

The Public

An International Journal
of
Fundamental Democracy

What Will Russia Do?

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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Editorial

This country enters the war under a single banner, with a single aim. To safeguard democracy is the principle that will govern our every action and our every policy to the close of the peace conference. We want nothing else, we will lend our support to nothing else. The undertaking is one of some magnitude and involves thought as well as action. Else the word "democracy" may be only a catchword by which we distinguish "us" from "them" and inflate our national vanity. President Wilson's keynote, declaring the singleness of purpose of the American people, has had a profound response in allied countries, and, what is more important, is acting as a precipitant to clarify allied policy. For the war aims of France and England, while primarily intending to secure the future of democratic civilization, were also regardful of some inconsistent elements of imperialistic policy. This is a crusade against whomever is a menace to democratic development, not the German people but the German militarist autocracy. There must be a thorough national heartsearching among the democracies of the West.

* * *

The fight for democracy might have been an empty phrase but for the substance and reality given it by the Russian Revolution. A few weeks ago that country was regarded as an international danger second only to Germany. It was not merely internal maladministration that made the Allies regard Russia with secret shame, but the fact that Russian as well as German autocracy was inherently a deep and far-reaching plot against the peace of the world. Now all at once the world feels that Russia is no longer to be feared. This is the real significance of the events of the last few weeks. What is it that makes the difference? Without doubt it is the element of *irresponsible power*. The essence of imperialism is government fixed from outside

upon subject peoples. Any power that rules at home without responsibility to the governed contains of necessity the threat of extending that rule to people of other countries.

* * *

To make the world safe for democracy is then a declaration of intention to end irresponsible power wherever it may be found. It affirms our support of the Russian Liberals against every effort toward the re-establishment of the bureaucracy. It declares our unceasing enmity to the Prussian militarist autocracy. It invites the German people so to alter their government as to be a nation whose world policy is above suspicion. It invites the Germans of this country who are concerned for the fate of their fatherland to prepare actively for a great German republic. It says moreover that this new republic will be welcome to the comity of western nations with feelings untinged with enmity.

* * *

But the democratic principle goes further. It declares against irresponsible power in Italy, France and England. In the service of this great principle France threw off a few years ago her clerical and militarist shackles. But democracy is jealous of that combination of bureaucratic and financial power which has made the French Empire a thing unworthy of Frenchmen. Democracy demands of the people of England that they hurry their evolution from domination by a ruling class that draws its sustenance from injustice and exhales the atmosphere of imperialistic aggression. The real enemy in this war is not to be found merely on continental battlefields and rising from the waves, but in its greater or its lesser strength throughout the world. There is a sure and simple road to a durable peace. No genuine democracy will ever threaten the rights or security of another democracy.

But what of the United States? Are we prepared to abide by this high principle that we ask the allied nations to make their battle-cry? Are we really and essentially a democracy, or have we elements of irresponsible power that constitute us a danger in the world? No one can deny that our political machinery is shot through with corruption and incompetence, that our international policy is the expression of uncontrolled financial power which is a grave and growing menace to the future harmony of nations. And let us not be mistaken about the undemocratic things we are doing just now. The censorship, the provisions of the revenue bill, the endowment with governmental powers of our captains of industry, are not merely war expedients, but the emergence into the open of the factors that shape our national life in times of peace. Let us be honest and admit that we have here in America an irresponsible power against which we must make democracy secure before we can offer a clean hand to our European allies.

* * *

Without previous design, through experiment in meeting the needs of the moment, the Allies are shaping an instrument of confederated action which, extended and perfected, will bring the world commonwealth within measurable distance. The commissions that are settling to the transaction of international business are far removed from diplomats with their sixteenth century game. No Hague Tribunal will ever go half so far in the settlement of difficulties as a permanent commission charged with facilitating the world's postal business, or a commission to deal with the movement of population, or one to control and co-ordinate international finance, or one to bring tariffs and trade regulations under a plan that will lead to their abolition. Recent events in Washington have opened the way to confederate action while speculation about the world state was soaring in the clouds.

