

The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

A Personal Word

Louis F. Post

Alice Thacher Post

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Alice Thacher Post

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Twentieth Year.

A Great Novel of War and Militarism

"A STRONG MAN'S HOUSE"

By Francis Neilson

Member of Parliament, January, 1910--December, 1915

A strong story conceived in fervor for disarmament, brother, and peace.—*The World*, New York.

A powerful novel written with artistry. Here is no preaching by a man with a message but without an art. Mr. Neilson is an artist first. This complex family life, with its war reflexes, is a difficult situation for the writer to handle and a novice might easily have made a failure of the web, but Mr. Neilson's is a master hand, and his characters are real, pulsating human beings who act in a convincing manner.—*William J. Black*, *The Detroit Journal*.

One of the best books having as its foundation the present world imbroglio.—*Sun*, Pittsburgh.

This is a story from the inside charged with local color. It could not have been written except by one who knows the so-called favored side of English life. He knows those who live in mansions, have servants and go riding with the hounds. It is a book that touches most of the heresies, does not hesitate to run into theological as well as political hot questions. "A Strong Man's House" is a strong man's book and will give strength to the reader.—*Jenkin Lloyd Jones*, in *Unity*.

One of the most instructive novels which have resulted from the European war.—*Chronicle*, San Francisco.

A work of art. As a study in the psychology of the typically prosperous man under present social and economic conditions, this character sketch is invaluable. The thrilling interest of the story holds the reader's attention from cover to cover, and that incidentally many glimpses of the rural life of England with which the author is familiar illuminate its pages.—*Alex. Mackendrick*, *THE PUBLIC*.

The novel is one of superb character drawing and tense situations, filled with drama. The book is the work of a man who feels deeply and sees keenly, and who can put his emotions and his intelligence into his fiction.—*Bookseller*, New York.

I do not know whether or not it will prove one of the best sellers of the season. It deserves to be such. While this is one of the most fascinating stories in the deluge of war literature, it is more than a story. It is that which should be studied by the masters in all lands. Read it. You may not sleep the night you finish the book but God knows a few sleepless nights are better than the long sleep of a shell-swept trench and a blood sodden battlefield.—*Horace H. Herr*, *The Indiana Forum*.

Through it are there remains inalienable the right of the individual to be gained by his own conscience to be master of himself.—*Joseph Dana Miller*, *The Single Tax Review*.

A highly creditable piece of writing, deft in its portraiture of current English types, convincing in its psychology, and marked by a style that is never slothful, tedious, or staccato. It possesses a theme that is thoughtful and engaging, treated in a sanely emotional manner.—*Burton Roscoe*, in *The Chicago Tribune*.

As clever a piece of work as one often sees.—*Hawk-Eye*, *Burlington*.

"A Strong Man's House" is something different from all the novels of the war that have come off the presses. It is a picture of England in war time laid on a big canvas with bold strokes.—*Globe*, Boston.

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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

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EDITORIAL

It is to be hoped that there is no truth in the report that Democratic leaders in Congress are planning to provide for the prospective deficit in 1918 revenue by putting a duty on coffee and tea, and increasing the tariff on other articles. How can the Democratic party claim to be interested in reducing the cost of living if it deliberately utilizes its power to increase it? What claim has a Congressman upon democratic support, who votes for more taxes on consumption while a shred of predatory privilege remains untaxed?

S. D.

* * *

The Administration appears to have committed two unpardonable offences in its peace move. The first was in not taking into its confidence those editors who did their utmost to defeat the President for re-election.

The second was to make any reference regarding war or peace to other neutral nations. One may infer that Ambassadors and Ministers devote their time to the discussion of esoteric philosophy and the fourth dimension of space while the nations of a continent are engaged in mutual destruction. It has long been evident that nothing would be so embarrassing to these critics as to have the President agree with them.

S. C.

* * *

In speaking of the pending Webb Bill, which is designed to put American traders on an equal footing with foreign traders by permitting them to combine in trade agreements, a contemporary calls attention to the possibility of a lower price for goods sold in a foreign country than for the same goods sold in this country, and asks: "How will the American consumer look upon an economic policy which furnishes identical goods to the benighted heathen at a lower price than to him?" That question may be answered, Yankee like, by asking another: How has the American consumer liked an economic policy that furnishes identical goods to the benighted heathen at a lower price than to him? There is nothing new about this. Tariff protected industries in the United States claim that they cannot operate in this country without protection from lower priced foreign goods, yet at the same time they export their goods to foreign countries where they are subjected to the competition they pretend they are unable to meet in this country. Trade catalogues show lower prices for export, and the experience of travelers who buy American goods abroad confirms them. Such legislation as the Webb Bill may be a step in enabling American exporters to build up foreign trade, but trade and industry will never attain to natural proportions until all restrictive laws have been repealed. International trade should be as free as inter-State trade, and all taxes should be removed from industry and placed upon land values.

S. C.

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It is not necessary to inform Secretary Newton D. Baker that those who own the United States and those who rent parts of it or trespass upon it, have little community of interest or of country. As a pupil of Tom L. Johnson, Secretary Baker learned that some time ago. So when he told a Senatorial committee that common interest in a common country justifies conscription, he based his justification on an assumption which he knows to be at variance with actual conditions. He may not have intended to convey the idea, but his remark implies that until the common right of citizens to the country has been legally recognized, the duty of common defense remains a debatable proposition.

S. D.

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According to President Marcus M. Marks of the Borough of Manhattan, the experiment of public markets in New York City was killed by Comptroller Prendergast, who, Mr. Marks charges, insisted on an exorbitant rental for the municipally owned land on which the markets were conducted. Unfortunately, public markets are not the only industry that has been killed in that way, and Comptroller Prendergast might easily refer President Marks to time-honored precedents for his action. Private landowners have long been known to make exorbitant demands that have discouraged and killed industry and enterprise. But for this, production would not have been checked to the extent of creating the high cost of living which the public markets were intended to combat. Comptroller Prendergast may have taken seriously the editorials in defense of landlordism in New York's daily papers and reasoned, logically enough, that the same reasoning must apply where the city is a landlord.

S. D.

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It is a poor country indeed that cannot present a plan for compulsory military service. Persons who balk at the universal service of Germany, France, or Russia, may turn to the Swiss plan, or even to the Argentine plan. The latter appears to have attracted our military men, and is reported to be the basis of a universal service bill now being drafted by a special committee of the army general staff. Surely these men are reckoning without their host. It is inconceivable that the people of this country who have treasured above all things their freedom of

person should surrender it at this late day. If this precious heritage be given up what would be left to distinguish American ideals from those of any other country? And while army officers plan to seize the youth at eighteen years of age, well-meaning citizens are preparing to enroll the young children while yet at school. This is the worst feature that the pacifists will have to meet. Universal military service propaganda carries with it its own antidote in the shape of a natural antipathy for compulsion. But military training in the public schools is made less objectionable in some States at least—as in Illinois—by making it voluntary. This will be hard to meet; for, so long as it is voluntary every effort will be put forth to attract the children, and its out-of-door life will be as fascinating to the child nature as the Boy Scout movement has been. Pacifists should see to it that every effort is made to keep all military training on a voluntary basis. They should discourage the military spirit as much as possible; and should make voluntary service the minimum concession.

S. C.

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It may be cruel to remind the men over 45, whose age is keeping them out of employment, that the unjust economic system to which they owe their plight might long ago have been abolished had more of them participated during their youth in movements for fundamental reform. But it is not yet too late to take up this neglected work. They may help at least to save their children from the same fate. Moreover, let it be noted that their plight is a warning to the young, who overlook the need of taking part in the fight against Privilege. Unless monopolization of opportunities be ended the young workers of to-day are doomed within a few years to be also thrown upon the scrapheap, as "too old." Not even thrift can save more than a few from such a fate. No amount of industry and economy can be helpful to the great majority, so long as workers outnumber jobs. The only way to assure all workers against want and dependence in old age is to abolish the privileges upon which monopoly rests. The young man who fails to realize that, neglects the opportunity of a lifetime.

S. D.

* * *

About two years ago the railroad corporations demanded the right to increase freight rates five per cent. If that increase were al-

lowed, they promised, needed improvements in transportation facilities would be made. Every newspaper and periodical subject to railroad influence joined in the demand that the roads be given what they asked, and painted in glowing colors the splendid services the public would get in consequence. The increase was granted. But the promised improvements are still lacking. Whatever change has occurred has been in the opposite direction. There is a shortage of freight cars, causing a scarcity of coal and of other commodities. How serious this shortage is appears from a circular of the National Fertilizer Association signed by its president, Horace Bowker. The circular states:

On September 1 there was a car shortage in the United States of 19,000; October 1, 60,000; November 1, 108,000; December 1, approximately 150,000, with the probability that shipping conditions will continue to become worse from week to week. Nearly 90 per cent of the 4,500,000 tons of fertilizers used by farmers in the spring season has in the past year been congested in a shipping season of just about six to eight weeks' length.

And on account of this shortage farmers had to curtail crops. Now the railroads are asking permission to increase rates again. Why should their request receive any consideration in view of unkept promises. S. D.

President Wilson's Peace Note.

