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EDITORIAL

Nothing to Mediate.

In answer to the proposal from South American nations to mediate the Mexican trouble, Secretary of State Lansing is reported to have answered that "There is nothing to mediate." Where there is nothing to mediate there is nothing to justify war. Secretary Lansing might as well have openly stated that we are about to enter on a war for reasons which he does not believe an impartial tribunal would sustain. Refusal to mediate means nothing else.

S. D.



A Parsimonious Offer.

That enterprising daily, the New York Call, offers a reward of \$100 in gold to any one who can prove "that the working people of the United States have any cause for going to war against the working people of Mexico." The Call's offer can hardly be called a liberal one. Would it consider \$100 a fair price for a genuine hen's tooth? If not, why offer so little for an article much more rare?

S. D.



Americans Not Militarists.

Mr. Hughes said, shortly after the Republican convention, and while speaking of the necessity for sufficient military force to protect the rights of our citizens wherever they may be, that there was little danger of our becoming a militarist nation because American minds do not run in that direction. That is doubtless true, taking the country as a whole. We are not a martial people. Yet there is a regrettably large part of our citizens who are so inclined; and there is a vastly larger number who are indifferent, or neutral minded, who will be turned one way or the other, according to their environment. If the country be at peace, and on sound economic basis they will be pacifists; but under war conditions, and in the midst of hurrah-preparedness propaganda, the more impressionable will be turned into militarists. One of the largest syndicates of metropolitan news-

papers has been urging since the beginning of the Mexican trouble that the American flag should cover all the territory between the Rio Grande and Panama, and many speakers and writers are only a little less militant. There is altogether too much of this talk to warrant any thoughtful person in saying there is no danger that America will become a militarist nation. The most that can truthfully be said is that it is not a militarist nation yet.

S. C.



For Peace When War Threatens.

It is easy to stand for peace when there is no talk of war. It is easy to criticize the people of other countries who endorse war. The crucial test comes when one's own country seems about to enter on war. And that is a test which the American Union Against Militarism is enduring with credit. With war fever generally prevailing the executive committee of that organization called a conference of "fighting pacifists" within reach. The conference met at New York on June 23 and sent the following telegram to President Wilson, giving a correct comment on the Mexican situation:

From the beginning of your administration you have consistently opposed intervention on the ground that there was not sufficient cause for war; that President Carranza could not with justice be held responsible for isolated raids on the border, possibly inspired—as you have pointed out—by Americans interested in intervention; and that the occupation of Mexican territory by the United States would be an act of aggression against a friendly republic that should receive our help and forbearance in its task of reconstruction.

The dispersal of Villa's band removed the original reason for keeping United States troops in Mexico. We feel that the withdrawal of these troops at the earliest possible moment is essential to the maintenance of our national honor and as a demonstration of our good faith to the Latin-American republics. The continued presence of the military is a provocation to the Mexican people and makes it increasingly difficult for the de facto government to control the situation. A war arising out of the determination of our government to keep its troops in Mexican territory would be nothing but a national humiliation.

The text of this telegram was handed to the news associations, but was not carried. Instead a garbled account of the meeting appeared in Chicago papers. The signers of the telegram deserve to be recorded. They were: Oswald Garrison Villard, Amos Pinchot, Lillian D. Wald, Paul U. Kellogg, Owen R. Lovejoy, Sidney C. Gulick, Lincoln Steffens, Dr. Frederick C. Lynch of the Church Peace Union; Dr. Junius B. Remensnyder, chairman of the Peace and Arbitration Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Max Eastman, Crystal Eastman, Irene Lewisohn,

Mrs. Margaret Lane, Darwin J. Meserole, Benjamin C. Marsh of New York City; Charles T. Hallinan of Washington, D. C.; and Dr. J. W. Slaughter, Mary Winsor, Innes Forbes and Mr. and Mrs. Edward Evans of Philadelphia. S. D.



The Truth About Mexico.

The letter to President Wilson sent on June 20 by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party states bluntly the plain truth regarding the Mexican situation. It says:

Mexico's national wealth amounts to seven billion dollars. Of this wealth four billions is owned by Americans. The Socialist party sees a connection between these facts and the fact that American interests for several years have been trying to force your administration to embroil the two countries in war, the evident purpose being the subjugation and annexation of a part of Mexico.

We protest against the exchange of American blood for American gold. We have what we believe is reliable information that Mexican raids upon American territory are inspired by and paid for by American interests.

We believe our frontier should be protected, but we believe it should be protected by troopers stationed upon our side of the Rio Grande.

The Mexicans are a proud people. They have but to read the memoirs of our own General Grant to learn that in his opinion the United States once waged an unrighteous war against them and robbed them of half of their country. Naturally, they are suspicious. The Socialist party believes they have abundant reasons to be suspicious.

We demand the protection of our frontier by soldiers stationed only on the American side of the Rio Grande, but we also demand the capture of the Americans who inspired Mexican raids across our border.

There is no reason why democrats outside of the Socialist ranks should not join in urging on President Wilson consideration of this statement. He could go farther for good advice and fare much worse. He once upheld the good principle of being too proud to fight. Let us hope that he has not exchanged it for the bad one of being too proud to correct a mistake, or too proud to take good advice though offered by an opposition political party.

S. D.



Deluded People of Europe and America.

Americans worked into a patriotic frenzy against Mexico have no occasion to criticize the war-crazed people of Europe. Like the deluded ones of belligerent Europe, they have let themselves be duped into the belief that a war of aggression is one for defense and has been forced upon us against our will. It is easy to see why those interested in preparedness propaganda are so willing to assure us that a big army and

navy are wanted for defensive purposes only. It is always possible to make use of such happenings as the Columbus raid to bring on a desired war, and make it appear as a defensive one. If we would avoid war we must refrain from hysterical preparedness policies, and institute a just economic policy that will make an aggressive war upon us a loss to the nation that undertakes it.

S. D.



"Voluntary" Enlistment.

A Baltimore news dispatch of June 25, which the Chicago Tribune allowed to slip through, tells how militiamen are induced to take the federal oath "voluntarily," as follows:

In Company B, Fifth regiment, twenty men refused to sign.

They were jeered and taunted by their associates, one of whom, taking a yellow ribbon from a girl who willingly gave it, forcibly tied it about the delinquent's arm.

Then a dash was made for the town of Laurel, where a bolt of yellow ribbon was secured and others similarly decorated. Nearly all of those who refused finally came in.

But three who held out were stripped of their uniforms.

If national guardsmen, refusing to take the federal oath are to be subjected to such treatment, then it is impossible to tell how many have taken it out of what they believe to be a patriotic duty and how many out of fear. It is certain that the three men mentioned in the dispatch, who could not be coerced, displayed greater moral and physical courage than the bullies who tried to force them.

S. D.



A Second Class Navy.

Advocates of a greater American armament find themselves in an embarrassing predicament. Believing that a nation's safety lies in military power, complete immunity is possible only with the greatest armament. Logic, therefore, demands that America have the largest navy in the world. But this, while possible, is impracticable. England is absolutely dependent upon her navy, and must, so long as she maintains her independence by force of arms, permit no rival on the seas. The American militarist therefore waives this point, but demands the second navy. That is within reason as to practical attainment, but what necessity is there for a second rank navy? The most highly inflamed imaginations have been able to detect only three sources of possible harm: Germany, the Allies, and Japan.



America's isolation is not her only means of de-

fense. There are other factors just as patent as the Atlantic and Pacific oceans to those who will open their minds. The hostility between the Central Powers and the Allies is likely to continue long after the war. Trade compacts are already being made to carry the military contest into the commercial field. Hence, one of two conditions will follow this war: If Germany wins it will be over barely beaten foes, who will need such close watching that she will not dare to send a ship against the United States; if the Allies win, a second rate American navy would be inadequate. As a matter of fact, neither of the contestants will dare to molest us so long as this international bitterness in Europe continues. The only possible foe then is Japan, a smaller nation, poor to the point of poverty, already burdened with debt, and situated thousands of miles from our shores.



There is, however, a way out of the militarist's predicament. The United States is not dependent upon foreign commerce in the sense that Germany and Great Britain are. We are a small world to ourselves that cannot be starved or beaten by isolation. On the contrary, we are more necessary to the welfare of the other nations than any other one country. The only protection, therefore, that we need is an armament sufficient to prevent invasion. This is shown by the present war to lie in coast defenses, mines and submarines. Germany has had no fear of an invasion from the sea; Great Britain has. Yet Great Britain's fleet is vastly superior to that of Germany. Both reason and experience have demonstrated that the effective coast defense is not the fleet of great ships.



This fact is not questioned by the militarist, but he meets it with the objection that coastal submarines are of little value in an offensive war. That is the real point at issue: submarines are of little value in an offensive war. They will prevent the invasion of this country, but they will not enable us to go up and down the high seas dictating to weaker nations. Americans should determine at the earliest possible moment what is to be the purpose of their armament. Is it to be offensive or defensive? A vast deal of chatter is heard about preparedness; but there is no leader with the moral courage to answer the question: Preparedness for what? A defensive armament, which is comparatively inexpensive, will save this country from invasion, and, what is even more important, will prevent us from domineering over other lands. If other nations are unable to harm us, and the loss of our trade harms them, we shall

occupy the highest point of vantage; for we shall be safe in the presence of militarism, and free to lead in the movement for disarmament. s. c.



Militarism and the I. and R.

The importance of the Initiative and Referendum is made clearer by the dangerous movement for compulsory military service. Efforts may be expected in other States to enact legislation similar to the compulsory service laws recently passed in New York. Where the Initiative and Referendum are in force, a method is at hand to successfully meet such efforts. But where these are lacking it is still possible to put compulsory service legislation through, regardless of the popular will. s. D.



A Democratic Surprise.

