

# The Public

An International Journal  
*of*  
Fundamental Democracy

United States and Japan

Pastoriza, Champion of the  
People

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Published Weekly

Five Cents a Copy

One Dollar a Year

July 20, 1917

Number 1007

NEW YORK

Volume XX

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Weekly, \$3 per year

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Founded, 1898, by LOUIS F. POST and ALICE TEACHER POST

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Published Weekly by  
THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.,  
122 East Thirty-Seventh Street, New York City.

Single Copy, Five Cents      Yearly Subscription, One Dollar  
Canadian and Foreign, \$1.50

Entered as Second-Class Matter January 11, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.



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# The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

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## Editorial

The thought of the world is fixed upon Berlin today, as it was four months ago upon Petrograd. A government that for three years has held mankind in awe is at last brought in question by its own subjects. Revolutions come of the people, and the news that filters through the censors is too meager and confused to permit of confident judgment; but there is hope and expectation. Austria is known to be restive under German dominance, Turkey has lost upon every hand, and the people of Bulgaria are friends of Russia. Germany is almost alone in opposing a foe who grows stronger as she weakens. Her people are in despair; only a victory can spur them to the unequal contest; and victory appears to have passed forever out of their reach. The glamour of success that has reconciled the German people to absolutism while the rest of the world has been building democracies has disappeared, and they now find themselves worshipping an idol as impotent as it is hideous.

\* \* \*

The success of the militarist party under the leadership of Ludendorff, Hindenburg and the Crown Prince in substituting their representative, Michaelis, for the moderate Bethmann Hollweg, would appear to be the very thing best calculated to provoke the revolutionary spirit. Had the militarists yielded to the Reichstag's demand for a peace without annexations and indemnities, had they granted the very mild reforms sought, a union might have been brought about that would have renewed the flagging spirit of the people. But by refusing these moderate demands, by ignoring the meaning of the Russian revolution, and by stopping their ears to the cry of the world as well as their own people they have made a rift which, whether it widens slowly or opens suddenly, will never be closed, and which ultimately will engulf the men who made it. Prussianism has failed the Prussians, and the Hohenzollerns have been found wanting.

President Wilson's pronouncement that profits and patriotism are not to be mentioned in the same breath and that prices of basic necessities, both to the public and the Government, are to be fixed by governmental agencies, has been taken seriously by Wall Street, as evidenced by a depression in industrial stocks. The important question remaining is whether the Federal Trade Commission or any other agency at Washington has now or can acquire in the time at its disposal sufficient knowledge of costs in the basic industries to enable it to fix prices at reasonable rates. The steel makers were prompt to acquiesce, but their complacency was explained when reports from Pittsburgh quoted them as concurring in a belief that the 1916 prices would be about right. Radical reductions from the prices now being quoted could be made without giving us a fair price. These prices are out of all reason, and are offered by buyers who are willing to pay any amount for the steel they require. In the meantime, large orders contracted for far in advance are being delivered at a small fraction of current quotations and yet at a substantial profit to the producers. But the President's policy and his determination can be relied upon, and there is hope that before the war ends we shall see a revolutionary reduction in the price paid by the people to the small groups who for years have controlled the people's necessities and levied huge tribute on them.

\* \* \*

The capture of a third Parliamentary seat by the Sinn Feiners may not portend an Irish Republic, but it does give assurance that Ireland's plea for fair treatment will receive a consideration never before accorded it. Coming so close to the proposal for the convention called to devise a solution of the Irish question, these elections stand as a challenge to the powers that be. They indicate a spirit that will be satisfied with nothing less than freedom, and a boldness that dares any dangers for the sake of its ideal. They indicate

also the stupidity of British statesmen who have frittered away the good will of a neighboring people by compromises that granted nothing, and delays that exhausted their patience. These elections are an explicit mandate from the Irish people that temporizing must cease, and that the convention, if it is to justify its own existence, must bring forth a plan giving to Ireland at least the self-government enjoyed by Canada and Australia. If the Ulstermen will not venture thus far with the majority under liberal autonomy, they may live to see themselves separated entirely from the British Empire. This is not a time for overriding the rights of small nations. And concessions that might have been accepted gratefully two years ago are now demanded as an irreducible minimum. The British Tories and the German junkers have made the same mistake. There are men in this country who may profit by it.

\* \* \*

The failure of leadership in our big groups of primary producers was never more obvious than in the comparative silence with which the Senate Committee's war revenue bill has been received by organized labor and by all except a few of the farmers' organizations. It is true that Mr. Gompers' organization is represented in Congress by men who will take a leading part in the opposition to the Simmons-Penrose bill. But the American Federation of Labor itself has, so far as appears on the surface, done nothing to evoke an effectual public protest. This bill is the greatest triumph for predatory privilege in a generation. If its policy is established and followed, our disaffected radicals will be quite justified in branding this as "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight." By its terms, the supertax on incomes of more than \$40,000 is materially reduced, the proportion of war funds to be raised by taxation is reduced, the inheritance tax eliminated, and the tax on excess profits limited to about a fourth or a third of the tax levied by England.

\* \* \*

More and more clear grows the mistake made by Congress, when, in providing funds for the government railroad in Alaska it rejected the proposal of Congressman Bailey to pay all expenses by taking for the purpose the land values which the road would create. The rejection of the Bailey amendment was

not only an unbusinesslike proceeding from a railroad builder's point of view, but it is continually creating new obstacles to the development of Alaska. Thus a resident of Anchorage, the probable terminus of the road, reports that before the town site was surveyed there were already 2,000 squatters on hand to take possession. After surveyal lots on the site sold as high as \$2,500. To-day there are 6,000 persons in Anchorage and business lots rent for as high as \$300 a month. This value would have been taken to help pay for the road had the Bailey amendment been accepted. At Matanaska Junction, near the coal deposits, speculators are asking such exorbitant prices for lots that settlers are locating outside of the town limits. And the road is not yet in complete operation. Congress can still repair the mistake by authorizing taxation of Alaska land values for all Territorial public purposes. It should do so as soon as possible.

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When a few weeks ago the so-called vagrancy law of West Virginia was adopted, predictions were freely made that it was intended to be nothing more than a strike-breaking measure. These predictions are now verified. *The Weekly News Letter of the American Federation of Labor* of July 14 contains the following item from Charlestown, West Virginia:

Because miners employed by the Monte Coal Company at Ottawa were not permitted to present grievances to the management, they suspended work, and the company seized upon the vagrancy law to drive them back to their employment. Two miners and their sons were arrested and the company employed an attorney to assist the county prosecutor.

At the trial it was shown that one of the miners had secured employment elsewhere and was arrested while on his way to work. The jury could not agree in this case and the trial was transferred to Madison at the request of the company, which claimed an impartial jury could not be secured at Clothier.

The law imposes no penalty on owners of coal-bearing lands for withholding them from use. Its tendency is to put the miner more than ever at the mercy of the mine owner.

\* \* \*

An example of despotism that should nowhere be tolerated is the suppression by the German Government of Maximilian Harden's magazine, *Die Zukunft*. It is true that

Harden expressed sentiments distasteful to the ruling powers. But without freedom to utter the most extreme opinions of that kind, the right of free speech does not exist. It is true that Germany is at war. But unreserved discussion of war issues, which disclose no military movements to the enemy, is most fitting during war time. Moreover, in suppressing the paper the stupid bureaucracy has given comfort, if not aid, to enemy countries. It has, for instance, done something to soften our own chagrin over our postal censorship. It was mortifying to see Harden expressing his views in Germany with apparent impunity, while here, the Post Office Department was censoring papers right and left. The impression in other countries must have been even more unfavorable to us, while in Germany there must have been an inclination to gloat over our discomfiture. Now, by one stroke, the German Government destroys its advantage. Could anything be more stupid? However, it opens an opportunity for us. Let a strong popular protest put an end to our postal bureaucracy's censorship. Then the contrast in our favor will be restored and a great victory won for democracy.

\* \* \*

The proposal made to German-American Societies by the National Security League that they arrange mass meetings for the purpose of denouncing the German Government and pledging their loyalty is an extreme example of stupidity and downright caddishness. Stanwood Mencken, president of the League, announces that the replies received from the Societies will be made public, and the purpose is apparent of using all the mob-prejudice and meanness always available to the demagogue in time of war to coerce these citizens whose loyalty no one has the right to question. The societies would be justified in rejecting the proposal, if for no other reason, on the ground that the National Security League is composed of Tories utterly out of sympathy with the American spirit. Indeed, it is the National Security League and others like it that offers the best excuse to the man who withholds his support from the war. **THE PUBLIC** believes we must join our military strength to that of the Allies for the checking of Germany in spite of finding itself in disagreement with gentlemen of Mr. Mencken's type. But they are our heaviest cross.

For many who are thinking and working in the cause of a peace treaty that will bring lasting peace, the Far Eastern situation is the object of particular concern. Will the Allies, led by Russia and the United States, pledge themselves to refrain, not only from projects for extending their political power and dominion, but also from those financial and commercial projects that involve privileged control and exploitation of the public finances and the natural resources and public utilities of such weaker countries as China and the South American Republics? Unless they do, they cannot challenge the right of Japan to exploit the natural resources and financial needs of China, and to resent the encroachment of American or European interests in this field. But by framing a treaty that will repudiate economic imperialism, the western Allies can probably enlist the support of liberal forces in Japan and provide a basis for the peaceful settlement of the questions that are sure to arise in the Orient. **THE PUBLIC** presents this week an article on Japan by one of her most distinguished scientists and industrial leaders. The optimism of Dr. Jokichi Takamine may not be shared by those who see in Japan another Germany, even more closely controlled by a small ruling class. But it is the optimism of a man who knows and loves both the United States and Japan, and who has had unusual facilities for knowing and understanding the factors that will make for harmony or friction. As a chemist of world-wide distinction, Dr. Takamine is both a leader in the technical and scientific development of Japan and a contributor to American progress in the same field. In Japan he has been honored by the Government for his initiative in advancing technical education, and during a long visit there this year he organized the important Japan-America Society that now serves as a medium for co-operation between American and Japanese interests in Tokio.