It was to be expected that the President's note to the belligerent countries would lead to sharp criticism from some, and doubtful appreciation from others, with a wide range of divergent comment from both neutrals and belligerents. This conflict of emotions is explained by the fact that diplomacy is in reality the largest factor in the war; and when the United States Government presumed to resort to diplomatic interference, it was in a way equivalent to armed intervention. That this country had the right as a suffering neutral to make the proposal that the belligerents define their position, and state the terms upon which they were willing to conclude peace, must be evident. Whether it was done at the proper moment may be debated as a matter of opinion that will be decided according as the action meets with success or failure. Immediate judgment is clouded by the bias of the critics.

The mass of public sentiment in this country appears to favor the Entente Allies, and the cause for which they are supposed to be

fighting; but the horrors of the war, the danger of its spreading, and the indefiniteness of its duration lead many to welcome a resort to diplomacy now who would have resisted it a few weeks ago. The war has not proceeded as any one expected. The quick, decisive campaign that was anticipated by the Germans when they made their drive through neutral territory to the gates of Paris—which they expected to take without delay, and then swing back and crush Russia—failed utterly. Likewise has the gathering of a force among the Entente Powers sufficient to overwhelm Germany proven futile. Nor is the standing of the respective belligerents such that any one is warranted in predicting the outcome of the present struggle.

Germany has scored technical successes, and has won individual and isolated victories, but the Allies have the advantage of men and material. This preponderance of resources would in all probability enable them in time to wear out their opponents; but is it, all things considered, the best thing to do? Is the game worth the candle? Granted that another year of war, and the sacrifice of several million men, would enable the Allies to carry the war to a finish, and to dictate terms of peace, the stupendous cost causes many to waver in their choice of a dictated and a negotiated peace. The world in fact is coming to the state of mind that would hang a man for a single murder, but would treat him as a prisoner of war if taken for leading a revolt. The bitter resentment with which Germany's defiance of international law was greeted has been succeeded by a grudging admiration for her marvelous achievements. The cost of defeating such a power staggers the imagination. And it may be a question, even from the Allies' point of view, whether such a defeat is desirable.

Should the Central Powers be overwhelmed the relative position of the several countries in Europe might be less desirable from the Entente point of view than it was before the war began. For, unless disarmament should follow, and the war spirit wane, Russia might take the place hitherto occupied by Germany. Russia not only has a larger population than any of the other nations, but her natural resources make her more self-sustaining.

There would be no advantage in exchanging a dictator in Berlin for a dictator in Petrograd. To crush Germany now, and dismember her territory, with a trade war following, would lead inevitably to further trouble. Whereas, if peace be made by mutual concession, with an honest effort to adjust conflicting interests, and with a freedom that unites, rather than restrictions that separate nations, it will have better and more lasting results. Such freedom means the abolition of tariffs and the neutralizing of canals and straits, such as Suez, Kiel, Panama, Gibraltar, and the Dardanelles. It is only upon the broadest liberty and the widest justice that peace can find a real foundation.

S. C.

Getting Back the Land.

How the back-to-the-land advocates in Germany have learned from experience the evil and fallacy of private appropriation of unearned increment is shown by the Berlin representative of the Chicago Staats-Zeitung in its issue of December 24:

East Prussia is the least densely populated province in Germany, yet nearly ten per cent of the population migrated to the cities during a single decade. In order to check this movement, a Land Society was formed in 1900 with the purpose of buying up large estates and dividing them into small holdings. These small farms were sold on easy terms to farmer lads who had no land of their own and no other means of securing any. Freiherr von Gayl, the president of the Land Society, in speaking of his experiences said to me: "Our capital, which now amounts to about six million marks has been converted to usury. We settled 1,200 colonists on 27,000 acres of land. We devoted our exertions to the attempt at establishing a permanent population. But with what result? Within the last few years over fifteen per cent sold their land at a profit and moved out. It amounts to this: the people who in a certain sense, were handed a present by our society, converted this gift to cash inside of a few years and then left for other parts. Whoever, like myself, has had the honor of being at the head of a similar organization for ten years, is forced to the conclusion, first or last, that our system of land tenure must be reformed.

The difficulty with this colonization scheme lay in the fact that as soon as several large estates had been cut up into small farms and a number of families were living on land where only one family had been before, the price of the land was greatly advanced and the colonists frequently yielded to the temptation of taking their profit in the land increase rather than remaining upon it as farmers.

But Freiherr von Gayl is not like some American reformers who will not allow experience to disturb their advocacy of private

appropriation of unearned increment. He is now working to put the back-to-the-land movement on a basis in accord with economic truth. He helped to organize the Committee for Soldiers' Homesteads which had a bill framed that has been introduced in the Reichstag. The bill seems to be much like the one introduced in the present Congress by Mr. Crosser of Ohio, except that its benefits are to be restricted to war veterans. For these land is to be acquired and, as provided in the Crosser bill, a loan fund for improvements is to be established. The Staats-Zeitung correspondent states:

The really unique part of the plan is the system proposed for holding the land. This idea resulted from the experience of von Gayl and others in attempting colonization in the eastern provinces. The title to the land is to rest with the state, national or municipal governments that shall place the land at disposal for homesteading. Instead of being sold it shall be leased at a fixed rental to the veteran during his life, that of his widow or the minority of his children. During that period the rent is not to be advanced, but should the homesteader wish to leave he can sell his improvements to the next comer and the rent will be readjusted then to meet changed conditions. This is really much better than a pension.

Many cities have anticipated the law and have already dedicated parcels of land for soldiers' homesteads. After the law has been passed and the land banks have been organized the rest will merely be a matter of official detail.

Even in crowded Germany there is land to be had if it is searched for. The small farms are to average twenty-five acres, the truck-gardens five acres each. There are considerable tracts of domain lands that could be devoted to this use. Besides this large sections of Pomerania and Mecklenburg are now covered by swamp and marsh. These are gradually being drained even now, but the work could be accelerated after the war and a territory two and a half times the size of the Kingdom of Saxony could be ultimately thrown open for settlement.

There is no insurmountable obstacle to overcome in carrying out the plan in the cities, thanks to the foresight of the German city fathers in that each community has provided itself with wide stretches of outlying land, similar to the proposed outer park belt in Chicago. Berlin alone owns 50,000 acres which is mostly used at present for settling beds in their sewage disposal plant. The rest of the land is rented to truck-gardeners who derive their fertilizers from the sewage. These plants will soon become a menace to the health of the rapidly growing city and will have to be removed anyway. Plans for its removal are now being considered. Four hundred thousand homesteads, each one hundred by fifty feet could be created out of this municipal land. Counting the average German city family at six, the entire population of Berlin could be given the opportunity of removing from the city pavements and establishing themselves under their own vine

and fig trees! The other municipalities composing Greater Berlin and all cities of five thousand and over own between them something like a million acres of unoccupied or partly used land; exclusive of forest reserves. Where the sites lack sufficient transportation facilities, it would be a simple matter to construct a suburban branch, if it were for the good of the people. For the people own the railroads and do with their own what they like.

A defect, from which the Crosser bill is free, is the clause in the proposed German measure which provides a fixed rental for the lifetime of the original settler and is otherwise indefinite. But even with this defect the measure is superior to the oft-suggested proposal advanced, in spite of experience, to buy out big estates and divide them into small tracts to be sold on long time to settlers. Should Congress continue to hesitate to pass the Crosser bill, and the States continue their delay in adoption of the Singletax, the enactment of such a measure by Germany might justify classification of the United States as one of the backward nations.

S. D.

Bonds and Good Roads.

A correspondent in Wisconsin asks what should be the position of a Singletaxer in regard to issuing bonds for the building of roads. Bonding the county, he says, means increasing the burden of taxation on the working farmers and other wealth producers, while increasing land values to those who own the farms. The same question arises in the legislation for flood control and the improvement of waterways. The millions voted by the House, will as certainly find their way into the pockets of those who own the land in the regions served, as will the money appropriated by the enterprising Wisconsin county. It is quite clear that such improvements should be paid for by those who enjoy the pecuniary benefit. Swamp lands will be increased in value many fold when protected from floods, just as arid lands have acquired great value from irrigation; and as the Government has assessed the cost of irrigation against the owners of the land benefitted, so it should require the owners of overflow land to pay for the cost of drainage and flood control.

But to secure such action on the part of the Federal Government, notwithstanding the precedent already established in the reclamation of arid lands, may require many years.

The assessment of the cost of roads against the lands benefitted will in all probability take still longer. The question resolves itself therefore into whether needed improvements should be made now, or put off till a correct system of taxation has been established. The answer has been made easier by the fact that the Singletax, or the taxation of land values, is retroactive in nature. It in effect will take not only the land value created after its enactment, but also the land value already created. It is evident, therefore, that while road building, flood protection, and similar improvements made by general tax are wrong in principle, in that they enrich some citizens at the expense of other citizens; and though its subsequent correction will not adjust matters with absolute nicety, the correction will be relatively just; and in the meantime the present generation will have had the use of the improvements. But while the Singletaxer may consistently support the present methods of taxation wherever used for necessary purposes he should lose no opportunity to warn the beneficiaries that the system will be changed at the earliest moment possible, and in accordance with law and ethics.

S. C.

Property in Land and Liquor.

