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EDITORIAL

No Intervention in Mexico.

The border ruffian raid into New Mexico was a suspiciously convenient affair for interests eager for intervention. It is not impossible to believe that there are Americans capable of instigating such a raid, when one remembers what big financial interests have had done at Ludlow and other places. The United States Government must protect against ruffianly assaults citizens living within its jurisdiction, and has found it necessary to send troops over the border to locate and arrest the guilty miscreants. But that does not and should not imply interference with internal affairs of Mexico. There must be no temptation held out to those financially interested to try to bring intervention about by encouraging a repetition of the invasion, or by stirring up trouble in Mexico. Perhaps if American and other foreign monopolizers of Mexican lands were compelled to reimburse the victims of the raid there would be peace along the border hereafter.

S. D.

Villa the Villain.

From liberator of his people to proscribed outlaw within the short space of a year marks the rapid change of roles of General Villa. Like many another successful man, ambition has been his undoing. His intolerance enleaguened his rivals against him; and, like many another general, he found that the men who had clung to him while he was fighting for his country quickly melted away when he fought for himself. Some will share his fortunes for a time; but these, too, will gradually leave him. Villa, like all men of violence, has enemies in his own camp, and the fastnesses of the wildest mountains will not be deep enough to hide him.

If it be true, as surmised, that Villa's purpose in attacking Americans was to compel intervention, it shows how slow the Mexicans have been

to grasp President Wilson's purpose. From Huerta to Villa, all have judged him from their own point of view. Huerta thought nothing would make him fight; Villa thought the invasion of American territory would compel intervention. But the usurping President had to yield before passive resistance, and the mad General will be hunted down like a mad dog. It is a pity that the American policy of non-resistance could not have been pursued to the end; but since it could not be, it is to be hoped that the punitive campaign will be brief.

The hazardous nature of this expedition should not be overlooked. General Carranza's policies have been sufficiently developed to convince concessionaires that they will have to render some kind of an equivalent for their holdings, and the degree of their hatred measures their faith in his integrity. They long for a return of the reign of Diaz, with his simple policy of concession, division and silence. So long as American intervention means a doubling and quadrupling of the mineral rights of American holders, nothing will be left undone to bring it about. What with European interests that would embroil us with Mexico at this time, and speculators impatient for dividends, the Administration will have a delicate role to play. Our own border must be made safe, even at the cost of chasing outlaws to their lair; but once this has been done our troops should be withdrawn. This is still Mexico's revolution.

S. C.

What Is Preparedness?

Again is heard the wail of unpreparedness. After keeping our forces on the Mexican border for more than three years, they were not ready, according to the preparationists, to strike when the opportunity came. The submarines won't work, the battleships are undermanned, and there is not enough ammunition on hand to carry on an hour's fight. If these charges be true, they would seem to indicate that this is not a military nation, and that since we do not know how to prepare for war we ought not to try. The charge is made that we have never been ready for any war. But does this really signify much? Of all the countries at war in Europe, only one was thoroughly prepared. That country had spent its best thought and energy for a half century in preparation for war. Not only was every known contingency provided for, but the time for the beginning of hostilities was chosen. Yet that country has not won the war. Do these preparationists

know what they are talking about; or are they being victimized by the dealers in war supplies?
S. C.



Not How Big, but What Kind.

When Admiral Fletcher testified before the House Naval Committee that we should spend \$1,500,000,000 on new warships, and devote \$760,000,000 annually to their upkeep, he doubtless made it clear to some people why the Administration did not wish naval officers to engage in public discussion of naval policies. Admiral Fletcher may be an excellent officer, and may understand handling a fleet, but what does he know about the size of the navy we need? Do we want a navy to whip any nation in Europe, or any two nations? Or a navy to whip any that comes to this side of the water? Or a navy capable of defending our coasts? No one, no matter how capable he may be, can tell how much of a navy we need until we have decided what we wish to do with it. If we are to dictate to the world, we shall need even more ships and men than the Admiral names; but if we are merely to guard our own coasts, a tenth part of the sum named will, if expended in mines and submarines, protect us against the world. The difficulty in settling the preparedness issue lies in determining what we are to prepare for. Militarists plead for preparation against invasion; but when they specify the armament it is found to be for offensive purposes. Not a ship or a gun should be voted until its purpose has been determined.

S. C.



Better Than Militarism.

The Columbus, Ohio, Dispatch says, in its issue of March 10, that all sane people admit that there is a better way of avoiding war than through maintenance of big armies and navies, but "the trouble is that one nation acting alone cannot adopt it with safety." But it is not necessary, as the Dispatch seems to think, to secure universal disarmament in order to make disarmament by one nation safe. Free trade and economic justice would make criminal aggression an unprofitable undertaking against the nation adopting it. Any nation adopting such a policy could safely disarm without waiting for others to do so, and would moreover be immensely benefited by so doing.

S. D.



Achilles' Heel.

It is most lamentable that so great an institution as the press should have such a weakness

as its craving for news. Newspapers may vary in every conceivable manner save one: they must print news, important news if possible, but news. If by any mischance the editor has overlooked something, no matter of how much importance, he may not publish it the next day; for it is then no longer news; and he must fill up his columns with the inane nothings of those who may momentarily attract attention. Such a state would be deplorable if it led to nothing worse. But the popular value of the paper having been estimated on this basis, a premium is placed upon dishonest news. The news gatherers, realizing that the circulation of the paper depends upon its being filled with the latest world gossip, and knowing that if they do not furnish it some one else will, are tempted to distort facts, and invent them when they are absent. The speaker who delivers an address containing many truths may receive a brief paragraph. Should some one in the audience call him a liar, he may get a quarter of a column. Should the interrupter hurl a cabbage or an egg, it is good for a column.



It was this besetting weakness of the press that robbed the Ford peace venture of much that it might otherwise have accomplished. One representative of the press on board, had he so desired, might have thwarted the intentions of the leaders; sixty-one representatives could do nothing but wreck it. There was the ever-pressing desire for news. Though profound truths might be uttered by members of the party, and plans of far-reaching influence be offered, they received little attention. It was when petty squabbles broke out, and harsh words were uttered, that the pencils came out and the wireless began to throb. When words of wisdom fell from the lips of men and women whose past services entitled them to speak, the representatives of the press gave no heed. But if passionate epithets were bandied about by hotheads, they were sent broadcast over the world—and they lost none of their spiciness in the sending. The Ford party was judged, therefore, by its worst, and not by its best. The world saw the venture, not through friendly and sympathetic eyes, but of cynical and antagonistic. The press pronounced it an absurdity and an impertinence before the vessel left our shore, and the correspondents sent back word in harmony with that judgment.



The summing up of it all lies in the words of one of the correspondents to one of the delegates as

they alighted from the ship on their return to New York: "I am heartily ashamed of the press work that has been done on this trip. There is not a thing that I have sent my paper that I am proud of." This is the weak spot in the press. It is not irremediable, but it is a serious handicap. Much of the evil effect is discounted in advance by the incredulity with which intelligent persons receive statements of the press. This may in time compel a greater observance of truth and fairness. But in nothing more than in this does the press represent the people. The papers print biased opinions and false reports because the mass of the people want them. When any considerable number of people wish to know all the facts, instead of the facts that support their side, there will be a paper to supply them. And when the people prefer to have the fact two days or seven days old, rather than an undefined rumor within an hour, they will begin to realize more of the advantages of this agency of civilization. s. c.



Preparing for a New Political Alignment.

It is to be feared that Walter Long, the noted English Conservative member of Parliament, is not correctly reading the signs of the times. His cheery optimism is indeed welcome; and it would be pleasant to know that the war had drawn all classes permanently closer; that the days of prodigal luxury had past, and that useless and unnecessary servants had disappeared; but when he says that party lines in political life have been forever obliterated his prediction may be doubted. What he interprets as political goodfellowship is more likely a tightening of the ties of privilege. Heretofore party cleavage in England, as in this country, has been horizontal rather than vertical; so that, while political questions have divided Liberals and Conservatives, economic questions have found privilege-holding Liberals and privilege-holding Conservatives together in opposition to the radicals. The war tends for the moment to secure common action; but as the nation emerges from the strife, and the question of paying the bills has to be met, the radicals will attempt to lay the burden on the landowners. Then will follow a rapid transformation. Liberals and Conservatives will be found acting together; but it will be the landholding interests of the two parties, as distinguished from the radicals. When the landlord class and the people are arrayed in opposing parties, British liberty will begin to march. So long as landowners control the Liberal party, just as protectionists in this country

control the Democratic party, there can be little progress of either in pure democracy. s. c.



Assaulting National Honor.

The United States Senate and the Chicago City Council have both, during the past week, put their constituents in a humiliating position. The Senate has passed the Shields bill to give away the Nation's water power; and the Chicago Council has passed an ordinance to sell for \$500,000 the Automatic Telephone system, worth several times as much. So both Senate and City Council, in contemptuous disregard of the people, have voted to hand over public property without adequate compensation to persons to whom it does not belong. How pitiable do these events make helpless American citizens appear to citizens of Switzerland, who through the Referendum could block such steals in their country! How ridiculous it makes the citizens of Chicago appear to citizens of the many places where the local Initiative and Referendum afford defense against councilmanic tools of monopolistic corporations! Senate and City Council have assaulted national and civic honor in a way that no army or navy can punish. Nationally and locally the Initiative and Referendum are needed to provide defense against enemies within our borders.

s. d.



How to Block the Grab.

In passing the Shields bill the United States Senate gave all the help it could to a plan to rob the American people. The 46 members who voted for the measure must have known what they were doing. There has been some increase of knowledge since criminally wasteful congresses, during and after the Civil War, gave millions of acres to the railroads. So these 46 Senators cannot plead the excuse of ignorance. But even should the bill pass the House and become a law without amendment, there need be no meek submission to robbery of the nation's water power. The bill provides that in buying back the power, which has been grabbed, the government must pay the full value of all unearned increment. But this can be blocked through taxation. Taxes can be levied which will divert all unearned increment into the public treasury and so leave none to the power-grabbers to collect payment for. If in spite of protests and opposition the bill should become a law, citizens interested in conservation may still force restoration through helping to secure proper tax legislation. And even should it not become a law, it need not be forgotten

that there are other natural resources which have been grabbed, and conservationists should be interested in securing the restoration of these through land value taxation. s. d.