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A delinquent tax sale at Edmonton, Alberta, shows that in trying to be good to some of her soldiers Canada has been unjust to the others as well as to the people at home. Through a mistaken policy of leniency with delinquent taxpayers, the city of Edmonton has got into financial straits. But finally a tax sale was ordered in May. There were 27,661 lots upon which taxes were unpaid,

but nearly 12,000 of these had to be withdrawn from the sale before it could begin, because their owners, having enlisted, were entitled to a stay under the Moratorium act. Thus the Moratorium, in this case, makes it possible for soldiers who are land owners to hold it out of use without payment of taxes until the end of the war. They may thus make it harder for their landless comrades to get homes on their return, or to find a chance to earn a living in the land for which they have fought. They may also withhold from the civilian population not only opportunities for self-support, but opportunities to produce material for support of the army. A nation cannot be more than just to some of its citizens without being less than just to others.

\* \* \*

Those who took seriously the argument advanced while the LaFollette Seamen's law was pending about the danger to American shipping of competition with low-paid Japanese seamen, may feel reassured on reading a Washington dispatch in the New York *Tribune* of July 14. This tells that Japanese seamen are deserting Japanese vessels to get the higher wages which other lines offer. The report says further that the places of the deserters are being filled with Negroes and Indians. But it is safe to predict that these too will soon learn of better opportunities. In emancipating American seamen, Congress freed the seamen of the world.

\* \* \*

The railroad advocate's argument for increased rates is in effect that investors cannot be attracted by ordinary returns. Unless they can get bigger dividends than a competitive business would yield they will not buy railroad securities. The argument, if correct, means that privately owned railroads must have monopoly profits. Then why have privately owned railroads?

### The Voice of the Farmer

The election of John M. Baer as Congressman from the First North Dakota district to fill a vacancy caused by the death of the incumbent is of the deepest significance. Coming as the climax of a sensational campaign in which he as the candidate of the Farmers' Nonpartisan League was denounced as traitorous and un-American, his election is clearly an indorsement by these northwestern

farmers of the League's attitude toward the war. That attitude was radical, but of an affirmative, positive radicalism having nothing in common with the negative opposition which is the best the Socialist Party has had to offer us. President Townley and other officers of the League who participated in the Congressional campaign made no secret of the reluctance with which they had accepted American participation. But they did accept it, and they accepted it with a determination to get behind President Wilson with all their power in order to make good his declaration that we are fighting in the cause of democracy. These North Dakota farm leaders have been more than aggressive—they have been pugnacious and even threatening in their insistence that Big Business and Special Privilege are not to remain in the saddle and use the war as a means of increasing their power. They have demanded and reiterated the demand for conscription of wealth. Their journal, the *Nonpartisan Leader*, is conducting an intelligent, aggressive and effective campaign for high income and excess profits taxes and against the Simmons-Penrose-Seligman plan of raising only about one-third of the war fund from taxation and borrowing the other two-thirds through bond issues. The *Leader* is insisting that Congress adopt President Wilson's recommendation that at least half of the expense be met by taxation. The temper of the northwest farmers can best be shown by quoting an editorial from the *Nonpartisan Leader* of July 5, printed on the eve of Mr. Baer's election. It is typical of the speeches and printed utterances to which the voters responded. Says the *Leader*, discussing Prof. Seligman's propaganda:

The rank and file of the people have willingly submitted to the selective draft to fill the army. Organized resistance would be treason. Yet here is the mouthpiece of Big Business apparently threatening an organized rebellion of the rich if their dollars are drafted. Do the war profiteers want it understood that they will resist with force efforts to take their profits to fight for democracy in Europe?

The individuals and publications who are resisting President Wilson's policy of war financing and using such men as Seligman for their propaganda are the ones who today are raising the cry of "treason" against every individual who ventures to express himself freely on the war, if his views happen to be a suggestion to the Government that these papers disapprove. Thus, the man who says that autocracy in America should be fought at the same time that autocracy in Europe is, is a traitor.

If anybody proposes conscription of wealth he is a traitor. Every effort of patriotic persons to keep this a war of democracy by permitting the people to have a voice in it apparently is to be throttled, on the ground that it is not "standing by the President in this crisis." Yet the press that is "hollering" the loudest about "putting a united country back of the President" and shouting "traitors" in every other breath, is the press that is fighting the President on his plan for financing the war. It is treason to suggest terms of peace. It is treason to suggest that the Liberty loan was a mistake. Yet it is not treason to undermine the President by a paid propaganda against taxation of swollen incomes and war profits.

The American people are getting suspicious of the persons who wrap themselves in the American flag and accuse everyone who disagrees with them of being a traitor. They are not forgetting that patriotism is often the last refuge of a scoundrel. The plutocrats of the United States will not succeed in trying to make their cause look patriotic and the people's cause look treasonable.

Here we have health, courage and determination enlisted in the democratic cause. These North Dakota farmers are men of action. Discouragement and dejection are not for them in this national crisis. Seeing the dangers as clearly as the most pessimistic Socialist, they refuse to fold their arms in futile dejection and admit defeat. They are sending their sons into the army and buying Liberty Bonds. But every farmer's boy in uniform, every bond in their banks, every additional acre of wheat, signifies for them the validity of their claim to a determining voice in the direction of the war, the method of its financing, the terms on which it shall end. Here, in the farmers of North Dakota, we find radicals who are not demoralized and impotent because the turn of events was not in the direction they wished. Mr. Baer's election served notice on every politician in Washington that something besides the defeat of Germany must come out of this war. It was properly enough that the New York newspapers friendly to Wall Street hailed it editorially as an evil omen.

### The Western Mine Strikes

From Arizona comes this month the same old story of industrial disorder beginning with a strike of miners and ending in terrorism practised by the mine owners with the help of favored employees, private armed guards, and a subservient business community, with public authority either participating on the side of the owners or maintaining a benevolent neutrality. The deportation from

Bisbee of 1,100 striking miners, who were rounded up by organized bands of armed men, working in the interest of the companies, and placed on cattle cars for transportation to the New Mexican desert, is a repetition on a slightly larger scale of what has occurred time and again in Colorado, Idaho and Utah. It is the familiar story of whole communities dominated by two or three resolute autocrats, wielding arbitrary economic power as agents of the men who own the natural resources on which the community existence depends.

Federal mediators who visited Arizona early in 1916 to mediate in the Clifton-Morenci strike reported that mine managers in the larger camps were even then installing machine guns, barbed wire stockades, armed guards, and all the other paraphernalia by which American industrial executives—those "strong men" who prefer ruthlessness to thinking—imagine they can meet the demand for industrial democracy. The Governor then was George W. P. Hunt, a democrat and a rare man, and he was greatly worried over the certain prospect that the "strong" young men from the eastern technical schools who had "come out" to rule for the Boston and New York owners would precipitate another and bloodier Colorado. That the flare-up was postponed was due chiefly to Governor Hunt's curious notion that the militia and police power of the State existed for the protection of the rights of the miners as citizens quite as much as for the protection of the mine owners and managers in the carrying out of their ideas of how mining properties should be conducted with relation to the liberties and rights of the miners. The companies never forgave Governor Hunt for using the militia to keep armed guards and strikebreakers out of Clifton and Morenci. They defeated him for re-election last fall by a narrow margin, resorting to all the methods by which a few men controlling the natural resources of a community dependent upon one industry are able to coerce, or buy, the press, the business community, and others of that small-propertied class that stays in one place and does the voting for American communities. It is here that we come to the heart of the matter. To place arbitrary control of the community's economic existence in the hands of a handful of mine managers is to destroy democracy, whether industrial or political.

If it is a settled eastern community, where the labor force is no longer migratory and therefore able by voting to exert its proportion of political strength, a balance of power can be worked out after years of struggle and recurrent disorder. Something like this has happened in the anthracite coal fields of eastern Pennsylvania. But at best it is an armed truce, with the attitude of each side toward the other continually tinged with apprehension, as a frank employer has phrased it. In the western metalliferous mines there is small hope of any similar development within the near future. There the situation has been aggravated by bitter memories on both sides. Ruthlessness by mine owners and their political agents has bred ruthlessness by labor. The old Western Federation of Miners, rechristened the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, is the only labor organization recognized by the American Federation of Labor in the metalliferous field, and its power is negligible owing to a bad name for violence and over-zealousness which it holds among the middle classes of Colorado and Arizona, and, strangely enough, to a bad name for subserviency to company interests which it holds among the miners of Butte. With the American Federation of Labor unrepresented by any strong organization, the field is clear for the Industrial Workers of the World, and the mine managers have done what they could to drive a considerable number of their employes into his radical organization, where the owners readily discredit them by exploiting the I. W. W. reputation for hostility to church and state.

The iniquity of turning whole communities over to the arbitrary control of profiteering private owners of the natural resources on which these communities depend hardly needs elaboration. Copper mining is one of the great basic industries that require large-scale operations, with huge capital investments and a close coordination with the public utilities and civic life of the mining communities. The successful operator must control not only his mines and a sufficient reserve supply of ore to insure operation for a long term of years, but also highly expensive crushing, reducing and smelting plants. Copper mining is today one of the industries in which continuous operation is essential to the carrying out of the plans on which the

safety and very life of the nation rest. The situation in Arizona and in Butte, where production has been nearly at a standstill, calls for such action as Secretary Wilson suggested when, in 1913, he discussed the Michigan copper strike in a speech at Seattle and said: "Law has created titles to property not primarily for the welfare of the men to whom it conveys them, but for the welfare of the community. If any individual or corporation takes the ground that he has the right to do with that property as he pleases, and fails to take into consideration that the title has only been conveyed to him as a trustee for the welfare of society, then he is creating a condition that will cause society to modify or change these titles to property, as it has a perfect right to do."

### Not a Rich Man's War

The old saying that wars mean wealth for the rich and fighting for the poor appears to be in the way of some modification. That the present war involves something beside doubling the profits of the financial interests and multiplying the taxes of the poor became apparent when Congress began to consider heavy taxes on incomes and war profits. True, the talk was timid and subdued, as of children wondering what their parents might say to a foray on the cookie jar, but it did nevertheless indicate that some members were at least conscious of their opportunity if not of their duty. It was about that time that rumors were heard that Wall Street was not in favor of the war.