Who would have thought that the Democratic National Convention would adopt a declaration condemning arousal of prejudice against Negroes on account of their race? Yet here it is, adopted without a word of protest in a gathering of more than a thousand delegates:

Whoever by arousing prejudices of a racial, religious or other nature creates discord and strife among our people so as to obstruct the wholesome process of unification is faithless to the trust which the privileges of citizenship reposes in him and disloyal to his country.

The declaration is a very creditable one, though one may suspect that some of the delegates did not know what they were doing or harbored mental reservations. As it is, it may prove an embarrassment to Democratic legislators, especially in the South, when measures to enforce some racial discrimination come up for a vote. s. D.



The Democratic Promise to Porto Rico.

The Democratic platform promises to the people of Alaska, Hawaii and Porto Rico "the traditional territorial government accorded to all territories of the United States." If that promise was given in good faith, then the Democrats of the Senate will amend the Porto Rican government bill which has passed the House. Heretofore in establishing territorial government no property qualification was required for voters, and none for the local legislature. But the bill which has passed the House contains such qualifications. It consequently does not provide the "traditional" territorial government, but a very plutocratic government, such as has not been customary to impose on territories. The Senate cannot pass the bill in that shape unless some Democratic members openly repudiate the party plat-

form before election. And President Wilson's plain duty will be to veto it. s. D.



Will This Pledge Be Kept?

In the plank on territories in the Democratic national platform occurs this statement:

It has been and will be the policy of the Democratic party to enact all laws necessary for the speedy development of Alaska and its great natural resources.

Just how long it has been the party policy to enact such laws is not stated. It must have been adopted some time since February 18, 1914. On that day there came to a vote in the Democratic House of Representatives the Bailey bill providing to pay the cost of building the Alaska government railroad by a tax on land values. That measure was necessary to keep Alaska free from land speculators, a serious obstacle to development everywhere. Yet in a strongly Democratic House it received but 27 votes in its favor, while 126 votes were cast against it. The unfortunate consequences of rejecting the Bailey bill were described by an Alaska correspondent on page 535. He showed how the building of the railroad had inflated land values at its terminus at Anchorage. He said:

Lots that were purchased for five hundred dollars are now held at five thousand dollars. An ugly little town of ramshackle buildings averaging less than \$600 apiece has sprung up like a rotten fungus. Scattered all over the townsites are frail houses. Miles of unnecessary streets, sewer lines, pipe lines, etc., will have to be built to serve the scattered population. It is as good an example of the evils of land speculation as may be imagined. Newcomers desirous of engaging in various enterprises, laborers desirous of establishing themselves, find themselves thwarted on every hand by high rentals and high rental values. The absence of a railroad which heretofore was the principal barrier to development has been replaced by a land-value barrier. One obstacle has been removed only to erect another.

However, the party promises to enact laws now that will end this state of affairs. Since Congress is in session, the promise, if sincerely made, should be redeemed at once by enactment of a law framed like the Bailey bill. s. D.



Shoe on the Other Foot.

It has for some years been the fashion for certain people in this country to rail against the ownership of American lands by foreigners, at the very time that other Americans were investing in the lands of other countries. California, Illinois and numerous other states have restricted or prohibited the right of foreigners to own American lands.

And now other countries have taken up the matter. It has long been apparent that much of the Mexican trouble has been due to foreign ownership of Mexican land. The same trouble is appearing in Cuba, where the Committee of Law and Codes of the House of Representatives has recommended a law to prohibit the sale of lands to aliens, and to require alien landowners to transfer their holdings to Cubans within ten years. The recommendation may not be acted upon in the immediate future, but why should it not be? If Lord Scully's ownership of Illinois farms was detrimental to the welfare of the State, why is not an American's ownership of a Cuban sugar plantation detrimental to Cuba?



American believers in the protective tariff and the balance of trade should rally to the support of the patriotic Cubans. Most of the land held by Americans was bought at a very low price, and is now of much greater value. This means that for one dollar sent into Cuba from this country the owner now holds land worth many dollars. In some instances the annual return equals the amount of the original investment. Consequently the commerce between the two countries will show much more coming from Cuba to the United States than there is going from the United States to Cuba; and according to protection logic this means the impoverishment of the United States and the enrichment of Cuba. Since the protectionists have held that an excess of imports over exports in our trade with Europe makes a balance adverse to the welfare of the United States, they should join hands with the Cuban patriots, and help drive out the American landowners.



There is this to be said, however, by way of suggestion to afflicted Cuba: It is not a question of where a landowner lives that counts, but what he renders in return for his income. What he takes as mere owner is a dead loss to the people of the country, whether he lives at home or abroad; and when he gives an equivalent for what he gets it matters not whether he lives without or within the country. The Cubans will find upon investigation that the Americans lay claim to two values in their sugar plantations and other holdings. One is a labor value contributed by the owners, and the other is a land value created by the Cubans. They have at hand full power to adjust the rights of all. Simply by shifting taxes from labor values to land values they will leave to the landowners, whether foreign or native, full return for all the capital they brought into the country, and will

at the same time take for the use of Cuba the values created by Cubans.



It is necessary that Cuba should be circumspect in handling this matter. The Platt Amendment to the act recognizing the independence of Cuba stipulates that that country consents that the United States may intervene for "the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty." With such a limitation placed upon its freedom of action Cuba will never be able to depart materially from what the dominant political force in the United States approves. But it is at least interesting to see the alien landownership question from the opposite point of view.

S. C.



Paying Tribute.

An example of liberally watered public utility stock is furnished by the Cincinnati Traction Company, which, through a 50 year franchise, monopolizes transportation facilities in that city. Two years ago, when the question of municipal ownership was under discussion the corporation officially valued its property at \$35,837,044.53. Now, the city's own expert, Ward Baldwin, employed by an administration by no means hostile to the company, has just turned in his estimate. He finds that it amounts to but \$11,969,284.86. Since the question of revising street railway fares is to come up this year, and the valuation is to be used as a basis for figuring these fares, the company is placed in an awkward position. The inflated valuation of two years ago was needed to justify the five cent fare. To maintain its figure the company included in its estimate valuation at many millions of old horse cars, dummy lines, cable lines and other property that has long since been destroyed or has become junk, and items which in ordinary business would be charged to profit and loss. It added to this a modest estimate of franchise value at \$5,675,236. As a matter of fact, the value attributed to junk really belongs to franchise value or watered stock, if it has any existence at all. Expert Baldwin has apparently eliminated all but a nominal allowance for franchise value, and returned what seems to him a fair valuation of physical property. It appears that for years street car riders in Cincinnati have paid a fare, one-third of which represents payment for service and two-thirds tribute to monopoly.



The Cincinnati case presents an example of similar monopolies in other cities, and of only one of a number of privileged interests drawing un-

earned tribute. The \$24,000,000 difference between the company's valuation and that of Expert Baldwin expresses what the privilege is worth of exclusive possession of the streets of the city for a certain purpose. It is a form of land value, and, so long as franchises are given to private corporations, should be included for purposes of taxation with other land values.

S. D.



Australian Progress.

The step taken by the city council of Sydney, Australia, in laying all its local taxes on land values to the exclusion of improvements will encourage tax reformers throughout the world. The beneficiaries of privilege, there, like the beneficiaries of privilege here, have stoutly resisted all attempts to take community values to pay community expenses. But the demand of the citizens has been so insistent that the council has been obliged to yield. Instead of laying a tax of 1½d in the pound on the combined value of land and improvements, it levied a tax of 4d in the pound on the value of the land alone, which returns the same amount of revenue. As Sydney, which has a population of 713,260, is the largest city to adopt this system of taxation, the experiment will be watched with much interest.



In one respect the action of Sydney is likely to produce the undesirable results that followed similar action of cities in western Canada. The removal of taxes from industry will stimulate business just as it did in Vancouver. It may attract newcomers faster than it forces vacant lands upon the market, and so cause speculative values to rise for a time, even to the point of causing a reaction similar to that of the Canadian city. But there can be little doubt that the people of Sydney will see that the remedy for this lies in going on, and not in retracing their steps. The effect of the removal of taxes from business will be unmistakable; and the justice of taking for the support of government the social value created by the community as a whole will become more and more apparent.



Sydney's action in shifting taxes from labor values to land values is of interest to the people of the United States because of the size of the city. Objectors to this form of taxation have been accustomed to meet the force of example by saying the conditions were different, or the experiment was too small to demonstrate the wisdom of adopting the system. But here is a city of the class of St. Louis, Boston, Cleveland, Baltimore and Pitts-

burgh, of similar environment and conditions, holding to the same rights of persons and property that has boldly ventured upon a fiscal policy that has worked so well in smaller places. It is also to be noted that the change is made where the holders of property acquired their possessions under the old conditions. When it was announced that the land values of Canberra, the Australian federal capital, were to be retained forever for the support of the government, the act was approved by many persons in this country who admitted that such a policy would be just if adopted at the beginning, but would not be fair if instituted after the city had been built under a different system. The action of Sydney, however, disposes of all quibbles; and those fearful reformers who are afraid to venture anywhere without a precedent will hereafter be estopped from setting up property rights as an excuse for not establishing justice in social affairs.

S. C.



Helping the Farmer.

Social, economic, and political reformers engage by turns in helping the immigrants, the sweat shop victims, the tenement residents, and all the various classes of laborers; but there is always a cry for help from the farmer. The primary producer of the world, the one man who could best forego the co-operation of his fellows, appears to be most in need of assistance. One set of reformers have undertaken to give him cheaper transportation; another, cheaper money; another, government warehouses and cold storage; and still others, better marketing facilities. All these are designed to give the farmer a greater return for his labor. But what will be the net result of it all? No man can farm without land. The land is all owned; and the owner will transfer it to the would-be farmer only upon payment of a price. That price now stands at the point that will leave to the working farmer a bare living. If it goes higher, the farmer will not go upon the lands; if it falls, there will be an inducement for him to take up land.