Something for Nothing.

As a considerable pressure on the human body can be borne unconsciously, while the prick of a pin will cause a spasm of pain, so the general disregard of a great law may pass unnoticed, while a dramatic infraction arrests attention. General Goethals' protest against the awards of the commissions in settling Panama Zone landowners' claims against the United States is arousing thought among people who have lived all their lives in the midst of this very thing. In settling with individuals for land taken by the United States, the General says it should be on the basis of its value in 1903, before the work on the present canal was begun. The land commissions are settling on the present value. The General declares that the value now in the land, over what was there in 1903, is due entirely to the work done by the United States. The commissions make no inquiry into the cause or origin of the value, but pay the present amount. It goes against the gorge of the hard-headed engineer, who has exercised the utmost ingenuity to keep down the cost of the work, to see his government mulcted for seventeen or eighteen million dollars for what, but for his work, would have been only one million dollars.



Others also have felt this pinprick. The Adamson bill now pending in Congress is designed to compel the land commissions to settle according to the original agreement. But is not such a bill likely to establish a dangerous precedent? If landowners in the Canal Zone are to be deprived of the values that the United States has conferred upon their holdings, may not the same principle be applied to landholders in the United States? Already a beginning has been made in the reclamation of arid lands in the West, where the holders of the land are required to reimburse the Government for its outlay in putting in the irrigation works. It is conceivable that a claim may at no distant day be made against the landowners in a city where the Government builds a fine post office, or where a harbor has been constructed for the accommodation of its commerce. Any of these public works that aid commerce add to the value of the land of the city, just as the Panama Canal raised the value of the land in the Panama

Zone. And if it is right to keep for the people of the whole country the government-created value at Panama, how can we consistently ignore the same circumstances within the United States? This Panama incident is but another pinprick that ultimately will goad the American body politic into taking for public use the values created by public service.

S. C.



The Sugar Tariff Fraud.

In The Survey of March 4, Edward N. Clopper, northern secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, exposes the prevalence of child labor in the Colorado beet sugar industry. It is for the benefit of the employers of this child labor, for the Louisiana employers of poorly paid Negro labor and for the Porto Rican sugar barons whose employes are striking for a dollar a day that Congress is asked to continue burdening sugar consumers with an import tax.

S. D.



The Industrial Committee's Good Work.

The hearty endorsement of the Crosser bill by the Committee on Industrial Relations is alone enough to justify the existence of that organization. This committee, supported by private contributions, is ably continuing the work of the official Commission on Industrial Relations. It contains the four members of the official body, Frank P. Walsh, James O'Connell, Austin B. Garrettson and John B. Lennon, who had the courage to express fundamental opinions which they held, in their final report. It has as additional members Frederic C. Howe, Amos Pinchot, Bishop Charles D. Williams, Dante Barton, John P. White, John Fitzpatrick, Helen Marot and Agnes Nestor. With permanent headquarters in Washington, the Committee is keeping watch over the proceedings of Congress, and depriving Congressmen of the excuse of ignorance when they want to vote wrong.

S. D.



To Regain Control of the Land.

In discussing the many failures of city-bred men who turn toward agricultural pursuits, the Chicago Tribune says in its issue of March 13:

There are various causes for this state of affairs. The first is the speculation in government developed land. The second is the absence of any discrimination in the admission of settlers, and the third is the lack of a system of rural credits. Interest rates are two or three times as high in these communities as in sections of reclaimed land settled by other countries.

The ambitious city youth who has ventured to put

his energy into the land discovers that through negligence the government has loaned its name and its capital to land speculators and local bankers who are interested only in getting as much money out of him as possible.

If the government really intends to offer an outlet for overcrowded cities and unwholesome tenements it can do so. It can supervise these reclaimed lands until settlers are established, and it can provide some system of rural credits. Otherwise the money spent in irrigation or drainage might better be employed elsewhere.

It is to meet this very situation that the Department of Labor has urged a Board of Colonization to supervise settlement of public lands in the way which the Tribune suggests. Congressman Crosser of Ohio has introduced a bill to put this suggestion into effect. The Tribune can help by urging prompt action on the Crosser bill.

S. D.



More About the Illinois Tax Payers' Alliance.

Mr. Morris L. Johnston, attorney for the Illinois Taxpayers' Alliance, admits the erroneous nature of the following statement put out by his organization in advocating adoption of the pending taxation amendment:

Its submission by the General Assembly was urged by the following overwhelming popular vote on November 5, 1912: Yes, 541,189; No, 187,467—the largest affirmative advisory vote cast in Illinois since 1904.

In a letter to The Public concerning the reference to this matter on page 195, Mr. Johnston says:

I acknowledge the receipt of the issue of The Public containing your reference to the Illinois Taxpayers' Alliance, and thank you for calling the matter to my attention. You are perfectly right in your statements regarding the vote, and the statement in our circular was an error which, though unintentional, was still an error. As the vote is a matter of public record, and is quoted, I believe, correctly by other organizations, even those in favor of the amendment, I regret that you assumed that in place of it being a mistake it was a false claim. You were perhaps justified by the form of the article in thinking the whole circular was written by me when only that part subsequent to the part to which you object was so written. I am glad, however, owing to the form which may have caused your mistake, to take the responsibility for that mistake.

It is also true, as you say that I was the guest of the Tax Committee of the City Club at luncheon, a resolution inviting me passed at a previous meeting being read at the luncheon, but I hardly expected that anyone of my hosts would make a public personal attack upon me based partly on what occurred while I was a guest, without giving me an opportunity to be heard until after the attack appeared in print.



Mr. Johnston's letter makes clear that he was

not the author of the mis-statement. But since his signature was printed at the bottom of the circular containing it, any reader would naturally conclude that before placing it there he had read and endorsed all that the circular contained. It now appears that he did not and so was placed in a false position. Some one acting for the Alliance placed a statement signed by Mr. Johnston immediately after an unsigned mis-statement so as to make him appear responsible for both. From this it seems that his complaint of unfair treatment in the last paragraph of his letter should have been directed to the organization which he represents as attorney.



While Mr. Johnston stands absolved of responsibility for the mis-statement, the same cannot be said of the Illinois Taxpayers' Alliance. There has been much publicity given to the fact that the pending amendment is not the one which the legislature was urged by popular vote to submit. This information was long ago sent directly to the Alliance. If it was nevertheless ignorant, then it has been so negligent of opportunities to acquire knowledge that no confidence can be placed in any information it may give out. Moreover, the unfair treatment it has accorded its attorney should make other people shy.

S. D.



The New York Nation's Mistake.

An editorial in The Nation of March 2, entitled "Some Indirections of Direct Government," bears on Oregon's experience with the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. Considering the source, it is scarcely necessary to say that the comment was hostile. But it is necessary to explain that the hostile comment consists of one-sided extracts unfairly taken from a book by Professor James D. Barnett, who aims to present both sides of the question. The point made most prominent is the claim that authors of initiative measures sometimes try to conceal their identity. If that is a valid objection, then there is nothing to be said in favor of the legislative powers of Congress, of any of the state legislatures or of any city council. Has the true author of the Shields bill, for instance, appeared in the open and acknowledged his work? The Nation's labored effort to put the Oregon situation on a par with "invisible government" in New York State is refuted, through its own facetious closing sentence, "All the contrivances for direct government that may be provided cannot keep the people from ruling." It might have added, but did not;

"Therein the Oregon system differs from New York's 'invisible government.'"



The Nation repeats as its own the misrepresentation of the Portland Oregonian in regard to the Home Rule in Taxation Amendment submitted in 1910. It says that W. S. U'Ren and other Singletaxers "were so careful about Singletax that they forgot to speak of it even when it was the question before the House." Home Rule in Taxation is not Singletax, and there was no moral obligation to speak of Singletax in discussing Home Rule. But the fact is that they did discuss it quite thoroughly. Furthermore the Oregonian knew that they did, although The Nation probably did not. A pamphlet issued during the campaign of that year made clear that Home Rule would have enabled the people of any county, who so desired, to adopt the Singletax, and then presented facts and figures in favor of that method of taxation. The authors of the pamphlet were Dr. W. G. Eggleston, A. D. Cridge and W. S. U'Ren, and this was stated therein. The Oregonian's pretense of ignorance may be reasonably attributed to desire for an excuse to avoid a fair discussion of the arguments which had been presented. Since The Nation has a reputation to lose, it should use some care before adopting as its own any assertion of The Oregonian.

S. D.



THE POWER OF SUGGESTION.

Few are strong enough to resist the re-iteration of any positive opinion. The force of constant suggestion is apt to be overwhelming, because many of us are not firmly grounded in principles. This truth finds confirmation in the present conflict between the advocates of peace and the advocates of preparation for war. The advocates of preparation, whatever may be the reason, have nearly all the leading newspapers on their side, and these papers by their constant re-iteration of the idea of preparation are having the inevitable effect of turning the minds of people in their direction.

Not an additional argument is needed. Let there be simply, as is the case, a constant repetition of the stock of statements with which militarism began, and the effect will be apparent. A moving picture show displays the reputed wealth of various nations. The United States has a huge square on the diagram. Then the picture shows the comparisons of armies and navies, and the United States has a tiny square. What a shame! Why should we not have a big square again? No

one stops to think that this may be to our honor and advantage. And such picture shows are being presented over the country, in every little town. This constant agitation on the side of militarism must of course have its effect. The pity is that the hurrah side can always have a dramatic tone which calm reason lacks.

All the more does it behoove those who are not carried away by temporary excitement to keep as constantly at work as their opponents. With all the newspapers, or nearly all, arrayed on the side of militarism, and the loud talk all on that side, there is still the call for quiet work and persistent effort on the part of all who believe the other way.

For many of us believe as strongly as ever that this whole business of war is absolutely wrong; that it fosters every wrong feeling in mankind; that if the world is to be saved to a true civilization, war must be got rid of; that the spirit of militarism is fundamentally vicious; that it is destructive to all that means the advancement and good of mankind. When and where shall a beginning be made of standing up against the damnable idea? Never has there been such a time nor such an opportunity as now. The American republic has at this time the opportunity of taking a stand for the ways of peace such as was never before presented in the world's history. The time and the place are here. There is no hindrance but what is due to the bare imagination of danger, or to some reckless action on our own part.