These rumors increased in frequency as the Liberty Loan was given form and substance by the Government without the intermediation of the moneyed interests. When Secretary McAdoo presumed to float a loan at three and a half per cent after Wall Street had assured him that nothing less than four per cent would be taken, he was considered impertinent. When the people oversubscribed the loan by fifty per cent they were amazed. And when they were allotted only a part of their own subscriptions they felt hurt. But there remained one ray of hope. The law provided that if the interest of subsequent loans were higher the holders of Liberty Loan bonds could convert them into the higher class. Hence, if the first loan exhausted the country's patriotism—and Wall Street, judging by itself, has no doubt on

that score—the second loan will be at four per cent, or higher, and the mischief will be corrected. But now that reports from Washington indicate that the Secretary of the Treasury is as determined as before to put out the next loan at three and a half per cent, and without the intermediation of Wall Street, the denizens of that narrow way feel that it is nothing less than an outrage.

Nor is this all. Not only are war profits to be taxed, but they are to be arbitrarily limited. The tax is not nearly as heavy as it should be, and the limit will in all probability be placed too high; but it is a beginning. It is a bold and definite step in the direction of making the rights of property subservient to the welfare of society. It was not enough that the chairman of the Coal Production Committee of the Council of National Defense, himself a large operator, should voluntarily reduce the price at the mine. Secretary Daniels has challenged the equity of the proposed price, and refused to pay it for the Navy; and now Secretary Baker rejects the offer for the War Department. A little more such self-assertion on the part of Administration chiefs and we shall have conditions made enduring until they can be cured.

And now the President addresses business men a homily on being fair. It is evident that he realizes the limitations of such an appeal, for he says "justice is easier to speak of than to arrive at," and he gives warning that those who do not respond "in the spirit of those who have gone to give their lives for us on bloody fields far away, may safely be dealt with by opinion and the law." It is in the making of that opinion even more than in the law that effort should be centered; for the law itself is based upon public understanding, and administered by judges susceptible to public opinion. A presidential homily on patriotism is a poor substitute for the free play of natural law, but when the Chief Executive is clothed with such powers as those Congress has conferred upon President Wilson his point of view is of the utmost importance; and when he assumes the championship of popular rights rather than the defense of privilege it is highly significant. Not that what the President said in his appeal would, if wholly complied with, meet the situation permanently, but it is adding tremendously to that same public opinion that will compel a readjustment of economic

forces upon fundamental principles.

War at best is cruel, brutal, atrocious; the issuance of bonds instead of commandeering wealth as life is conscripted is gross favoritism; and the making of fortunes by some citizens while the country as a whole is making great sacrifices of men and wealth is the height of injustice. But this is a democracy; the people meet the future by their experience of the past. All these iniquitous conditions have prevailed heretofore, and they will be changed only as the people realize the injustice of present conditions, and understand the way to correct them. No statesman can get far ahead of the people; nor can he lag far behind. If, therefore, Secretary McAdoo floats government loans by direct appeal to the people, if Secretaries Daniels and Baker secure reasonable prices for supplies, if Secretary Wilson settles labor disputes without recourse to strikes or lockouts, if Secretary Houston secures greater production from the men on the farms, and if President Wilson is in sympathy with it all it is no inconsiderable assurance that the country is headed toward rather than away from democracy. And if such influences are encouraged it is not unlikely that the moneyed interests that heretofore have favored wars will be less inclined to do so in the future.

### Let Censorship Be Investigated

Indefinite and evasive is the Post Office Department in answering requests for information concerning its reasons for barring certain papers from the mails. In some cases it has declared the "tone" or "spirit" of the papers to be contrary to law. It is obvious that to admit the validity of such an explanation would be to concede to the Department power to suppress any paper on trivial grounds or on none at all. There is nothing in the section of the espionage act, urged in justification of the censorship, which authorizes so indefinite a pretext. The act forbids mailing of matter "urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to the United States," or of matter intended to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces. It would seem that even under the terms of that law, the burden of proof should be upon the Department to show wherein a paper has offended against the statute.

In the case of the *American Socialist* it is assured, though no official explanation has been given, that its issue of June 16 was debarred from the mails for advertising a leaflet, which, unknown to the publishers, had been declared unmailable. Yet when two young men who had distributed the same leaflet in Baltimore were arrested and brought to trial on July 11 in the Federal District Court, Judge John C. Rose directed their acquittal on the ground that it "contained nothing whatever to warrant a criminal charge to be lodged against any man for distributing it." Since the espionage act makes it criminal to transmit forbidden matter the judge's position is contrary to that of the Post Office Department. Judge Rose further announced a principle which seemed obvious enough before the present censorship began. He said:

Every man has a right, if he chooses to criticize adversely any system of society or any law, so long as he obeys that law when it remains a law.

Here again there seems considerable difference of opinion between Judge Rose and Solicitor Lamar of the Post Office Department. An adverse criticism of a law may easily be construed as contrary to it in "tone" or "spirit." And that, according to Mr. Lamar, would make it unmailable under the espionage law. It is desirable that the resolution introduced by Congressman London for an investigation of the whole censorship proceeding be passed as quickly as possible. And if the Post Office Department feels sure of its ground it should be most active in urging such action.

### Business Apart From Patriotism

In his appeal to business men President Wilson does well in insisting that patriotism has nothing to do with profits. He wants the question of prices treated in a businesslike way, with all sentiment, save for fair dealing, eliminated. That is but another way of saying that he does not want the Government to receive special favors. It is a sound position inasmuch as it deprives the interests to whom it is addressed of any ground for asking in return favors from the Government, or for pleading to retain privileges they now may hold. This is further implied in the statement that there must be no distinction between prices to the Government and to the

public. When the Government deals with private interests on a fair business basis, the interests have no warrant to ask that power be given them to plunder the public, or that such predatory power be left to them as protective tariffs bestow.

There are other things to be inferred from the President's appeal. A fair price for commodities cannot be determined by any selected group. It can only be determined in the open market under free competition with no artificial restrictions on production or distribution. Such conditions do not exist. With the best of intentions no business man can sell commodities without loss either to Government or people, without charging far more than a reasonable return on cost of production. He must include in his price all taxes on his material, machinery and buildings, all occupation taxes, license taxes and other taxes which States and localities are in the habit of imposing upon industry. He must include all tariff taxes, and must figure on stamp taxes and other indirect levies which Congress is now preparing to impose. He must charge for excessive railroad rates and other unjust burdens put upon him by public utility corporations, and for monopoly prices he may have to pay for material. Although the President did not see fit to go into these details it may be taken for granted that, knowing of the extent to which they enter into the question, he wishes to direct attention to the need of removing such obstacles.

Furthermore, all industry pays toll to the landlord. And since any change tending toward improvement must increase land values the President's appeal may be construed by some as a warning to landowners that they refrain from the usual custom of appropriating through increased rents the financial benefits to follow a reduced cost of living. But sentiment does not enter into rent collecting, and since those who use the land should pay someone for the privilege, the logic of the President's appeal tends to call attention to the need of relieving producers through abolition of taxation on industry and turning into the public treasury ground rent that would otherwise flow into private pockets. That is a practical method of insuring fair dealing which renders unnecessary a direct appeal to individuals or groups.

# Japan, the United States and the War

By Jokichi Takamine

The entrance of the United States into a state of war with Germany has caused much satisfaction in Japan. In the first place it makes for the peace that Japan desires, namely, as the result of the defeat of Germany in the field, bringing with it a pledge that tyrannical power shall not rule the world—a world-peace that will not be broken. In the second place, Japan finds in America as a fellow-worker in the war, the nation at the forefront of democracy and with which it is and has been closely akin.

There need be no worry about the democracy of Japan. It is safely and surely in the position to act whole heartedly with the democratised world, which will result from the war after the victory of the Allied Powers. It stands in a position peculiar to itself, that of an Empire whose institutions are administered by a democratic people under the guidance of a wise and far-seeing Emperor.

It is to be remembered that sixty years ago, when, with the abolition of the rule of the shoguns, the late Meiji Emperor came to the throne, he found a people utterly unlearned in the art of self-government. For two centuries and a half the Japanese people had had no share in the government; they had simply worked, lived and obeyed under a feudal system which gave them no choice to do otherwise. The progress of the Western nations in giving a share in the government to the people was entirely unknown to them. They knew nothing whatever of elective processes. The word "constitution" was not in their dictionary. They knew as little of the machinery of a local council or a National Parliament as they did of the steam engine, which was precisely nothing at all. And, as a matter of fact, the young Emperor took his seat on the ancestral throne as an absolute monarch, although in doing so he at once pledged himself to rule with the help of the people. He knew that the mass of the people were not only unskilled in the ways of government, but that their centuries of serfdom had destroyed the sense of responsibility which must be the first condition of those who would rule over their fellows and handle the ways and means of carrying on the State.

The first care of the Emperor and his ad-

visers was to see to the education of the general mass of the people. That was undertaken at once, and thousands of schools were opened and filled with the youth of the country, all eager to learn. Education became the passion of the whole nation. Colleges and universities sprang into existence, and a picture of the period that answered for all Japan was that of a school boy or girl reading a newspaper for their unlettered parents. Next it was announced by the Emperor that at a certain time, some five years in advance, local councils would be elected, and again, ten years in advance, the nation was told by the Emperor to prepare for a national Parliament. This wise foresight was justified in the fact that when finally the local councils were started and years later when the National Constitution was proclaimed and the first Parliament was elected, the electoral machinery worked without appreciable friction.