If, therefore, any of the proposed schemes of relief become effective, they will increase the earnings of the farmer. This will induce others to go upon the land. But they can get no land except by competing with those already there. This competition, like all competition of buyers, will advance the price of the land. And the advance in price will continue until it has absorbed all the gain that came from the measures of relief. In short, any legislation under present conditions that increases the earnings of the farmer will result in

a corresponding advance in the rent, if he be a tenant, or in price, if he be a purchaser. It is clear, therefore, that any scheme for getting would-be farmers upon the land, and for keeping those already on the land from leaving it, as well as for turning tenants into owners, must increase the net income of the farmer, either by increasing his earnings without advancing the price of the land, or by lowering the price of the land without reducing his income.



The Waco Times-Herald, in an earnest editorial on the land question, says:

Home ownership is the basis of all patriotism, and the real question before us here in Texas is how to increase the number of home owners and thereby to decrease the number of farm renters.

But the editor complains that only the Socialists and Singletaxers offer any promising remedy, and he cannot accept either. The Socialists are too radical in their ideas of property. Nor has he been able, he says,

To see absolute and entire justice in Singletax; that way, it seems to us, would have a tendency to drive men away from the cultivation of the soil.



The difficulty in the mind of this writer doubtless is due to his failure to understand the effect of a tax on the thing taxed. The effect of placing a tax on any product of labor is, according to the common experience of mankind, to increase its price. The internal revenue tax on alcohol raises its price to the amount of the tax. The same is true of the tax on imports, and the tax on houses, stock, and all manner of things produced by man. This must be so. If the producer cannot add the tax to the price he will stop producing; and in order to keep him from stopping the consumer pays the tax. But a tax placed upon the things produced by nature, or upon value produced by society as a whole has the opposite effect. A tax laid upon land, for instance, falls upon all land having value, whether it be vacant or improved. The owner of the vacant land cannot, like the owner of a table, stop making land. He can escape the added burden only by putting the land to use or by selling at a price sufficiently low to secure a buyer. When the owners of vacant land reduce the price of their land they compel a reduction in the price of used land in order to keep its users from leaving it for the vacant land. Thus, the same tax which if laid upon a labor product enhances its price, when laid upon land lowers its price.



Land is the raw material used by the farmer in

manufacturing food products. This raw material is fixed in quantity. It is not all in use, but it is all—practically—owned. Under the present system of taxing heavily the products of labor, and taxing lightly the unused raw material, land, the owners can hold it idle indefinitely, while awaiting a greater demand for it and a willingness on the part of purchasers to pay a higher price. So long as this raw material is in the hands of speculators who advance its price in proportion to the users' ability to pay, better transportation, cheaper money, government warehouses, and increased marketing facilities will give the working farmer no permanent help; and consequently will not add to the number of home owners. But if the farmers' raw material be made cheaper, as will be the case under the Singletax, farms will be easier to buy, and the net earnings of farmers will be increased. This will turn tenants into home owners, and make home owners prosperous.



Possibly there lingers in the Waco editor's mind the thought that laying all taxes on land values will so increase the farmer's tax that he will be forced to abandon his land. Many persons who have not sufficiently analyzed the question come to that conclusion. But it should be noted that the tax is laid not upon land, but upon land values, that is, upon land according to its value, and not according to its area. The greater part of the value of farm land is speculative, and would disappear when taxed. The real value that remained would be so much less than at present that the annual tax laid upon it would be less than the tax now levied upon the land and the stock and improvements. Let it be distinctly kept in mind that the Singletax means that not only will the farmer be able to buy or rent a farm for less than at present, but that his tax will be less than he now pays. Better transportation, cheaper money, government warehouses, and increased marketing facilities are all good as far as they go, for they all tend to save labor and to cheapen production, but they will not increase the number of home owners unless taxes are taken off from labor values and placed upon land values.

s. c.



There is something deeply affecting in the spectacle of a young man, in the prime of health and vigor offering himself, a voluntary slave, in the labor market without a purchaser—eagerly proffering to barter the use of his body, the day-long exertion of his strength, the wear and tear of flesh and blood, bone and muscle, for the common necessities of life—and in vain!—Thomas Hood.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

WHY NOT FEED THE MEXICANS?

Pittsburgh, Pa., June 24.

Why not, temporarily at least, transfer our philanthropical activities from the Belgians to the suffering Mexicans? J. J. Taylor, a staff correspondent in the Dallas, Texas, News, who has recently been in Juarez, is thus quoted in the Christian Science Monitor of June 23:

In all seriousness, I must say the only emotions which I—and most of my adventurous co-explorers—experienced in Mexico were those of sympathy and pity. The poor are there by thousands, and little beggar boys and girls, many of them with bright and sensitive faces, excited the commiseration of every one of our party. These people, Mr. President, are starving. These people, Gentlemen of the Senate, are in rags. There are no schools for the children; there is no work for the men.

To feed the enemy, while the present hair-trigger conditions exist, would, doubtless, involve our national honor (see definition of "national honor" in Hearst's Dictionary), but who can deny that such relief would help substantiate the claim, often and forcibly made, that this is a Christian country?

G. T. EVANS.



OFFERING LIVES BUT NOT PROFITS

Brooklyn, June 22.

Whenever a nation enters or is about to enter into a war, it is generally accepted that all patriotic citizens are bound to make all needed sacrifices to secure the safety and the ultimate happiness of their country.

That such sacrifices are made by very large numbers of men is shown by the fact that they are willing to offer to their country what is most precious—their lives.

But is there a similar gift from those who do not go to battle? What do these give?

Here we find a most extraordinary situation. While many are not only willing to, but actually do give up their lives for the group, others gather immense profits by supplying the defenders of the country with materials of warfare, and their wives and children with the necessities of life.

It seems that such a condition should not be tolerated. The least that can be done by those who do not fight is to supply the nation with all it needs without a cent of gain. This would by no means be equivalent to the risks of battle, but might in a small way be a substitute therefor.

Is it not then imperative for us to establish the following principle: All profit must be abolished during war, or during preparation for war. The price of all commodities required by those who are risking their lives and their families must be sufficient to cover the cost of production, and no more. Only in this way is it possible for those who remain behind to show evidence of patriotism and willingness to make sacrifices for the common weal.

ALEXANDER FICHLANDLER.



Beware of the man who does not return your blow. He neither forgives you nor allows you to forgive yourself.—George Bernard Shaw.

A MESSAGE FROM BOUCK WHITE

Queens County Jail, New York City, June 13.

I don't know what we'd do without you people there in the middle states. The East is frankly mortgaged to the money interest. Here the diameter of the dollar waxes ever more gross, ever more heaven-obscuring. And the ten thousand new millionaires created by munition contracts the past two years accentuate the wealth worship. Idealism's refuge is with you people. Tell the middle country to be steadfast—heart of oak, when all the outer layers are worm-eaten and punky.

New York State has now established a new record mark in her subserviency to the interests. Mine is the first case in the history of the State, of an imprisonment for a political cartoon. Patriotism is plutocracy's last asylum. To picture world brotherhood triumphant over the jingoistic nationalisms that are flooding the earth with blood is an offense they cannot forgive. Therefore prison bars blacken between me and the June sunshine. Dear God, the thoughts that in me arise! I could almost appreciate the mental state of the Furioso tribe, who drink hot blood, and do such bitter business as the day would quake to look on. But that only makes plutocracy of more long life. A social revolution in the soul is the only kind that truly overturns.

BOUCK WHITE.



INFLATED VALUES INJURE FARMERS.

Harvey, Ia., June 2, 1916.

A peculiar and unexpected thing has occurred to the farmers of Iowa within the past two years. The selling value of farm land has about doubled in the past eight years, or less, according to conservative estimates. By a decree of court the assessed value of farm lands was ordered raised to more nearly accord with values of other classes of property, with the result that taxes of farms have about doubled. This for farm owners, who are farm users, has increased their burdens of taxation, while production from the same land has remained the same. The farm owners who are also farm users, have not only to pay increased taxes on increased values of land, but also on improvements, stock and machinery in addition, while what they produce from the same land is practically the same as before the rise of land values. No doubt these same farmers who are both farm owners and users, rejoiced when they found their land increasing in value very rapidly, but the final result has proved something of a boomerang.

It would seem this should be something of a lesson to the thinking user of farm land—that rising land values are a very real detriment to land users.

L. R. CLEMENTS.



I do not believe that the weapons of liberty ever have been, or ever can be, the weapons of despotism. I know that those of despotism are the sword, the revolver, the cannon, the bomb shell; and therefore, the weapons to which tyrants cling, and upon which they depend, are not the weapons for me, as a friend of liberty. I will not trust the war spirit anywhere in the universe of God.—William Lloyd Garrison.

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, June 27, 1916.

European War.

The heavy firing at Verdun culminated on the 23d in a massed attack by the Germans west of Ft. de Vaux that carried them as far as the village of Fleury, which is only three and one-half miles from Verdun. It is reported that there were 120,000 men in the attacking forces, and that the losses were very heavy. Subsequent counter attacks by the French have recovered much of the lost territory. Paris still expresses confidence that the French will hold Verdun. It is surmised by critics that the German staff is trying to precipitate final action at Verdun before the threatening advance of Russia necessitates reinforcing the eastern front. Activities on the British front are increasing, notably north of Loos. Trenches have been taken by the Germans and retaken by the British. No material changes in the line have occurred. The Russian advance on the front, south of the Pripet Marshes, between Kovel and Sokal, has slackened somewhat, owing to greater resistance on the part of the Germans. The movement towards Lemberg continues at a slower pace, as the Austrians yield ground grudgingly. Further south the Russians have crossed the Dniester River south of Buczac. Bukowina is reported to be completely in the hands of the Russians, who are approaching the pass through the Carpathian Mountains into Transylvania. Speculation again arises as to whether or not Roumania will now enter the war for the sake of winning the Transylvanian territory, which is largely populated by her countrymen. The Austrian forces on the Trentino front are weakening before the Italian assaults. [See current volume, page 590.]