The National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association presents evidence confirming the charge that the liquor interest in California aided the opposition to the Singletax in return for Tory help against Prohibition. The evidence is in the form of a letter to the Cincinnati Times-Star from Mr. Joseph Debar, president of the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association. Mr. Debar said in part:

In your issue of December 6, you print an editorial under the caption of "Too Much for California," calling attention to the refusal of the people of California to vote for a single land tax amendment which you state was "confiscation pure and simple." . . .

The moral distinction between confiscating property by an unjust land tax or by a vote for prohibition is not apparent to those who view the question without prejudice. The land in California which the voters refused to confiscate and for which refusal you give them just praise, never paid a penny to the Federal Government for any purpose. . . .

Why should not your plea for fairness and your commendation of justice in California apply to and be urged upon the voters of other states when asked to vote incidentally for the elimination of saloons, but in fact for the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of brewery and distillery property? What

you would deem wrong in California was no less wrong in Nebraska or Michigan.

That Mr. Debar speaks for his association, as well as himself, is evident from the fact that his letter was reproduced with approval by its publicity department, and included in the plate matter furnished free to papers desiring to use it. It is quite probable that of the 260,000 California voters who supported the Singletax amendment, more than 50,000 opposed the Prohibition amendment, not out of friendship for the liquor traffic, but on libertarian grounds. Mr. Debar's letter offers them a temptation to support the Prohibition amendment next time, and a change of 50,000 votes would make California dry. If the liquor interest is a support of economic injustice, then in the interest of freedom it should be destroyed.

Mr. Debar's argument implies that the right of property in breweries rests on the same basis as property in land. Consequently no Prohibitionist would do him an injustice who should quote the president of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association as authority for the statement that there is no moral defense of property in breweries or other property needed in the liquor traffic. That property in land cannot be justified on moral grounds has been demonstrated conclusively by all great thinkers and economists. It is a gift of nature, the use of which is as essential to maintenance of life as use of the air. While that puts property in land in a different category from property in breweries, or in other products of labor, yet Mr. Debar's repudiation of that truth estops him and his association from offering such a plea. His argument may be fairly quoted by a Prohibitionist as an admission that he bases his claim for compensation of liquor dealers on grounds which would have justified compensation of slave-owners. That is equivalent to an admission that it does not rest on any substantial basis. S. D.

An American Weakness

There may be some supersensitive Americans who will resent the caustic criticism of the Italian consul at Chicago, Count Giulio Bolognesi. Chicago, like many other of the larger American cities, has for years been plagued by a form of lawlessness that has found expression in murder. The frequency with which human life is taken would do

credit to a frontier town, or even to misruled Mexico. But the Consul's remarks were addressed more particularly to the deadly feuds carried on by his own countrymen in America. The frequent use of the bomb and the sawed off shotgun in "Little Hell" for the purpose of settling personal disputes is, he feels, an undeserved reflection upon the rest of his countrymen who have come to this country.

The point of the Consul's criticism lies in his charge that American legal administration is too lax. What with delays, technicalities, and a maudlin sentimentality few murderers are punished adequately, and too many go free. Swift and stern punishment, the Consul declares, is the only remedy. And he proceeds to contrast legal administration in Italy with that of the United States. This is what will roil the chauvinistic American, and may lead him to question the propriety of such criticism from the representative of another country. But those who are able to put reason above pride will recognize the justice of his charges, and renew their efforts to bring theory and the practice into closer accord.

It is not to be expected that a nation that has lived under the English system of law would think of adopting the Roman system, for individual liberty, and the rights of person are too highly prized; but this does not mean that the individual is to have license to override the rights of his fellows. With the legal department in charge of the police, it is well that the citizen charged with crime should have the benefit of all doubts; but this should never have been allowed to grow into the colossal structure of quibbles and technicalities that lawyers and judges have substituted for the plain intent of the law. The Italian feudist, like the Tennessee feudist, is not necessarily a criminal at all. He merely believes in the primitive doctrine of justice in kind, of a life for a life; and just to the extent that the law fails to visit swift and certain punishment he is inclined to resort to personal vengeance. The activities of the feudists of "Little Hell" are an indictment of American legal administration, no less than of Sicilian morals; and respect for the law will be built up among all classes when offenses are treated on their merits, and not on technicalities.

S. C.

A PERSONAL WORD

In the first issue of THE PUBLIC from its new home it seems appropriate that as its founders and for fifteen years its editors we should address its readers and supporters. We therefore avail ourselves of the request of our successors to do so.

* *

When we severed our editorial relations to THE PUBLIC, nearly four years ago, it was our definite intention not to resume them.

With that expectation we turned over the management of the paper to a group in whose judgment as well as their fidelity we thoroughly trusted, in the hope that they would go on building from the democratic foundations we had tried to lay. We have not been disappointed. However differently we might have acted at any stage in this history-making era, there has been no instance in which they have not steered by the north star of democracy as they located it. There have been none but such differences of opinion as persons having the same aim and of free mind are certain to entertain in this social world of simple principles but complex activities. Their administration of the affairs of THE PUBLIC on both its business and its editorial sides, has proved that our trust in their fidelity and ability was not misplaced.

* *

But though we severed our editorial relations with THE PUBLIC, we have until now retained a species of proprietary control. It was nothing more, however, than ownership of the financial deficit; and this has been without the responsibility that usually attaches to such ownerships—that of making the deficit good.

Responsibility for making the deficit good was assumed years ago by Daniel Kiefer, who has been affectionately and not inappropriately dubbed "Beggar Knight" of the Singletax movement. To supplement his collections with whatever sums might be necessary for sustentation purposes, funds were supplied by Joseph Fels, and after her husband's death by Mrs. Fels.

Those self-assumed not to say generously assumed obligations having been faithfully redeemed, THE PUBLIC has maintained its home in Chicago from its birth in 1898 to the completion of its 19th annual volume at the close of the year 1916.

It begins its 20th volume with the New Year, and at New York, under circumstances regarding which we ask permission of its readers to take them into our confidence.

* *

Our ownership of the deficit has been transferred to Mrs. Fels, who has for nearly three years guaranteed the differences between Sustentation Fund and expenses; and she decides, as she advised us she would, to transfer the home of THE PUBLIC from Chicago to New York.

This transaction has had its perplexities.

Mr. Kiefer doubted the wisdom of it, as did many readers and friends of the paper who had opportunities to consider only the surface fact of removal. And regardless of the wisdom of the proposed change, Mr. Kiefer thought a referendum of the subscribers to the Sustentation Fund—at least those of the past year—should be taken.

To no one's wishes more than to his would we have been disposed to defer. Except for his labor of love over a long period there would have been no PUBLIC either at Chicago or New York. The editors and the publisher, however, favored the change; reluctantly, but because their judgment approved it.

The responsibility rested at the last upon us. It could not be shifted. A referendum would have been of use only as advice, and the value of advice cannot be estimated by a show of hands when the question, so far from being one of general policy, is, as this one was, a question of administration. The real issue as to removal was not whether those affected preferred having THE PUBLIC stay in Chicago, but whether its publication could continue there in satisfactory form and effectively. We did not think it could.

Accepting, therefore, the responsibility which we could not possibly shirk, we gave the paper to Mrs. Fels, knowing that she would decide to transfer its home to New York, and believing that under all the circumstances this was the best, if not indeed the only course to pursue.

It is no gift of generosity, that which we have made to her, since no property of financial value goes with it. It was a gift of responsibility. In making it we have united the ownership of the deficit with responsibil-

ity for the deficit in one financially responsible person who profoundly sympathizes with the established policy of the paper.

* * *

It should not be inferred, however, that Mrs. Fels has undertaken to make the deficit good unaided.

What she has undertaken to do is to finance THE PUBLIC in so far as the Sustentation Fund falls short. Support of the Sustentation Fund will be as necessary as ever from the friends of the paper; in diminishing degree, it is hoped, but continuously unless and until the paper becomes self-supporting.

Her ownership, like our own heretofore, is not a profit-making ownership but a trust for the purpose of maintaining a fundamentally democratic periodical.

* * *

Whether such a periodical can be self-supporting is a question. None so far ever has been. They belong in the same category in this respect with churches, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the higher educational institutions, grand opera, political organizations and so on. Except as these are supported by philanthropic contributions they go to the wall or worse.

Especially necessary is it that a periodical devoted to a cause should be supported by special contributions from believers in its cause. Few periodicals can safely charge their readers a price high enough for self-support. To be self-supporting, therefore, they must depend upon advertisers; and the periodical that depends upon advertisers can not for long grade much higher than a "house organ." The question with a paper like THE PUBLIC is whether it shall be endowed as churches are supposed to be, by contributors who believe in the legitimate uses of their respective churches, or as "self-supporting" periodicals usually are, by advertisers whose interests become factors of primary concern.

Most earnestly is it to be desired that the time may soon come when readers of periodicals will be willing to pay remunerative prices for them. But until that time does come, periodicals of "light and leading" must grope their way in the labyrinthine mazes of business favor or else be supported as philanthropic enterprises are supported. Upon the

latter choice has THE PUBLIC depended in Chicago; upon the same choice it may have to depend in New York.

* * *

Changed circumstances, however, may alter its possibilities of self-support. New York offers larger opportunities for local patronage, both as to readers and as to the advertising that does not pervert. New York also is at the heart, on the American continent, of those high international interests to which THE PUBLIC is to be more definitely devoted than ever before. With its all-embracing principles of democracy as vital to it as ever and Henry George's undimmed star in the east for its guide, it may pursue its mission not only with renewed fervor but also with greater expectations of support by its readers.