The absolute monarchy of 1868 had become a constitutional monarchy in 1889. Prince Ito, the Prime Minister, had, at the order of the Emperor, prepared the constitution after a thorough study of the constitutions of the most advanced nations of the world; and to Prince Ito also fell the task of forming the first parliamentary party in Japan. Others soon followed, and all shades of opinion soon found a party or a group to support their ideals in the halls of Parliament. The suffrage, at first limited, was after a time broadened, and there is no doubt that as political experience increases the suffrage will be gradually extended until it becomes at last universal suffrage. What I wish to point out is that a future of the broadest political liberty is assured to Japan. The orderly and systematic advance which has marked the progress of Japan at the hands of the Emperor and the intelligent working of the scheme of government in the hands of the people are sufficient guarantee that progress in the democratic sense will be continuous and complete and without shock. Remember that parliamentary government is little over a quarter of a century old in Japan, and admit that the achievement has already been enormous. If one looks to China and

notes the difficulties of suddenly applying western ideals of freedom to a people wholly inexperienced in self-government, one must be certain that the graduated course of political progress in Japan is much to be preferred.

While Japan admired the efficiency of the Germans, it was to other and more liberal countries that she looked for light upon the questions of government. In the war that is now raging a victory for Japan and her Allies will mean not only an era of peace, but a strong state of ordered freedom the world around. Japan is proud to be a partner in such a mighty and magnificent movement

and welcomes the United States and her people to their potent place in the conflict. The militaristic, aggressive, tyrannical class spirit which possessed Germany and forced her into a brutalizing war of conquest against all the rights of humanity must find its grave, from which there will be no resurrection. Then each nation and all the peoples of the world may pursue their course in peace, working out their ideals of progress and happiness in their own way with a mutual respect and a warm enlightened friendship. In this happy state, America and Japan should be drawn closer and closer together—a pattern for the world.

## Pastoriza, Champion of the People

By Paul C. Edwards

When Joseph Jay Pastoriza was elected mayor of Houston the people gained a leader who was one of them. If ever a man rose to public life through the sheer dominance of his own personality and through unremitting devotion to a high ideal, that man was the humble, homely, ungainly patriot who died a few days ago in that growing Texas city, victim to an intense passion for service to humanity.

Pastoriza's life was lived for one great purpose. He lived and labored to emancipate humanity from the curse of poverty, not by giving alms, not by founding institutions, but by uprooting a false economic system. He was ready at any time to sacrifice his life to this cause, and that is exactly what he did.

Neither loss of health nor fortune swerved him from his course. He fought steadily, doggedly, patiently, cheerfully, always toward the goal. The memory of him today is a monument to his wonderful perseverance.

Of Spanish parentage, he came to Houston when but a child. He was not endowed with wealth. His first venture into business was as a newsboy. I have heard him relate the story of how, barefooted and ragged, he perched on the curbstone, a sheaf of papers under his arm and a few pennies in his pocket and dreamed of some day being mayor of his city. It was his life-time ambition. In his boyhood it was merely the expression of a high hope to succeed, but in his later years it became the aspiration of a deeper purpose, the great desire to serve his fellow man.

Joe Pastoriza succeeded well in a material way. He was honest. He was just. But he was also wise. He had energy and intelligence. He did not let opportunities slip past. By the time he reached mid-life he had established a prosperous printing business, had acquired property and was comfortably well-to-do.

I do not know just when the great light of truth shone upon him from the works of Henry George. But from the time he grasped the justice of that doctrine until the day of his death I do know that he never overlooked a chance to further the cause. His philosophy threw him into contact with the late H. F. Ring, a resident of Houston and known to singletaxers all over America as the author of "The Case Plainly Stated." For many years Pastoriza and Ring, as devoted disciples of the cause, worked shoulder to shoulder to carry the gospel to every part of the southwest.

But Pastoriza was not content to be a mere advocate. He wanted to translate his beliefs into action. He definitely planned to take public office in order to put his philosophy into actual administrative government.

That is how he came to run for tax commissioner of Houston. And the way he conducted his campaign was typical of the man. He purchased newspaper space, used it liberally to state his principles and asked those who believed as he did to vote for him and those who differed from him to vote for somebody else.

The political situation in Houston at the

time was bad. The people of the city did not realize it, but Pastoriza did. He knew that the ring that was running the city would some day have to be split up. He was a rank outsider. He was not identified with the ring and his intrusion was frowned upon, but his open, frank campaign won the people, and Pastoriza went into office, becoming one of the governing board of four commissioners and a mayor.

He did not begin his reforms at once. The common opinion of him in the minds of his city hall associates was that he was a harmless crank. He was clever enough to take advantage of this wrong impression. He began a campaign of education. By slow degrees he worked forward. When he had finally convinced many men of standing in the community that tax valuations on property were very unequally administered he was ready for the first step. That was to install the unit system of valuations.

The small home owner had been bearing a wholly disproportionate share of the tax burden. The new system brought this injustice to light. The result was that Pastoriza became the idol of the small property holder. And it didn't take the big property owner and the big land owner long to discover that they had been outwitted.

It was the signal for the battle to begin on this humble man who had risen to a position of authority in the city hall. That warfare was kept up to the very day that Joe Pastoriza died.

He proved himself an adversary worthy of their steel. They did not frighten him. They could not influence him. He kept his eyes turned ever on his ideal. His next step was to reduce assessments on improvements, stocks of merchandise, personal property and other products of labor, to take the tax off money in the bank, and to increase the assessments on land values. His inclination was to throw the whole burden upon the land owners, but Pastoriza was too keen to make the change all at once. He planned to do it by degrees.

The land owners, however, were soon roused. They predicted ruin. But events belied their words. Houston entered upon an era of building and growth that it has not since equalled. The physical facts could not overcome the landlords' cupidity, though, and finally they carried the matter into the

courts, attacking the so-called Houston Plan of taxation on the grounds that it was contrary to the constitution of Texas. Pastoriza's answer was characteristic.

"If you want constitutional taxation, gentlemen," he said to them, "I'll give it to you. But it will mean everything you have will be taxed at its full value."

Needless to say, it was not constitutional taxation they wanted. They desired a return to the old system, where the small home owner paid the biggest share and big real estate holder got off with "what he thought was right."

They won. A court decision knocked out the Houston Plan of taxation. Pastoriza saw his work shattered.

But he did not stop the fight. He began all over again to instill into the hearts of his fellow citizens the principles of common justice. He was elected tax commissioner a second and a third time. He saw the old city hall ring shattered and an entire new regime installed. He was the only survivor of the old commission. The people believed in him. They knew he was sincere and honest. The most influential men in the city could call him a crazy man and a destroyer all they wanted to. The common people paid no heed. They knew him. They welcomed a chance to vote for him.

When Pastoriza entered the mayoralty campaign the selfish interests of the city were mobilized to bring about his defeat.

"That man mayor of our fair city! Never!" was their attitude. The campaign against him had never been equalled in Houston for vituperation, slander and crookedness. But the people were still with Joe Jay Pastoriza and he easily outdistanced three opponents. The dream of his newsboy days was realized.

He took office last April. He set about at once to inaugurate a period of economy in the city government. It was not long before his enemies were barking at his heels, however, and every day of his administration he was harassed. They didn't want him to have a chance.

Pastoriza had a frail body and a weak constitution. He kept going on nerve power. The strain was too great. He succumbed. He left his office one morning, feeling ill, and went home. His life suddenly flickered out as he was preparing to go to bed for a rest.

That's the mortal story of this remarkable

man. But behind him he left plenty of milestones to mark his ascendancy toward the goal he had set.

He taught Houston the principles of the Singletax. One of his famous examples was a log cabin he erected years ago far on the outskirts of the city. He told his fellow citizens to watch that cabin and some day, without his having ever done one thing more to improve it, the land would be worth several times what he paid for it. Of course his prophecy was more than fulfilled. The log cabin stands today in the midst of a populous and fashionable residence district.

He secured amendments to the city charter providing for the referendum, the initiative and recall.

He put the preferential ballot system into the city's fundamental law.

He made the taxation system less easy for the grafter to exploit.

He let the light of publicity into a ring-ruled city hall.

He was the most progressive citizen Houston had. He traveled extensively to learn what other cities were doing in betterment. He even went to Europe to study governmental methods. In England he spent some time with Lloyd George, the man who has awakened that nation.

His great ideal was the Singletax, his great love was for his devoted wife, his great pride was for his boy, now grown to manhood and a promising young electrical engineer.

By his death the Singletax movement in America has lost a valuable and untiring advocate, and one of its most interesting figures.

### THE GAMBLERS

I saw a vision when the night was old:

A throng of gamblers, pale with hate and greed,  
Sat at the dice and played with human need;  
While through the casement peered from outer cold,  
The weak, the starved, who sought a friendly fold.  
There waited all who vainly toil and bleed,  
Whose prayers go up, though there be none to heed;  
From whom the gamesters more and more withhold.

The rattling dice smote like a dead man's bones;  
With every throw went up a careless shout,  
With every throw fair lives were blotted out;  
From nether gloom there sounded cries and moans;  
Until at last, as silent as a breath,  
O'er all there spread the grasping hand of Death.

RICHARD WARNER BORST.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending July 17.

### Congressional Doings

A land value tax proposal was introduced in the Senate on July 10 by Senator Lewis of Illinois as an amendment to the war revenue bill. It provides for raising of \$100,000,000 by a special tax on unoccupied or uncultivated lands. [See current volume, page 675.]

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The Enemy Trade bill passed the House on July 11 without a roll call. It forbids trading or attempting to trade with an enemy except with a license from the Secretary of Commerce. The Federal Trade Commission is empowered to issue licenses for the use of patents held by citizens of every nation. The person or corporation obtaining such a license must pay five per cent of all sales to the custodian of the alien owner of the patent. The law still permits citizens of enemy nations to obtain patents in the United States. On the day preceding passage the House eliminated from the bill two sections providing for a censorship of the mails and prohibiting the sending of communications in any form to enemy countries.

\* \*

Representative Jeannette Rankin introduced in the House on July 10 a bill for war allowances to families of soldiers. If passed, wives with no children will receive \$30 a month; with one child, \$45; with two, \$60, and with more than two, \$75.

\* \*

The House passed on July 14 an appropriation of \$640,000,000 to build 22,000 aeroplanes. In the Senate the Food Control bill awaits agreement thereon of different elements. At a conference of Republican and Democratic leaders on July 16 a tentative decision was reached under which the bill will be considerably modified. A board of three will have control instead of one man, Herbert C. Hoover. Control is to be limited to foodstuffs shipped in interstate commerce and a minimum price is to be fixed for wheat.

