant patriot. The darling of the empire. The pitiless fighter. Bravest of the brave. They will build him a monument in the park. They will carve his name upon it.

Jesus

Aforetime of Nazareth

Perfect Master of the Sword

He Came Not to Bring Peace But a Sword

And God Almighty Hath Blessed  
The Sword He Brought



London.

The fourth day of August, 1914.

Jesus of Nazareth a British subject.

These past few years a humble carpenter in the city of London.

For weeks rumors of war had filled the air. Then August 4, 1914. Suddenly as from a clear sky, "Belgium is being despoiled. The German army is on Belgian soil." Hideously armed. Ready to murder and destroy. There is only one thing to do. There are not two things to do. There is only one thing to do. Jesus does that one thing. He flings aside his hammer and his saw. Rushes for his uniform. His soldier's uniform. Rushes for his sword. And his gun. And his bayonet. And his pistol. The next moment he is on his way to the colors. Then in another moment he is on his way to the front. What for? Why, to repel the attacks of the enemy. The enemy are despoiling poor helpless Belgium. But what's the use of getting excited over such a matter? Only yesterday you British were despoiling poor, helpless diamond-blessed South Africa. The Germans are merely doing what you are given to doing. But he brushes me aside. He has no time to quibble about the past. The past is past. But these Germans are brother men. Jesus, they are brother men. Bosh! This is no time to smirk about brother men. Belgium is being despoiled. But why didn't you think about brother men when you were despoiling poor, helpless diamond-blessed South Africa? He is all of a rage now, so he's off. He is on his way to the front. That's Jesus there in the second row. I like that stride of his. That shows he means business. That set jaw. Those clenched teeth. The fist tightened at his side. Across the channel. Into France. Northward. Northward. What for? Why, to repel the enemy. What have they done? Why, they are the enemy. Who said so? King George. Does he know? Of course he knows. Northward. Then the desperate retreat toward Paris. In the midst of the desolation he stood. Head erect. Still proud. Proud in defeat. Proud in flight. The glorious field back yonder. That's the way the papers spoke of it. The glorious field. Eight days have passed since the battle and there are 700 wounded still on the field. Still shrieking. Still moaning. No one to help them. Sixty of them huddled in one tumble-down shack. Eight days have passed. Wounds that were severe have now become hopeless. Everywhere filth. Filth and blood. He saw it all as his regiment swept over the field toward Paris. It was some of his work, some of his own work. Do you wonder that he exulted? These were Germans. The enemy. The hated enemy. Back toward Paris! One night I saw him steal out to a point that overlooked the enemy's camp.

Devout man that he was, he had gone out to pray. I heard him. Heard every word. He prayed for victory. With all his soul he prayed for victory.

Oh God, help us to tear the soldiers of the foe to bloody shreds with our shells. Help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead. Help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire. Help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with un-availing grief. Blast their homes. Blight their lives. Water their way with their tears. Drench them with blood.

I liked his way of putting it. That wasn't the way the priests prayed. They had a soft and mushy way of praying for these very things. They, too, prayed for victory. They wanted these same things done. They wanted God to do them. But they didn't like to say it out loud. Their prayers sounded better. That was all. They meant the same thing. They prayed for victory upon their arms. That's what victory means to the side that loses. Then the Marne. Those terrible days at the Marne. He had earned the right to a machine gun, so they gave him one. Then the enemy came. Young men like himself. In the full pride of their wholesome German youth. Strong. Stalwart. Shoulder to shoulder. A solid phalanx. Singing "Deutschland Uber Alles"? No. A hymn. The second stanza of Ein' Feste Burg:

Did we in our own strength confide,  
Our striving would be losing;  
Were not the right man on our side,  
The man of God's own choosing.  
Dost ask who that may be?  
Christ Jesus it is he;  
Lord Sabaoth is his name,  
From age to age the same,  
And he must win the battle.