* * *

World affairs have widened in scope and deepened in purpose since THE PUBLIC, in behalf of fundamental democracy, began for its readers to take notice of history in the making. Consequently opportunities for service more effective and in a larger field have opened to it. The old principles are still true, but new occasions are more subtle and new duties more complex. Nationalism is giving way to internationalism, as aforetime tribes melted into peoples. In this process THE PUBLIC, edited and managed and contributed to as we are assured that it will be, can aid beyond calculation.

For internationalism means world wide neighborliness; international commerce means universal service through specialization in production and unhampered interchange of products; international justice means equality of right to natural resources. And these are the elementary lessons THE PUBLIC has to teach.

How they need to be taught!

There can be no peace without justice. There can be no justice without his natural inheritance for every one. There can be no full enjoyment by any one of his natural inheritance without full freedom of commerce. And there can be none of these without radical readjustments of institutional relationships not only within nations but also among nations.

The whole world is kin indeed. Its kinships are so subtle and so vitally forceful that

the least institutional injustice to the least of its inhabitants is perpetuated in tiny undulations which by multiplication produce overwhelming social disasters.

But the reverse also is true. Opposite causes produce opposite effects. If institutional injustice may breed social disaster, institutional justice may regain Paradise.

* *

With such work before it, and under its present management, THE PUBLIC should not lack the fullest measure of legitimate support. We ask it from its friends of our Illinois home. We ask it from its friends of our old home in New York. We ask it from its friends wherever they live. And not only from its old friends but also from the new friends everywhere whom it will certainly make. And while we terminate our business relations with THE PUBLIC, as nearly four years ago we terminated our editorial control, we hope we may sometimes be able on occasion to address its readers through its columns and in the old spirit.

Its nineteen volumes are crowded with wholesome memories of work attempted and tasks accomplished or frustrated, and with tender memories of helpful friends, some of whom are yet here though others have gone. We are conscious also in the midst of these memories, of a sense of gratitude to thousands to whom this message is our only available means of communication.

With cordial good wishes, then, for THE PUBLIC and those who are now wholly responsible for it, and with assurances of a confidence in its future in its new home which at first we did not wholly feel, we again commend it to the good will of every known and unknown friend who loves the principles of fundamental democracy and believes in the practicability of truly democratic policies.

LOUIS F. POST.
ALICE THACHER POST.

A FRIEND'S VIEW.

Though not all friends of THE PUBLIC, concurred in the proposal to remove it from Chicago to New York, all may be expected to continue their loyal support.

Experienced journalists believed that if for 19 years there was reason for opposition to its removal from Chicago, that now, following the recent election, there was more reason than ever for keeping it there. Others be-

lieved the place of publication to have nothing to do with the principles advocated.

We are assured the paper will be the same as it has been, and may expect that it will treat all questions from the viewpoint of fundamental democracy, even when—as has sometimes occurred—such treatment has shocked or offended a friend and supporter.

This policy has given THE PUBLIC a unique experience. When its regular income proved insufficient to meet expenses a large proportion of its readers welcomed an opportunity to contribute to a sustentation fund, and thus enable it to continue. When The Joseph Fels Fund was started some who contributed liberal amounts thereto did so only upon the assurance that THE PUBLIC would be cared for. To these Fels Fund contributors and to the contributors to THE PUBLIC Sustentation Fund is due much of the credit for keeping in existence a journal of true democracy, until now it begins its twentieth volume.

I see no reason why all of these friends should not be as zealous in the future as they have been in the past in support of the paper. THE PUBLIC is needed now more than ever. Toryism must be met by aggressive democracy. The fallacies of protectionism, militarism, landlordism, and other forms of predatory privilege can be thoroughly exposed by none but those grounded in the fundamental doctrines which Henry George and Louis F. Post, have done so much to popularize. A publication is needed to continue their work.

THE PUBLIC has stood the hardest of tests of fidelity to principles. When circumstances have made concrete application of fundamental principles disagreeable to a supporter it has nevertheless insisted on their application regardless of such protests. It has not faltered in condemning war and the makers of war even while war has been in progress. It has told disagreeable truths about all the belligerents while among its upholders were ardent supporters of both sides. It criticized President Wilson when he ordered the attack on Vera Cruz and when he made concessions to the preparedness hysteria as it would have criticized a President whom it had not supported.

Until true democracy has been established THE PUBLIC conducted as it has been must not be allowed to stop.

DANIEL KIEFER.

THE VISITOR TO HIS SUFFERING MEN

Night trembled like the shadows of a leafy tree in a fitful breeze; the earth shook with thunders; the sky sparkled with wicked lights flashed from millions of mouths of steel. Vapors rose tortuously, swirled by gusts blown hot through the chilly air. Men advanced and fell, writhed and moaned, and some crashed down muttering not a sound.

The sentry stood gazing into the mystery of murk. Around him lay stricken fellows dead and dying; and some in agony begged piteously for death. Anguish weltered in a mire of blood. To the sentry time seemed to stand still; eternity filled the section of a second. He was alone, an outpost not called in. With straining eyes, craning neck and quivering mouth, all wrenched painfully, he sought in the thickening gloom the source of disaster. A soldier overlooked in a world of horror. It was so long since he was stationed there he thought he was forgotten; or had the battle-line receded far, and no orders from his captain now could reach him? He prayed for dawn to come and dissipate the night. His lips and tongue were parched and thick, too numb for angry blasphemy. A God-forsaken man where King's battalions die.

Out of the black patch into which he peered there moved a form; it seemed like a streak of grey, a rent in night's clouded sky. The form came from the enemy's lines; without show of haste it approached speedily. Weaponless it drew nigh. The sentry raised his rifle; his sight grew keener; warmer flowed his blood; and the weariness of fear fell from him. Alert, eager, and intransigent, he desired the moment of attack.

"Who goes _____?"

The figure raised its head and eyes, full of pity, gazed on the sentry before he finished the question.

"Oh!—it's you, matey," he cried in a gasp of deep relief. Then the weariness fell on him again, and leaning his worn body on his rifle, he stood bent, resting his head upon his hands, clutching his weapon as a prop.

"A friend," the figure said. "The countersign you all know. 'Mercy' is the word which passes me through all the lines." The voice was soft as gentle rain in summer time.

The sentry raised his head and smiled kindly. He looked on a man, fearless, grace-

ful, sad, clad in a long loose robe, neither brown nor grey, but of some strange hue the darkness could not hide.

"Haven't you had enough of this business? Always roaming about the lines, in and out, hob-nobbing with all sorts?"

"No, my business never ends," the figure replied. "I am the only neutral in the midst of all the fray."

"You are that," the soldier agreed. "But I thought you'd gone home long ago."

"Home is no place for me just now. I am not asked for there. They have other work to do."

"Here's the work they do." The soldier waved his hand over the dead and dying. "Look at it, matey. Well, I hope they may see it before it's over. So you've not been home?"

"No, my countersign would not pass me in one bare yard. 'Mercy' is known only to the soldier."

"That's right, matey. But, stay a bit. Sit down. They must have forgotten about me out here; seems as I were the only live 'un standing up to-night.'" The sentry listened for a moment. "Strange, but it has got quiet all of a sudden. Why, I can't hear a groan," he muttered.

The figure sat down on an ammunition box and looked up into the soldier's face.

"I thought you'd have some good news to tell. So you haven't been home?"

"No, I left without a passport when the soldiers went from home."

"But where have you been? I haven't seen you for months."

"I came when you were sleeping, sometimes when you were fighting. Not a day passes but I visit all the lines."

The sentry smiled tolerantly. He was incredulous, but he had no desire to challenge the statement of his visitor.

"If I weren't sure Christ was dead, blest if I wouldn't begin to think you were Him," the soldier muttered, with a shake of his head.

"The same thought comes to most of the sentries I visit," the figure said.

"Is that right? Others think as I do? Well, I'm blest." The soldier's grim-stained face seemed to flush with joy. He looked long into the eyes of his friend, then suddenly started back. "It's the day," he cried. "It must be. It's after midnight. What's the time? My watch was smashed by a

splinter. Lord, how strange I feel. It must be the day. My Mary wrote and told me good news would come this time. And you—what's the matter with me? I'm all of a tremble. Are you—? Well—but—may be—”

He muttered in staccato tones, his voice becoming softer and softer, until it sank to a whisper. His knees gave way, and down he sat at the side of his visitor.

They were silent for a long while. The weary soldier felt relief, like sleep refreshing a wide-eyed man in pain, and to him there came a voice which said:

“I am greater than life. Duration and I are one. I am the spirit of the best that is in you: the divine you do not know. I am here to tell you there is hope for you. Soldier, all history is the same to me: it is thread spun by the seekers of Power. But the kingdoms, principalities, and commonwealths of the earth come and go, and change not, while I remain a witness of their strife, waiting the day of my enthronement in the hearts of men. You soldiers, you who inherit my shame, are now the only men who shut me not out of your hearts. It is with you as it was with me. I was the instrument Force raised up to quell Justice. Force though raised me up to its own destruction. But that day is long in coming. Yes, the cross the Cæsar's symbol of Force, my Body the Symbol of My Father's Love.”

The sentry started and stood up.

“Love!” he said. “There's not much love going about these days,” wearily he sighed.