### President Denounces War Profiteering

In an address to business men on July 11, President Wilson called attention to prospective price fixing by the Government on supplies it is to purchase for the war. He said in part:

A just price must, of course, be paid for everything the Government buys. By a just price I mean a price which will sustain the industries concerned in a high state of efficiency, provide a living for those who conduct them, enable them to pay good wages, and make possible the expansions of their enterprises which will from time to time become necessary as the stupendous undertakings of this great war develop. We could not wisely or reasonably do less than pay such prices. They are necessary for the maintenance and development of industry, and the maintenance and development of industry are necessary for the great task we have in hand.

But I trust that we shall not surround the matter with a mist of sentiment. Facts are our masters now. We ought not to put the acceptance of

such prices on the ground of patriotism. Patriotism has nothing to do with profits in a case like this.

I hear it insisted that more than a just price, more than a price that will sustain our industries, must be paid; that it is necessary to pay very liberal and unusual profits in order to "stimulate production"; that nothing but pecuniary rewards will do—rewards paid in money, not in the mere liberation of the world.

I take it for granted that those who argue thus do not stop to think what that means. Do they mean that you must be paid, must be bribed, to make your contribution, a contribution that costs you neither a drop of blood nor a tear, when the whole world is in travail and men everywhere depend upon and call to you to bring them out of bondage and make the world a fit place to live in again amidst peace and justice?

Let me turn for a moment to the ship owners of the United States and the other ocean carriers whose example they have followed and ask them if they realize what obstacles, what almost insuperable obstacles, they have been putting in the way of the successful prosecution of this war by the ocean freight rates they have been exacting. They are doing everything that high freight charges can do to make the war a failure, to make it impossible. I do not say that they realize this or intend it. The thing has happened naturally enough, because the commercial processes which we are content to see operate in ordinary times have, without sufficient thought, been continued into a period where they have no proper place. I am not questioning motives. I am merely stating a fact, and stating it in order that attention may be fixed upon it. The fact is that those who have fixed war freight rates have taken the most effective means in their power to defeat the armies engaged against Germany. When they realize this, we may—I take it for granted—count upon them to reconsider the whole matter. It is high time. Their extra hazards are covered by war risk insurance.

And there is something more that we must add to our thinking. The public is now as much part of the Government as are the army and navy themselves; the whole people in all their activities are now mobilized and in service for the accomplishment of the nation's task in this war; it is in such circumstances impossible justly to distinguish between industrial purchases made by the Government and industrial purchases made by the managers of individual industries; and it is just as much our duty to sustain the industries of the country, all the industries that contribute to its life, as it is to sustain our forces in the field and on the sea. We must make the prices to the public the same as the prices to the Government.

The case needs no arguing. I assume that I am only expressing your own thoughts—what must be in the mind of every true man when he faces the tragedy and the solemn glory of the present war, for the emancipation of mankind. I summon you to a great duty, a great privilege, a shining dignity and distinction. I shall expect every man who is not a slacker to be at my side throughout this great enterprise. In it no man can win honor who thinks of himself.

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On the day following this statement representatives of the steel industry met to discuss prices with the Secretary of War, Secretary of the Navy, the chairman of the Shipping Board, and Bernard Baruch of the Council of National Defense. They

agreed to put their entire output at the disposal of the Government at a price to be fixed, after investigation, by the Federal Trade Commission. The steel men suggested during the discussion that a price of \$40 or \$50 a ton for raw material made it impossible to produce steel at a price quoted unofficially by the Government.

#### The Free Speech Fight

The postal censorship of the press was discussed at a luncheon meeting in New York on July 13, under the auspices of the Civil Liberties Bureau of the American Union Against Militarism. Amos Pinchot presided. The speakers were Frederic C. Howe, John Reed, Dr. Frank Crane, Max Eastman, Dudley Field Malone, Abraham Cahan, Royal J. Davis, Annie Herenden, Stoughton Cooley, Charles W. Ervin, Morris Hillquit and Roger N. Baldwin. All voiced protests against the action of the Post Office Department. A telegram from John Temple Graves was in similar vein, as were letters from Rolla Gavitt and Don Seitz. It was unanimously voted to send a committee to present a protest to the President.

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The *American Socialist*, of which the issue of June 30 had been held up by the postal authorities, because the issue of June 16 was objectionable, appeared on July 7 reduced to two pages. To obtain this privilege it had to be changed twice to suit the censorship when it was finally approved for transmission through the mails. When the first proof was submitted to the authorities in charge the publishers were informed that it would have to be sent on to Washington for an opinion. Since this involved a probable delay of weeks with no assurance of permission to mail, the publishers objected and finally gained permission to submit other proofs. The censors compelled it to eliminate copies of letters sent by the paper to President Wilson, to Congressmen, and to the Russian Ambassador calling attention to the action of the Department. It was also compelled to take out a statement saying that it felt itself within the law in doing everything legally within its power to maintain its constitutional rights.

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On hearing the habeas corpus case of Harry Aurin in New York, sentenced to 90 days in the workhouse for distributing circulars quoting from the Declaration of Independence, Justice A. P. Hendrick of the Brooklyn Supreme Court said:

It is conceded in this case that Aurin distributed the circulars, quoting certain sections from the Declaration of Independence and concluding with a line consisting of these words: "Does the Government live up to these principles?"

While my mind is open to conviction to the contrary, I entertain serious doubt as to whether or not a crime has been committed. Because the country is engaged in war and because the offending circular was distributed on July 4 do not deprive the people of their right to criticize the Government—or the laws, for that matter. I have no desire to release any one who may have attempted to incite treason or riot, but the mere act of handing out circulars of the character mentioned in this case can hardly be regarded as a disorderly act, whether it be on July 4, at a patriotic meeting or at any other time.

Final decision was postponed until July 17. [See current volume, page 676.]

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Congressman Meyer London introduced on July 10 a resolution for an investigation of the Post Office Department's censorship. It was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. It requires the Postmaster General to explain definitely why the following papers have been barred from the mails: *The Socialist News* of Cleveland, *The American Socialist* of Chicago, *The Michigan Socialist* of Detroit, *St. Louis Labor News*, *St. Louis Social Revolution*, *Appeal to Reason* of Girard Kans., *The People's Press* of Philadelphia, *International Socialist Review* of Chicago, *The Rebel* of Hallettsville, Texas, *The Masses* of New York, Tom Watson's *Jeffersonian* of Thomasville, Ga., and *The People's Bulletin* of Chicago.

An application to Federal District Judge Learned Hand was made by Merrill Rogers, business manager of *The Masses*, on July 13, for an injunction to forbid Postmaster Patten of New York from barring that paper from the mails. On July 16, the date set for hearing, Assistant District Attorney Earl B. Barnes, acting for the postmaster, asked for time to read back numbers of *The Masses* so that he might be able to show that they contained matter advocating resistance to the draft. Gilbert Roe, attorney for *The Masses*, objected on the ground that officials who suppress publications should have their evidence beforehand and not look it up after action has been taken. The judge finally postponed further hearing until July 21.

**Farmers' Congressional Victory**

John M. Baer, Farmers' Non-partisan candidate for Congress in the First North Dakota district, was elected in a triangular contest at the special election on July 10. Returns from 465 out of 544 precincts in the district give Baer 11,302 votes to 8,396 for Burtness, Republican, and 3,097 for Bangs, Democrat. Baer's plurality, 2,906. The missing precincts are expected to increase Baer's lead and possibly give him a clear majority. He carried every county in the district but one. His campaign was made on the issue of conscription of wealth for war purposes, which the League demands. Labor organizations co-operated with the farmers.

**Tentative War Tax Referendum**

A referendum vote on questions relating to the war has been taken by *Equity* of Philadelphia, the organ of the direct legislation and proportional representation movements. Five questions were submitted to the members of the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association and the American Sociological Society. These were:

**QUESTION No 1**

Shall incomes in excess of necessity for reasonable comfort be conscripted during this war as the chief reliance for meeting the expenses of the war?

**QUESTION No. 2**

Which of the following amounts should be made the starting point of incomes to be taxed directly

for war expenses (allowing additional exemption of \$1,000 for dependent consort and \$300 for each dependent child)? \$1,000, \$1,500, \$2,000, \$2,500, \$3,000.

**QUESTION No. 3**

What should be the lowest percentage rate to be imposed on the minimum taxable income? Indicate opinion in the following scale: 1 per cent., 2 per cent., 3 per cent., 4 per cent., 5 per cent., 6 per cent., 7 per cent., 8 per cent., 9 per cent., 10 per cent.

**QUESTION No. 4**

What should be the maximum income permitted to an individual after payment of income tax? Indicate opinion in following scale: \$25,000, \$50,000, \$75,000, \$100,000, \$150,000, \$200,000.

**QUESTION No. 5**

Shall the conscription of incomes be practically the sole means of obtaining war revenues so that there shall be no need for stamp taxes on railroad tickets, commercial paper, etc., and no increases of excises, duties, postal rates, etc.?

The number of votes cast was 1,008. The result as published in the July issue of *Equity* was as follows:

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| Number voting "yes" on question 1 as printed and therefore counted for income conscription as the "chief reliance" of war finance ..... | 319        |
| Number voting for income conscription but also for other forms of taxation.....   | 312        |
| Number voting "no" on Question 1 but indicating that they are favorable to conscription of income in principle.....                     | 216        |
| <b>Total in the affirmative.....</b>  | <b>847</b> |
| Number voting positively against the principle of conscripting incomes for war finance .....  | 161        |

Total votes to date..... 1,008

On Question 2, as to the starting point favored for a progressive income tax system, the result to date is as follows: To start at \$1,000, 601 votes; to start at \$1,500, 180 votes; to start at \$2,000, 162 votes; to start at \$2,500, 49 votes; to start at \$3,000, 91 votes.

On Question 3, as to the starting point for the rate of taxation, the result to date is as follows: To start at 1 per cent., 294 votes; to start at 3 per cent., 63 votes; to start at 4 per cent., 50 votes; to start at 5 per cent., 155 votes; to start at 6 per cent., 8 votes; to start at 7 per cent., 3 votes; to start at 8 per cent., 3 votes; to start at 9 per cent., 0 votes; to start at 10 per cent., 32 votes.