What is offered on the other side? Long years of increased taxation in order to build more and more engines of war; in order to employ more and more human beings to think of murdering their fellowmen; in order to go on in the same old horrible way of national hatreds. Is there never to be an end? Is there never to be a time for stopping the silly round of international strife? Is there never to be a nation brave and strong enough to say, we shall no longer serve the bond-makers, sword-makers, and gun-makers, but we shall take our stand in the new dispensation of peace and good-will?

JAMES H. DILLARD.



The citizen who thinks he sees that the commonwealth's political clothes are worn out, and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit, is disloyal; he is a traitor. That he may be the only one who thinks he sees this decay, does not excuse him; it is his duty to agitate anyway, and it is the duty of the others to vote him down if they do not see the matter as he does.—Mark Twain.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

PROGRESS IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

Sydney, N. S. W., Feb. 4.

Some days ago the new Lord Mayor of Sydney submitted a Minute to the City Council in favor of a uniform method of rating on the unimproved capital value of land. It was referred to the Finance Committee. There is every prospect of the adoption of land value rating, as a majority of the new Council elected in December have pledged themselves to support the principle.

It may be of some interest to your readers generally to know what has been done in New South Wales in recent years. Formerly rates were imposed on the assessed annual value of property. The man with a good house, or shop or factory paid a high rate, while the owner of vacant land was let off very lightly. But a great change came over the scene when the Carruthers Local Government Act of 1906 was passed. That Act made rating on land values compulsory for not less than one penny in the pound and optional for the balance of the rate revenue required, subject (except in a few cases), to a poll of the ratepayers. Rating on the annual value was abolished, except in the City of Sydney, to which the Act did not apply. Councils could impose all their rates on land values, or partly on land values and partly on improved values, that is, the capital value of land and improvements taken together. The statutory penny on land values was not a revolutionary proposal, as the State previously had imposed a tax of one penny in the pound on land values, with an exemption of £240. It agreed when the Councils imposed a penny—without any exemption—to suspend the collection of the State tax. Councils, however, had to take over certain public works expenditure hitherto incurred by the State. The result was an almost universal adoption of rating on land values only. Most Councils said it was the very thing they wanted, and proceeded to impose all rates on unimproved land values. In a few cases where a majority of the aldermen were very conservative it was proposed to have a dual rate, part on land values and part on improved values. Reformers then took steps to demand a poll. The result in every case was a victory for rating on land values. There is mixed rating still in some country centres, but that is solely due to the lack of one or two enterprising spirits to insist upon reform. The number of such Councils, however, is diminishing.

Another way to show the popularity of rating on land values is to observe the loan polls. When a Council desires to borrow money it has to consult the ratepayers. They have, at a poll, to decide two questions—whether they are in favor of the loan, and if so, whether the rate for interest and sinking fund shall be imposed on land values or improved values. A proposed loan may be rejected, but the poll is always in favor of the land value basis for the loan rate. One of these polls was taken in Goulburn the other day. It was four to one in favor of land value rating.

Here is a summary of the position in 1913, concluding with a table showing the revenue assessed

as due. The figures are from the latest Statistical Register. Of the 134 Shire Councils 38 imposed a general rate of 2d in the pound. No fewer than 105 Councils imposed one flat rate for all services, while 29 imposed various local rates, the highest being a water rate of 9d in the pound, at Portland. Of 187 Municipal Councils, 70 imposed one flat rate for all services, varying from one penny to 6½d. Other Councils imposed one or more additional special or local rate, although in most cases they obtain the bulk of their revenue from the general rate on unimproved values. The larger portion of the City of Sydney rate revenue is obtained by means of a rate on the assessed annual value of property, instead of improved capital value.

Local governing bodies.

	Unimproved capital value.	Rates imposed on land values.	Rates imposed on improved land values.
134 shires.....	99,452,191	572,695	197
40 Sydney suburban municipalities	28,240,971	752,497	1,509
147 country suburban municipalities	20,807,126	485,713	41,254
City of Sydney.....	23,837,157	148,982	241,696
	172,337,445	1,959,947	283,656

When the City of Sydney rates on land values only this year a similar statement would be even more striking. One point should be carefully borne in mind, polls as to the incidence of a rate in New South Wales are confined to land owners. Sir Joseph Carruthers held that the man who paid the money had the right to call the time. The adoption of land value rating is not due to those who have no stake in the country. It is a sound business proposition. A majority of land owners own land for use—not speculation. So that when it comes to a contest between land user and land speculator the former wins every time. Land value rating means lower rates for him. So the speculator has to pay up and try to look pleasant, no matter what his feelings may be.

A. G. HUIE.



SOUTH AUSTRALIAN NOTES.

Adelaide, South Australia, Feb. 16.

Last year the Federal Labor party proposed submitting several amendments of the Constitution to the people. It was claimed by the supporters that these amendments were necessary, so that the parliament could deal with trusts and combines, industrial and other matters. On two previous occasions these referendums were submitted, and turned down by the people. Single taxers have always opposed them, as we hold the opinion that the parliament has all the power it needs to deal with trusts, and that the industrial legislation proposed cannot possibly have any lasting good effect for the producers. If the parliament really meant business with the trusts all they have to do is to abolish the special privileges they now enjoy, and the power to overcharge would be gone. Our solution of the prob-

lem is to remit the customs duties and to tax land values. Evidently this is too simple for the professional politician. However, despite the fact that labor men have, from nearly every platform in Australia, told the people they were being robbed, and that the Referendums were the only thing which could stop the robbery, and that everything had been done to take the vote, the proposals are not now to be submitted. This means a waste of at least £25,000 of the taxpayers' money, at a time when it could ill be spared. Many of the rank and file are furious at the action of the labor leaders in abandoning the measure just a fortnight before the vote was to be taken, but it is generally recognized that the reason the questions were not submitted was because it was almost certain they would once more have been rejected.

In my last letter* I also referred to the fact that we had a labor government in power in our State Parliament, and that their platform was the best they had ever submitted. Four out of the six members of the Ministry have at one time professed the singletax faith, and when the Party platform included such measures as reduced rail freights and fares, increasing the income tax exemption from £200 to £300, an all round tax on land values, and proportional representation; naturally all true democrats accorded the party support and expected to get some measure of true reform. They have been grievously disappointed. When the Budget was introduced it contained proposals for a tax on motor cars, increased stamp duties, reducing the income tax exemption from £200 to £156 (this was a violation of the party platform), increased probate duties and the one redeeming feature of an additional half-penny tax upon land values. These proposals passed the Assembly and were sent on to the Legislative Council, a House elected on a property qualification. These worthies promptly threw out the land values tax and amended some of the other proposals. The government tamely submitted to this rejection, instead of appealing to the people and fighting the Council in a constitutional manner. Then, to raise the necessary revenue they again violated their printed platform by increasing railway fares and freights instead of reducing them as they promised on the hustings. And this is the manner in which the people have been deceived by party politicians. Our only hope of getting a better standard of representatives is by getting Proportional Representation placed upon the statute book. This measure the labor party promised to carry last session, but did not even introduce the measure, the reason given being that there was no time. It seems there is plenty of time for small matters, but none for the consideration of the fundamental and essential questions.

Just at present the manufacturers are much concerned about "trade after the war." They are advocating all sorts of schemes to get a larger measure of protection than they now enjoy. And the newspapers are rendering them valuable assistance. It is a cunning attempt on the part of the manufacturers to get larger profits whilst the patriotic fever is at its highest point. We are doing all we can to help people to get a clear vision in the

*See vol. xviii, p. 443.

matter. We hold open air meetings twice every week, distribute a lot of free leaflets, send letters to the daily and country press, and point out clearly that protection is simply a respectable name for legalized robbery.

We also emphasize the fact that the defense of Australia should be paid for by those who own the land values of Australia. When we refer to this we always get a sympathetic response. Unfortunately our Federal politicians do not realize the importance of taxing land values, so they are floating loans to pay for the war, and thus providing a good investment at 4½ per cent, free of income tax, for the "capitalists" they claim to hate.

The cost of living in Australia is going up by leaps and bounds. The goods which could be obtained for 17/3 in 1901 cost 22/5 in 1914, and 26/6 in 1915. The 1915 figures are, of course, abnormal, owing to the war and the drought. But the 1914 are pre-war figures. You will note they are considerably different from those of 1901. One of the chief reasons for this is the tariff. In 1901 we collected £8,869,000 from food taxes, and in 1914, we collected no less than £15,062,000. Out of 125 lines of foodstuffs, in the first three schedules of the Trade and Customs returns, no less than 117 are carrying heavy taxes, and only 8 are on the free list. Is it any wonder we have a high cost of living problem to solve? And yet our good labor politicians want to give the workers more protection.

E. J. CRAIGIE.



CANADA'S PROGRESSIVE FARMERS.

Ceylon, Sask., Feb. 24, 1916.

The fifteenth annual convention of Saskatchewan Grain Growers has met with the clouds of war still shadowing our horizon. Britain's over-seas' dominions have accepted their position as parts of the empire and are taking up their share of the burden. The streets are alive with men in khaki and public places are placarded with appeals for men and more men to make up the half million that Canada has undertaken to supply. We are hoping for peace, but are settled in our determination that with it shall be established the integrity of small nations, and that the principle of autonomous government shall be advanced.

But the disturbing influence of war has not caused these farmers to recede from one single position taken in previous years, and they are inspired to greater efforts by some results already accomplished, and others in immediate prospect.

In previous years I have remarked on the almost utter lack in this province of anything like a community spirit; that as a whole we were an un-integrated aggregation of "stake" farmers and business men. Now, I am happy to note a most commendable growth of interest in matters affecting the common welfare. A single case will illustrate: Our common school system, as it stands now, is the result of a process of accretion—of additions and amendments to the body of laws and department regulations and the postponement of difficult and unpleasant problems. Naturally, a somewhat chaotic condition prevails and the efficiency of the system is not at all commensurate with the expense at which the schools are maintained. Last summer the Premier

and leader of the opposition united in an invitation to a general non-partisan discussion of the school needs of the province in advance of an overhauling of the educational laws. The response was immediate and general. Papers opened their columns to the discussion. A public education league was organized and a survey of the schools of the whole province instituted. The prospective results from this movement are pleasant to anticipate.