“More than you think.”

“Look at us, at it morning, noon, and night. Nothing but blood to see, nothing but groans to hear. Hell, but I'm tired of it. See, out here alone, forgotten by the staff. I wonder what my Mary'd say if she knew—” he muttered dreamily, thinking of his wife. “But what's it all about?”

“Power,” the visitor replied. “They fight for Power.”

“Blest if I don't think soldiering's a curse.”

“You suffer for my strength,” the figure said.

“That's a riddle, matey,” the sentry smiled.

“It is quite clear. It was my stand against ruthless Power and Force which caused the rulers to make you serve in arms against me.”

“Against you—against—” he murmured. “I see. You mean they're afraid of us going over to you? Is that it?”

“How quick-witted you are in your present distress. But will you remember that when you rest from your labors? Or will you forget as speedily as heretofore. Remembrance, sentry, is more potent than sudden resolution born in an hour of pain. Remembrance this time should foster love.”

“We'll remember this time,” the soldier said as his face took on a look of deep determination. “But when will it be over?”

“When you all desire it. No sooner. Yet, this day hope dawns anew. The west greets the message sent in the long ago out of the east from whence I came. But it is to you, you soldiers, who have borne the near pain of it all I look for Peace: the Peace of Understanding, of Justice, of Brotherhood, of Love. You are the victims of Force. Force is behind you and drives you on to win Power. The soldier must conquer Force if he would destroy Power and know my Peace.”

The sentry's eyes were far away, his face was wan, and his hands went up to his breast as if he would clutch the hope implanted there. The rifle fell into a pool of blood. He turned to speak to his visitor, but He was gone. Alone the soldier sank down overcome by fatigue. Then dawn came glimmering faintly as if it were afraid of revealing the scene of woe-spread battlefields to the heaven of day. Again the soldier's dreamy eyes were far away fixed upon the tremulous light rising in the east.

“Look,” he muttered to himself, “all the armies gather. Linked battalions, all brothers. It is the day!”

Across the plains of Europe he saw the millions of all nations move, and on their shoulders each a cross instead of a rifle bore. They marched towards the rising sun.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

BABYLON

All vivid ages know where Babylon dwells:
Her laugh is like old wine poured in a glass
Of tinkling crystal, and, as strong men pass,
Her gaze entrails them with its veiled spells.
Her name is like a chime of silver bells
In some cathedral tower at early mass,
That shake strange portents o'er the bending grass.
Familiar are her feet with nether hells!

And in her name, men live heroic hours;
To follow her, they grovel in the mire:
When she commands, they battle with all powers
Of death and night; but when she frowns, they
tire.—
Drunk in the vapors of her ancient lies,
Wild with the glamours of her careless eyes!

RICHARD WARNER BORST.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending January 2, 1917

Congressional News.

At a public hearing on the Crosser bill before the House Committee on Labor, Professor Elwood Mead of the University of California advocated passage of the measure. He spoke principally on behalf of the features regarding government aid to settlers in purchase of supplies and making of improvements, and referred to what has been done in Australia as a model. The Crosser bill provides for perpetual leases to settlers of government lands with provisions for periodical re-valuation. It also provides a rotary fund for government loans to impecunious settlers, and employment in reclamation work at current wages of settlers awaiting their first crop. [See Vol. xix, p. 1096].

* * *

Rumors that advance information of President Wilson's peace note was given to favored parties for stock jobbing purposes, caused a resolution of investigation to be introduced by Congressman Wood of Indiana. The source of these rumors was Thomas W. Lawson of Boston. On December 28 Mr. Lawson sent a telegram to Congressman Wood charging that Congressman Henry, who is to head the investigation, did not wish him to testify, and further charging that Congressmen had profited financially from advance information. Mr. Henry replied at once demanding that Lawson come to Washington and tell what he may know. On December 31, Lawson sent another message saying that he could produce information if Congress should appoint a committee of men "of the calibre of Justice Brandeis" to begin investigation in New York at once "before the books, papers and other records can be destroyed." The result, he predicted would be immediate drop in cost of living, and exposure of a conspiracy between an unnamed American and the Emperor of Germany to "end the war by making it impossible for the Allies to finance themselves." Mr. Lawson said further that as proposed by Congressman Wood, the investigation would be worthless since it would be narrowed so as to do no more than reflect on the President and his associates [See Vol. xix, p. 1235].

* * *

The Next Congress.

Revised returns show definitely that

neither Democrats nor Republicans can alone control the next House. There are 214 Republicans elected, 213 Democrats, two Independents, two Progressives, one Prohibitionist, one Socialist, and in two districts the results is contested. Moreover there is evidence of discord within the Republican ranks. Congressman Augustus Gardner, the leader of the militarist faction, publicly declared on December 24 that he will not support James R. Mann for Speaker, should the Republicans secure a majority. Mr. Mann's endorsement of President Wilson's peace efforts was given by Mr. Gardner as the cause. [See Vol. xix, pp. 1095, 1161].

* * *

Navy Officers Suppress Freedom of the Press.

The establishment of a censorship in Santo Domingo by the United States Naval authorities has been exposed by the American Union against Militarism. The censorship order is as follows:

With the declaration of Occupation and Military Government in Santo Domingo, a censorship is hereby established the existence of which will be immediately notified to the Press.

Any comment that is intended to be published upon the attitude of the United States Government, or upon anything connected with the Occupation and Military Government of Santo Domingo must first be submitted to the local censor for approval; and no such comment shall be permitted to be printed without having been passed upon favorably by the censor.

The publication is forbidden of expressions of a violent or inflammable nature or that will tend to encourage hostility or resistance to the Military Government.

The publication of any newspapers or other periodical that offends against this order will be suspended; and responsible persons,—owners, editors or others—will further be liable to punishment by the Military Government.

The printing and distribution of posters, handbills, or similar means of propaganda in order to disseminate views unfavorable to the United States Government or to the Military Government in Santo Domingo is forbidden, as is the distribution in Santo Domingo of such matter in papers and periodicals published in foreign countries. Offenders against this regulation will be liable to punishment by the Military Government.

The officer (General) commanding on shore will appoint censors and put this order into effect.

(Signed) H. S. KNAPP, Captain, U. S. N.

* *

Commenting on this the Union states:

When representatives of the American Union Against Militarism and of the Woman's Peace Party called at the Navy Department on December 8, to get an exact statement of the facts regarding the censorship, Admiral Benson exhibited orders show-

January 5, 1917.

The Public

ing that the Secretary of Navy had modified the censorship so that it would not affect American newspapers. They can get all the news out of Santo Domingo which they are willing to pay for. But woe betide the Santo Domingan patriot who attempts to publish a leaflet or a newspaper editorial questioning the benevolence of our armed rule in Santo Domingo. Captain Knapp's proclamation is worth preserving as an illustration of what an American naval officer will do when he gets a good chance.

But he is merely a symptom. The real trouble lies with the State Department. It is packed full of reactionary bureaucrats, and will automatically do the reactionary thing in any given situation unless somebody—like the President himself—insists on another policy. One of the best of the minor reforms would be an entire cleaning out of the State Department and the installation of some under-secretaries and bureau heads with some glimmering of democratic vision and idealism. [See Vol. xix, p. 1170.]

* * *

Railroad Labor Troubles.

A conference in New York between the railroad brotherhood and the road managers over the eight-hour day, came to an abrupt end on December 28. The roads refused to concede the wage scale fixed by the Adamson law which went into effect on January 1. The brotherhoods held that until the courts decide otherwise the law should be obeyed. Upon breaking of the conference the heads of the brotherhoods referred the matter for immediate action to the 400,000 members. [See vol. xix, p. 1235].

* * *

Teachers' National Convention

The National Convention of the American Federation of Teachers was held at the City Club in Chicago, on December 28, 29 and 30. The action of the Chicago school board was condemned for its tendency "to punish by dismissal, teachers who have courageously expressed their deep-seated convictions on the professional, social and economic conditions of the present time." A platform was adopted demanding a small elective school board subject to the Recall and containing at least one teacher as a member; permanent tenure of office by teachers after a probationary period unless discharges after a trial; elimination of political and personal influence in promotion of teachers, better salaries for teachers and adequate pensions, free text books, elimination and defeat of all State legislation for compulsory military education, Woman suffrage; Initiative, Referendum and Recall, a National Department of Education. Charles B. Stillman was elected president, Mrs. Ida Fursman, vice-president, Miss Mary

Dwyer, secretary, and Miss Margaret Haley, organizer. [See Vol. xix, p. 1170].

* * *

Illinois Women's Legislature Demands.

The Illinois Women's Legislative Congress in session at Chicago on December 29 and 30, demanded elimination of all militarist features from physical training in the public schools. Other demands were for a Constitutional Convention, an anti-injunction law for protection of labor, free text books for public school children, better legal provisions for support of illegitimate children, good roads, legislature and requirement of health certificates as prerequisite to marriage. The Congress consisted of representatives from a number of women's organizations. [See Vol. xix, p. 991].

* * *

Tax Reform News.

The North Carolina Farmers Union in its session at Raleigh, demanded:

A just and equitable system of taxation, (a) lightening the burdens upon labor by putting a larger proportion on inheritances; (b) with constitutional provision for a lower rate on resident than on absentee landlords; and (c) increased rate on lands held out of use.