On Question 4 the vote was: For a limit of \$25,000, 123 votes; for a limit of \$50,000, 159 votes; for a limit of \$75,000, 45 votes; for a limit of \$100,000, 239 votes; for a limit of \$150,000, 22 votes; for a limit of \$200,000, 78 votes.

On Question 5 the vote was 562 to 415 against exclusive conscription of incomes.

**Lawlessness in Arizona**

The activity of the I. W. W. in strikes in the Arizona copper regions has led to wholesale deportation. Sixty-seven members of the order were driven out of Jerome, Arizona, on July 10 by a mob. On July 12, 1,100 members at Bisbee were taken by a sheriff's posse, put on cattle cars, and deported into New Mexico. They were put off at Hermanas, New Mexico, a station in the desert containing but three

houses. Provisions were sent to them from the United States Army base at El Paso. They were then taken by the sheriff of the county to Columbus, where they were held under arrest pending solution of the problem of how to dispose of them. An appeal to President Wilson to stop further deportations was sent on July 12 from Globe, Arizona, by the local representatives of the Federal Department of Labor, ex-Governor George W. P. Hunt and John McBride. Governor Campbell of Arizona asked, on the same day, for Federal troops to help the situation. On July 13 President Wilson wrote to Governor Campbell as follows:

"Secretary of War has instructed General Parker to send officers to Arizona at once to report to him conditions there with a view to co-operating in the maintenance of order.

"Meantime, may I not respectfully urge the great danger of citizens taking the law into their own hands, as your report indicates their having done. I look upon such actions with grave apprehensions. A very serious responsibility is assumed when such precedents are set.

"WOODROW WILSON."

#### Tax Reform News

The Commissioners of Perryville, Maryland, have announced the passage of an ordinance exempting from local taxation "all household goods, merchandise and other forms of personal property and improvements of every kind." Taxes will be levied on site values only. The Commissioners, Willis B. Gorrell, George B. Campbell and Harvey S. Rutter, declare the object to be to build up the town, induce settlers to locate and to make it an attractive and desirable place in which to live. "We want houses, stores and industries of all kinds, and propose to offer them every inducement." Perryville is the third Maryland town to take advantage in this way of the recently adopted home rule in taxation provision of the Constitution. The others are Hyattsville and Columbia Heights. [See current volume, page 507.]

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A public hearing was held by the Taxation Committee of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention on July 5 in behalf of a resolution introduced by Delegate Kerr of Malden, who is a member of the Massachusetts Singletax League. The resolution states:

The legislative authority of the Commonwealth is hereby declared to have full power and authority and the several cities and towns of the Commonwealth are hereby given and granted full power and authority to impose and levy taxes upon the site-value of land within their respective jurisdictions, at a rate higher than that on other objects of taxation.

The site-value of any tract of land is hereby defined for the purposes of this amendment as the fair cash value of said tract of land minus the value of all improvements, growing crops, orchards, and timber therein or thereon, and plus the additional value which said tract would have if no taxes whatever were to be levied upon it.

The legislative authority of the Commonwealth is hereby declared to have full power and authority to abolish any or all taxes levied by the said Commonwealth except taxes upon the site-value of land, and to each of the several cities and towns of the Commonwealth, full power and authority is hereby given and granted to abolish any or all

taxes levied by the said city or town except taxes upon the site-value of land.

Professor Lewis J. Johnson, president of the League, and J. S. Codman, vice-president, addressed the committee.

#### European War

Russia's advance in Galicia continues without serious check. Halicz has been taken, the prisoners captured from July 1 to July 13 number 36,643, and the army appears to be equipped with artillery and munitions for an extensive campaign. On the west front the week brought no action of importance, although there were a number of lesser engagements. [See current volume, page 677.]

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The political crisis in Germany for the time being overshadows the military. All news is censored and rumors are conflicting, but enough seems to have been verified to indicate very strained relations at Berlin between the legislative and the executive branches of the Government. The opposition to the Government in the Reichstag obtained control of that body, and refused to vote the new credit bills until certain reforms were granted and war aims were stated. The Kaiser is reported to have promised universal suffrage in Prussia in time for the next election. The crisis continuing, General von Hindenburg, Chief of Staff, and General von Ludendorff, Chief Quartermaster General, the two leading military men of the Empire, were summoned, together with the Crown Prince, in conference with the Crown Council. Little definite information has been given out, but Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg has resigned and his office has been assumed by Dr. Georg Michaelis. Foreign Minister Zimmermann has been supplanted by Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, German Minister to Copenhagen. The peace resolution upon which the Reichstag majority stands reads as follows:

As on Aug. 4, 1914, so on the threshold of the fourth year of the war, the German people stand upon the assurance of the speech from the throne—"We are driven by no lust of conquest."

Germany took up arms in defense of its liberty and independence and for the integrity of its territories. The Reichstag labors for peace and a mutual understanding and lasting reconciliation among the nations. Forced acquisitions of territory and political, economic and financial violations are incompatible with such a peace.

The Reichstag rejects all plans aiming at an economic blockade and the stirring up of enmity among the peoples after the war. The freedom of the seas must be assured. Only an economic peace can prepare the ground for the friendly association of the peoples.

The Reichstag will energetically promote the creation of international juridical organizations. So long, however, as the enemy Governments do not accept such a peace; so long as they threaten Germany and her allies with conquest and violation, the German people will stand together as one man, hold out unshaken and fight until the rights of itself and its allies to life and development are secured. The German nation united is unconquerable.

The Reichstag knows that in this announcement it is at one with the men who are defending the

Fatherland; in the heroic struggles they are sure of the undying thanks of the whole people.

The policy of the new officials has not been announced. No promises have been made to make the Chancellor responsible to the Reichstag; nor has the power to declare war and make peace been surrendered by the Kaiser. The Crown Prince is credited with having had much to do with the resignation of the Chancellor, which is taken to be a triumph of the militarist party.

\* \*

The number of British merchantmen sunk by mines and submarines as given out by the Admiralty was 14 ships over 1,600 tons and 3 less than that tonnage, with seven fishing boats. This is the smallest toll reported since March 11, and is taken to indicate greater efficiency on the part of the Allied Governments and America. The number of vessels arriving at British ports for the same week was 2,898, and the number of departures, 2,798.

\* \*

The enlisted strength of the American Navy is now 131,013; the war strength is 150,000 men. The enlisted strength of the regular army has reached 253,000 men, of whom 144,117 have enlisted since April 1. Preparations for the building of ships and aeroplanes, and the assembling of men and munitions comprise the announced activities of the United States in the military field.

#### China

Republican troops had little difficulty in entering Peking, or in overwhelming the monarchist forces that had taken refuge in the Forbidden City. Dictator Chang Hsun has taken refuge in the Dutch Legation, and the Manchu dynasty has gone down a second time. The direction of affairs has been assumed by Feng Kou-chang as Provisional President. Minor disturbances are reported from various parts of the country, but all appear to be of a local character, and without serious import. Premier Tuan Chi-jui, it is announced, will establish headquarters in Peking, which is taken to indicate that the Republic has been completely restored. [See current volume, page 678.]

#### Russia

The American Commission to Russia, after making a month's survey of conditions there, expresses the conviction that the nation will surmount its difficulties, and give effective aid in the war against Germany. The Commission notes many obstacles to be overcome, including the widespread German propaganda, transportation, and the reorganization of the country's economic life. The question of food, because of lack of transportation, is likely to be serious. In a statement to the Associated Press, Mr. Root, chairman of the Commission, said:

The mission has accomplished what it came here to do, and we are greatly encouraged. We found no organic or incurable malady in the Russian democracy. Democracies are always in trouble, and we have seen days just as dark in the progress of our own.

We must remember that a people in whom all constructive effort has been suppressed for so long cannot immediately develop a genius for quick

action. The first stage is necessarily one of debate. The solid, admirable traits in the Russian character will pull the nation through the present crisis. Natural love of law and order and capacity for local self-government have been demonstrated every day since the revolution. The country's most serious lack is money and adequate transportation. We shall do what we can to help in both.

\* \*

The municipal elections in Moscow are reported carried by the Socialist bloc. The Liberals (Constitutional Democrats) were second. As eighty per cent of the voters took part, the result is considered of great importance. [See current volume, page 678.]

#### Land Question in Argentina

In his message to the Argentine Congress, President Ingoyen said concerning the land question:

We require a new orientation in our agrarian policy in order to arrive at the subdivision of property and the procuring of its more profitable exploitation; to give employment to laborers, competent but lacking means, who cannot make up their minds to abandon urban centers; to attract and to procure the settlement of currents of immigration, all of which means increased production and a better distribution of wealth. It has been a constant aspiration of the Government to concede the land to the colonist, and with this object the laws facilitate the sale of fiscal lands, but results hitherto have not come entirely up to expectations. Even in the case of private ownership, large extensions still remain undivided and unproductive. There is lacking in the rural population the small agrarian capitalist in a position to take up land by purchase. It is therefore of little use to offer it for sale, however attractive the conditions; the colonists, generally speaking, are not in a position to buy it.

## NOTES

—Education and board in a Japanese girls' finishing school costs \$10 a month: Tuition, \$2.50; board, \$5, and extras, \$2.50.

—General L. G. Korniloff, who is now leading the Russian advance in Galicia, was himself captured by the Austrians in the spring of 1915 and interned in Bohemia. He escaped in 1916 and is now leading a victorious army into Austria.

—In its suit against West Virginia coal operators at New York the Federal government presented documents showing that in the last three years the miners have received a total increase of 13 cents a ton in wages, while price increases during the same period have ranged from \$1.75 to \$2.25 a ton.

—The case of D. E. Loewe & Co. against the Danbury hatters was finally settled on July 14. The United Hatters of North America gave the firm a check for \$165,000, which, together with attachments collected by the firm of \$70,000 savings of individual members of the local union, liquidates the claim.

—The New York County Chapter of the American Red Cross announced on July 9 that 473 members of the Japanese Association, Inc., have joined the organization, eight becoming life members. This result is attributed to the campaign among the Japanese of Dr. T. C. Takami and Horichiro Maedako.