Substantial achievements are already accredited to the Grain Growers' Association, but these are regarded as only the beginning of what is aimed at. Organized late in 1900 to correct the piratical abuses of the grain market, that question has for some time been in a fair way of settlement. Corrective legislation was secured and the Grain Growers' Grain Company entered the field as a competitor, handling grain on commission. It now has 16,000 shareholders and a paid-up capital of \$86,000. Subsidiary companies have been formed to handle the export trade, lumber business, and other lines.

The Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Co., followed in the local market, and is now the largest elevator company in the world, with 18,000 shareholders and 230 elevators.

Western Canada is said to be the district of the highest range of prices in the civilized world. This, of course, is true only of the goods we have to buy, for our staple products are sold in the world's markets. The association attacked this situation two years ago by instituting a co-operative trading department. With no capital stock at all the central office last year as jobbers supplied locals at wholesale prices commodities to the value of \$850,000. Jobbers' profits, amounting to \$16,000, were divided among locals on the basis of business done.

An Implement Sales Act was secured, which provides for a standard contract conserving the rights of purchasers and guaranteeing the implement to perform the work intended.

Co-operative trading has been made possible by legislation enacted at the request of the association, and government hail insurance was put into operation at the same request. Prohibition and a dower law had long been advocated without effect, but were soon secured when the Grain Growers took a hand. The government has established wholesale liquor stores as a temporary expedient, but their abolition is now insistently demanded. The only remaining requirement for total prohibition is control of the importation of liquors from outside the province, but that must await an amendment to the British North America Act.

A legal department has been established to give advice to contest important cases in court, and to draft and promote the enactment of desired legislation. A conference was held with a committee of the mighty Manufacturers' Association, and a joint committee of agriculture and commerce was appointed to promote an understanding between the two warring interests.

Woman suffrage and direct legislation are almost here and the movements for free trade and agricultural credits are steadily gaining. Of these last two, the former will meet powerful and determined opposition, and the latter is yet in a somewhat nebulous form. The Hudson Bay Rail-

way is to Canada what the Panama Canal was to the United States. It is steadily demanded by the western farmers and as steadily resisted by eastern interests and transcontinental railways.

Prominent and distinctive among all the achievements of this farmers' movement stands its official organ, the Grain Growers' Guide, which in eight years has grown to a position of commanding influence in western Canada, and as an exponent of fundamental democracy is second to none in the Dominion. The Saskatchewan membership of the association has increased over 25 per cent in the past year, and now numbers over 25 per cent of the farmers of the province. A good beginning, so long as it is regarded as but a beginning.

As noted above, this farmers' movement has developed several lusty and rapidly growing trading companies. These at present are largely independent of one another, the principal connecting bond being that of sympathy and common interest. They have now arrived at the stage of overlapping business, and are facing the alternative of friction and dissension or of a grand federation of all organizations under one management. A plan of federation has been worked out on the basis of independent local units to be affiliated with the central body. It is believed that this arrangement will preserve the vital principle of democratic control while permitting of unified management and unlimited expansion. This is a critical stage of development and its successful passage depends on a faithful adherence to the altruistic principle of true co-operation.

A sympathetic observer of this movement gave me his opinion recently that the farmers had traveled about as far as they could without a broader grasp of the situation. Said he: "When they know more they can do more, not sooner." The managing director significantly remarked in his report, "There is the possibility that we have been developing co-operative organization more rapidly than we have been imbibing the ethics of co-operation, and herein lies a real peril to your struggle for a true democracy." My opinion is this: the constructive part of this movement is the work of certain devoted idealists, loyally and intelligently supported by a few, acquiesced in by a large number, and regarded indifferently by the great mass of farmers. This is too narrow a basis for a great democratic movement.

I wish here to correct what has seemed to me a misapprehension on the part of some critics regarding co-operation. Co-operation may not be the basic reform, but I submit that democratic control of a business by its patrons and the division of its profits in proportion to its patronage produces a mental attitude that is absolutely essential if any social problem is settled in the interest of the common good.

The fact that the Singletax was not covered in any resolution or scarcely mentioned once in any discussion, I think, demonstrates the contention I have long held that the people here know next to nothing of the philosophy of community-made values, albeit they have the principle planted in their midst. A characteristic address was delivered by F. J. Dixon, of Winnipeg, the first evening of the convention, but perhaps the minds of the delegates were too pre-occupied to give it the consideration it deserved.

The necessity for education within the organiza-

tion is recognized by many Grain Growers, but nothing specific has yet been done to institute the work. The greatest, indeed the only popular democratic organization in the Canadian west is on the threshold of greater things than it can possibly realize at the present time. Shall it enter the land and possess it, or shall it return to a forty years' wandering in the wilderness?

GEO. W. ATKINSON.

WASHINGTON REFORMERS ORGANIZE.

Seattle, Wash., Feb. 27, 1916.

Yesterday over 150 radicals from all sections of the State of Washington met in Seattle and organized the Nonpartisan League of the State of Washington, with the following statement of purposes:

1. To maintain a free, nonpartisan press.
2. To secure the passage of nonpartisan election laws.
3. To secure amendments to the state constitution, especially the right to amend the constitution by the initiative.

First year dues were fixed at \$4; the thought being that annual dues should be about \$1.50 to \$2, the \$2 to \$2.50 addition being a sort of initiation fee.

Organizers will be at once put in the field and a precinct organization effected.

The following were chosen as an executive committee and will meet next Saturday to perfect the working organization:

W. D. Lane, Adella M. Parker, Vince A. Day, Thos. Humphries, Mrs. Frances C. Axtell, R. V. Hoyt, Joseph Gilbert, C. R. Cotterell, W. S. Case, A. W. Swensone, Mrs. Lula Menzier, James Duncan, Henry A. McCormick, Mr. Cady.

W. H. KAUFMAN.

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, March 14, 1916.

Congressional Doings.

By a vote of 46 to 22 the Senate on March 8 passed the Shield's bill. The bill grants to corporations the right to assume possession of water power on public lands and eminent domain over privately owned rights. Possession is nominally restricted to 50 years, but at the end of that time, in order to resume possession the government must pay all unearned increment, and the value of all plants owned by the corporation. Regulation of rates is left with the states. The bill is strongly opposed by Gifford Pinchot and the National Conservation Association. A Democratic Senator whose name is not given has written in Harper's Weekly of March 11 the following comment on the measure:

Frankly I cannot conceal my astonishment that a subject of such transcendent importance, considering

the future industrial development of this country as well as the extent to which the question has been agitated for ten years, should be before Congress without exciting the attention of the press and without engaging the thought of more than a half-dozen members of the Senate. The country refused to trust the Republican party to legislate on this gigantic matter. A responsibility has been thrown upon the Democratic party in respect to it, and a measure is going through the Senate that, in my humble judgment, reflects no credit upon the party that must assume the burden of defending it. Do you realize that 115 miles of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway are now being operated in the State of Montana by hydro-electric power, and that by the first of June cars will be moving over 450 miles of that transcontinental system propelled by the force of the falling waters of our streams; that the cost of operating the Butte, Anaconda & Pacific Railway electrically has been reduced 33 1-3 per cent, and that the engineers confidently expect a better saving even than that on the Milwaukee; that such a result means the electrification of the rival lines serving the same territory—the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern, and that millions of dollars will be invested throughout the south in water-power development as soon as this or some other workable bill is passed by Congress?

Do a public service by arousing the public to the importance of the debate.

The senators who voted against the bill were Ashurst, Borah, Chamberlain, Chilton, Cummins, Gronna, Hollis, Husting, James, Kenyon, La Follette, Lane, Lea, Lee, Lewis, Martine, Newlands, Norris, Poindexter, Reed, Sheppard and Works. [See current volume, pages 200, 225.]



An agreement in the Senate was reached on March 9 to vote on Senator Tillman's bill for a government armor plate factory on March 21. Public hearings on the nomination of Louis D. Brandeis as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court came to an end on March 8. On March 14 a protest against Brandeis' confirmation was received, signed by Ex-President Taft, Elihu Root, Simeon Baldwin, Joseph Choate, Francis Rawle, Moorfield Storey, and Peter W. Mildrim.



The House Committee on Interstate Commerce reported favorably on March 10 on the Rayburn bill for federal control of railroad securities and on the Senate bill for congressional inquiry on all common carrier problems.



Baker Becomes Secretary of War.

The appointment of Newton D. Baker as Secretary of War was confirmed by the Senate on March 7. He assumed office on March 9. In comment on the appointment the Anti-Preparedness Committee on March 7 issued the following announcement:

If the President had appointed an Ohio Democrat to be Secretary of War instead of a New Jersey

Democrat, it is doubtful whether the country and the administration would be in quite the situation it is in at present.

For no Democrat close to the people of the Middle West would have encouraged the President to reverse himself in his Manhattan Club address and no Middle Western Democrat would have talked quite so cheerfully as did Mr. Garrison about "universal compulsory military service." Mr. Wilson is to be congratulated on his selection. While it comes too late to help the administration's "preparedness" program, it will tend to convince the country that the President is not entirely the jingo which some would make him out to be.

[See current volume, page 225.]



Teachers Oppose Militarist Teaching.

The following address to the Teachers of All the World has been issued by the Teachers on the Ford Peace Expedition, Kate Devereux Blake of New York, Grace De Graff of Portland, Oregon, and Florence Holbrook of Chicago:

In your hands more than in any other lies the future of the world. You must choose whether you will train the rising generation in the militaristic spirit that has engulfed Europe in death, desolation, and misery, or, whether you will use your very endeavor to counteract the legacy of hate that will be bequeathed to the children, and will teach them that only in the time of peace is the progress of the world possible.

We appeal to you to join with us in a worldwide protest against military training in our schools as detrimental to the self-control and originality of the youths subjected to it. If this world is to swing happily along in its course, it must be peopled by courageous free men and women, not by races subordinated by the cowardly servility bred by military autocracy.

We appeal to you to demand the re-writing of all text books in history, so that wholesale murderers may no longer be crowned as heroes, but instead, the story may be told of those who by their insight and imagination have blazed the trail to new realms of thought, or have made life easier or more enjoyable by their inventive genius.

In a word, we appeal to you to teach the truth to the children under your care, so that they may no longer be dazzled and blinded by the glittering lies of militarism, but shall see clearly that progress and peace dwell together, and that the highest happiness is reached when the world is our country, humanity our race.