Reports from Mesopotamia and the Caucasus front are vague and somewhat contradictory, but the best information indicates that the Russians are making slow but steady progress against the Turks. An evidence that the Turks are losing ground is the revolt of some of the Arabian tribes, who have captured the holy city of Mecca, and are besieging Medina, which contains the tomb of Mohammed.

The Greek crisis has resulted in the resignation of the Pro-German cabinet under Premier Skouloudis, and the formation of a cabinet embracing all factions, with former Premier Zaimis at the

head. The pro-Ally Premier Venizelos is a member of the new cabinet. The pressure brought to bear upon Greece by the Allies has caused the adoption by that country of the following program: General demobilization of the Greek army; removal of the chief of police of Athens; freedom for demonstration of pro-Entente sentiment on the part of the people; deportation of agents engaged in German propaganda; and a new election to be held August 7. This is supposed to free the Allies from the Greek menace in their operations against Bulgaria.

Irish representatives from the six counties of Ulster that would be excluded from the operation of the Home Rule act for the period of the war, on the 24th voted, 475 to 265, to accept Lloyd-George's plan, which indicates that a settlement of the situation is in sight. Mr. Redmond and the Irish leaders who act with him are working for the adoption of the Lloyd-George plan. Sir Roger Casement, who was captured in connection with the recent uprising in Ireland, has been placed upon trial in the court of the lord chief justice on the charge of high treason. The verdict will be rendered by a common jury of twelve men. Sir Roger's defense is that he was recruiting Nationalist volunteers among the Irish prisoners in Germany.

Mexico and the United States.

A clash between American and Mexican troops occurred on the 21st at Carrizal on the Mexican Central railroad, about ninety miles south of El Paso. Two troops of the Tenth Cavalry, a negro regiment, were sent by General Pershing from his base at Colonia Dublan to Villa Ahumada. Near Carrizal they were met by a body of Mexican troops under General Gomez, who refused to let them proceed. No coherent report of the engagement has been received. Of the 84 American troops 17 were captured by the Mexicans, 13 are reported killed, 33 have reached the American line and 21 are missing. Captain Boyd, commander of the expedition, is reported among the killed. Captain Morey, the second in command, was wounded, but succeeded in making his way alone to the house of an American, nine miles distant. The Mexican casualties are vaguely said to number more than forty.

A sharp interchange of notes between the American and Mexican governments has taken place, in an effort to establish the responsibility for the battle. Mr. Arredondo, Mexican representative at Washington, delivered to Secretary Lansing a message stating:

I am directed by my government to inform your excellency, with reference to the Carrizal incident, that the chief executive, through the Mexican war department, gave orders to Gen. Jacinto B. Trevino

not to permit American forces from Gen. Pershing's column to advance further south, nor to move either east or west from the points where they are located, and to oppose new incursions of American soldiers into Mexican territory.

These orders were brought by Gen. Trevino to the attention of Gen. Pershing, who acknowledged the receipt of the communication relative thereto. On the 21st instant, as your excellency knows, an American force moved eastward quite far from its base, notwithstanding the above orders, and was engaged by Mexican troops at Carrizal, State of Chihuahua. As a result of the encounter several men on both sides were killed and wounded and seventeen American soldiers were made prisoners.

Mr. Rodgers, special representative of the American Government in Mexico, was directed on the 25th to say to the Mexican Government:

The government of the United States can put no other construction upon the communication handed to the Secretary of State of the United States on June 24 by Mr. Arredondo, under instruction of your government, than that it is intended as a formed avowal of deliberately hostile action against the forces of the United States now in Mexico, and of the purpose to attack them without provocation whenever they move from their present position in pursuance of the objects for which they were sent there, notwithstanding the fact that those objects not only involve no unfriendly intention towards the government and the people of Mexico, but are, on the contrary, intended only to assist that government in protecting itself and the territory and people of the United States against irresponsible and insurgent bands of rebel marauders.

I am instructed, therefore, by my government to demand the immediate release of the prisoners taken in the encounter at Carrizal, together with any property of the United States taken with them, and to inform you that the government of the United States expects an early statement from your government as to the course of action it wishes the government of the United States to understand it has determined upon, and that it also expects that this statement be made through the usual diplomatic channels and not through subordinate military commanders.

The mobilizing of the militia at the various State camps continues, and the swearing of State troops into the United States regular army has begun, which under present law is necessary if they are to be sent out of the country for service. Seventy thousand State troops are expected to be on the border within ten days. Adjutant General McCain has notified recruiting agents for the United States army that they may accept boys between 18 and 21 years of age without the consent of their parents. This action is taken under the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916, which the Adjutant General interprets as suspending the former requirement of parental consent for the enlistment of minors.

A virtual embargo on Commerce between the United States and Mexico is being planned, pend-

ing the determination of their relations. Customs officers along the border are reported to be holding up shipments into Mexico since the 24th. No arms or ammunition have been permitted to cross the border for weeks.

The Massachusetts branch of the Woman's Peace Party on June 20 telegraphed President Wilson:

That United States troops be used solely for patrol duty on our side of the border, pending investigation of the relation that American business interests bear to the raids.

A message was sent to Congress urging it to explicitly endorse President Wilson's Mobile speech that the United States would never take a foot of land by conquest.

Congressional Doings.

The House by a vote of 280 to 85 on June 20 voted to call District Attorney H. Snowden Marshall of New York City to the bar to answer charges of contempt. The action resulted from indictment of Congressman Buchanan on a charge of conspiracy relating to agitation for an embargo against exportation of munitions. Mr. Buchanan and his friends charged that he was included in indictments against a number of others for political purposes only. He demanded an investigation, which was granted. The conduct of this investigation brought from District Attorney Marshall the remark that the Judiciary Committee of the House was "attempting to run him and his office." The contempt proceedings followed. The warrant for Mr. Marshall's arrest was issued on June 22. [See current volume, page 539.]

The fortifications appropriation bill carrying \$34,300,000 was passed by the House on June 22 by 165 to 9. On June 23 a resolution was passed authorizing payment of \$50 a month to those dependent for livelihood on wages or salary of militiamen who have responded to the call to the colors, and empowering the President to draft all guardsmen into the Federal service. An initial appropriation of \$1,000,000 was made for this purpose, though there are 100,000 militiamen and \$5,000,000 a month would be required, if all were to take advantage of the resolution. On June 26 the resolution came up in the Senate. It was amended by elimination of the \$50 a month payment feature and insertion of a clause instructing the Secretary of War to accept the offered resignation of any guardsman with a family dependent on him for support. As amended the resolution was returned to the House.

Hughes Endorsed by Progressive Party.

The Progressive Party National Committee at Chicago on June 26 endorsed for President the

Republican nominee, Charles Evans Hughes. The vote was 32 to 6. Nine other members refused to vote. The six minority members represented Idaho, Kentucky, Montana, North Carolina, Rhode Island and Utah. The nine declining to vote represented Florida, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Wisconsin, Missouri, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Washington and West Virginia. No representatives were present from Delaware, Tennessee or New Mexico. The majority was from the other States, the District of Columbia and Hawaii. The resolutions adopted were as follows:

Whereas, The statement issued by this committee in January and the platform adopted by the Progressive national convention set forth that, putting aside all partisan considerations in view of existing world and national conditions, we would work with any man or party who saw the nation's need and put forth a leader fit to meet it; and

Whereas, We believe with Colonel Roosevelt that in nominating Charles E. Hughes of New York the Republican party has put forth such a leader, we indorse and concur in the recommendation of Colonel Roosevelt that we support Mr. Hughes.

The action was taken after a motion had been rejected to nominate Victor Murdock for President. A letter was read from Theodore Roosevelt urging need of preparedness denouncing the Wilson administration, declaring the defeat of President Wilson a matter of the utmost importance, eulogizing Mr. Hughes, and urging his endorsement. [See current volume, page 562.]



Call for Real Preparedness Conference.

A call for a conference on real preparedness has been issued to meet at the Raleigh Hotel at Washington June 28 and 29. The speakers will be Frederic C. Howe, John J. Hopper, Dr. J. W. Slaughter, Mrs. Mary Fels, Professor Irving Fisher, Owen R. Lovejoy, William Lustgarten, Professor Scott Nearing, Lincoln Steffens, Frederic C. Leubuscher, William T. Creasy and Benjamin C. Marsh. All nominees for the Presidency have been invited to attend and state "what economic and social measures they consider essential to secure real preparedness for peace, as well as for war." A reply has been received from President Wilson promising to have a representative present "if it should prove feasible." Charles E. Hughes has declined to appear or be represented. The call for the conference follows:

From one end of the country to the other has been raised the cry of "preparedness." At first, merely military and naval preparedness was urged. Very recently industrial mobilization has been included. No emphasis, however, has been laid upon the economic and social preparedness, which is as essential in time of peace as for preparedness for war. Taking stock of these economic and social conditions is not reassuring.

Public Health Bulletin 76 of the Treasury Department shows that each of the 30,000,000 wage earners in the United States loses on the average about nine

days every year on account of sickness. Estimating their wages at \$2 per day and the cost of medical attention at \$1 per day, the total annual loss to the wage earners of the nation is approximately three-quarters of a billion dollars. About 300,000 people die annually from preventable diseases.

The official governmental bulletins show that 17.7 per cent of the number of farms in the country represented over 50 per cent of the value of farm land, and that one-fifth of the acreage of farm lands in the country was held in tracts of 1,000 acres or more in 1910. In 1914, 1,694 timber owners held in fee over one-twentieth of the land area of the United States. There is similar monopoly in ownership of urban land and oil fields and mines.

In 1910 there were 37 tenant-operated farms in each 100 farms in the United States, as compared with 28 in 1890, an increase of 32 per cent during 20 years.

In 1914 about one-third of 1 per cent of the population of the country received one-fifth of the total national income.