They were singing about him as if he were on their side. He was no German. What had their priests been telling them? He was not on their side fighting for them. He was on the other side. He was against them. He was a Britisher. Then the pitiless machine gun and their singing ceased. The perfect aim of the Nazarene. Not one of them should ever sing again. Then another line and another. Singing. Until his gun belched death upon them. Then their singing ceased. HE had stilled their song. But he told me afterward in London that it was all he could do to turn that death-flinging gun upon those fine young fellows as they came singing up the hill. But in that moment he remembered. These men were enemies. He had been ordered to kill them. The king had ordered him to kill them. His King. God? No, no. George, George the Fifth, by the grace of God, his noble and gracious King. This was no place for thought of the other man. Let him drop in his tracks and rot. What right had he to be an enemy of the great and good King George? It was all he could do! Think of such piffle. And

from a warrior like Jesus. A trained and trusted warrior. What if they should all talk that way? But he caught himself before it was too late. He turned the beastly gun upon them. He did his duty. Like a man. Jesus the patriot. Jesus the gallant patriot. The Queen's own. The King's well beloved. The pitiless. There will be a tablet to him in Westminster. His name will be carved upon it,

Jesus

Aforetime of Nazareth  
Perfect Master of the Sword  
He Came Not to Bring Peace But a Sword  
and God Almighty Hath Blessed  
The Sword He Brought



Well, what's the matter? It isn't true. What isn't true? The picture. You haven't played fair with Jesus. You have misrepresented him. Jesus wouldn't do these things. First of all he wouldn't go to war. He wouldn't kill his brother men. No matter who ordered him to kill them. He wouldn't glory in the moans and groans of brother men. In the rattle of death. In far stretching lakes of blood. In ruined villages. In huge piles of dead. He wouldn't turn a fiendish machine gun upon his brother men. His singing brother men. No matter who ordered him to. He wouldn't pray that God would tear the enemy to bloody shreds with his shrapnel. That God would lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire. That God would wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with grief that availed nothing at all. Nonsense. You don't know him. You think he came to bring peace. He didn't. He came to bring a sword.



### A TRUE STORY

In a large law office, perhaps some two years ago, the Scribe sat busily turning pot-hooks into printed words. Two clients, obliged to wait in the same room, were discussing their affairs. One of them (call him Mr. Dives Shark) might be said to have looked very much like Mr. Hog, were it not for the shame of speaking ill of one of our "poor earth companions and fellow mortals," who cannot put up for himself a verbal defense, filled with "whereases" and "to-wits." Fat and stupid in appearance was Mr. Shark, who, apparently secure in the conviction that his expansive pocketbook gave him an unquestionable grasp on public policies, began to expatiate on the requirements of our country.

"What we need," said he, "is war!"

His companion, more human in his exterior, looked apologetically (or was it apprehensively?) in the direction of the hurrying stenographer. Bang, rattle! went the typewriter; for your well-trained and experienced scribe can translate notes

with one corner of a brain, listen to conversation with the rest of it and maintain a placid countenance under almost every trying circumstance.

"Yes," continued Brother Shark, in tones of solemn boredom, "what we really need is war with Japan. It's bound to come, too. That will make the ammunition business in this country lively, stocks will go up, foodstuffs will be exported and we'll have general prosperity."

I do not believe that Mr. Shark cared one whit whether the stenographer, whose memory recorded these sentiments of his, had ears or was born bereft of them. He felt no hesitation in revealing to a stranger his amiable propensities; first, because he felt that he was safe under the law, and second, because he believed that the community, even if it knew him for the monstrous criminal and cowardly traitor that he was, would still continue to tolerate him. He was convinced that his wealth would protect him and his like, and that the newspaper organ whose policies he might perchance be carrying in the fat pocketbook over that bulging front of his would even quote him, should he commence to inveigh against soapbox "inciters to violence" and "bomb-throwers!"

If the real name of Mr. Shark were known, and if it were found that since this incident he had been in any wise successful in activities intended to plunge us into war, no steps could be urged against him under our conspiracy laws, perhaps; but, in my poor opinion, the cut-throat—who sometimes takes a chance himself, and who is responsible for only a few involuntary departures from this world—cuts a fine figure of respectability compared with Mr. Shark; while as to the women of the street—well, let us beg a humble pardon of them, victims of poverty and of well-nourished rogues, as many of them are, for mentioning them in this same breath along with Dives Shark.

L. D. HARDING.



### THEY DO NOT THINK.

"When men begin to think they will not fight."  
—David Starr Jordan.

"War lord, what do you think," I asked,

"Of the place you hold on earth?

Who gave you the power to issue command  
That conflicts with that writ by God's own hand  
On table of stone at Sinai's height,

"Thou shalt not kill"? Do you think your might  
Can repeal this law that you dare say, "Thou shalt"?  
And the war lord swore and refilled his glass.