[See current volume, page 203.]



Rudolph Spreckels On Militarism.

Refusing a tendered position on the Advisory Council of the United States Boy Scouts, Rudolph Spreckels wrote as follows to Chief Scout E. A. McAlpin of New York in a letter made public on March 12:

The present European war has convinced me that military training of young men on a large scale has an effect upon international situations quite contrary

to the theory advanced by advocates of large armies and powerful navies.

I can no longer quietly ignore the facts so horribly proven in the present war. It is too obvious now that gigantic military and naval preparedness promotes war. In no case can it be honestly said that militarism has served the cause of peace.

The best equipped military nation on earth is sacrificing the lives of millions of its best citizens in a conflict which, even if it should be successful, would leave that nation weak almost to the point of ruin, with a people saddened and crushed for generations to come.

I feel sure that the present conflict will bring a new and better attitude in Europe and will strengthen the American masses in their conviction against militarism so that they will never tolerate a military autocracy.

It is a pity that so many politicians, office-seekers and many large business interests in the United States stoop, at a time like this, to appeal to the fears, passions and that patriotism which glorifies military achievements out of a desire to promote their selfish interests.

I am satisfied that many hundreds of thousands of our most loyal citizens have been stampeded by the false cry of "wolf," and are perhaps, like yourself, convinced that patriotism and the nation's interest demand a new military and naval policy.

To me, however, the facts, calmly considered, are against such a conclusion.



Walsh Endorses the Crosser Bill.

Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the Committee on Industrial Relations, issued on March 10 the following endorsement of the Crosser bill:

The bill invokes and applies to the lands of the public domain the absolutely right doctrine that the title to land shall depend on its productive use.

The Crosser bill is not only right in itself. It points the way that legislation should go to prevent speculation and private monopoly in natural resources. It recognizes as far as it goes the inalienable right of the community to take for the welfare of all the values that the community creates; and it recognizes the equally divine right of the producer and toiler to get and keep that wealth which his own labor has produced.

The most searching and widespread investigations of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations into the frightful and preventable evils of unemployment and tenant farming and the bad distribution of wealth make the following recommendations of the main or Manly report of the Commission unanswerable to all fair-minded men:

1. The revision of the taxation system so as to exempt from taxation all improvements and tax unused land at its full rental value.
2. Vigorous and unrelenting prosecution to regain all land, water power and mineral rights secured from the government by fraud.
3. A general revision of our land laws, so as to apply to all future land grants the doctrine of "superior use," as in the case of water rights in California, and provision for forfeiture in case of actual non-use.

We would go far toward the solution of our industrial problems if there were printed in letters of gold

and hung in the Halls of Congress and in every legislative hall of our American republic these words of Joseph Fels:

I believe that all are violating the divine law who live in idleness on wealth produced by others, since they eat bread in the sweat of their brothers' brows.

I believe that involuntary poverty and involuntary idleness are unnatural and are due to the denial by some of the right of others to use freely the gifts of God to all.

Since labor products are needed to sustain life and since labor must be applied to land in order to produce, I believe that every child comes into life with divine permission to use land without the consent of any other child of God.

The enormous incomes and inheritances that imperil our republic and the enormous power over others that go with these fortunes are based on the unnatural possession by a comparative few of our mines and our highways of commerce and of most of our city and of much of our richest farming lands.

The iniquitous mother of Poverty is Privilege. To abolish Poverty, Privilege must be killed. Power in the hands of the producers and toilers, through organization and collective bargaining, is one necessary weapon with which to kill Privilege. Power in the hands of the people, through laying such burdens on Privilege that Privilege shall be abolished and be taken off of the back of labor, is the other necessary weapon for destroying it.

[See vol. xviii, p. 1099, current volume, page 177.]



The Labor War.

Four Colorado miners, Enoch Muir, Mike Salvage, Fred Garcia, and Arthur Quinn, were acquitted on March 1 at Castle Rock of murder charges resulting from the riot in the Walsenburg district of April 27, 1914. Altogether 75 men were indicted for participating in this affair. The acquittal of these four makes doubtful the prosecution of the others. [See vol. xvii, p. 416.]



President Wilson's special Colorado Coal Strike Commission reported on March 8. The Commission, consisting of Seth Low of New York, Charles W. Mills of Philadelphia and Patrick Gilday of Cleveland, Pa., was appointed immediately after the settlement of the strike of 1914 to investigate the situation. The report urges a study be made by the Federal Trade Commission of the economic side of coal mining. It then says the fact that all of the 400 indictments returned in Colorado in connection with strike troubles were against strikers has left an unsettled condition in public opinion, as many believe illegal acts were committed on part of the operators, and men indicted on insufficient grounds are "suffering from great injustice" either in jails, or if out on bond, refused employment in Colorado on account of the indictments. "Out of the recent coal strike in Colorado," the report says, "two things have strikingly emerged—the peculiar power granted by the state to its industrial commission and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company's plan, put into op-

eration about Oct. 1 last, for regulating by contract the relations between the corporation and its employes." The plan referred to is one proposed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., after his visits to the mines last fall, which recognizes the trade union right to organization. The essential features of the industrial plan, says the report, are: The relations between the company and the employes are defined by contracts. Every employe is guaranteed the right to belong to any labor union. The men choose their own representatives. The commission endeavored, they said, to find men who would offer to announce to the company that they were members of a union in order to test the good faith of the employers. The men refused this plan, declaring they were afraid they would lose their positions. The average pay of men in the Southern coal fields is \$4 a day. The average in the Northern fields is \$3.15 a day. [See vol. xvii, p. 1161.]



After investigation of the recent strike riots at East Youngstown, Ohio, on January 7, the grand jury of Mahony County returned on March 8 indictments against Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, the corporation itself, the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, the Republic Iron and Steel Co., the Brier Steel Co., the Youngstown Iron and Steel Co. and the Carnegie Steel Co. The indictments charge conspiracy to depress wages. [See current volume, page 35.]



A vote on presenting a demand for an eight-hour day was taken on March 9 by the members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and Order of Railway Conductors. It resulted overwhelmingly in favor of the demand. The question is now before the railway managers who have 30 days to reply.



The wage board of the California Industrial Welfare Commission fixed on March 7 a minimum wage scale and maximum hours for women and minors in the cannery industry of the State. Wages fixed are as follows: Cutters' wages—Apricots, 9 cents per forty-pound box; pears, 15 cents per forty-pound box; cling peaches, 9 cents per forty-pound box; free peaches, 5 cents per forty-pound box; tomatoes, 3 cents per twelve-quart bucket. Cannery wages—Fruit, two and one-half pound cans, 1½ cents per dozen cans; ten-pound cans, 3 3/5 cents per dozen cans. Tomatoes, two and one-half pound cans, 1 cent per dozen cans; ten-pound cans, 2 2/5 cents per dozen cans. Time workers—Experienced hands, 16 cents per hour; inexperienced hands, 13 cents per hour. The maximum number of hours which

an adult woman may be employed is fixed at ten hours a day and sixty hours a week, except in case of emergency, in which the maximum number of hours shall not exceed seventy-two in any one week. Overtime is provided for on all emergency work at a rate of one and one-fourth times the adopted minimum rates. The maximum hours of labor of minors under the age of 18 are fixed at eight hours in any one day, or forty-eight in any one week. The Commission has also issued an order prescribing the minimum standards of conditions under which women may be employed in the canning industry, which includes a comprehensive sanitary code approved by the State Board of Health affecting lighting, ventilation, floors, toilets, washrooms, etc. The orders also include provision for seats for women employed, and prohibit the carrying of boxes of fruit and other heavy burdens by women.



Chicago Council Authorizes Telephone Sale.

The City Council of Chicago on March 11 by a vote of 46 to 22 allowed the Automatic Telephone Company to sell its plant to the Chicago Telephone Co. for \$6,300,000. Under the franchise of the Automatic Company the whole plant was to be forfeited to the city without compensation. Under the ordinance the city is to be paid \$500,000 for waiving its right. Amendments to the ordinance were voted down providing for a referendum and for increase of the city's compensation to \$4,000,000. The Chicago Telephone Company is allowed to add \$1,500,000 to its capitalization as a basis for fixing rates. Those favoring the sale were Coughlin, Norris, De Priest, Hickey, Doyle, Martin, Cross, Tyden, McNichols, Klaus, Pettkoske, Cullerton, Mulac, Smith, Lawley, Utpatel, Szymkowski, Zwiefka, Walkowiak, Sitts, Healy, Murray, Howler, Powers, Fick, Miller, Krause, Geiger, Bauler, Ellison, Wallace, Haderlein, Gnadt, Captain, Lipps, McDermott, Hrubec, O'Toole, W. J. Lynch, Bergen, Rea, Fisher, Michaelson, Toman, Blaha, Janke. Those opposed were Stern, Werner, Richert, Nance, McCormick, Kimball, Merriam, Vanderbilt, Block, Kerner, Ray, Anderson, Rodriguez, Kjellander, Link, Pretzel, Watson, Kennedy, Dempsey, Littler, Kearns, Buck. Injunction proceedings against consummation of the sale are pending. [See current volume, pages 101, 132, 180.]



Mexico and the United States.

An attack of Villista soldiers on Columbus, New Mexico, on the 9th, in which 17 Americans and 100 of the invaders were killed, has led to tense relations between the two countries. The invaders, whose numbers are estimated at 1,500, are said to have been led by Villa in person. They

surprised the town just before daylight, fired the hotel and some other buildings, and shot the citizens as they ran from the burning buildings. The outlaws retreated when a small band of American soldiers appeared on the scene. The wanton attack of Villa's men is ascribed to various motives, to revenge because the President recognized Carranza, and to a desire to compel American intervention. [See current volume, page 227.]



The immediate effect on the United States was to crystalize sentiment in favor of an invasion of Mexico by American troops, not for the purpose of intervention, but to capture Villa, and to dissipate his forces. President Wilson announced that the expedition would be purely punitive, that it would scrupulously respect the sovereignty of Mexico, and that it would withdraw when its purpose had been accomplished. To this General Carranza issued a manifesto declaring that under no circumstances could such an act be permitted unless the same rights were extended to Mexican troops to cross the American border in pursuit of escaping outlaws fleeing northward. To this communication of General Carranza, presented by the Mexican Ambassador at Washington, President Wilson replied on the 13th:

The government of the United States has received the courteous note of Senor Acuna and has read with satisfaction his suggestion for reciprocal privileges to the American and Mexican authorities in the pursuit and apprehension of outlaws who infest their respective territories lying along the international boundary, and who are a constant menace to the lives and property of residents of that region.