* * *

Has not the time arrived for the Government and people of the United States to approach Latin America with a strong policy of co-operation and friendship? Never before in our history has there been a time so propitious for sweeping away distrust, and cementing the bonds of sympathy. Just as a great disaster uncovers an unsuspected

common humanity, so the Titan's task, which we are undertaking for the preservation of republican institutions, has shown us a Latin America ready to second our efforts, and increasingly conscious of community of interest. The solidarity of the western hemisphere is not far away if we utilize this great opportunity to build up friendship.

* * *

Race prejudice may not be amenable to reason, but it does yield to time; and persons having to do with issues as they occur can hasten or delay future results. The case of a woman who graduated as a physician at the head of her class, and yet was refused an internship at a hospital because she was colored, gains particular point when it is realized that several States have passed laws requiring service as an intern as a prerequisite to practice. Though it be conceded that persons employing the peculiarly personal services of a physician have the undoubted right to consider the question of race, it would be the height of injustice and of far-reaching evil to make that right the means of unnecessary hardship to a member of any race. If a colored intern will not be accepted by hospital patients of other races, public authorities should at least arrange hospital service in a way that will make it possible for the large numbers of colored patients to have colored physicians. And, above all, no legislature should make, or permit to be made, any rules of practice that would in any way limit the freedom of colored physicians to practice on an equality with others of the same standing. The way of the colored boy or girl is already hard enough, without erecting any unnecessary barriers.

* * *

The influence of invisible government can be observed in the war revenue bill. Members of Congress have been flooded with letters demanding the raising of all war revenue by taxes on unearned incomes, on land values or by conscription of wealth. But how many constituents have written to their representatives asking that a tax be laid on chewing gum, on theatre tickets, on coffee and tea, on automobiles, transportation receipts or in any other way on consumption? How many letters did any Congressman get asking him to vote for a fifty per cent. increase in postage rates? Congressmen pre-

fer to do as their constituents wish, and mighty must be the influence that induces them to act otherwise. Yet the Committee on Ways and Means has brought in a bill to raise revenue by methods for which no one has openly asked, and which disregards practical suggestions urged by many. What influence could create such apparent contempt for public opinion? Chairman Kitchin did not explain it in his speech. And he certainly could not have been serious in offering as an excuse that the bill embodies the only means left open to raise additional revenue.

Guarding Free Speech.

One of the compensations that should accompany the passage of the conscription law should be a relaxation of the zeal of the petty officials who have taken it upon themselves to censor the utterances of citizens. The most frequent charge against alleged offenders has been that the utterances have interfered with recruiting. But with conscription in operation the machinery will move automatically, and be subject to little if any influence from what may be said about it. President Wilson has given assurance regarding the censorship that he wished for and would tolerate no immunity from criticism for his Administration. And now Attorney General Gregory says in answer to an inquiry of the American Legal Defense League that he knows of no encroachments by any Federal authority on the right of free speech or of free press, and that the breaking up of public meetings and the arresting of speakers that have occurred are outside the jurisdiction of the Federal Government.

The harm from the depredations of lesser officials clothed with a little brief authority is not so much the acts themselves as the resentment they cause, and the needless bitterness and friction that follow. Upon the one hand are the men and women whose enthusiasm for liberty must find expression in speech; not always wise or true, perhaps, but to them a thing of first importance. On the other hand are the officials charged with keeping the peace, distracted by a multitude of details, and eager to stop each disturbance at its source. The official fears that if the word is spoken it will be contradicted and lead to a riot. The enthusiast feels that if the word is not spoken a great principle will have been lost. Like the bank depositor who calls for his money, not because he wishes it, but

to see if it is there, the zealot must have his say, not because it is of any consequence, but to keep alive his right to say it. A little more patience and mutual toleration on both sides will be conducive to a better understanding. Political liberty is dependent upon the freest interchange of ideas among citizens, and no limitation of this right can be tolerated without endangering the whole structure. S. C.

The War Revenue Bill.

In defending the war revenue bill Chairman Claude Kitchin of the House Ways and Means Committee claimed that it puts half of the war expenses upon the rich. If this statement were true it would not justify the bill. It is an absolute certainty that the wealthy class will not furnish half of the men to be conscripted. There will be no half and half division of labor between the poor and rich in food production or similar occupations. And whatever financial benefits may come from the war will not be equally divided. Why then should the poor be forced to bear half of the expense?