—Indiana will not elect delegates to a Constitu-

tional Convention this year. The Supreme Court has held unconstitutional the act of the Legislature calling for a convention. The decision states that the Legislature has power to submit to a vote the question of calling a convention, but cannot itself call for one. Unless a special session of the Legislature will be called, no further step toward constitutional revision can now be taken until 1919.

—The committee in charge of the Conference on the High Cost of Living to be held at the Raleigh Hotel in Washington on July 30 and 31 reports that it will be a notable one, with a large attendance of out-of-town delegates and addresses by some of the best leaders in the democratic movement. Farm and labor organizations will be represented, as will Congress and the administrative departments of the Government.

—That Pope Benedict XV. approves of the Jewish Zionist movement is reported by the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs. He recently granted an interview to Mr. Nahum Zokolow, a Zionist representative. In this interview the Pope is said to have repeatedly declared himself in accord with the aim of re-establishing Palestine as a Jewish nation, and only wished assurances that the holy places would be properly safeguarded. This, Mr. Zokolow informed him, would be done.

—A public hearing on regulations for carrying out the provisions of the Federal child labor law will be held at the office of the Assistant Secretary of Labor in Washington on July 24, at 10 A. M. The law becomes effective on September 1 and prohibits shipments in interstate commerce of products of establishments employing children under 14, or requiring of children between 14 and 16 more than eight hours work in any one workday; more than six days a week or before 6 A. M. or after 7 P. M. It further forbids employment of children under 16 in any mine or quarry.

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States for the eleven months ending May, 1917, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for May, 1917:

|             | Exports.        | Imports.        | Balance.             |
|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Merchandise | \$5,713,300,303 | \$3,352,557,046 | \$3,365,643,157 Exp. |
| Gold.....   | 224,756,957     | 885,826,975     | 661,080,018 Imp.     |
| Silver..... | 69,315,167      | 82,768,127      | 36,547,040 Exp.      |
| Total.....  | \$6,013,372,327 | \$3,271,169,148 | \$2,741,110,179 Exp. |

The exports for May, 1917, were \$550,977,215, as compared with \$474,803,637 for May, 1916, and \$274,218,142 in 1915. The imports for May, 1917, were \$280,561,964, as compared with \$229,188,957 in 1916, and \$142,284,851 in 1915. [See current volume, page 582.]

The National Conference on Democracy and Terms of Peace held in New York on May 30 and 31 protested to the President and Congress against interference with constitutional rights, against tampering by postal authorities with private mail, against searches of private premises and seizure of letters without warrant, against arrests without warrant, and against withholding of passports from American citizens. It urged abolition of secret diplomacy, democratic control of foreign policy, referendums on war and conscription and public discussion of all

proposed alliances, agreements and treaties; it also pledged itself to work for repeal of all compulsory military service laws. A permanent committee was formed with headquarters at 289 Fifth Avenue to form a delegated peace counsel.

—An appeal to shipowners and national and municipal governments in behalf of the longshoremen was issued on July 15 by the Institute for Public Service, of which William H. Allen is director, with headquarters at 51 Chambers street. The appeal directs attention to a report of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment issued last October but "for some unaccountable reason never yet reported by the newspapers." This report declares that there are 40,000 longshoremen in New York and that their "working conditions are a shame to the city and endanger its prosperity." These conditions are, graft in the hiring of men, difficulty in collecting wages, and needlessly long shifts of work. The Institute suggests that "the \$900,000 which at Mr. Rockefeller's suggestion it is proposed to spend for additional park property to connect with Palisade Park would pay the annual charges on no less than 12 of the shelters for longshoremen such as those which the city once helped to maintain but somehow lost in the shuffle."

## PRESS OPINIONS

### Too Good to Be Correct

Dr. Frank Crane, in *New York Globe*, July 13. —I see, said my friend the single-taxer, that there is a professor by the name of Henry W. Farnum up at Yale University who comes out with the statement that we can remedy the food shortage of the country by making everybody stop using tobacco, as there are 1,368,000 acres of land used to grow tobacco which could be used for potatoes and beans instead. I don't smoke myself, but I would like to say a word here for the benefit of my tobacco-afflicted friends who have quite as much right to their nicotine as Professor Farnum has to his bughouse economics. And that word is this: Why jump on the 1,368,000 tobacco acres when, according to the census of 1910, there are 400,346,575 acres of land in the United States that are not used at all? Besides this, the Department of Agriculture states that only 27 per cent. of the arable land in the country is in use. Wouldn't it look more like sense to use the 73 per cent. of idle land than to go to wiggling the tobacco victims? And this could be done very easily, of course, by simply putting such a tax on land values that the people that are not using the soil would have to let go of it. I see also that another statesman suggests to his millionaire friends that another good way of dodging the duty of supporting the Government by taxation besides purchasing Government bonds is to switch their investments from revenue producing securities to vacant lands. As these lands produce no immediate income they would bear no Federal taxes. And nothing is more certain than the increasing value of vacant land. All the millionaire has to do is to hold on to his soil until the present period of war taxes has passed and he will escape the heavy war taxes entirely. You would naturally suppose, wouldn't you, that somebody in Congress would

have seen the folly of taxing everything in creation, all of which simply amounts to a tax on labor, and put the tax on land, which is a tax on opportunity? A third item that I read in your distinguished paper is to the effect that West Virginia has just adopted a law which requires every able-bodied man to work at least thirty-six hours a week. If he doesn't, he must go to jail or be banished from the state. I would like to know why they don't make a law to get after the man that withholds an opportunity from the willing worker. Suppose there should be a strike or lock-out in West Virginia's coal fields. The coal owners would violate no law, no matter how long they might withhold their lands from use, but the workers could be jailed for idleness within a week. To remedy this, too, it wouldn't be necessary to pass a criminal law against the idle opportunity holders. All that would be needed would be to put a heavy tax on land values; then, if a man did not use his coal fields he would have to let go of them. I guess this Singletax business, however, is entirely too simple. It is so simple it looks crazy.

#### Singletaxers Have Long Known This "Economist"

*Nonpartisan Leader* (Fargo, N. D.), July 5.—Professor Seligman's arguments against taking from the rich to fight the war what the rich can well spare are remarkable, to say the least. One of his strong cards is the statement that if swollen incomes are taxed too heavily "the sources of charity will be dried up." In other words, the rich will have a few less crumbs to throw to charity. Thus, argues this professor, many charitable institutions will no longer have a revenue to support the poor, the sick and the needy. This from a man rated as an eminent economist! Another argument of the professor is sinister. He says that the tax machinery of the country would probably break down under the strain of collecting a tax on the rich that would amount to confiscation or near-confiscation of a large part of their swollen incomes. Now, what does the professor mean by this? Does he mean that the rich would refuse to disgorge and that the resulting attempt to enforce the law would be a "breakdown" of the taxing machinery? Does he mean that the rich would forcibly resist conscription of wealth? No other conclusion can be reached by studying his argument. The rank and file of the people have willingly submitted to the selective draft to fill the army. Organized resistance would be treason. Yet here is the mouthpiece of Big Business apparently threatening an organized rebellion of the rich if their dollars are drafted. Do the war profiteers want it understood that they will resist with force efforts to take their profits to fight for democracy in Europe?

## CORRESPONDENCE

### THE WAR TIME REALIGNMENT

Now that we are in the war with world democracy as our officially declared goal, let us by all means consistent with our own democratic principles wage the war with utmost efficiency.

The American people are now agreed on that proposition, however they differed as to the wisdom or necessity of the steps leading up to the state of war

with Germany. All are glad that President Wilson, in his war call to Congress, voiced the lofty conception of world democracy as a prerequisite of world order and peace. That message has heartened the believers in democracy and the lovers of liberty in every land, including many of the people of the Teutonic nations themselves.

Also we are practically a unit in understanding and accepting the essential basis of war-making efficiency, namely, the concentration of vast powers of administration and strategy in the Federal executive and his subordinates. We assent to this centralizing of authority in the Federal executive as a war emergency in the full realization of the serious issues involved and of the sacrifices required. This tragic emergency forces on us a new era of Federalized organization for our industrial as well as for our military power, just as the war emergency has changed the industrial face of the nations of Europe.

Vast Federal executive powers? Yes. Unlimited Federal executive powers? No. There is where the new line of cleavage in American public opinion is already visible, and this is the question on which people may divide with honest conviction.

One section of our people, including all of those interests which most ardently advocated the war, would, in the name and for the sake of war efficiency, give to the executive agencies of our Government powers absolutely unlimited over the lives and liberties of citizens in disregard of the very foundation principles of our republic. Voicing this ideal, the President urged the passage of laws by Congress to authorize a censorship of the press, but this measure was voted down finally by Congress. For efficiency they are justifying the law recently enacted by Congress for military conscription at the very beginning of the war, involving, as it admittedly does, a frank denial of individual liberty of conscience and action. The principle of military selection is all right for the purpose in view, but if the service were adequately paid and fairly conducted, so many would volunteer that selection could be attained by rejecting those needed elsewhere in industry.

Another section of the American people are insisting that these fundamental liberties, which were proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, and were guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, must be protected at all hazards. They are not willing to completely surrender these rights to a Federalized military regime even on the plea of increased war-making efficiency. They assert that such a course is inconsistent with the declared purpose of the war, namely, to defend and establish democracy and justice throughout the world.

Here must come the realignment of this nation's political forces as between those who are willing to surrender all individual rights and to concede all powers to the war-time dictatorship and those who see in such surrender a danger equal to or greater than any that could come from a prosecution of the war within the bounds of democratic procedure.

More than ever before, in view of this impending issue, must all true friends of democracy work to make our methods of government, in city, state and nation, more truly representative of and responsive to the majority will of the voters. To this end the procedure of our legislative bodies must be made

more democratic as well as more efficient, while the voters must have the means of expressing their will directly as to measures. Constitutions may then be greatly shortened and confined to the processes of government, leaving all statute making to the legislature, subject to popular control.

It is imperative that we thus guard and perfect the bulwarks of our own democratic traditions and institutions while fighting with our European allies as the champion of democracy for all the world.