Nearly 2,000,000 children under 16 years of age were, in 1910, employed in industry, mining and agriculture.

The Immigration Commission found, in 1909, that the incomes of almost two-thirds of the large number of families which they investigated was less than \$750 a year, and of almost one-third was less than \$500; while the Industrial Relations Commission report that the cost-of-living investigations show that the very least that a family of five can live upon in anything approaching decency is \$700. It is evident that the earnings of a large percentage of the unskilled wage earners of the country are from \$100 to \$200 less than a family needs to maintain a reasonable standard of living.

We deem it essential that immediate attention should be given to remedying these conditions.

The signers of the call represent 19 States and include business and professional men, masters of State granges, labor heads, governors of States and mayors of cities.



Labor Notes.

The Committee on Industrial Relations tells of a situation in Rosiclare, Hardin County, Illinois, resembling the one which existed in Southern Colorado. At Rosiclare 400 miners have quit work in the lead and flourspar mines belonging to Edward B. McLean, son of the late John R. McLean, of Washington. The committee reports in part concerning this:

At Washington McLean refused to make any effort to reach a settlement when the situation was explained to him by James Lord, president of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor. Instead he permitted Colin H. Livingstone, his banker and agent, to dismiss the men's representative with curt defiance, and the flat statement that the management would not recognize any organization of the employees.

McLean's agents at Rosiclare are using the company's arbitrary power to evict miners from company houses and are endeavoring, thus far without

success, to enlist the courts and the local authorities to overawe and intimidate their former employes.

In a statement issued at Washington James Lord, president of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, said:

Operations at Rosiclare have been isolated from the rest of the state, because Hardin County is one of the two counties in Illinois that have no railroads. The miners are all native white. Wages, hours and conditions of labor have always been and are now the lowest and poorest in the American continent for this class of work. The workers in and around the mines have been inarticulate, accepting without question the companies' terms. The minimum workday is ten hours.

In addition to the low wages and degrading conditions of work, the miners have been denied any civil and social rights that the companies disapproved of. Victims of personal injury and preventable accidents have been met with threats and intimidation. Men were compelled to work Sundays and holidays under the threat of immediate discharge, and such things as sickness in the family, baptisms, family gatherings and revivals have never been considered sufficient reasons for allowing men to stay away from work even on Sunday. A real system of peonage established years ago has been continued up to date.

It finally dawned upon these workmen that they could never be free, to assert their constitutional rights or seek redress for economic wrongs, unless they themselves organized. So in May of this year they began to organize into a local miner's union. They applied for and received a charter from the Western Federation of Miners, which is the branch of the American Federation of Labor having jurisdiction.

On May 16 the company began discharging men who had joined the union or were known to be in sympathy with it. They were told plainly that the operating companies would not allow any kind of union or workmen's association to exist there. A few miners who had joined the union were coerced into signing disclaimers in which they repudiated their union connection.

Another effort to force men to sever their connection with the union took the form of legal notices served on miners who occupied company houses and who owed rent threatening them with eviction unless the rent was paid within five days.

The result of this lockout of union members was a mass meeting of citizens to uphold the union and a strike by 350 union miners. These have been joined by others and the men are standing firm. The companies are trying to secure strike breakers on both sides of the Ohio river, and a few of the poorest illiterate natives have been brought to Rosiclare. Most of them quit work when they learned what the situation was.

John R. Walker, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, with 300,000 members, is now at Rosiclare to advise the strikers. In a telegram received today by the Committee on Industrial Relations, Mr. Walker says:

Fourteen more miners quit work this morning at Rosiclare and seven at Fairview. Farmers up in arms about eviction of miner, wife and four little children. Men more determined than ever.

The Committee on Industrial Relations reports as follows regarding the garment workers' strike in New York:

The evidence is piling up that the National Association of Manufacturers is backing the Manufacturers' Association in the cloak and skirt division of the garment trades of New York in the effort of those New York manufacturers to crush out the

union organization among their workers and to starve the workers into submission to permanent sweat shop conditions. . . .

Lately the landlords and real estate speculators have joined with the manufacturers against the workers. They have imagined that their "loft" and shop rents were being threatened. They have joined in the cry of the manufacturers that the demand of the workers for decent conditions of work and for enough pay to live on would drive the industry away from New York—and leave their shop rooms vacant! . . .



Tax Reform News.

An increase of about 40 per cent in assessments of land in Los Angeles results from a scientific valuation made by the local bureau of appraisals. This is an increase of about \$96,000,000, making the entire amount about \$322,000,000. It is further reported that the appraisers will reduce assessment of improvements ten per cent.



The Illinois Supreme Court decided on June 22 that failure to schedule personal property for taxation is not a criminal offense. The decision results from the indictment on December 31, 1914, of Julius Rosenwald of Chicago for such a failure. The proceedings commenced by States Attorney Hoyne have thus been stopped. [See vol. xviii, p. 33.]



At the convention of the National Ornamental Glass Manufacturers' Association at Milwaukee of June 19 to 21, the following resolutions introduced by Frederick E. Mayer of Philadelphia were adopted:

Whereas, The stained and leaded glass industry is so closely related to the building trade industry; and

Whereas, The decreased demand for buildings necessarily produces a corresponding decreased demand for leaded and stained glass; and

Whereas, Taxes imposed upon buildings in the form of taxes upon improvements tend to restrict building activity; and

Whereas, The low assessment and taxation of unimproved land, especially in our larger cities, enables the land owners to hold such unimproved land idle, and out of use, thus preventing ready access to the land for building purposes; be it therefore,

Resolved, That the executive committee be authorized to examine this subject and report to this association such remedies as may to them seem feasible in removing the above named undesirable conditions.



The Bulletin of June 19 of the New York City Department of Health quotes approvingly the statement of United States Surgeon General Gorgas, that general adoption of the Singletax would constitute the greatest single factor toward promotion of the general health. The Bulletin states further that everything "points directly to the close connection between poverty and tuberculosis.

The great factor underlying the entire problem was seemingly that of economic conditions."



The Methodist Church Conference of Canada at its annual conference in Toronto adopted the following resolutions, which were reported in the Toronto Globe of June 19:

Whereas we believe "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof"; that land was intended for the production of those commodities that are necessary for the sustenance and welfare of all the human race, and never for speculation; that speculation in farm lands contributes directly and indirectly to the demoralization of rural life; that land speculation in cities contributes to the unhealthy congestion of the population, high rents and the high cost of living, despoils industry of its proper reward and produces many other evils which press sorely on the working classes; that vast values created by the community should not go into the pockets of individuals, thus stimulating the gambling propensity in human nature, discounting honest work and encouraging the desire of men to acquire wealth without earning it, which is essential dishonesty. Therefore resolved, That this conference expresses its strongest disapproval of these evils and injustices, and we believe it is the duty of the State to provide laws that will—as far as possible—prevent men from acquiring wealth without earning it, and by which these "Divine gifts" may be used for the benefit of all. While this conference is of the opinion that the land question has become a serious ethical and religious question, we believe that it is not the function of the church to outline a system of land reform, but it is the duty of a Christian people to set itself resolutely to find methods, through legislation or otherwise, to alleviate, and, if possible, entirely abolish these evils and injustices associated with our land system.



A news note on page 567 reports that the North American Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, in session at Chicago on June 9, rejected a Singletax resolution introduced by Reverend J. M. Coleman of Bloomington, Indiana. This was an error. Mr. Coleman presented a report on the land legislation of the Hebrews, which was adopted with the exception of three paragraphs relating to the Singletax proposition. But the principle is involved in the recommendations adopted, which are as follows:

1. That Synod commends the land laws of the Hebrews as containing basal principles which recognize the perpetual proprietorship of God in the land.
2. That Synod commends the object of these laws: (1) That each family should own a home, (2) that monopoly should be prevented, (3) that equality of opportunity should exist.
3. That we believe the direct command, "six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work," has its corollary in the social obligation to make conditions such that there need be no worthy unemployed.
4. We hold that each contributor in the production of wealth, whether individual or community,

should share in distribution in ratio of contribution.

5. We believe that the adoption of these propositions in our economic system would work for the attainment of the ends secured by the land laws of the Hebrews.



The proposed "People's Land and Loan" amendment to the Oregon constitution, initiated by the State Federation of Labor, has received the required number of signatures and is assured of a place on the ballot. The measure provides for taking the entire rental value of land for public use, removes all taxes from labor and its products and creates a loan fund for moneyless persons needing help in independent development of natural resources.



Cincinnati's Preparedness Parade.

The Preparedness parade at Cincinnati on June 24 had 21,760 in line. The committee in charge had claimed in advance a participation of 50,000. Methods adopted in other cities were resorted to by business firms to induce employes to march. The following letter was sent on June 17 by Daniel Kiefer to Mr. Robert Pogue, proprietor of a large department store who had taken an active part:

The morning papers state that you are to have a meeting of your employes Monday night at which you are to urge upon them why they should march in the parade next Saturday.

This parade, it is claimed, is to be merely an expression of loyalty to America and Americanism, and not for the encouragement of militarism.

Americanism means, I take it, that all men have an equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That I suppose means that they have a right to march in parades or not, according to their own judgment and without fear of losing their right to a job.

I understand that some employers are literally drafting their people into this parade. I note with pleasure that you are going to discuss the matter with yours.

Would it not be a fine expression of Americanism for you to invite someone to state to your people reasons why they should not march? If they hear but one side of the question, and not from one to whom they owe their jobs, they are apt to act from a sense of coercion, even though you have no intention to coerce them.

If you will invite someone to state the opposite side and encourage your employes to weigh the matter for themselves and act as free American citizens you will set the community an example for which I, and I am sure many others, would be sincerely grateful.

If you will give a hearing to the other side I shall be glad, if desired, to help you to a speaker who will tell you and your people why we think the employes of Cincinnati should not march in this parade.

May I hope to hear from you by phone on Monday?

The letter was not answered. [See current volume, page 588.]