But does the bill put no more than half of the expense upon the poor? The Ways and Means Committee estimates that it will yield in one year \$1,810,420,000, over and above existing revenue provisions. Of this, it estimates that the income tax will yield \$640,700,000, the excess profits tax \$200,000,000; tax on club dues, \$1,500,000; inheritance tax, \$6,000,000, and the pipe line tax, \$4,500,000. These are all the taxes which may be classed as direct, although in practice even some of them will turn out to be otherwise. The other proposed taxes fall on consumption, and must prove far more burdensome to the poor than to the rich, even if it be conceded that the articles selected are mainly luxuries.

In regard to the proposed income tax a table showing how it will work, published by the *New York Times* of May 10, demonstrates that it will increase by 12 times the amount paid by the smallest contributors under the law of 1913. The recipient of a \$5,000 income will pay \$120, whereas last year he paid but \$10. But the taxes of those whose incomes range from \$10,000 into the millions will be increased no more than seven times and in some cases but little more than five times. Besides this the lowering of exemptions to \$2,000 in the case of heads of

families and to \$1,000 for single persons, will subject to income tax a large number who certainly cannot be classed as wealthy or well-to-do.

About \$68,000,000 was secured through the income tax last year. Of this \$44,000,000 was paid by those whose incomes exceed \$20,000. Assuming that the new schedule will increase their rate seven times, though it will not be quite that much, they would contribute to the war fund an additional amount of \$264,000,000. Those whose incomes fall between \$3,000 and \$20,000 paid about \$24,000,000. Official figures are lacking to show how much of this came from recipients of incomes exceeding \$5,000. Assuming that they paid half, they would be liable, under the proposed law, for \$72,000,000, and the lower paid class, having an increase of 12 times to bear, would be called upon for \$132,000,000. Former income taxpayers would thus pay an increase of \$468,000,000, leaving \$172,700,000 for the formerly exempt ones to pay, according to the Committee's estimate. So nearly one-half of the estimated amount to be derived from the increase in income tax would be paid by those receiving less than \$5,000 a year.

As to the taxes on automobiles, chewing gum, jewelry and other labor products, the poor must bear the larger share. It is vain to urge the false claim that these articles are luxuries or are used by the rich only. It would not alter matters if such were the case. To tax labor products used by none but the rich affects the poor by decreasing demand and lessening opportunities for employment. This must cause reduced wages and the reduction will probably amount to more than the taxes collected by the government.

Taxes on transportation receipts, telegraph messages, etc., will surely be added to rates. The increase in postage rates must affect every business and be passed along in higher prices. Many small publications will be overburdened, if not killed by the proposed raise of second class rates. The tax on pipe line receipts may look like a blow to the Standard Oil Company. If levied on the right of way it would be. But being directed at receipts it must tend to interfere with the service of the company, and possibly help it to raise the price of oil. The new tariff duties will surely take more from the pockets of the poor than will be put into the treasury. A

comment on the proposed sugar duty by Mr. J. Rex Allen of the Federal Sugar Refining Company is to the point:

Special privilege in sugar will be granted an additional indirect subsidy of approximately \$25,000,000. Consider that our government in appealing to patriotism in this hour of its dire need, for men and money, purposes to indirectly subsidize the domestic sugar industry \$75,000,000. The increase of revenue derived by the Government will be small on account of decreased consumption. It is estimated the total sugar revenue will approximate \$40,000,000.

If the increase in sugar duties will cost sugar consumers \$25,000,000 over and above the amount that gets into the treasury, one may realize what the proposed ten per cent. increase in all duties will do, and that there must be a similar tale to tell of other indirect taxes.

So far from raising one-half of the war revenue by a tax on the rich, practically all that may possibly be kept off of the poor is \$336,000,000 of the income tax, \$200,000,000 excess profits tax and some odds and ends of other taxes. Of \$1,810,420,000 to be raised more than two-thirds will come from the poor—and those whose incomes fall below \$5,000. And in addition they must pay most of the profits added on the indirect taxes, and nearly all the tribute exacted by monopolies which indirect taxes help to sustain.