Only by so doing can we hope to present a united front to the enemy. Those who would disregard these fundamental liberties are the worst enemies of this nation at war "to make the world safe for democracy."

EDWIN S. POTTER.

Philadelphia, Pa.

## BOOKS

### HEALTH AND ECONOMICS

*Hygiene in Mexico.* By Alberto J. Pani, G. E. Translated by Ernest L. de Gogorza. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1917. Price \$1.50.

The most unhealthful city in the whole world is Mexico City, the capital of the Mexican Republic. The best way to improve the sanitary conditions of the city and to prolong the lives of the people is through universal education and the abolition of land monopoly. Say what you will or do what you please, no other conclusion is possible after reading this masterful book.

Mexico City was founded by Hernán Cortés, contrary to the advice of his associates, upon the ruins of an ancient Aztec city on "the very worst site which could have been chosen."\* The best and most healthful part of the city was devoted to the Spanish conquerors; the other parts of the city, some of which were nothing more than swampy islets, were set aside for the houses of the Indians. The conquest of Mexico by Cortes brought to the Indians a new faith in Heaven, but it also brought them misfortunes on earth. The conquered race lost the lands it had freely cultivated, and became subject to the conquerors. Housing conditions in Mexico have been and still are worse than abominable. The streets are neither paved nor swept, the sewage is not properly disposed of, the food of the common people is literally rotten, and poverty and ignorance stalk through the land. Today, the death rate in Mexico City is not only more than double that of European and American cities, but it is higher than in the worst cities of plague-ridden Egypt, India and China. In the last six years of the rule of Porfirio Diaz—so greatly eulogized—in the midst of peace and prosperity, more people died of avoidable diseases than in all the battles, murders and massacres of the six years of the revolution which set afire every corner of the Republic and horrified the whole world.

Why these conditions? Why so many avoidable deaths? Physicians and coroners report that over three-fourths of the illnesses producing the greatest mortality in Mexico City are successively those of the digestive organs, those of the respiratory organs,

and general diseases (mainly typhus, tuberculosis, smallpox and alcoholism). Physicians have long told us that these illnesses are produced by bad and deficient food, by impure water, by the sanitary defects of dwellings, by unsatisfactory conditions of paving, inefficient watering, sprinkling and sweeping of the streets, etc. But Signor Pani, director-general of the Constitutionalist Railways, like Surgeon-General William C. Gorgas, of the United States army, realizes that these are not so much causes as effects, and proceeds to study hygiene in Mexico from a more fundamental point of view.

At the head of the list of social diseases, he finds *hunger*—the slow insufficient nutrition of the "socially lower strata, serving as one of the most deadly agents of mortality." Nay, he goes even further. In the grim specter of death he discovers the form of a rapacious landlordism.

Is housing insanitary and defective? Here is the answer. "We could cite cases of numberless tenement houses, horribly unhealthful, from which their owners derive enormous gains. If we visit some of the tenements of the lower classes we shall recognize the inevitable and criminal coexistence of two facts: a considerable increase of rents for the owners, and a serious increase of unhealthfulness for the tenants."

Is food bad? Is nourishment insufficient? Yes, says the author, and it is produced by low wages. To produce decent health conditions for the working people, wages must be at least trebled.

Is there illiteracy and banditry in the land? Yes, there is, and Signor Pani quotes, apparently with approval: "The present condition of the people could not be worse. 'Zapataism' (brigandage) will continue so long as we have land monopoly, and it is idle to seek its origin in illiteracy."

In other words, the author, who is not a Single-taxer, finds as did Surgeon-General Gorgas, who is a Single-taxer, that the greatest cause of disease and of premature death, is the monopolization of the earth in the hands of a few, that the best remedy is high wages coupled with education, and that the best way to secure these is through the abolition of land monopoly.

Mexico has been considered a benighted country, an ignorant land. Perhaps it is. But there are some men in Mexico, among them Signor Pani, from whom we "enlightened" Americans could learn a valuable and much needed lesson.

HYMAN LEVINE.

### PAMPHLETS

#### Municipal Ownership.

The "Story of the Cleveland Municipal Electric Light Plant," an eight page pamphlet issued by the National Public Ownership League, of which the secretary is Carl D. Thompson, whose headquarters are at 4131 N. Keeler Ave., Chicago. It tells of the largest and most successful municipally-owned electric light plant in the United States. The pamphlet should be distributed wherever municipal ownership, or the question of electric light rates is an issue. This applies especially to places where the rate exceeds five cents per kilowatt hour. The price is one cent each. Ten cents a dozen, or \$8 a thousand.

\* Letter from the Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco, May 20, 1556, to King Phillip II.

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 McGee, Thomas.  
 McGill, J. H.  
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 McLean, J. E.  
 McLes, Chas. J.  
 Metcalfe, Arthur W.  
 Miller, Fred J.  
 Miller, Lina D.  
 Miller, Max.  
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Sagne, Horace.  
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 Schwind, V.  
 Secor, Alson.  
 Senty, Dr. Jacob.  
 Shaffer, G. J.  
 Sharrow, Chas. D.  
 Siebenman, Wm. J.  
 Slemmon, Dr. L. E.  
 Sinclair, E.  
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 Smith, E. T.  
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In addition to the above there are hundreds of others throughout the United States and Canada, and the Bureau is so well organized that lectures on war and taxation, and other problems that relate to the maintenance of democratic ideals, are available to practically every community.

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If this appeals to you why not bring it to the attention of the organization of which you are a member.

Engagements and further information can be secured by addressing

**Lecture Bureau**  
**Joseph Fels International Commission**

122 East 37th Street  
New York

A. Lyle De Jarnette      Anna Briding  
Director                      Executive Secretary

# DEMOCRACY and FREE SPEECH

**F**IVE years ago a city in the Great Southwest, San Diego, California, was in the turmoil of a free speech fight.

I. W. W.'s, Socialists, Single-Taxers, A. F. of L.'s, for the first time in industrial history fought side by side in a protest against a city's prohibition of the right to speak on the streets.

Bankers, lawyers, real estate speculators, city officials, ministers and merchants, lined up on the other side for a fight to the finish.

Two county jails were filled. Men were beaten and humiliated. Heads were broken. The fire hose was used to dispel street crowds. Several of the advocates of free speech died from their injuries. An editor was hanged by the neck until he promised to leave town.

The result—

The voice of the advocates of free speech died upon the streets.

Those who escaped death and prison were forcibly deported.

The turmoil disturbed the financial conditions of the city. Thousands of residents took their belongings and left.

Prosperity left with them.

**T**HEN a few forward-looking citizens planted an Open Forum in the heart of the city.

In this Forum the chief speaker had certain rights which were respected. But unlike other public meetings, the auditors were not merely passive recipients of the message from the platform. They had the right to ask questions and to make speeches.

In the Forum citizens met as equals and the important discovery was made that the average man,

if given an opportunity, is capable of solving his own problems and the problems of society.

The result?

The I. W. W.'s and bankers, ministers and Socialists, Single-Taxers and real estate speculators, labor men and employers, meet in the same auditorium and speak from the same platform.

The Director of the Forum was recently elected to the City Council by the largest vote the city ever gave a candidate for office.

San Diego has entered upon a new era of prosperity.

**A**MERICA needs in time of war more than in times of peace the unifying power that springs from the Open Forum.

One hundred and fifteen Forums have been organized in Indiana by the Citizens' League in anticipation of a new State constitution, Massachusetts has 40 Forums. In Greater New York alone there are 93 Forums.

The Congress of Forums, Inc., received in the first six months of its activities over 250 requests for help from Canada to Panama. It is a part of our program to help plant a Forum in every community.

Is there an institution in your community where citizens may meet as equals—where no creed nor political party dominates, and where all enjoy the lawful and self-respecting distinction of possessing ideas?

We are organized for the purpose of giving you information and help. Let us hear from you.

Mr. Louis F. Post has said:

"I think this is one of the most important present movements in civic affairs."

*Among the members of the Congress of Forums and those who endorse the movement are:*

**MISS JANE ADDAMS,**  
Head of Hull House, Chicago.

**DR. FELIX ADLER,**  
Founder of Ethical Culture Society.

**MR. THOS. L. CHADBOURNE, JR.,**  
Chairman, Mayor's Defense Committee, New York.

**MRS. JOSEPH FELS,**  
Fels International Commission.

**HON. RAYMOND B. FOSDICK,**  
Chairman, Commission on Training Camp Activities, Washington, D. C.

**MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,**  
President, A. F. of L.

**HON. LOUIS F. POST,**  
Founder of "The Public."

**REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES,**  
Minister, Church of the Messiah, New York.

**MR. HAMILTON HOLT,**  
Editor of the "Independent."

**MR. CHARLES H. INGERSOLL,**  
Ingersoll Watch Company.

**MR. DANIEL KIEFER,**  
Chairman, National Single Tax League.

**REV. JOHN HOWARD MELISH,**  
Rector, Church of Holy Trinity, Brooklyn.

**MR. FREDERICK LEWISOHN,**  
Lewisoohn Brothers, Bankers.

**HON. MEYER LONDON,**  
Socialist Congressman from New York.

**MR. FREMONT OLDER,**  
Editor the "Bulletin," San Francisco.

**RT. REV. JOHN A. RYAN,**  
Editor, Catholic Charities Review, Washington.

**PROF. HENRY B. SEAGER,**  
President, American Association of Labor Legislation.

**MRS. MARY K. SIMKHOVITCH,**  
Head, Greenwich House, New York.

**MR. RUDOLPH SPRECKELS,**  
President First National Bank, San Francisco.

**MR. LINCOLN STEFFENS,**  
Author, lecturer.

The Congress of Forums faces a crisis. We must have financial help immediately or this young and promising organization will fail. The readers of "The Public" are asked to become members at the minimum rate of \$1.00. Send more if you can. Address Executive Secretary,

Congress of Forums, Inc.,  
12 West 11th Street,  
New York City

(Signed)

**PERCY STICKNEY GRANT**  
*President, Congress of Forums*

**A. LYLE DE JARNETTE**  
*Executive Secretary*