"Away from my presence, you insolent ass!"

And he yelled to the guard, "You hear, do you not?  
If he asks for admittance again, have him shot."

"Statesman, what do you think," I asked,

"Of the brain inside your head?

Do you think that wisdom can make excuse  
For unbridling the beast and letting him loose?  
Diplomacy surely has small resource

When Reason steps down and gives place to Force.

Is your brain in working condition?" I asked.  
And the statesman yawned and rubbed his head.  
"How can women and fools understand?" he said.  
"Have you not read my paper—but what is the use?  
The science of government is very abstruse."

"Preacher, what do you think," I asked,  
"Of a world engaged in war?  
Do you think of the Christ and His lowly birth  
And the song of the angels, 'Peace on Earth'?  
Do you preach his message so loud and clear  
That Love shall resound in every ear?  
What of the new commandment?" I asked;  
And the Preacher sighed, "'Tis easy to ask  
But explaining the Scripture is a difficult task.  
Those words are merely figures of speech,  
'If thine enemy hunger, starve him,' I preach."

"Soldier, what do you think," I asked,  
"Of the job you undertake?  
Is there no noble work on earth to be done  
That you should leave home and shoulder a gun  
And go marching to music of drum and of fife  
Intent on destroying your fellow man's life?  
What do you think of your job?" I asked.  
And the soldier lighted a cigarette.  
"How to think is something I quite forget;  
The college professors have proven all right  
It's for honor and glory and peace that we fight."

"Woman, what do you think," I asked,  
"Of the part you are asked to play?  
Can you cheer your sons as they go forth to kill  
Other women's sons who have done them no ill?  
Can you pray to the God who gave life to all  
That your boys may live and that theirs may fall?  
Is your heart so shrunken and cold?" I asked;  
And the woman moaned, "My four have gone;  
They have left their mother to struggle alone,  
To starve or to beg—but I must not complain;  
God help me this bitter cup to drain."

Warlord and Statesman and Preacher of Right,  
I beg you to think ere you call men to fight.  
This business of war is not glory but shame.  
Every kind of dishonor is linked to its name.  
'Tis a Moloch of Evil, Corrupter of Youth,  
Destroyer of Morals and Justice and Truth.  
Ere you summon this demon from Tophet's brink  
Stop a moment, I beg you, and think, think, think.

Soldier, halt! Hear the voice of the Lord  
Who alone is your Master, "Put up thy sword."  
Your country calls you to till its lands  
And earn your bread with your strong, clean hands.  
Remember that battle's loathesome plain  
Will but soil your brow with the brand of Cain.  
Your children are crying for food and drink,  
Consider your duty and think, think, think.

Woman, whose power is greater than man's,  
Who can frustrate his maddest and mightiest plans,  
How can you give aid to this Monster of War  
That crushes men's souls with his Juggernaut car?  
Ah, pray not for grace to endure war's pains  
But for power and courage to use your brains;  
For courage and power to stand for Right

When king and country appeal to might.  
Woman, be strong, be brave; do not shrink.  
Protest; go on strike, and think, think, think.  
—CHRISTINE ROSS BARKER.



### GENE PALMER'S RAISIN'

Big Gene Palmer's a-buiddin' a barn:  
It's the biggest in the township, I tell no yarn.  
Neighbors came to raisin' from all aroun',  
Ev'ry body lookin' fer t' do the job up brown.  
So it's "Heave 'o!" It's "Heave 'o!" at the raisin'.

The day was warm and sunny, and the corn all in:  
The wind was just a whisper and the June air thin;  
'Twas enough to make a feller feel like lettin' out  
a shout:

"Come along, neighbor, and we'll boost, there ain't  
no doubt—  
Fer it's 'Heave 'o!' It's 'Heave 'o!' at the raisin'."

So we all says "Howdy," and we all feels fine:  
And we all takes our places in a steady line.  
And we lays holt the braces, and the oak begins t'  
rise—

Oak seasoned seven years, I tell no lies.  
And it's 'Heave 'o!' It's 'Heave 'o!' at the raisin'."

And then in a jiffy the beams slid inter place;  
And ev'ry body blowin' hard, and red in the face.  
Then fer big Gene Palmer, we all lets out a yell,  
Fer we're all glad t' see the boy a-doin' so well!  
And it's "Hooray!" It's "Hooray!" at the raisin'.

—RICHARD WARNER BORST.