Congressman Kitchin should revise his remarks in defense of the bill. S. D.

A Time for Work.

Doubt, fear, and discouragement have entered the hearts of not a few men and women whose efforts toward regenerating the world have been interrupted by the war. Some have been so overwhelmed by the catastrophe that they are slow to recover from the shock. And well they may be; for it is no small matter to see the treasures of the soul put to the hazard of war. But a little reflection should hearten them to further effort.

Great human movements do not follow the narrow lines prescribed by those who start them; they never have. Error does not slink away into hiding the moment truth is proclaimed; it never does. Nor should the beneficiaries of privilege be expected to let go their hold without a struggle; they never will. Social reform is not a mere matter of reshuffling old factors, as a carpenter might rebuild a house; but rather like straightening

the limbs of a misshapen child, by binding muscles here and liberating them there, until nature has had time to restore the normal. So with society, myriad-factored, and all of uncertain quantity and endless combinations: results can only be approximated. But though the way may pursue a tortuous course, there is never a doubt as to the goal.

Whether or not the race is gaining or losing is determined by the standard of comparison. If we had descended from the perfection of Paradise there might be cause for discouragement; but if we are struggling upward from lower stages of existence, there is every reason for hope. When did we enjoy that wonderful democracy in this country whose overthrow by the war is lamented? Was it in the colonial days when only members of a certain church took part in the government? Was it when profession of a religious creed was necessary for citizenship? Was it when the ownership of property was a qualification for voting? Was it when a man could beat his wife, providing it was done with a stick not larger than his finger, or will away property she had before her marriage? Was it when the color of a man's skin determined whether he was a master or a slave? Was it when sex alone measured personal and political freedom? When was that wonderful age of democracy?

Let us have done with this morbid retrospection. The golden age lies in the future, not in the past; and we are at this very moment making our way thitherward. The principle of personal liberty was never before so broadly conceived nor so fondly cherished. That governments and peoples have thought it necessary to make temporary encroachments upon that liberty in order to give it still further extension is true. This may not have been necessary; another course might have been better. But this fact stands out clearly and distinctly: In no single instance, either in Europe or in this country, has this step been taken in the name of privilege, or by the power of autocracy. Not one proposal has been made to limit the right of suffrage or any other political right. On the contrary, the right of suffrage has been extended in many places during the war, and plans are forming for its further extension in all countries. Even as the jeremiads ascend in mournful cadence American women are being admitted to political fellowship.

This is not the end of liberty, but a cataclysm that will result in a new birth of freedom. And the day of fulfillment will be hastened according as those who have caught the vision and who know the way stand shoulder to shoulder with those who have more zeal than knowledge. This is not to justify war, nor to approve conscription, or any other of the temporary abridgments of democracy; but it is to throw every ounce of weight on the side of justice, in order that the most good and the least evil may follow. It is a time not for despair, but for hope; not for lamenting or sulking, but for work.

S. C.

Land Value Taxation in Congress.

In introducing a bill for Federal land value taxation Representative Crosser of Ohio, one of the most valuable members of the present House, continues the good work which Warren Worth Bailey carried on in the last Congress. The Crosser bill is practically a duplicate of the Bailey bill, save that it provides for sufficient revenue to meet changed conditions.

The advantages of the Crosser bill over the Kitchin bill are obvious. It would take from no one anything earned by him, would place no burden on industry, would compel putting of unused valuable land to productive use and thus help to solve the problem of food production, would destroy land speculation and thus remove the basis of speculation in labor products, and would establish general prosperity on a safe and permanent foundation.

Some who appreciate the advantages of land value taxation nevertheless object to the Crosser bill because it complies with the constitutional requirement for apportionment of direct taxes among the States in proportion to population. That makes desirable the pushing of an amendment to abolish this requirement, but the Crosser bill should not be delayed pending such a constitutional change. The stronger the movement for putting through a land value taxation bill of some kind, regardless of the Constitution, may become, the easier it will be to secure consent to adoption of an amendment to repeal the apportionment provision. So long as advocates of land value taxation accept the requirement of the Constitution as an unsurmountable obstacle, so long must they encourage their opponents in blocking its repeal.