* * *

Resolutions for the Initiative and Referendum were also adopted.

* * *

The Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of Washington, in session at Spokane on December 11, 12 and 13 urged submission by the Legislature of Constitutional Amendments providing for the Constitutional, Initiative, the Recall, the Short Ballot and "for a tax on the unearned increment through the increase in land value." [See Vol. xix, p. 1137].

* * *

State Senator Richard Jones of Duluth, will introduce in the Minnesota legislature at the approaching session a bill reducing assessment for taxation of household goods to one per cent of value, of other tangible personality and improvements on land to ten per cent of value, and of unimproved land at forty per cent of value. Under the law as it stands improvements and tangible personality are assessed twenty-five per cent and unimproved land values at thirty per cent. Senator Jones' bill was approved in principle by the Northern Minnesota Development Association which adopted at its meeting in November the following resolution:

Be it resolved, that this association recommends

that a law be passed which provides that taxes on lands should not be increased by virtue of it being cleared and put under cultivation, for the reason that the clearing of the land by the settler increases the value of the adjoining lands owned by the state and by non-resident freeholders. [See Vol. xix, page 584.]

* * *

Farm Loan Banks.

The Federal Farm Loan Board announced on December 27, that the twelve following cities have been selected as locations for the farm loan banks: Springfield, Massachusetts; Baltimore, Maryland; Charleton, South Carolina; Louisville, Kentucky; New Orleans, Louisiana; St. Louis, Missouri; St. Paul, Minnesota; Omaha, Nebraska; Wichita, Kansas; Houston, Texas; Berkeley, California, and Spokane, Washington. The twelve districts into which the country is divided, are as follows: District No. 1—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and New Jersey. District No. 2—Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia and the District of Columbia. District No. 3—North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. District No. 4—Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee. District No. 5—Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. District No. 6—Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas. District No. 7—Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and North Dakota. District No. 8—Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota and Wyoming. District No. 9—Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado and New Mexico. District No. 10—Texas. District No. 11—California, Nevada, Utah and Arizona. District No. 12—Washington, Oregon, Montana and Idaho. (See Vol. xix, page 733.)

* * *

Mexico and the United States.

The protocol signed by the American and the Mexican commissioners at Atlantic City has been returned to Washington by General Carranza, but its contents have not been made public. It is understood, however, that the protocol has not been approved; and he asks that negotiations be re-opened. The presence of the American troops in Mexico is reported to be the persistent cause of difference between the two countries. [See vol. xix, p. 1237].

* *

It is reported that Villa continues to gain headway in his campaign. The capture of Saltillo, capital of the State of Coahuila is announced; and it is feared he will make his way to the oil fields at Tampico.

European War

Artillery bombardments and raiding parties mark the extent of operations of the Somme front. The British have assumed the duty of caring for a wider front by extending their lines southward seven or eight miles to the River Somme, which relieves a corresponding number of French troops. German attacks at Verdun have increased in intensity, and Deadman's Hill again figures in the dispatches; but apparently little change has taken place in the lines during the week. [See vol. xix, p. 1237].

* * *

In Roumania the Central Powers continue to press back the Russian and Roumanians into Moldavia. Berlin claims to have taken about ten thousand prisoners. Braila is under Teutonic fire on the left bank of the Danube, while Macin, on the opposite bank, is being attacked by the Bulgars in Dobrudja. Nothing of moment is reported from the Macedonian front, nor from Italy. Further small successes are announced of British forces in Egypt, and on the Tigris.

* * *

Peace negotiations have made little progress. Sweden has endorsed the position taken by the United States; but Spain has declined to follow the lead of Switzerland and Sweden. The reason given for Spain's action is that the time has not arrived for such action. In answer to President Wilson's suggestion that the belligerent nations make public the terms on which they would be willing to make peace Germany in a second note repeats its offer to exchange views with the Allies, but avoids any statement as to its own position. The reply of the Entente Allies, dated December 30, declines flatly to accept the German offer for peace negotiations. The note, after briefly reviewing the causes that led up to the war, and accusing Germany with the responsibility for the beginning of hostilities, charges that the offer of the German government is "less an offer of peace than a war maneuver." The Allies profess to be in favor of peace now, as they were at the beginning of the war, but protest that they cannot conclude peace with a nation that wantonly invaded a neutral country, whose government Germany had guaranteed, without more definite assurances than had yet been offered. The note further states:

Once again the Allies declare that no peace is possible so long as they have not secured reparation for violated rights and liberties, the recognition of the principle of nationalities and of the free existence of small states; so long as they have not brought about a settlement calculated to end once and for all forces which have constituted a perpetual menace to the nations and to afford the only effective guarantee for future security of the world.

In conclusion, the allied powers think it necessary to put forward the following considerations, which show the special situation of Belgium after two and a half years of war.

In virtue of the international treaties signed by five great European powers, of whom Germany was one, Belgium enjoyed before the war a special status, rendering her territory inviolable and placing her, under the guarantee of the powers, outside all European conflicts.

She was, however, in spite of these treaties, the first to suffer the aggression of Germany. For this reason the Belgian government thinks it necessary to define the aims which Belgium has never ceased to pursue while fighting side by side with the entente powers for right and justice.

Belgium has always scrupulously fulfilled the duties which her neutrality imposed upon her. She has taken up arms to defend her independence and her neutrality, violated by Germany, and to show that she remains faithful to her international obligations.

On the fourth of August, 1914, in the Reichstag, the German chancellor admitted that this aggression constituted an injustice contrary to the laws of nations and pledged himself in the name of Germany to repair it.

During the two and a half years this injustice has been cruelly aggravated by the proceedings of the occupying forces, which have exhausted the resources of the country, ruined its industries, devastated its towns and villages, and have been responsible for innumerable massacres, executions and imprisonments.

At this very moment, while Germany is proclaiming peace and humanity to the world, she is deporting Belgian citizens by thousands and reducing them to slavery.

Belgium, before the war, asked for nothing but to live in harmony with her neighbors. Her king and her government have but one aim—the re-establishment of peace and justice. But they only desire peace which would assure to their country legitimate reparation, and guarantees and safeguards for the future.

The Entente Allies have not replied to President Wilson's first note.

* *

Emperor Charles of Austria was crowned king of Hungary at Budapest on the 30th. Before receiving the crown the king took the ancient oath to defend the Catholic church and all its interests against any enemy. The Austro-Hungarian cabinet is passing through a crisis in which the premier, Count Tisza, is likely to be overthrown.

NOTES

—Another New Zealand township, Raglan, adopted the Rating on Unimproved Land Values last month, by a vote of nearly two to one.

—Because compelled to pay \$337,000 for evasion of taxes on intangible personal property to Nelson County, Virginia, Thomas Fortune Ryan announced on December 29 that he would transfer his legal residence from Richmond to Washington.

—Complete returns on the Presidential election give Wilson 9,116,296 votes and Hughes 8,547,474. Wilson's plurality is 568,822. With eight States estimated—Benson's vote is 750,000. Hanly, Prohibitionist, has 225,101.

—David Caplan, convicted at Los Angeles of complicity in blowing up the Times Building in 1910, was sentenced to ten years in San Quentin on December 28. Execution of sentence was suspended pending appeal. [See vol. xix, p. 1219.]

—During the first eleven months of the past year, according to the New York Chamber of Commerce, 1,066 vessels were constructed in American shipyards with a gross tonnage of 488,446 tons, to fly the American flag. Vessels built for foreigners are not included in this compilation. [See Vol. ix, p. 490.]

—The contest for Governorship of Arizona has resulted in doubt as to who is the legal Governor since January 1. The State canvassing board has declared Thomas E. Campbell, Republican, elected by 32 votes, but Governor G. W. P. Hunt, the present incumbent, charges fraud and is contesting. Campbell took the oath on January 1, but Governor Hunt has refused him possession.

—There were cut from the National Forests in the fiscal year 1916, 604,920,000 board feet of timber. Of this amount 119,483,000 board feet was cut under free use privilege by 42,055 individuals. In all, 10,840 sales of timber were made, of which 97 per cent. were under \$100 in value. The work of classifying and opening to homestead entry such lands in the National Forests as are chiefly valuable for agriculture is progressing rapidly. Already over seventy million acres have been covered by field examinations and the final reports acted upon.

—In a statement issued on December 31, explaining the prospective deficit of \$379,000,000 in national revenue during the fiscal year of 1918, Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo attributed it to the purchase of the Danish West Indies, the government merchant marine, the nitrate and armor plants, Mexican border patrol expenses, and the Alaska railway. Since some of these items represent permanent investments, the Secretary holds that they should be cared for by bond issues. This would amount to \$184,256,000, leaving \$194,817,000 to be raised by taxation. He offered no suggestions concerning the revenue measure that should be adopted.

—The wealth of Australia as estimated by the Commonwealth statistician, G. H. Knibbs, is £950,000,000. The per capita amount in South Australia is £496, in New South Wales £431, and in Victoria £412. Half the wealth is owned by persons worth from £1,000 to £10,000. Four per cent. is held by persons with over £100,000, and thirteen per cent. by persons with over £20,000. Eighty-six per cent. of the aggregate yearly income for the year that ended June 30, 1915, went to persons who get less than £500 apiece.