Traction Values in Cincinnati.

According to the provisions of an ordinance of the Cincinnati city council, Traction Expert Ward Baldwin has completed a valuation of the Cincinnati Traction Company's property. The 50-year franchise of that corporation guaranteed in 1896 has a clause for revision of fares in 1916, and the valuation, if allowed to stand, will be used as a basis for this. The State Utilities Commission recently fixed a tentative valuation of \$24,333,947.36. Two years ago the Traction Company valued the property at \$35,837,044.53. Mr. Baldwin's valuation is \$11,969,284.86. The items in valuation are as follows:

	Traction Company.	Utilities Commission.	City's Expert.
Grading	\$ 84,395.59	\$ 95,391.03	\$ 3,430,611.03
Track	5,286,046.90	5,374,194.76	
Bridges	53,342.00	49,242.81	36,507.37
Inclines	246,492.49	229,025.02	167,791.36
Paving	595,554.07	605,311.62	9,941.89
Electrical distribution	1,575,984.01	1,476,643.79	1,301,075.22
Rolling stock	3,886,117.83	3,615,175.17	3,081,866.00
Power plant equipment	1,668,372.63	1,718,622.26	1,291,974.44
Substation equipment	243,944.57	265,758.58	219,863.83
Shop equipment	172,879.16	166,093.96	109,759.29
Buildings	1,744,245.70	1,611,018.05	1,310,486.30
Furniture	49,263.62	41,940.23	39,410.90
Store and tools	628,503.05	613,924.52	380,103.84
Frontage consents	609,639.27	117,486.00	
Real estate	783,179.23	630,698.71	313,226.00
Profits of general contractor		989,528.65	
Contributions imposed by ordinances	192,876.00	85,236.00	
Administration	533,550.00	452,050.00	235,000.00
Fire insurance, property damage, expense		649,569.41	
Taxes during construction	288,000.00	534,224.54	
Interest, discount and hidden costs	3,812,481.41	2,252,775.62	
Horse cars, dummy line, incline plane, and cable lines	4,781,046.00	2,000,000.00	
Track destroyed, 1901-13	615,365.00	576,138.00	
Paving destroyed, 1901-13	142,404.00	136,740.00	
Rerouting cars	19,262.00	19,262.00	
Cost paving laid in city	1,488,493.00		
Cost paving laid by city and company	660,421.00		
Franchise value	5,675,236.00		31,824.19
Incorporation fees		24,309.63	9,841.20
Totals	\$35,837,044.53	\$24,333,947.36	\$11,969,284.86

[See vol. xviii, pp. 284, 423.]



Chicago School Troubles.

An application was filed for an injunction on June 20 before Judge Sullivan of the Chicago Superior Court to restrain the Board of Education from enforcing its repeal of the merit rule for teachers. The application was denied on June 27. The Board at once dropped arbitrarily 68 teachers from the roll. Of these, 20 are marked "inefficient" and are not members of the Teachers' Federation. Of the other 48 all have good records, and all but 10 are members. [See current volume, page 589.]

Bolton Hall's Case.

Bolton Hall's trial for distributing Birth Control literature was adjourned to October 9th, by consent of the District Attorney. It is admitted that the literature is decent and used only the necessary words. The meeting was held May 20th; the warrant on which Mr. Hall was arrested was dated three days afterwards, and was not served until June 6th. It is usual to summon well-known persons instead of arresting them; but the warrant was made out against "John Hall" whose first name is unknown, etc.

The psychology of all this is as yet unknown: the case did not originate in the District Attorney's office. All those who saw and are able to testify that Mr. Hall did not distribute any literature at the meeting are requested to communicate with him.

Mr. Hall gave the following statement to the reporters:

It seems to me to be a mistake for advocates of any reform to mix up their case with law-breaking or with any other issue. This is specially so for a lawyer, whose business it is so to administer or to alter the law as to promote justice and social well being.

The issue of free speech and free dissemination of knowledge is a clear-cut one: it is this that interests me. Spectacular action arouses attention, but it also arouses prejudice. The right of people to instruction that is necessary to preserve their health, their morals, their children, and often their lives, is plain, and appeals to the reason and to the hearts of everyone. The doctor will supply this information to the well-to-do: the law prevents the poor from getting it.

For these reasons, I did preside at the Union Square meeting in protest against Dr. Reitman's sentence: and for the same reasons I did not distribute nor have in my possession any literature on the subject of Birth Control.

Further, I do not believe that any mechanical methods of Birth Control are so certain as to make it wise to distribute them generally to uninstructed or careless persons. Others differ with me in these views and sincerely and courageously act accordingly.

The courts seem to take the view that their "business is to enforce the law." I think the business of the courts is so to administer the law as to promote order and social well-being. But while the courts advocate simple force, it can hardly be surprising that the victims of law sometimes meet it with force. [See current volume, page 564.]

NEWS NOTES

—The assembly of the Presbyterian church of western Canada voted, June 14, at Winnipeg, 406 to 88 to unite with the Methodists and Congregationalists.

—The United Mine Workers of America in session at Indianapolis on June 20 sent a telegram to

President Wilson urging appointment of Frank P. Walsh to the Supreme Court. [See current volume, page 556.]

—Inventive genius appears to have been depressed by the war. The number of patents granted by the British controller-general in 1915 was 18,191, which was 6,629 less than in 1914. It is lower than any year since 1887.

—A lecture trip through the United States is being planned for Dr. Sunder Singh of Lahore, India. His addresses will be on sociological and racial problems. The tour will be managed by Mrs. G. V. Jamieson, 1247 Peoples Gas Bldg., Chicago.

—Andrew Hutton, who died at his home in Schenectady, New York, on June 19, was considered the most ardent of Singletax workers in that city. He was born in Scotland in 1847, came to America in 1879 and resided in Schenectady since then. His activity in the Singletax movement dates from its early days and did not end until his death.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Shame of New York State.

New York Call, May 27.—The five militarist bills that Governor Whitman has signed undoubtedly constitute the most dangerous piece of reactionary legislation that this State has seen for many a long year—and I do not know whether any of the other States can show anything worse. It is hard to say which part of this legislation is the more pernicious—the portion which, without the poor excuse that European nations can plead, establishes here the system of conscription which our dollar-patriots pretend to abhor in Germany and which the British Government has not dared to establish fully, even in war time, or the portion that provides for systematically instilling the bloody and slavish ideals of militarism into the minds of impressionable young boys and so preparing them to be willing tools for the capitalists' dirty work in the years to come. Every one who is not either hysterically excited or culpably ignorant knows, of course, that the enemy against whom the State is preparing is neither Germany nor England nor Japan. The whole record of the American militia, for forty or fifty years past, shows that it is not adapted nor intended for services against a foreign invader—even if any foreign invader were to be expected—but that it is maintained as a guard for capitalists' profits against labor unrest. Hocking Valley, Homestead, Hazelton, Pana, Virden, Buffalo, Croton Dam, Trinidad, Kanawha, Roosevelt, Ludlow—those are a few of the battlefields on which our so-called "citizen soldiery" has displayed its valor and won the gratitude of Standard Oil and the House of Morgan. Giving militarism the name of preparedness does not change its nature any more than pasting a bicarbonate of soda label on a box of arsenic pills makes the contents a safe household remedy.



The truth may be dammed up for a time, but sooner or later it is bound to break through; and the stronger the dam, the greater the flood.—Detroit Tradesman.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A VISIT TO MEXICO.

Written for The Public.

When in October last it was announced that the United States Government had decided to accord recognition to the Mexican revolutionists fighting under Carranza, Mexico became an inviting field in which to study revolution and re-organization. I decided with others to go and see what was happening. Mr. Carranza was coming to the border to meet the representatives of the United States, and it was rumored that practically the whole of his government was on the train with him. There were, of course, delays; we waited nearly a week at San Antonio and another at Eagle Pass before the train arrived. The interval gave a good opportunity to study border conditions, which were at that time in a state of great agitation. In a few days the real inwardness of the border trouble became clear; the permanent antagonism between Americans and Tejanos, Mexicans resident in Texas, the political corruption of the Brownsville region, the miscarriage of justice, all of which led to a racial feud with which Mexico had nothing to do except as a place of refuge for those who had committed atrocities.

It was also possible during the period of waiting to test the quality of the newspaper representatives whose work was to guide the public opinion of a great nation with reference to a weaker neighbor. One always expects that eagerness for news will lead to an irresponsible grasping of rumors, but one was hoping that there would be some ability to interpret events, to see under the waves to the ground swell and current, to grasp the significant even if they were compelled to report the trivial. Nearly all the writing done to shape American opinion within the period of my intimate acquaintance with Mexican affairs came from boys with no more political insight than is usually found on a college campus, acting under definite orders as to what they should see and report.

As there was no news of Carranza's movements for several days, the dominant opinion in Eagle Pass, which concentrated into a rumor and crystallized into a report, was that Obregon had placed the First Chief under arrest and had taken charge of revolutionary affairs. It was also reported that financial agents from the United States were on their way to provide Obregon with funds to start a counter revolution. It was shown by the event that the defection of this general was not a fact but only a wish.

During all this time my own opinions were

quite unformed. Residence in a small South American Republic and first-hand experience of two revolutions had prepared me to look for nothing more than a factional fight, a scramble for power and the usual Latin-American emoluments of power. I was well acquainted with the military mode of election to office. I was further inclined to believe that if patriotism existed in Mexico, it would be found in Villa rather than in the other leaders. In other words, my prejudice was the usual one.

At last the Carranza party was reported to be arriving at Piedras Negras, having required two days to cover the last few miles. We were all worn out with tedium. After hours of waiting at the station the train came in long after dark, preceded by a troop train. The latter is one of the most picturesque sights in Mexico. The tops of freight cars are covered with soldiers accompanied by their women folk, the soldaderas, who constitute the nursing and commissary department of the army. Blankets are stretched to make low tents and wind shelters on the tops of the cars, where also fires for cooking are kept burning. Only by having their families with them can the soldiers be kept on any extended campaign.