So the proper course is, while pushing for a Constitutional Amendment, to urge immediate adoption of whatever can be obtained in accordance with the Constitution as it stands. Both efforts are in the right direction, and each must help the other. S. D.

Why Was This?

Henry Miller of San Francisco died the other day. His wealth, variously estimated at from \$20,000,000 to \$60,000,000, came in the main from land, which he used for grazing cattle. No one seems to know exactly how much land he owned—one statement in leading newspapers says it was one-sixth of the entire State of California.

Miller's property is mainly left so that it cannot be divided until his great-grandchildren are of age. He was born in Wurtemberg, Germany, in 1827 and was a butcher-boy in New York; he came to California in 1850 and began to gather in cheap lands. His methods raised more or less commotion and no man of his day was more cordially disliked, but he managed to keep within the law, and took only what the system under which he lived permitted. The last edition of "Who's Who," speaking of Henry Miller, makes the guarded statement that Miller & Lux "acquired" 600,000 acres in California and ran 100,000 sheep in Nevada. This mild remark accounts for almost 5 per cent. of his holdings.

California seems to have been amazingly good-natured with Henry. A little sketch of his life and public services might be written to illustrate just one of the results of not adopting the Henry George plan. Incidentally it may be remarked that Miller practically owned every drop of water in the San Joaquin river. One hesitates to guess how much his estate may be worth a hundred years from now. CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.

The Cost of One Man's Privilege.

According to the Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means a certain citizen of the United States enjoys an unearned income of \$20,000,000 a year. The movement for conscription of incomes aimed to take from this man \$19,900,000 of what he gets each year through legal appropriation of the earnings of others. The taking of this amount would not interfere with any useful enterprise or industry. However, the new revenue bill treats him with surpris-

ing gentleness. If passed, it will leave him \$10,700,000 a year in excess of what the wealth-conscriptionists would have left. And to make up the deficit caused by its favor to this one man, the Ways and Means Committee has had to provide taxes which must fall heavily on persons who earn all that they get.

For instance, the Committee would put a ten per cent. duty on coffee and tea. Last year imports of these commodities amounted to \$56,000,000. So the Committee can expect no more than \$5,600,000 revenue from these imports, which still leaves a deficit of \$5,100,000. Millions of coffee and tea drinkers must pay amounts out of their scanty earnings, which they can ill afford, that one man may not be reduced to an income of \$100,000 a year. And since this breakfast table duty will not bring in enough, a special tax is to be levied on sporting goods to bring in another \$2,000,000, a tax is to be levied on chewing gum to bring in another \$1,000,000, members of clubs must contribute another \$1,500,000, and various other taxes will make up for what might have been obtained without serious hardship or injustice from a single source.

Tender treatment of but one unearned fortune having necessitated infliction of such burdens on the poor, it is easy to see how the Ways and Means Committee might have avoided putting any further burdens upon the poor had it seen fit. S. D.

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With three cent street railway fare a financial success in Cleveland, four cent fares bringing in dividends in other cities, and five cent fares with free transfers providing good incomes to stockholders of street railways in even comparatively small towns, the street railway corporations of New York City have the assurance to ask of the State Public Service Commission permission to increase fares to six cents. And they ask it with apparent confidence that the request will be granted. Could these corporations express in a more emphatic way an uncomplimentary opinion of the Commission?

At the same time they admit mismanagement and incompetence. There is no other way to explain inability of the management of the street railways of the nation's metropolis to make as good a showing as managers of similar enterprises in smaller localities.

Zion Awakening.

By Samuel Danziger.

Dreams occasionally come true. One of these may be the Zionist dream of a self-governing Jewish state in Palestine. The work of years against apparently insurmountable obstacles has brought within range of probability realization of the vision. "The cruel rod of war" may once again "blossom into righteous law," bringing democracy to Russia, home rule to Ireland, independence to Poland, and self-government in some form to Palestine.

But it must not be assumed that, should self-government come, the credit will be solely due to the overthrow of the Turk. For many years preparations in Palestine have been going on. Since the early 80's the country has been colonized. Before that time there had been considerable Jewish immigration, but this consisted principally of zealots with no other object than to spend and end their existence in Jerusalem in a religious but non-productive way. Years of residence failed to make them aught but strangers in the land.