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## BOOKS

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### DEMOCRACY AND THE CHURCH

The Church and the Labor Conflict. By Parley P. Womer. Published by The Macmillan Company, New York. Price, \$1.50 net.

This volume is written by a Congregational minister. Whether its type of economic interpretation agrees with that of the Singletaxer or not, the book is one of an increasing class which all true democrats will welcome. In brief, it represents the mind of a scholarly minister, who holds that the ultimate moving force in religious evolution is the struggle for justice, and not the struggle for theological dogma. Mr. Womer's volume is one of many which are coming to be characteristic of the new sociological awakening in the churches.

Fundamental democrats have had but little interest in the churches during the last generation because the ruling forces in modern organized religion have been standpat. Theological dogmas have acted as sedatives and soporifics, keeping the minds of the people away from the big, underlying questions of social justice emphasized by Jesus and the prophets before him. But democracy and religion are now beginning to mingle

again as they have during the creative periods of church history in the past. The author's closing words are worthy of his theme:

In the Roman Catholic Church there is a growing movement, the inspiring ideals of which are closely akin to those which are so rapidly transforming the Protestant sects. The Pope may write encyclicals as he pleases, but nevertheless the liberalizing and democratizing process goes on. Modernism has already captured many of the best minds among the Roman Catholic clergy and the laity alike, and given them an outlook that will perpetuate itself and be increasingly a factor in preparing the way for the church of the future. Life and time are on the side of fraternalism and we may confidently believe that eventually the currents of sympathy which are flowing so strongly in all religious bodies, restricted though they be by age-old usages and customs, will at length mingle in a common life, attracting to itself many other currents that are now flowing outside of all church relations.

LOUIS WALLIS.

## PAMPHLETS

### Henry George on Preparedness.

A useful service has been performed by Alfred H. Henderson of Cincinnati in publishing in neat pamphlet an editorial by Henry George in The Standard of April 6, 1889, on "Our Need of a Navy." Copies may be had of Mr. Henderson at the rate of two for five cents. The preparedness craze of today is evidence of the correctness of Henry George's arguments against the mistaken sentiment that took pride in the rehabilitation of the American navy under Cleveland's administration. The pamphlet is

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Barrister—Yes. He was doctor there, but we had not time to bring that fact out.—Tit-Bits.

# Making a City Be Good

Sometimes we have an opportunity to get hold of a good book and put it on the map when regular book publishers have failed to find a payable following for it. "The State," by Professor Franz Oppenheimer, is a case in point.

The other day we took over the entire stock of Brand Whitlock's little classic, "On the Enforcement of Law in Cities."

"On the Enforcement of Law in Cities" is a peculiarly valuable little volume. It answers with fine balance, and in brilliant style, that section of the community (usually led by clergymen of the old school) who have faith in vice crusades and the policeman's strong arm generally. Brand Whitlock goes to the root of the matter and asks a number of pertinent questions.

Every minister who is preaching justice should have a copy of this book. He will find it a mine of something more valuable than gold.

Every mayor or public official who is honestly trying to face the difficulties of his public office should have the advantage of Brand Whitlock's experience, first as Golden Rule Jones' right hand man, and later as his successor as Mayor of Toledo.

"On the Enforcement of Law in Cities" should be in every public library and the library of every City Club. And of course it is just the book for the fundamental democrat who finds it difficult to meet all the plausible arguments advanced by folk who are "inexpressibly" shocked at the effect of vicious saloons, of gambling, and the old, old vice, but don't know the underpinning of it all.

The publisher's price has been 75c a copy. It is a small book. Though it is beautifully printed and handsomely bound in boards, we will reduce the price to 50c—and make money. Order a copy at 50c today.

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MRS. M. J. SINTON OTIS, PASADENA.

... I have had your "Zabern" story made the basis of a fine bit of work in the (Jewish) Daily Forward, which is the big Socialist Yiddish daily in our district—the Lower East Side. Its correspondent here read up on the Zabern affair, and showed the parallel to every one of its 225,000 subscribers.

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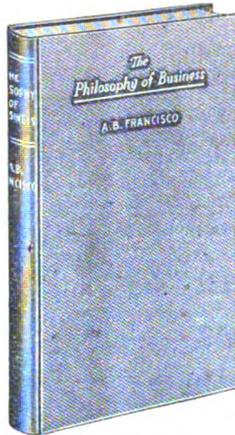
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