The government of the United States in view of the unusual state of affairs which has existed for some time along the international boundary, and earnestly desiring to co-operate with the de facto government of Mexico to suppress this state of lawlessness, of which the recent attack on Columbus, N. Mex., is a deplorable example, and to insure peace and order in the region contiguous to the boundary between the two republics, readily grants permission for military forces of the de facto government of Mexico to cross the international boundary in pursuit of lawless bands of armed men who have entered Mexico from the United States, committed outrages on Mexican soil, and fled into the United States on the understanding that the de facto government of Mexico grants the reciprocal privilege that the military forces of the United States may pursue across the international boundary into Mexican territory lawless bands of armed men who have entered the United States from Mexico, committed outrages on American soil, and fled into Mexico.

The government of the United States understands that, in view of its agreement to this reciprocal arrangement, proposed by the de facto government, the arrangement is now complete and in force and the reciprocal privileges thereunder may accordingly be exercised by either government without further interchange of views.

It is a matter of sincere gratification to the government of the United States that the de facto government of Mexico has evinced so cordial and friendly a spirit of co-operation in the efforts of the authorities of the United States to apprehend and punish the bands of outlaws who seek refuge beyond the international boundary in the erroneous belief that the constituted authorities will resent any pursuit across the boundary by the forces of the government whose citizens have suffered by the crimes of the fugitives.

With the same spirit of cordial friendship the government of the United States will exercise the privilege granted by the de facto government of Mexico in the hope and confident expectation that by their mutual efforts lawlessness will be eradicated and peace and order maintained in the territories of the United States and Mexico contiguous to the international boundary.

After dispatching this message, Secretary Lansing made the following statement:

In order to remove any apprehensions that may exist, either in the United States or in Mexico, the President has authorized me to give in his name the public assurance that the military operations now in contemplation by this government will be scrupulously confined to the object already announced, and that in no circumstances will they be suffered to trench in any degree upon the sovereignty of Mexico or develop into intervention of any kind in the internal affairs of our sister republic. On the contrary, what is now being done is deliberately intended to preclude the possibility of intervention.



Meantime rapid preparations are being made by the Federal authorities to launch the punitive expedition. Major General Frederick Funston, with present headquarters at Fort Sam Houston, San Antonio, has general command; and Brigadier General John J. Pershing with temporary headquarters at Columbus, New Mexico, will have immediate charge of the expedition. Military secrecy already surrounds the movements of the troops, and nothing definite is known of the plan of campaign, the points of attack, nor the date set for the movement. Villa is supposed to be somewhere south of Columbus, trying to arouse feeling among the Mexicans against the Americans. All is uncertainty as to the number and equipment of his forces. It is expected that the Carranza forces will aid the American forces; but there are people who fear that some or all of these forces near the northern border will go over to Villa when the invasion takes place. Apparently the expedition now awaits the arrival of sufficient forces from the interior to guard the border after the forces already assembled have moved forward. The advance may begin at any hour.



European War.

Verdun still occupies the center of the stage. The third week of almost continuous assaults has resulted in slight German advances east and

southeast of the fortress. West of the River Meuse they have advanced their lines southward from Forges into the Corbeaux woods. Directly north of Verdun, where the original advance was made, no substantial changes of the line have been reported. Both Fort Douamont and the village of Vaux have been the scenes of desperate fighting, marked by enormous casualties. Fort Douamont, nearly obliterated, remains in Germans' hands, while Fort Vaux is in the hands of the French. The village of Vaux has been the scene of hard fighting, but is held by the French. The third week closed with a lull in German assaults; but whether from discouragement or owing to changes in plans and shifting of troops is not known. No official reports of losses have been given out. Unofficial French reports estimate the French losses at Verdun at 40,000. Berlin reports place the French losses at 70,000 to 80,000. Paris estimates the German losses at 100,000 to 150,000. Berlin declares the German sacrifice of men has been comparatively small, but names no number. Judging from the number of men engaged, the duration of the struggle, and the circumstances surrounding the battle it is surmised that the losses are too appalling to be made public at this time. Smaller activities have taken place along the French front, and between the British and Germans' but nothing approaching the Verdun struggle in magnitude. [See current volume, page 227.]

Little is reported on the Russian front, either in the Riga-Dvinsk region or in Galicia. The weather is such that extensive military operations are impracticable. Nothing of importance is reported from the Balkans. There are rumors of the preparation of a move by the Allies when the weather is settled, from Saloniki and Avlona, for which 500,000 men are said to be available. It is stated with increasing assurance that Roumania and possibly Greece will join the Allies this coming spring. Continued activity is reported on the Austro-Italian front; but no events of importance have been reported. Severe weather is said to delay general movements. Germany declared war on Portugal on the 8th. Portugal's estimated forces number 300,000 to 400,000 men, and one battleship, five protected cruisers, and thirty smaller vessels. German and Portuguese East Africa join.

Russia continues her advance in Armenia, and in Persia. Having command of the Black Sea she has landed troops east of Trebizond for an attack on that city; but this movement awaits the complete cleaning up of all the Turkish territory to the east. In Persia the Russian forces have advanced to Cola, fifty miles from the Persian boundary, where they cut the line over

which the Germans have been sending supplies of arms to Persia. The capture of Kirind brings the Russians within 125 miles of Bagdad. An attack by the British relieving expedition ascending the Tigris River, on the Turks besieging the forces at Kut-el-Amara, met with defeat.

The submarine war has not assumed as yet any material importance. Germany protests her right and intention of torpedoing without warning belligerent merchantmen carrying defensive armament. The Washington Administration stands by the American right to travel on such ships. It is not known whether the absence of overt acts by Germany is due to the continued negotiations, or to the inability up to this time to strike a liner.

Berlin reports that unofficial estimates place the total French loss of men since the beginning of the war at 800,000 dead, 1,400,000 wounded, and 300,000 missing. The total loss of the British to date is given as 600,000. According to British tabulation of the German casualty lists, the German losses since the beginning of the war amount to 2,667,372.

The British campaign in German East Africa, the only remaining German colony, is making headway. Lieutenant General Jan Christian Smuts of South Africa reports the capture of Taveta and Salaita. As Portuguese East Africa lies immediately south of German East Africa its forces will co-operate with the British against the German forces.

NEWS NOTES

—Vermont voted on March 7 against statewide prohibition by a vote of 32,110 to 18,530, and in favor of direct primaries by 24,937 to 20,968.

—The Kentucky State Senate passed the suffrage bill on March 8, giving women the right to vote on all State issues. The House has still to act.

—More than 400,000 passengers crossed the Atlantic between American and European ports last year. Belligerent vessels carried 250,000 and neutral ships 150,000.

—A Conference of Texas Singletaxers has been called by the Texas League for Taxation of Land Values to meet on March 16 and 17 at the Adolphus Hotel, Dallas.

—Louis Wallis, who has just closed a week's speaking engagements in Baltimore, is now filling engagements in New York City, Newark, New Haven and other Eastern points.

—The United States Supreme Court on March 6 upheld the validity of the state laws of Washington and Florida imposing heavy and, in some cases, prohibitive taxes on trading stamps.

—Both branches of the Maryland legislature passed on March 9 a bill conferring local option on the liquor question on Baltimore and some other localities mentioned, but applying prohibition elsewhere.

—The Alberta woman suffrage bill passed its second reading on March 1, with only one dissenting vote. This bill will give the women all the political rights and privileges enjoyed by the men. [See current volume, page 132.]

—Henry Gassaway Davis, former United States Senator from West Virginia, and Vice-Presidential candidate with Alton B. Parker on the Democratic ticket in 1904, died in Washington, on the 11th, at the age of 93. Senator Davis' fortune is estimated at \$30,000,000.

—The president of the Porto Rico Federation of Labor cables from San Juan to President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor accounts of police brutality in killing, wounding and clubbing agricultural strikers at Arecibo, and urges a Congressional investigation into the sugar industries on the island.

—The result of the national referendum of the Socialist party was announced on March 12. Allan L. Benson of New York was nominated for President. He received 16,639 votes, as against 12,264 for James H. Maurer of Pennsylvania, and 3,495 for Arthur Lee Sueur of Kansas. For Vice President, George H. Kirkpatrick was nominated over Kate O'Hare by a vote of 20,607 to 11,388.

—Manitoba Province approved the provincial temperance act on the 13th by a vote of two to one. The act, which goes into effect May 31, allows liquor to be imported for individual use, and its manufacture within the province is permitted for export. Winnipeg gave the "drys" a majority of 4,468, out of a vote of 23,876. [See vol. xviii, p. 957; current volume, page 156.]

—The first statewide preferential primary in Indiana took place on March 7. Without opposition the Republicans endorsed Ex-Vice President Fairbanks for President, and the Democrats, President Wilson. For the governorship, Congressman John A. M. Adair, organization candidate, received the Democratic nomination over Joel Clore, Progressive. James P. Goodrich secured the Republican nomination. Senator John Kern was renominated by the Democrats. No Republican senatorial candidate received a clear majority, so the state convention must choose between Harry New and James Watson.

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see current volume, page 182) for the seven months ending January, 1916, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for January, 1916, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	\$2,181,312,322	\$1,096,979,173	\$1,084,333,149*
Gold	34,056,908	322,038,386	287,981,478†
Silver	33,385,543	20,594,297	12,791,246*

Total\$2,248,754,773 \$1,439,611,856 \$ 809,142,917*
*Expt. †Imp.

The exports of merchandise for January, 1915, the eighteenth month of the war, were \$335,535,303, as compared with \$267,879,313 in January, 1915, and \$204,066,603 in 1914. The imports for January, 1916, were \$184,192,299, as compared with \$122,148,317 in January, 1915, and \$154,742,923 in 1914.

PRESS OPINIONS

Plenty of Room.