The immigration of the past 35 years has been of a different type. Persecution in Russia and Roumania and discontent in Galicia, the Balkan nations and elsewhere, brought in industrious people determined to secure a stake in the country and become a part of its economic life. Many of these had to be assisted, through a fund created by Jewish organizations in Western Europe and the United States. Almost destitute and in debt they began re-settlement of a land, the condition of which was described 48 years ago by Mark Twain in "Innocents Abroad" as follows:

Of all the lands there are for dismal scenery, I think Palestine must be the prince. The hills are barren, they are dull of color, they are unpicturesque in shape. The valleys are unsightly deserts fringed with a feeble vegetation that has an expression about it of being sorrowful and despondent. . . . It is a hopeless, dreary, heart-broken land. . . . Palestine is desolate and unlovely. And why should it be otherwise? Can the curse of the Deity beautify a land?

To succeed in such a place must require extraordinary energy, enthusiasm, intelligence and faith. And yet the new settlers succeeded. If Mark Twain could have revisited the country at the outbreak of the European war, he would have revised his opinion. He would have found no less than 44 flourishing agricultural colonies, with a population of 15,000, cultivating more than 94,000 acres. He would have found flourishing city

settlements achieving commercial importance. The total Jewish population is 100,000, which, though it may seem small, occupies a dominant position, and enjoys the respect and confidence of other elements. The colonists have developed business for the seaports of Jaffa and Haifa, and have exercised a regenerating influence in Jerusalem, a place which Mark Twain described as abounding in "rags, wretchedness, poverty and dirt." They have had great success in producing for export oranges and other fruits, cereals, cotton and wine. The exports of oranges from Jaffa in 1913 were valued at \$1,630,000. The Arab method of cultivation of cereals had yielded a crop valued at about \$5 per acre. The Jewish colonists have increased this yield to a point where it varies between \$11 and \$17 per acre. The Arab production of oranges averaged 350 boxes per acre. The colonists increased this to 757 boxes.

At their own expense the colonists have constructed good roads and introduced badly needed sanitary improvements. With outside help hospitals have been established. Before their coming the country was a breeding place of malaria and trachoma. The colonists planted millions of eucalyptus trees whose unusual power of absorption and evaporation makes them a useful factor in draining the marshes. The Jewish Health Bureau, established in Jerusalem by Nathan Straus of New York City, has directed the fight against trachoma and other diseases. Formerly 60 per cent. of the inhabitants of Jaffa were afflicted with trachoma. Only one per cent. are now sufferers from that disease. An adequate school system has been established in all of the villages and a high school maintained in each of the three cities of Jaffa, Haifa and Jerusalem.

The colonies enjoy a measure of self-rule. The Turkish government concerns itself about them no further than to collect its taxes. So they have developed into a group of little autonomous democracies. Each colony elects through universal suffrage, regardless of sex qualifications, a committee known as the "Va'ad." This exercises both administrative and judicial functions. It keeps a register of land holdings, which is the only record on which individual tenure is based. It has charge of the schools, roads and the water supply. It carries on routine work of administration in accordance with certain fixed rules. When important questions arise it calls a meeting of citizens and the matter is submitted to a referendum. Thus in the

midst of Turkish despotism and misrule, an institution has been established similar to the New England town meeting.

Crime among the colonists is practically unknown. None has occurred during the existence of the colonies. But a police force is considered necessary to guard against nightly visits of predatory Arabs, and so the Va'ad maintains one. Another function of the Va'ad is to act as a court in cases of dispute between colonists. Its judgment is usually accepted, though occasionally an appeal is taken to a central body of all the colonies at Tel Aviv near Jaffa. Its decision is final. Authority of central and local bodies rests on voluntary acceptance alone. Philosophic individualists may find here much to uphold their ideas.

The colonists were confronted at the outset with a language difficulty. Coming from different countries, the only common tongue consisted of a smattering of Hebrew acquired from the prayer book. Hebrew has consequently become the intermediary language and, in a form suited to modern conditions, is getting to be the national tongue. It is taught to the children in the schools, who are encouraged to use it in preference to other languages. It has been taken up by non-Jewish elements. Signs in Hebrew are to be found over their business houses. For sentimental reasons this must be pleasing to many. Yet one cannot help but wonder whether it would not have been more practical to have adopted one of the leading European languages or to have aided the growing Esperanto movement by taking up that easily-learned and rapidly spreading lingo.