After Mr. Carranza's arrival, the government was established in the Custom House, which was also the official residence of the First Chief for the time being. There was some speech-making to the inhabitants of the town, who crowded the adjoining places. In the three or four succeeding days visits were received from the various foreigners who were waiting, the note of recognition was presented, there were conferences with Mr. Lind, Mr. Silliman and Mr. Arredondo, interviews were granted to newspaper men, and there was opportunity to see the ambulatory government at work. Mr. Carranza is about sixty years of age, large of frame, with a great head, heavy features, and the proverbial beard. He is very shy and reserved, slow and dignified in manner, talks very little but simply and directly, and makes no public speeches. He was accompanied by two or three governors of states, several generals as well as the general staff of the army, the minister of foreign relations and the interior, with aides, telegraphists and press men. Mr. Carranza kindly gave permission to accompany him on his train, so Mr. Lincoln Steffens and I went on board the night before departure. The favor was a great one, as the Pullman was crowded and high officials had to be dislocated in order to make room for us. Life on the train was accompanied by all the inconveniences about which reporters have written so voluminously as pertaining to travel in Mexico. The First Chief has only the most frugal fare, and food for the rest of us was excessive in neither quantity nor quality. When a village was reached the train

stopped for a few hours or perhaps over night, the inhabitants gathered, Mr. Carranza descended and walked about with them, discussed their local needs, and set their municipal government going, withdrawing whenever possible his military administration. From village to village and town to town he went in his leisurely way, reconstructing the government of the country and solidifying it with amazing simplicity and certainty. It began to dawn on me that this man was really in the saddle and holding the reins, that he was on his job and was able to carry it through. I began to learn other things about him. He had no secret plans, no subterranean policy. When approached by interviewers as to his intentions, he referred them to the Plan of Guadalupe, a program of reforms which he drew up at the very beginning of his revolution, to which he has adhered with undeviating tenacity, and which he is putting into effect by military decree. Every one knows what he stands for, and what he is going to do. This simplicity and stubbornness make him the great cohesive factor in the revolution. His honesty is only brought in question by his more virulent enemies; it is met by the fact that no financial interest dares try to bribe him.

As the opportunity of studying the consequences of the revolution from the point of view of Mr. Carranza's train seemed to me limited, I decided to leave for Mexico City. It was there that I began to comprehend the far-reaching significance of the civil struggle. Only the enemies of a movement are competent to give one an estimate of its value, and I had already discovered that the enemies of the revolution were to be found in the metropolis. The limitations and weaknesses are certain to be indicated; for the rest one has only to modify the opinion given, by the reasons for bias on the part of the persons giving it. When, for example, it was complained that the wicked revolutionists had disturbed the common people so that household servants had begun to feel that they had rights as regards wages and notice, that laborers had been allowed to organize into syndicates, one began to feel that the revolution was achieving something of value. Atrocities beyond extenuation were to be found in the use of the mansion of Delatore, the son-in-law of Diaz, as police headquarters, and of the beautiful Jockey Club as the meeting place of the labor unions.

No one who knows Mexico and has been without financial interests in the country, has ever been in doubt that a radical change, amounting to a revolution was needed. The evils of the old regime were great and flagrant. The only question was whether this particular movement was going to effect the change and provide the remedy.

The first great reform which Mr. Carranza has brought into operation shows the temper and

good faith of what he is doing. It is the abolition of the federal district and the freeing of the municipality. The significance of this is difficult for an American to grasp. Throughout Latin America from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, the distinguishing feature in the political organization is the Jefe Politico. Imagine a country organized by states and municipalities, or departments, corresponding to countries, and then suppose that traversing the municipalities are districts ruled by officials comparable to United States marshals, responsible only to the Federal government and with practically unlimited power. The Jefe Politico, controlling the police, drawing recruits for the army, supervising the elections, is the agent by which a central tyranny is able to work out its plans in detail and make them applicable to any part of the country without consideration of local authority. It must be understood that so long as this institution was maintained constitutional government could never be more than a pretense. By its abolition, Mr. Carranza has made a civil dictatorship practically impossible.

The attitude of the revolution to the Church has been the subject of a long campaign of misrepresentation which forms the basis of a concerted attack by the Catholics of this country upon Mr. Wilson's policy. The atrocities of which the Carrancistas have been accused are insignificant and negligible. It was necessary that the high ecclesiastical dignitaries should cease to dominate the political life of the country; their resentment was to be expected. The provisional government has declared that there is to be no new legislation with reference to the Church, that the whole situation is adequately defined by the reform laws of Juarez which fell into abeyance under the dictatorship. Under these laws the Church owns no property, but is a tenant of the state through the agency of religious associations. In this way Mexico foreshadowed the principle by which France arrived at her solution of the separation problem. The Catholic Church suffers no curtailment of its proper moral and religious function. The state claims the right, as do all other nations, to make provision outside the Church for such matters as marriage, divorce and education.

While the general political aims of the revolution have been the concern of the more intellectual members of the Mexican community, a comparatively small proportion of the population, there is one respect in which the movement has affected the very lowest strata. If one asks common soldiers chosen at random what they are fighting for, the majority will answer that they are fighting to gain access to the land. Mexico is a country of great land holders, with the dispossessed common people until lately tied to the land in a form of serfdom. In the old days the

land was held in the communal method of ownership, worked in common with a common participation in the benefits. A long chapter of Mexican economic history is needed to describe the process by which the Indians were dispossessed. It began in Colonial days, but developed into a profusion of corrupt and unjust practices under the Diaz dictatorship. Every rural Mexican carries a rankling sense of injustice. Madero's success was partly due to the fact that he enlisted this element of discontent; it was also partly his undoing, for he found himself unable to fulfill his promise of the restoration of land and thereby lost much of his support.

The program of Mr. Carranza contains agrarian reform as one of its cardinal elements. The situation is in a measure simplified by the voluntary exile of the more reactionary hacendados. Their peons settled quietly on the land and have received the benefits of their labor for the first time in their generation. Mr. Carranza has already promulgated a decree by which there is to be a testing of the great land owners' titles, and if there is evidence of injustice in the acquisition of lands, the ownership of these lands is to be vested again in the communities that originally owned them. Certain great estates will probably be confiscated and divided, but Mr. Carranza has no great sympathy with confiscation as a policy. In addition, a land tax is proposed which would be graduated so as to bear lightly on the small holder, but to make ownership of great estate an impossibility. The leaders of the revolution have not yet seen the great desirability of a uniform rate which will collect from the land holders according to the value of the land.

The final group of reforms which remain to be carried out, and through which Mexico will encounter her most serious difficulties, express the very essence of the revolutionary movement. They represent the intention to secure the economic independence of the country. The whole civil struggle has been a war upon the concession system with its political, economic and social ramifications. It is a little difficult for an American to see the situation clearly. No other country in modern times has been so continuously or consistently bled by foreigners as Mexico. When Cortez landed at the port which was to be Vera Cruz and received the rich presents brought by the emissaries of Montezuma, he sent word to that prince that he and his companions suffered from "a disease of the heart that could only be cured by gold." From that day to this, almost every foreigner who has entered Mexico has been a sufferer from the same complaint. From that day to this, Mexican wealth has gone in a constant stream to foreign countries. The boat on which I came from Vera Cruz brought something like twenty-five tons of silver, mined in time of revolution.

I was given copies of the contracts by which Lord Cowdray's company obtained their oil rights. Their provisions were of such a character that a little while before the beginning of the European war Lord Charles Beresford, a representative of extreme conservatism, declared in the House of Commons that it was a disgrace for the citizens of any civilized country to be parties to that contract. In addition to almost unrestricted rights of exploitation of oil, the Cowdray interests hold two and a half million hectares of land, extensive port works, the Tehuantepec Railway, and most of the electric lighting and tramway systems of the republic. The tentacles of this company have entwined themselves about the whole economic body of Mexico. American interests, all more or less privileged, aggregate, it is said, a billion dollars. The whole intent of the revolution is to end a system by which the natural resources of the country are drained by foreign capitalists, grown accustomed to expect extravagant returns. Naturally, the only way in which this reform could be reached was by the destruction of the Diaz regime.

Mexico City is a curious place. Like Washington, it is only a capital. Under Diaz it was the home of the *cientificos*. This group began its existence as a scientific society and ended by being a political-economic conspiracy. The individuals composing it served as go-betweens, receiving and delivering concessions and bribes. The selling out of Mexico was the Diaz regime, and the population of Mexico City stood, and still stands for this system. It was to be expected that the great *cientificos* would go abroad for the sake of their health, but Mexico City is full of little ones, relatives and stenographers, who maintain an unbroken sentiment of hostility to the purposes of the revolution. Their function is intrigue to lower prestige, undermine credit and refuse supplies. It is a curious fact that a revolution has been fought for five years over the greater portion of the republic, at the cost of 100,000 lives and incalculable destruction of property, while the real objective of the whole movement has continued untouched. That objective is the traitorous intriguing *cientifico* population of Mexico City. This serves to explain why Mr. Carranza has preferred to rule the country from Queretaro or from a railway train. The elimination of the concession mongers does not, however, mean the elimination of the concession holders. Here Mexico enters the circle of troubled international relations and here the problem of the United States defines itself.

When President Wilson's Mobile speech announced that his policy with reference to the Latin American States would be to aid them in freeing themselves from foreign concessions, there were few who understood that he was placing his finger upon the most central and significant

of international relationships. That statement began a new chapter in world politics. The traditional attitude of stronger to weaker states is that of securing political domination, either to incorporate them or hold them as vassals. Weaker countries have had their independence only because of the mutual fears of the larger ones. But in more modern times the important discovery has been made that political control is not necessary, that all the benefits can be secured without the inconveniences. Imperialism, after all, has its disadvantages. If a great nation can secure the economic plums of a country like China, why undertake the burden and responsibility of administering her affairs? It was, therefore, a natural development that diplomacy should place itself in the service of commercial interests, that the threat of coercion, which is diplomacy's last word, should be used to procure privileges. Those who desire a key to the European situation may find it in rivalry for the right to exploit the peoples and resources of weaker and less developed countries. International policy has been a matter of economic domination formulated and dictated by commercial agents and concession hunters.