Greenfield Bulletin (Pittsburgh) March 9.—If we divide the State of Illinois in equal parts, one part to every human being on earth each one will have 50x100 feet of ground or enough on which to live. This is not so small as it appears, for if we provide for the family unit as people really live, instead of the individual unit, we get a plot of land for each family 50x500 feet. Allowing that this is not enough for the family and the goat and the cat, we will give every human being an allotment ten times that size. The human race would then inhabit the eight States of Illinois, Arkansas, Florida, Iowa, Arizona, Michigan and Nevada, or one-eighth of the United States. By dividing all of the United States every human being would have about eight times as much land as he would need. To allow still more liberally on account of mountains and other areas that man knows not yet how to use; let us throw in Canada for good measure. By an equal division of Canada and United States among the families now living on earth, each family would have more land than they could possibly work. And it would leave the rest of the earth without a living soul. So if anyone tells you that wars are necessary to make room—tell him he is a hot air artist and a poor one at that.



What's the Constitution Between Militarists?

Appeal to Reason (Girard, Kans.), March 11.—We notice that the saber-rattling militarists of this country do not admit when they argue for compulsory military service that the United States Constitution makes the scheme an utter impossibility. The meaning of the Thirteenth Amendment is unmistakable. The article, which we quote, plainly says that involuntary servitude cannot exist in this country. What is compulsory military service if not involuntary servitude? We cannot see how these war-mad jingoes can hope to actualize this plan. The Thirteenth Amendment follows:

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

This amendment was proclaimed on February 1, 1865. Since then, no man has been forced against his will, to serve in the United States army or navy. And yet, in spite of this amendment in our Constitution, the jingoes want to enforce compulsory military service. These lords of munitions are always talking about patriotism, but at the same time they strive to undermine a great principle which is intended to protect persons from involuntary servitude. These jingoes are always talking about the majesty of the law—at the same time they seem to have contempt for their own Constitution.



Has the Same Money Paid for the Villa Raid?

New York Call, March 9.—Felix Diaz is starting another revolution in Mexico. It is reported—and not denied, so far as we know—that Diaz has \$10-

000,000 back of him, and that this money was furnished or subscribed in the United States. If this isn't conspiracy in America to start a revolution in Mexico, then what could it be called? Down in Texas J. M. Rangel is in prison for life, convicted on a "conspiracy" charge. It was charged that he "conspired" to go into Mexico and "make trouble," or something like that. Rangel had no money, and probably not many friends. Diaz has millions, and evidently very powerful friends. Rangel is in a cell. Diaz is free.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE GUN MAKER AT THE GATES.

Reprinted from *The Public* of December 27, 1902.

"'Tis a famous arrival we have today,"
Said good St. Peter, so worn and gray,
Guarding the gates of the Golden Way.
"A maker of guns; aye, this I know,
But good to his credit there stands below.
I would not err, with a soul at stake;
On the doubt, perchance, some light may break
If I summon my holy colleagues up
And ask for advice in this case of Krupp."

The good saint, then, so sorely tried,
Hailed a courier fair to his aged side.
"Speed away, my son, to the high saints all,
And bid them in haste to our Council Hall."

Spirits celestial, as old as time,
Feared and adored over many a clime;
Angels of mercy and angels of wrath,
Angels that brighten and darken man's path,
Punish the cruel, deliver the weak,
Cut down the tyrant and raise up the meek;
Saints of both sexes—all deathless of name—
In flying battalions of splendor came.
Pen dare not picture the radiant sight
Of that heavenly throng, of that temple of light,
When the sainted seraphs in stoles of snow,
Heavy with cares of the race below,
Folded their wings in the jasper hall
In answer to Peter's unwonted call.

The old saint rose; amid silence dread
All hung on the words as he slowly said:
"My holy comrades, there waits at the gate
A soul of much earthly note; but his fate
Doth baffle my deep and learned ken,
Tho' seldom a task to pass judgment on men.
A gunmaker he, monster weapons of strife;
And yet, he asserts, there was much in his life,
Such as bountiful gifts to the poor of his kind,
That calls for a verdict to mercy inclined.
Your wisdom I crave—what you think, on the whole,
Should be done with this gunmaker's vexing soul?"

After brief silence the Angel of War,
Clanking his spear on the jasper floor,
Spoke with his fierce eyes all aflame:
"'Tis clear to my mind, and such now my claim,

That this noble soul from the land of the Rhine,
By the ponderous gifts he has placed on my shrine,
By the engines of glorious slaughter he framed
For the conduct of war, by which races are tamed
In one-tenth the time when my mission began,
Deserves highest honors from heaven and man.
Bethink ye of all the improvements in strife
That lend such renown to the strenuous life!
Great battles, so-called in my primitive days,
Are but skirmishes now, and I turn with amaze
From war toys that once passed for dangerous blades,
To weapons that now hurl below to the shades
Whole armies of men in magnificent crash.
All praise to Herr Krupp! Is there angel would dash
The crown from his brow? Let him enter and rest—
His labors well done—in abodes of the blest."

So ended the War Saint. Then midway the throng,
Was heard a soft voice, clear and sweet as a song.
'Twas the Angel of Peace, with a dove on her breast,
Asleep in the warmth of his balmy nest.
"It ne'er will be thought," said this Angel so mild,
"That passion, and carnage, and misery wild
Can find a defense in my heart. I abhor
The slaughter, the grief and the wreckage of war—
All its harvests of death, and its embers and tears.
And a blood trail that leads down the desolate years.
Is a partner in guilt for this river of woe,
Not the maker of arms that augment its flow?
But, strangely to me a new claim has been made,
(>'Tis echoed by churchmen in robes arrayed),
That gunmakers now, with their missiles of death,
Do the carnage check. The sirocco's breath
Is held in leash by a sense of dread
That fills the nations, and sends widespread
So ominous fears of a wrath unchained,
That Peace and its blessings are best attained.
The menace of havoc impending all
Keeps passion fettered; and, like a wall,
The direful cannon frowns down today
"Twixt Greed and Battle, while Peace holds sway.
If years to come may this vintage show
(I fain would deal justly with friend and foe),
Let the gunmaker's soul stay without the walls
Till this claim can be proven or true or false."

Saint Peter arose on his trembling knees
"Are there others to speak?" He was ill at ease.
In his troubled mien, and his anxious face
Some saintly doubts it was plain to trace.
"Are ye ready to vote? Shall we order the poll?
What shall be done with the gunmaker's soul?"

Silence again, like a ghostly pall,
Fell on the saints in that dazzling hall;
Till over the throng in sepulchral tone,
There rolled these words from a frozen zone:
"Not yet, Saint Peter! Not yet the poll—
I would be heard on this gunmaker's soul!"
'Twas the voice so deep, so cold, so thin,
Of the gloomy Reaper who "gathers them in."
All knew his name and his sweep of power—
This Angel with face "like an asphodel flower,"
His bony feet with nepenthe shod,
As over the jasper aisles he trod.
"Ye know me well," said the Angel of Death,

As the words came borne on his icy breath,
 "Hated and feared by the sons of earth,
 Savage and sage, from the hour of birth.
 The King of Terrors they call me there;
 They link my summons with grim despair;
 And the tombs they build to their loved and dead
 Embalm my name as the name they dread.
 This hate is the burden of half their song;
 Poor, blinded souls! They do me wrong.
 Could they look in my heart they would find no trace
 Of anger and wrath for the human race.
 They little dream of the tears I weep
 When I lay their babes and youth to sleep;
 When pestilence stalks, or when famine holds
 Their millions clutched in its fatal folds.
 My heart is sore when floods sweep down,
 Or a hell-blast breaks from the crater's crown.
 I would that all mortals might smile and live
 Till withered age its own respite give,
 And I come to close their eyelids down—
 My painless rest their toil-earned crown.
 This may not be; under God's fixed reign,
 Disease and disaster are my domain.
 This yoke I bear. But my soul rebels
 At the man-made burden of shot and shells.
 One billion slain by the hand of war
 From the dawn of time—is the damning score.
 And this my work? 'Tis a loathsome lie!
 I wield no weapons to make men die.
 For tortured mercy, in wrath I rise
 To hurl my protests from the skies!
 Doth our Sister of Peace beguile her heart
 With carnage checked by the gunman's art?
 Vain, vain her dream of a balmy sleep
 When bristling ramparts the vigil keep;
 Hell shall be heaven, and north be south
 Ere Peace doves nest in the cannon's mouth!
 Hear, then, Saint Peter, my prayer to thee:
 This gunmaker's soul I would take with me;
 Day and night at my side to be.
 Close in my lead he shall follow fast,
 Where men go down in the wild war blast,
 To bend o'er the dying, to count the dead,
 To measure the tears for the fallen shed;
 Gaze on the desert of long, black fields,
 And to the shell-torn homes that his life work yields
 I demand his soul! It is mine I say,
 To have and to use till the Judgment Day!"

There came a hush as of Death's own spell,
 Till these words from the lips of St. Peter fell:
 "Take thou yon soul! Till the day of doom,
 Age upon age, through the aisles of gloom,
 On the fens of death, let him stand by thee,
 Counting war's harvest on land and sea.
 The soul is thine till we ask it again."
 And there rose from the angels a loud Amen.

—Samuel P. Butler.



A "PEACEFUL" NAVY.

"W. F." in *New York Times*.

"The recent efforts of certain prominent men to evoke a 'peaceful navy' remind me of a story of Johnny Smithers. Said Johnny to his paternal relative one day:

"Papa, what is a peaceful navy?"

"A peaceful navy, my boy, is a navy that is large and powerful enough to keep peace," answered Smithers, Senior.

"How can it keep peace, papa?"

"By intimidating or subduing other navies."

"Should the United States have a peaceful navy?"

"Most certainly, Johnny."

"Should Great Britain have a peaceful navy?"

"Smithers, Senior, hesitated. 'Er-r, say, Johnny, don't you want to go and play with your new aeroplane?"

"No, papa. Should Great Britain have a peaceful navy?"

"Well—yes, I suppose so."

"Should every nation have a peaceful navy?"

"Look, Johnny, those boys are having lots of fun over there. Run along and play with them."

"Guess I don't want to go out now, papa. Should every nation have a peaceful navy?"

"You're not old enough to understand these things, my boy," said the elder philosopher. "Don't bother me."

"Well, papa, if another navy should attack our navy and we should subdue it, wouldn't that be keeping peace?"

"Yes."

"And if the other navy was larger and powerfuller and was to subdue ours, wouldn't that be keeping peace?"