The inevitable effect which prosperity and good government have on land values is not absent. *Palestine*, the organ of the British Palestine Committee, reports as follows:

In 1890 an acre of irrigable land in the colony of Petach-Tikwah cost about £3-12s; today such land could not be bought for less than £36 per acre. In 1880 the lands which form this colony were uncultivated and brought only a small and insignificant revenue to the State; in 1912 the value of the annual production of the colony was £36,000 from which the Government obtained £3,400 in the form of taxation. In 1880 the value of the colony was less than £1,200; today it represents a value of at least £600,000, and its population numbers 3,000 souls.

These figures portend danger. Should private individuals be allowed to appropriate this unearned increment land speculation will be encouraged, land monopoly will exact heavy tolls from labor, willing workers will be denied employment, and there will arise poverty and distress as in older civilizations.

The war, however, has ended prosperity.

It cut off the export trade at once. Then in 1915 came a plague of locusts which devoured the crops. Great distress resulted, and it was necessary to call upon America for relief. This was granted in generous measure. Peace, whenever it may come, must bring a renewal of ante-bellum prosperity, in spite of the reported attack on the colonies at Jaffa, and outrages committed there.

Zionist organizations to help the country secure political autonomy exist in all leading countries. They number prominent non-Jews as well as Jews among their membership. In Great Britain the movement has taken the form of agitation for the conversion of Palestine into a self-governing member of the British Empire. The advance of General Murray into the country and of General Maude's expedition into Mesopotamia makes this perhaps the most practical suggestion under existing circumstances.

A writer in *The New Europe*, published at London, dwells on this subject, and after showing the strategical advantage to the British Empire of the country, makes clear one point which may have been evident before to the general reader. He says:

But though Palestine will be the national centre of the Jewish people and the seat of its national civilization, it will not be the home of all the Jews. The majority will remain scattered throughout the world. . . . The Russian revolution opens out a prospect that the age of political persecution will soon end. With that the world importance of a Jewish Palestine grows mightily. The Jew outside Palestine will owe no political allegiance to a Jewish Palestine. His political allegiance will be due and will go, as always, to the state of which he is a citizen. But the spiritual centre of his race where the Jewish genius will blossom in full freedom will receive from more Jews a voluntary respect and veneration. . . . The British Empire which will have created that home will be assured of the spontaneous affection and gratitude of all conscious Jews throughout the world. What England can gain in that way we may measure by what she has lost through the failure to satisfy Irish national sentiment.

In the United States the Zionist movement is widespread, active and enthusiastic. It is not merely the re-establishment of a Jewish nation which many of these workers have in view. They realize that their labor would be worth little, if it accomplished no more than creation of a state offering no other advantages to its citizens than what may be enjoyed in the United States, Switzerland or other existing democratic nations. They hope to establish a commonwealth where social justice shall prevail, and they know that the first thing needful for that is to ensure the land to the people. Thus Justice Louis D. Brandeis, who heads the American move-

ment, said in *The Outlook* of January 5, 1916:

Notable among the Zionist institutions is the Jewish National Fund, formed to purchase land as the inalienable property of the Jewish people in Palestine. A large part of the settlers own individual property, but the Zionist organization determined that the land, if acquired, should be the property of the Jewish people, remaining national domain and

leased to the settlers at a rent which would not allow of unearned increment.

With proper economic knowledge thus displayed the idealism of the Zionists must make of the new state, when born, a model for all civilization, a land in which "they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid."

Russia Since the Revolution.

By Victor S. Yarros.

So bloodless and miraculously short, easy and decisive was the Russian revolution of March last that possibly many western on-lookers are disappointed and anxious, perhaps even alarmed, over the untoward developments that have since taken place. Cause for anxiety there has been, and there will continue to be, no doubt, but for disappointment and alarm there is no real occasion.