I was in South America when Mr Wilson's speech was published and made a study of the newspaper comment. The attitude was almost universally cynical. Unfortunately, Americans have not yet established the reputation abroad of being commercially scrupulous, and it was no surprise to find the opinion freely expressed that the American government merely wanted to drive out European concession holders in order to make opportunities for her own. The new Monroe doctrine interpreted as a policy of endeavoring to pre-empt a special hunting ground for Americans in a region whose commercial relations with Europe were old and established, and which had hardly been touched by American trade, created more resentment than its predecessor. The whole point and value of the policy depends upon whether Americans go into the category of foreign concessionaries. Apparently the common understanding in this country, and certainly that of Americans in Latin American countries, was the same as that expressed in the press of the Southern Continent. It is now being discovered with surprise through events in Mexico that Mr. Wilson's policy of aiding toward economic independence meant independence of this country as well.

There is no doubt that this interpretation of our Latin American responsibilities begins a new chapter in the history of international relationships. It is the first unequivocal declaration that the natural resources and populations of weaker nations are to be removed from the category of capitalistic exploitation. In these days political freedom is of little value without economic freedom. We must see the matter through. Our

public opinion is orienting itself toward the right with that certainty which has given America a place of distinction among nations. It is unfortunate that some of the enemies of the right are to be found among American citizens.

J. W. SLAUGHTER.

BOOKS

HOPELESSLY HOPEFUL.

The Next Step in Democracy. By R. W. Sellars, Ph. D. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Price, \$1.50 net.

"The Next Step in Democracy" seems to be socialism, although this is not definitely asserted. In fact definite assertion is not the author's failing.

Socialism is presented as partly ideal and partly concrete, and especially modern, and therefore a step in advance of our usual American idealism.

The true definition (of large social movements) "is a product of a slow and creative growth; it is the expression in conceptual elements of an intuition which is made possible only by the final settling down into something approaching equilibrium."

Our American notion of a government of limited powers and limited activities (such as keeping the peace and minding its own business) is gently, though continuously, criticised, and the concrete notions of socialism are as quietly, and as continuously, praised.

The concrete notions of socialism seem to be the facts of social pressure which make the getting of a living difficult, and the gradual extension of this pressure until the nations crowd one another. Explanatory of this pressure the author quotes another approvingly: "Their [the Germans'] population is ever increasing; and they must have more elbow-room in some of the sparsely inhabited lands," which sounds like diluted Malthusianism.

That the social pressure has a definite and "concrete" cause in our own management of affairs seems not to have received attention.

The well known declaration that "there is a method by which we may tax the last rag from the back and the last crust from the mouth" is not noticed. That such method of taxation is not because of, but in violation of, American idealism receives no comment. That such system consists in burdens upon industry, is now operative, adequately accounts for existing social pressure, and necessarily increases the power of non-industrial property, are overlooked matters.

Property based on land instead of industry is usually held to be important when dealing with a social question, and most statesmen have a certain degree of anxiety as to the public revenue. Failure to deal with these matters has led Professor Sellars into a twilight zone from which his pessimism quite naturally emerges.

Nevertheless, he gallantly recovers by declaring: "Our success in the path which our fathers set us has become an ethical duty to fall short of which would be apostasy."

It seems fair therefore to declare the book to be one of the hopelessly hopeful variety.

JOHN Z. WHITE.



ORIGIN OF A MODERN STRUGGLE.

The Revolution in Virginia. By J. J. Eckenrode. Published by Houghton Mifflin & Co., Boston. Price \$2.00, net.

Occasionally someone is moved to make a study of a special period in history, and the effect of such a work on the student, is to tone down the impressions, so often out of perspective, that one gains from more general reading, for, by aid of such special studies, one is the better enabled to understand the why and the wherefore as he discovers the pivotal point. Among such valuable works are Fiske's "War of Independence," George P. Garrison's "Texas," Colton's "Annals of Manhattan" and Guillemard's "Magellan"; Eckenrode's "Revolution in Virginia" is well worth classification with them. One sees, as never before, what the strength of Virginia's influence was, and how its revolution meant far more than any of those concerned foresaw—except perhaps Jefferson. For to him, fundamental democracy was a religion to which he held fast throughout, even amid the disillusionment of the French Revolution—it was "the miracle that makes dry bones men, the power destined in time to heal the sorrows of the world." And revolutions seldom keep to the issue at stake, but tend to broaden out from a contest over a constitutional point, into some large assertion of liberty. The revolution in Virginia, beginning with the Rights of America, ended with the rights of man, and the democratic opposition to the numerous, powerful, upper class, so strongly and ably led by Jefferson, was the foundation of the political struggle of today.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**Social Problems**, by Ezra Thayer Towne. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1916. Price, \$1.00 net.

—**The "Socialism" of New Zealand**, by Robert H. Hutchinson. Published by the New Review Publishing Association, New York, 1916. Price, \$1.00 net.

—**An Introduction to the Study of Organized Labor in America**, by George Gorham Groat. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1916. Price, \$1.75 net.

—**Marketing Perishable Farm Products**, by Arthur B. Adams. Number 170, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Longmans, Green & Co., agents, New York, 1916. Price, paper, \$1.50 net.

Willie came to his mother with an expression of anxiety on his face. "Ma," he asked, "if a poor, hungry little boy was to come to the back door and ask for something to eat, would you give him that piece of pie that was left over from dinner?"

"Yes, Willie, of course I would," said the mother.

Willie's face cleared.

"All right," he said, "just wait a minute till I run round to the back door."—Philadelphia Press.

Massachusetts Single Tax League

ALEX MACKENDRICK, Secretary

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By GEORGE A. BRIGGS.

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J. H. RUSBY, NUTLEY, N. J.

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INDUSTRIAL ARBITRATION

By CARL H. MOTE

Readers of The Public will find this book, published by the Bobbs-Merrill Company, helpful, not so much for the conclusions the author draws from his survey, as for the authentic information on Industrial Arbitration laws which have been enacted in England, Germany, France, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. Everyone interested in the labor movement will find this book worth reading and also useful for reference.

\$1.50 postpaid.

The Public, Ellsworth Building, Chicago.



The Situation in England

"In England it is now different." This statement, often heard before the war from English writers and speakers and from our own platform men, requires just the explanation that is given in several chapters of "Joseph Fels, His Life-Work," by Mary Fels. The chief features of the situation in England during the opening years of the century are reviewed.

The Boer War had just closed, trade was depressed, unemployment general and impressive in huge parades and demonstrations. "The national conscience was beginning to react after its somewhat extreme commitment to ideals of imperialistic enterprise."

It was about this time that Mr. Fels' recently established business connections in England began to run smoothly enough to allow him to give his thought, time and ample means to the social problems about him.

Those who read "Joseph Fels, His Life-Work"—and every reader of *The Public* will get much information and inspiration from it—will secure an inside view of the English situation from chapters III, IV, V, VII, VIII. And of course that is only one of many features of the story—Mr. Fels' work knew no frontier lines.

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Chicago

Should the Flag Follow the Investor?

*Examples of Investors' Profits

By Frederic C. Howe

The profits from overseas investments and the exploitation of concessions are far in excess of profits at home. This is particularly true in the dealings with weaker countries. The Khedive of Egypt in 1873 raised a loan of 82,000,000 pounds sterling at 7 per cent interest, and 1 per cent for amortization. The banks that managed the loan gave the Khedive only 20,700,000 pounds of the 82,000,000 pounds, and kept the rest as security, besides making him take back 9,000,000 pounds in his own notes on a previous debt, which the bankers obtained at 65.

The banks which financed the building of the Bagdad Railway earned 100,000,000 marks as commission, and besides "saved" 180,000,000 marks in the cost of construction, which they nevertheless charged to the Turkish Government. At least these are the English estimates of the profits of the banks in the Bagdad transaction. German estimates of profits from the "savings" are somewhat less, but the commissions are given at 138,000,000 marks. The Sultan of Morocco made a loan of \$10,000,000 in 1904, on which the banks took a profit of \$2,500,000, although interest was charged on the entire loan. Financial difficulties and the activities of the powers compelled further borrowings until, by the end of 1910, the total debt of the country was \$32,500,000, or a net increase in seven years of \$28,000,000. By the terms forced on the Sultan in the loan of 1910 the bonds were issued to the banks at 435 francs but were sold to the public the same day as their issue at 507 francs.

These are but typical of the investors' profits when dealing with weak and helpless peoples. The profits from the Bagdad Railway, the terms imposed on China in the five-power loan, the methods employed in Egypt, Morocco, Persia and Turkey will be described in later chapters.

Investments are profitable in countries like Egypt because of the cheap native labor. English labor legislation does not apply in the colonies. A twelve to fifteen-hour day is common in the Egyptian ginning mills at a wage of 15 to 20 cents per day for an adult and 12 cents for a child. In the second place, countries like China and Turkey are easy to exploit, as was proved in the case of Egypt under the Khedives. The exploiters are not interested in the welfare of the natives.

*Quoted from Frederic C. Howe's new book, "Why War," published by Scribner's. "Why War" can be ordered through The Public's Book Dept., \$1.50, postpaid.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Small classified advertisements we will insert in The Public at the rate of 2c a word, cash with order. Subscribers who want to buy or sell something which would not, in their opinion, warrant a large advertisement will find here a method of advertising specially adapted to their needs.

USED BOOKS. Big Bargains. Catalogue. Higene's, T-2441 Post, San Francisco.

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