The average yearly income for men is £138 7s. 10d.; for women, £40 4s. 2d.; for all £102 11d. The total public debt of States and Commonwealth, including war debt, is £463,000,000.

PRESS OPINIONS

How It Works.

Grain Growers' Guide (Winnipeg), December 20.—If it were not for the tariff of 37½ per cent. on boots the Canadian farmer and the Canadian laborer could buy for \$3.00 a boot that now costs \$4.80. Here are comparative prices on two boots of equal quality, one "Made in Canada" with 37½ per cent. protection, the other made in the United States:—

	With Tariff	Without Tariff
Manufacturers' Price	2.73½	1.90
Price to Retailer.....	3.60	2.25
Price to Consumer.....	4.80	3.00

These are actual market figures and show exactly what the tariff on this class of boots costs the man who wear them. The American boot would be sold in Canada at the same price under Free Trade. It is not only the manufacturers' extra price, but the added percentage which the wholesaler and retailer put on that helps to swell the price to the customer. How do you like protection which costs you \$1.80 on a pair of boots worth \$3.00 at retail?

* * *

Continuation of the War a Crime.

London Daily News, December 30.—No new year that ever dawned upon the world was greeted with more anxious expectancy than 1917 will be. In all quarters it is felt this must be the year of decision. We are all plunging down the steep place together, but Germany is ahead, and has a nearer vision of the abyss. Hence her urgent efforts for peace. She alone knows if she must have peace before next harvest and before the next offensive has revealed her impoverishment in men. Her reply to the allies will give us a clew to this vital question, and if the answer shows that a just peace can be reached without another year of carnage on a scale more terrible than anything that has gone before, it would be a crime on the part of the allies to delay such a peace for the sake of a problematical military decision on German soil, won or not by the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of men, whose death would achieve nothing but vain military ambition. And it would not only be a crime—it would be a blunder—for there is no assurance that our position for dictating terms next New Year's day won't be inferior to our position to-day. The new year will bring peace to the world if there is wisdom and statesmanship equal to the emergency.

CORRESPONDENCE

CALIFORNIA POLITICS

San Diego, Cal., December 18, 1916

It was almost startling to realize that it was given to less than a million voters of the Golden State to decide who is to be the President of our great Nation for the next four years.

From the official California state returns which are just at hand it appears that 1,045,858 votes were cast at the election here on November 7 last. Tak-

ing the highest vote cast for the thirteen presidential electors of California, the following is the record: Democratic, 466,289; Republican, 462,516; Socialist, 42,989; Prohibition, 27,713; scattering, 187, making a total of 999,603. There were therefore 46,255 voters in the state who expressed no preference as to the presidency, their thought, presumably, being on the other candidates or on the propositions which were submitted to them.

The largest vote cast for a Democratic elector was 466,289, and the largest vote for a Republican elector was 462,516, a plurality for the Democrats of 3,773. The smallest vote cast for a Democratic elector was 463,709, and the smallest vote for a Republican elector was 460,821, a plurality for the Democrats of 2,888. Averaging the two pluralities gives 3,330 for the Wilson Democrats.

About 90% of the total vote cast at the election was recorded for the U. S. Senatorship, a total of 940,956, divided as follows: Hiram W. Johnson, Republican and Progressive, 574,667; for George S. Patton, Democrat, 277,852; for Walter Thomas Mills, Socialist, 49,341; for Marshall W. Atwood, Prohibition, 38,797; and scattering, 299. Thus Governor Johnson received 208,378 more votes than did all his opponents put together.

Of the seven propositions presented to the voters three were adopted, and four were defeated. The measures which became effective were Nos. 3 and 7, relating to the State Highway Act, and No. 6, Ineligibility to office. The defeated propositions were: Nos. 1 and 2, relating to Prohibition; No. 4, Direct Primary Act, and No. 5, Land Taxation.

The greatest interest in the campaign, outside of the choice of candidates for office, centered upon propositions Nos. 1, 2 and 5, the temperance and Singletax measures.

In my letter to THE PUBLIC, printed October 20, 1916, are given certain details regarding these propositions which need not be repeated here. The total vote of the State last November on proposition No. 1 was yes, 436,639; no, 538,200; on No. 2—yes, 461,039; no, 505,783; and on No. 5—yes, 260,332; no, 576,533.

Proposition No. 1 (prohibition) was defeated in the State by 101,561 votes, and proposition No. 2 (prohibition) was defeated by 44,744 votes. The "drys" however would have carried the State on both their propositions had it not been for the adverse votes of San Francisco and Alameda counties (on proposition No. 1), and the adverse vote of San Francisco county alone on proposition No. 2.

Los Angeles county went "dry" by a majority of 16,560 votes on proposition No. 1, and by a majority of 27,405 votes on proposition No. 2.

Fresno county, a stronghold of the grape industry went "dry" by a majority of 2,443 on No. 1, and of 5,072 on No. 2.

Proposition No. 5 (Singletax) received the largest favorable vote in Los Angeles county, being yes, 63,606, and no, 174,788; while it received the largest proportionately favorable vote in Alameda and San Francisco counties, in the former it being yes, 30,262; no, 55,472; and in the latter it being yes, 51,439; no, 73,801.

Three causes seem to have contributed largely to the defeat of proposition No. 5: viz. Ignorance, fear and cupidity. A very large proportion of the

landholders of the State, either small or great, were anxious to secure a goodly share of the "unearned increment," being quite willing to get "something for nothing." The large land dealers and speculators all over the State united in a most furious campaign against the proposition. To judge from some of their literature an invasion of our coast by a hostile army would not be worse for the people than would be the adoption of the Singletax amendment.

Most of the Singletaxers, at least in Southern California, seem to favor an out and out site-value taxation measure rather than a Home Rule in taxation amendment. At present writing a delegation is assembling in Los Angeles to discuss plans for a future campaign.

Much surprise has been expressed because this State, usually Republican, gave its vote for a Democratic President, and at the same time gave such a great majority for Hiram W. Johnson, a Republican, as U. S. senator. For many years past, and until 5 or 6 years ago California has been savagely ground down by a political machine, dominated by the Southern Pacific R. R. Co. Governor Johnson led the people in their fight for political and a good degree of economic freedom. Under his leadership our State received direct primaries, direct legislation, including the recall of the judiciary, equal suffrage, eight-hour law for women, and other desirable measures, in remembrance of which the people gratefully made him U. S. senator. Our "stand-pat" editors try hard but incorrectly to account for the large vote for Johnson because of an fancied offence to him by Governor Hughes when the latter was touring this State. Progressive Republicans voted for Wilson because under his leadership so very many of the things asked for in the Progressive platform of 1912 had been accomplished by the Democrats. Wilson's Mexican policy mainly displeases corporations who are unjustly exploiting Mexican resources. Most men here liked Mr. Hughes personally, but opposed him because of his backing, viz. Wall street and the predatory corporations of the country.

Most men are not afraid of Germany, Japan or Mexico, but are afraid of our predatory corporations. There is no opposition to the accumulation of honest wealth, but there is an awakening sense of danger to all our rights through the encroachments of greed.

The election of Wilson in the face of so much opposition is a result of a great economic upheaval now going on in this country.

I must not fail to mention the most valuable campaign work done in this State for President Wilson by the Hon. J. Hamilton Lewis, of Chicago, judging by the speech which he made here in San Diego before a large audience. He was eloquent, polite, informing and convincing. He captured and captivated his audience in a most charming manner.

JAMES P. CADMAN.

THE MESABA AFFAIR ENDED.

Virginia, Minn., December 27.

In open court before Judge Cant at Duluth last Friday, the 15th, a settlement proposed by the State and previously ratified by all the defendant prisoners

and acknowledged by them as the best that could probably be obtained even after long and expensive trials, the State made a complete surrender on murder charges against all eight defendants; releasing Tresca, Scarlett, Schmidt, Mrs. Malitza Masonovich and John Orlandich; substituting a charge of manslaughter against Masonovich, Cernogorovich and Nickich, to which these three pleaded guilty.

On Friday, the eighth, the state's attorney in a talk over various matters, intimated to the defense counsel that perhaps a possible disposition could be arranged as might be mutually agreeable and satisfactory. Counsel for both sides agreed that the outcome of the trials was uncertain and considering the heavy expense attendant, a settlement might be advantageous. The next day Mr. Greene, state's attorney, hurried to Virginia to consult with the trial judge. Having obtained sanction from the judge, Greene communicated on Monday with the defense counsel and they in turn summoned the Defense Committee to Duluth for conference.

The matter was fully discussed with Tresca, Scarlett and Schmidt, and it was represented to them as merely submitted to them by counsel and committee as a matter of duty and without any recommendation one way or the other; that if they desired, counsel would report negotiations off and proceed to trial. After careful inquiry the three organizers stated that the courtesy and importance of the matter suggested a submission of the entire plan to the other defendants, Masonovich, Cernogorovich, Nickich and Orlandich for their sole decision as to what action should finally be taken.

Speaking to these four through Nickich, Gilday said, "Now, boys, this is a matter in which you have the entire say, nothing has been decided upon, nothing will be without your thorough consent and approval; if you approve we will treat with the other side and if not—we shall go to trial." After the details had been given them, they with one accord shouted their approval; Phillip Masonovich saying, "I'd be glad to take three times one year if these other men"—pointing to Tresca, Schmidt and Scarlett—"could be free, because they can do more good than we can. The union provides for my family, so what do I care. I can serve my short sentence standing on my head!"