"Mr. Smithers quite disapproved of encouraging inquisitiveness in children, so he sternly bade Johnny be silent.

"The next day Johnny proudly announced to his father that he had kept peace with Jimmy Jones. 'How was that, my son?' asked the parent, scrutinizing a dark crescent under the youngster's eye.

"Well," said Johnny, "I'm bigger and powerfuller than him, so I tried to intimidate him first, but he hit me and then I just subdued him."



LINCOLN ON PREPAREDNESS.

Extract from speech of Abraham Lincoln, delivered while a member of the Legislature of Illinois, before the Young Men's Lyceum at Springfield, on January 27, 1837. See Trevelyan's "Portrait Life of Lincoln."

At what point shall we expect the approach of danger? By what means shall we fortify against it? Shall we expect some trans-Atlantic military giant to step the ocean and crush us at a blow? Never! All the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa combined, with all the treasure of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest, with a Bonaparte for a commander, could not by force take a drink from the Ohio or make a track on the Blue Ridge in a trial of a thousand years.

At what point is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer, if it ever reach us, it must

spring up amongst us; it cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of free men, we must live through all time, or die by suicide.



FORD'S EXPEDITION TO HOLLAND

Editorial in World Chronicle (The Hague, Holland), January 15, 1916. Translated for The Public by Mrs. Alice Park, delegate to The Hague Peace Congress of 1913, and member of Ford Peace Expedition.

Whatever your feelings may be about Ford and the Ford expedition, undoubtedly you are bound to say, "give them a chance." We were stunned with amazement and horror when millions of Europeans began to slaughter each other. But we have come to the point of accepting even the most atrocious facts, ranging them under the heading of "warfare necessities." We have come to this, not because we neutrals judged this war good or necessary, but simply because we have learned to submit to the force of millions.

Since the first months of the war "the war spirit" has long subsided. Men continue fighting in the consciousness of fulfilling a duty that unfulfilled would mean disaster for the country they are fighting for.

And here in Holland men and women have come together with their idealism and money. They will endeavor to raise the cry of their united voices so high that it will be heard in the end, above the din of thousands of guns. They are all idealists, utopians even, if you like, but their aim is pure. They did not enter upon this campaign for the sake of "war profits," nor to win an easy glory with receptions and speeches.

He who thinks the continuance of the war a salvation for humanity, must be against this expedition. But he who judges it unnecessary to continue to destroy so much human happiness and so many human lives, let him be honest enough to give Ford and his followers a chance. Their fight is the fight of one against thousands. Daily we listen to the voices of the belligerents in their communications delivered through the press. Let us also listen to Ford and think about his plans for peace and then pronounce judgment.

BOOKS

AN ANTI-CLIMAX.

The World Set Free. By H. G. Wells. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. Price \$1.35 net.

The first sixty-five pages are most inspiring and eloquent. They are really a condensed History of Civilization vivifying the tremendous and fundamental changes in the nature of mankind.

The rest of the book is practically rubbish, revolving around the discovery of a forever-exploding bomb. The account of the despairing restoration of peace impresses one with the idea that Wells was as tired of the story as the reader gets.

BOLTON HALL.



A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY

The Ego Book. By Vance Thompson. Published by E. F. Dutton Co., New York. Price \$1.00 net.

A railroad man on the N. & W. who owns his home and has a husky family, each year takes a ten-day vacation, spending the time applying for jobs, and, being successful, refusing them. This he does to solace his soul for the time when, down and out, seedy and hungry, he tramped from place to place as one of the unemployed, finally becoming a spiritless tramp. Now, with body well fed and clothed, housing an independent spirit, he gets what he does not need, because he mirrors an asset that the employer requires. The moral of which is that the efficiency of the Ego is at its maximum when the physical man is satisfied.

Mr. Thompson advocates the cult of the Ego in no Nietzschean sense. His essay is of an introspective, sympathetic brand, at once delicate and alluring. One places it with the "Reveries of a Bachelor" or Bolton Hall's "Game of Life," and it is as well worth reading and owning as these. But men who have experienced the shriveling of the ego in a case of "no job and ten cents cash at 7 p. m. in a strange town" know that the conscious and permanent subject of all psychical experiences can be best cultivated when the physical subject is trim and comfortable. Wherefore, when we have become wise enough to fight for Preparedness against Poverty, and to adopt a system that will enable men to satisfy their wants, they will then, and not before then, feel the need of higher objects in life, and the Ego will assert itself in no uncertain terms; but until then, we must accept and expect in the average man what H. G. Wells' gentle Mr. Polly termed "obsequious deferentiality."

CHAS. J. FINGER.

WHY?

Socialism and War. By Louis B. Boudin. Published by The New Review Publishing Co., New York. Price \$1.00 net.

Socialist theories about the responsibility for the war in Europe are as numerous as the stars that shine, and as varied as the products of the Heinz factory. "The Czar began this war," says the Forward; "No, it was the Kaiser," shouts Charles Edward Russell; "Guess again, Rothschild is to blame," explains Wanhope; "Not so," say the German Socialists, "Sir Edward Grey did it"; "You're all wrong," comes from a group of American Socialists. "The entire responsibil-

ity lies with the German Socialists, who refused to support Liebknecht."

Comrade Boudin has a theory all his own. Neither King nor Kaiser is to blame, neither financier nor traitor agitator.

I do not hesitate to say that the most important cause—that cause which gives it its character and which may therefore be regarded, speaking generally, as the true cause of the war—is the fact that since the beginning of this century Germany has become the largest producer of iron and steel in the world.

Fantastic, is it? Not by a long shot! Iron and steel are used in the construction of railroads. To build these railroads foreign concessions must be obtained from the governments owning the foreign lands. The more land the government owns the more concessions for the capitalists. So the nations, urged by the capitalists, join in a wild scramble for more territory, and stop at nothing to get it, not even organized murder.

This is only another way of saying that Privilege is the cause of war. But it seems to me that the theory is somewhat inadequate. It deals with only one phase of the question. The desire for profits by "civilizing the heathen" may explain the willingness of the capitalists to urge war. But why are the workers ready to accept it? Why did the British workingman throw his cap and shout "hurrah" for the Boer war? Why was America enthusiastic for the Spanish-American war? Why are the Canadians and Australasians voluntarily fighting the Germans? Why are thousands of Americans crossing the border and joining the Canadian forces? Why, but a short while ago, did Americans join in Plutocracy's cry "On to Mexico City"? The author is strangely silent on this phase, but perhaps he is planning to explain it in a later book. HYMAN LEVINE.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

A Christmas Cantata. By Charles Erskine Scott Wood, Portland, Ore. 1915.

What the Catholic Church Has Done to Mexico. By Dr. A. Paganel, Mexico, D. F.

Prisoners' Mail. By J. J. Sanders, Parole Clerk, Arizona State Prison, Florence, Ariz.

Selling Munitions of War. Debate Bulletin, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla. 1915.

War and the Progress of Society. By I. W. Howerth. Reprinted from the Popular Science Monthly, August, 1915.

The Cleveland Railway Company, Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended December 31, 1915. Leader-News Bldg., Cleveland, O.

A League of Nations. By J. A. Hobson. Published by the Union of Democratic Control, 37 Norfolk St., Strand, London, W. C. 1915. Price, one penny.

Peace Man or War Man. By Will Price. Published by the Peace Section of the Committee on Philanthropic Labor, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1915.

Mothers' Pension Legislation in New York and Other States. By William E. Hannan. Bulletin No. 614, of the University of the State of New York, Albany, N. Y. 1916.

The Modern Soldier Cannot Be Modern a Day. By Henry Breckinridge, Assistant Secretary of War. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1915.

Unemployment Insurance for Massachusetts. Draft of an Act, with an Introduction and Notes. Published by the Massachusetts Committee on Unemployment, 75 State St., Boston. 1916.

Preparedness; The Military and the American Programmes. By William I. Hull, Swarthmore College. Published by the Church Peace Union, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City. 1916.

Land, Labour and Taxation After the War. By Frederick Verinder. Published by the English League for the Taxation of Land Values, 376 Strand, London, W. C. 1915. Price, one penny.

The Agrarian Law of Yucatan. By Salvador Alvarado, Governor and Military Commander of the State. Published by the Latin-American News Asso., 1400 Broadway, New York City. 1916.

Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labor for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1915. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1915.

LOWER PRICES

Eggs, Apples and Pecans

How to buy eggs cheap. Make up an order of above articles to weigh 50 lbs. Eggs 23c, Apples 3½c a lb., Pecans 13¼c, delivered your home, if you live within 500 miles of Glasgow, Mo. Points over 500 miles, except west of Denver, Eggs 25c, Apples 5c, Pecans 15c. Eggs weigh 1½ lbs. to the dozen. Write for delivered prices on smaller quantities. All goods of best quality.—R. C. Marr, Glasgow, Mo.

To the Professor:

A number of University professors are including The Public in collateral reading.

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I seen a feller in town one day,
An' he was a furriner, bent and gray.
An' I sez, sez I to myself, sez I,
I wonders jest how I would feel if I
Was the other feller a journeyin' by.
Fer I knew that he hadn't a thing to say
Regardin' his place of nativity,
Or on this or the other side of the sea,
Or a comin' into the world at all.
An' I felt like givin' the feller a call,
An' a sayin' to him that if I could be he
It might be perhaps an improvement on me.

I seen a feller a workin' his trade,
An' his skin was as black as the ace o' spades.
An' I sez, sez I to myself, sez I,
He is in the world a journeyin' by,
An' he speaks of himself jest as I does, as I.
An' I knew that his color was made as 'twas made,
An' he hadn't no choice as to color of skin,
Or of birth place or race or the hue of his kin,
Or a comin' into the world at all.
An' I felt like givin' the feller a call,
An' a sayin' Hello! an' a cheer word or two,
To help him along on the journey through.

I seen a feller of darkish tan,
An' he was a regular Musselman man.
An' I sez, sez I to myself, sez I,
If I was that feller and he was I
I'd be carryin' his religion by.
Fer I knew that a feller learns jest as he can,
An' he hadn't no choice of persuasion to be
Instilled into him at his mother's knee,
Or a comin' into the world at all.
An' I felt like givin' the feller a call,
An' a sayin' to him, I likes this song—
We are brothers all as we journey along.

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