Orlandich, when told he would be free, offered to take Phillip's term, and learning it could not be done, insisted he be imprisoned with the others. The rest persuaded him at last to go out and look after the Masonovich family until Phillip be released; then—while all present, already deeply moved by the spirit of solidarity shown—strode vainly to conceal their emotions; Cernogorovich and Nickich each begged that they be allowed to assume the sentence of Philip and have it added to their own so Phillip might go free! The impossibility of this reaching their understanding they gave cordial assent to the plans and in keeping with some simple, touching native custom, all clasped hands and kissed each other to signify mutual devotion and ratification of the agreement.

A settlement assured, next morning in open court Masonovich, Nickich and Cernogorovich were formally sentenced to an indeterminate term, eligible to parole in one year. Mrs. Masonovich and Orlandich

were dismissed; and Tresca, Scarlett and Schmidt released upon an indefinite postponement without bond or recognizance for their return and the expressed understanding that they go from the Range only when their convenience permitted, and they were so disposed, nor was any exaction made limiting their activities on or off the Range. They went from the room practically free and observers look for an early dismissal of their cases.

The district attorney in stating his reasons to the court, said he had entered a *nolle prosequi* as to two of the principals and the three organizers because he had no evidence that would warrant a conviction. This declaration of the State and its acceptance by the court is of particular and immense importance, as the vital PRINCIPLE INVOLVED in the entire case was the endorsement or repudiation by the courts of the state of the DOCTRINE OF CONSPIRACY as cited in the Haymarket Decision, which though apparently obsolete and infamous, has been often used against labor leaders; John Lawson of Colorado among others.

This outrageous precedent is now BROKEN in force; even more than a verdict of "not guilty" given to the organizers by a jury could break it; a jury's verdict being on a point of fact while this case can be cited as the court's opinion on a question of legal definition.

A greater danger is removed from ALL organized labor and evidence establishing some physical complicity in the deed will have to be introduced before a speaker or organizer can be held for crimes committed by other persons.

HARRISON GEORGE.

BOOKS

A DEIFIED REACTIONARY

Samuel McCall, Governor of Massachusetts. By Lawrence B. Evans. Published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York. Price \$1.25 net.

Most of us, some time or other, have met a famous character in private, or have seen a hero in every day circumstances, and as, casting aside the mask or the toga, he became human, we have been entertained by his natural views, often, to our surprise, utterly at variance with his publicly expressed opinions. Just as Edmund Burke wrote a tract on Anarchism, or Herbert Spencer declared himself opposed to land monopoly, so you find, in private, railroad officials favoring government ownership, monopolists admitting the wisdom of the single tax, state governors deplored the existence of laws they enforce, judges admitting the stupidity of the prison system, trade-union leaders recognizing the futility of the panacea they advocate. In like manner, readers of biography intimate with the subject, are often frankly cynical in their ex-

pression—as, for example, in the case of Henley on Stevenson. Your biographer, indeed, is somewhat like a modern "artistic" photographer, who, starting with some conventional ideal, carefully trims and touches, softening a line here, eliminating a wrinkle or shadow there, bringing out a nose, or wiping out a hollow, until he hands you a picture that is very charming as an artistic effort, but utterly useless as a means of identification.

Reading Mr. Evans' eulogistic work, and summing up Governor McCall as a very parfait knight, sans peur et sans reproach, one wonders how the picture would fit the original, for no human frailties are here chronicled as Henry George, Jr., chronicles those of his father, or Boswell chronicled those of Johnson—instead, you have a beautiful delineation of a faultless man—one whose heart beat in sympathy with the poor, who was kindly to the rich and powerful, whose acts were always consistent with his youthful ideals, who never doubted, changed or faltered. So one wonders how it was that the man who stoutly declared that "freedom follow the flag" also said:

"I venture to say that, if all the penal statutes—Federal and State—were strictly enforced at any given moment of time, there would be very few people in this country outside of the penitentiary. And that statement does not impeach the rectitude of the people of the United States."

That, of course, is the kind of thing that Bill Haywood preaches and Emma Goldman believes, and Clarence Darrow taught, while Benj. Tucker quoted it gladly in his *Liberty* from the New York Sun, in June, 1906. It does not appear as a characteristic remark in Mr. Evans' book, but you do find it recorded that Mr. McCall very seriously indicated his objection to the Initiative, the Referendum and Recal as methods of government in the United States, and deplored the demagogue in politics.

In short, this is a well written and interesting study of Samuel McCall artistically treated, so as to present a human character carefully heroized to conform to the conception of the author, and thus you have a very pretty human figure—pretty as the old English trees were pretty that had been trimmed and culled to represent peacocks, and urns, and geometrical figures, but which, in the doing, had lost all semblance to nature.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

PEACE SUGGESTIONS

A Conclusive Peace. By Charles Fremont Taylor. Published by John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia, 1916. Price 50 cents.

Peace is now the theme of the hour. Popular interest has shifted from the battlefields of Roumania and the fighting near Verdun to the probable terms of peace and the problems of "after the war." Generals have given way to diplomats and soldiers to secretaries. "How many prisoners have the Germans taken?" and "How many trenches have been regained by the French?" have been replaced by "What do you think of the terms of peace?" and "Where will the peace conference be held?"

Yet none of these questions are as important as those put by Charles Fremont Taylor in his admirable little book.

Will the moves made and the steps taken lead only to a trace of some years, during which the nations will prepare for another and more horrible war?

Or will the delegates find a way to establish co-operation and co-operation among the nations of Europe, and thus make a peace that will be self-perpetuating in the permanent interest of every participant nation?

The author, who is editor of a magazine "devoted wholly to improved methods of government, local, state, national, and international" presents a plan which should meet with the approval of all thinking people.

Let all the nations of Europe be allowed the free use for transportation purposes of the ports of any other nation. Let the coming peace conference provide for future meetings of delegates from all the nations of Europe. Let this conference or international congress establish an international capital and find a way for its own support. Let it declare an international bill of rights including choice of language and religion, local

autonomy, religious autonomy, choice of national hegemony, etc. Let the meetings be held regularly every two or three years, oftener if necessary. Let the delegates be given plenary powers over all European transportation facilities. Let the congress strive continually for the harmonization of the interests of Europe. And let it have the sympathy, approval, and co-operation of an aroused public opinion.

The program as outlined may appear inadequate to some, but it would be a good beginning. It is certainly safe to say that unless something like it be adopted there can be no hope for permanent peace.

The book is exceedingly well written and approaches the problem from the point of view of the practical idealist, and one cannot but feel happy over the announcement that it has not been copyrighted, and that newspapers and magazines may quote it freely.

HYMAN LEVINE.

PAMPHLETS

A Frame Up Explained.

A pamphlet explaining frame-up methods against prisoners in San Francisco charged with the bomb-throwing of last July has been issued by the International Workers' Defense League, 210 Ross Building, San Francisco. Its price is 10 cents. The proceeds are to be devoted to defense of the accused. On the inside page of the cover is a reproduction of a photograph of the accused on the roof of a house viewing the parade at the time when he is charged with being at the scene of the crime more than a mile away. A street clock opposite appears too faint to show the time and there is appended an explanation as follows:

"Photograph confiscated by District Attorney, who turned over to the defense a faded copy in which the time on street clock could not be seen. By this falsification Warren K. Billings was convicted of murder."

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Pamphlets Received.

The Paris Conference and Trade After the War.
By Harold Storey. Published by T. Fisher Unwin,
Adelphi Terrace, London, 1916. Price, Two-pence.

City Light Biennial Report of the Lighting Department, Seattle, Wash. For the two-year period, 1914-1915. J. D. Ross, Superintendent.

Fourth Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1916. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

War and the Survival of the Fittest. By Ira W. Howorth, University of California. Reprinted from the Scientific Monthly of November, 1916.

Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1916. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Forces of National Life: Money—Taxation—Distribution. By M. M. Offutt, Tyler, Texas, 1916.

The plan of Utility versus the Somers System of Taxation. By Napoleon Wagner, 1101 Emerson street, Denver, Colo.

Homenaje de la Sociedad Georgista al Centenario de la Independencia Argentina. By Ignacio E. Ferrer. Cordoba, San Geronimo, 127.

The Object of the Credit Union. By Arthur H. Ham. Reprinted from the New York Sunday Times, by the Division of Remedial Loans, Russell Sage Foundation, 130 E. 22d street, New York City, 1916.

Collective Agreements in the Men's Clothing Industry. By Charles H. Winslow, Bulletin No. 198. Published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

"What was your reason for leaving your last place, Rosalie?" asked the mistress during the course of examination.

"I couldn't stand the way the master and the mistress used to quarrel, mum," was the reply of Rosalie.

"Dear! dear!" exclaimed the lady. "Did they quarrel all the time?"

"All the time, mum," repeated Rosalie, "and mum, when it wasn't me and him, it was me and her."—*Youth's Companion*.

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WANTED—A COPY OF "THE PEOPLE'S POWER," a pamphlet published by me some years ago. Simeon Stetson, Bangor, Maine.

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Part IV—Our Tariff History by Schedules. Traces the tariff history of the leading products entering into the daily consumption of the people for one hundred and twenty-five years. Each chapter begins by giving tariff rates.

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