The overthrow of the autocracy proved to be a relatively easy task. A hungry, starving and betrayed nation rose in revolt, and the army—an army of workmen, peasants and students—made common cause with the nation because it had suffered even more than the non-combatants had from the corruption, treachery, inefficiency and selfishness of the bankrupt government. But, as thoughtful writers have pointed out, to carry on a great war while guiding and completing a revolution is a burden that is almost beyond human ability to sustain.

Dissensions and difference of opinion, conflicts of interest and of ambition and aspiration, were absolutely unavoidable in Russia. The truth is, Russia has been remarkably quiet, and the wonder is that so little, rather than so much, trouble has occurred.

There have been small riots and disturbances in the capital. The provisional government, and especially the foreign minister, Prof. Miliukoff, has been assailed and asked to resign. Disaffection and distrust have driven the provisional government to propose, of its own motion, the formation of a coalition or national ministry.

We should not, however, magnify these occurrences. In the first place, to some extent at least, the dissensions have been due to misunderstanding rather than to a serious conflict of opinion. The organized workmen of Russia are militant democrats and idealists. They hate aggression, care little or nothing about territorial expansion, and are opposed to needless warfare. These elements want peace without victory, and when Miliukoff carelessly stated in a personal note to the

Allies that Russia would fight until "a decisive victory" had been achieved, they instantly evinced their disapproval. "Decisive victory" had a sinister sound to them; it reminded them of the designs of the late regime. They wanted the world to know that democratic Russia was not imperialistic, and that if Germany should offer a fair and honest peace, Russia would accept it with enthusiasm.

It is, however, a great mistake to suppose that the Russian workmen or soldiers contemplate surrender to the Kaiser and his cabal, or that peace without victory means to them peace with victory to Germany at the expense of French territory or French industry and toil. The Russian pacifists and socialists expect every belligerent power to enter a disclaimer similar to theirs, to announce like readiness to conclude peace on a basis of reason and justice. They will not talk peace to Germany if her junkers and militarists contemplate any conquest or any indemnity. They will not deal even with those social democratic factions which have evinced weakness, subservience to the Kaiser, or disloyalty to democratic principles.

True, on certain questions there is a wide chasm between the liberals and moderates of the Lvoff government, or its supporters in the Duma and nation, and the social democrats and laborites. True, the latter view the liberals with suspicion. Even Gorky, who cannot be accused of treachery or blindness, charges the Lvoff government with certain undemocratic and capitalistic designs. What has happened in Russia would have happened in any other country; radicals and bourgeois liberals have little in common except during an actual revolution directed against a corrupt and reactionary autocracy or aristocracy.

The remedy for such complications and friction is to be found in a rational compromise, in a policy of give and take, of mutual concessions as to minor matters, in subordination of everything contentious to imme-

diate and urgent tasks. Russia needs a national or coalition cabinet. Labor and the peasants, the socialists and the extreme democrats, should have representatives in the government. The council of soldiers' and workers' delegates, if it be as powerful and sincere as it claims to be, should gladly share with the Duma workers and the leading Liberals the burden and responsibility of carrying on the war, paving the way to a just peace and maintaining order throughout Russia. To the Moderates and Liberals the plan of a coalition government should be wholly acceptable. Russia is a peasant empire; the peasant and the worker should be consulted as freely as the intellectual and the property owner concerning national policies. The election and meeting of a constituent assembly, to decide on the new constitution of Russia, should not be delayed beyond a reasonable period. Legislation by edicts and decrees is not democratic, whether a labor or a bourgeois government is at the helm.

This remark applies not only to political questions but also—nay, especially—to economic questions. The few agrarian disorders that have been reported in brief dispatches from the interior of Russia may have no significance. But the student of Russian problems know that "land" is infinitely more important to the peasant millions than "liberty." Land hunger has been the outstanding fact since the emancipation of the serfs. Russia is 80 per cent agricultural, yet agriculture has been "an unprofitable industry" there. The taxes and redemption charges and rents have too often absorbed all of the peasant's incomes, and often have driven him to give up his land and become a laborer in the city. More land, rent-free land, is the greatest need of Russia, and if the revolution does not bring the peasant more land, he will vote it a sham and a farce. The peasant has accused the noble and the bureaucrat of obstructing land reform, and he has imagined that the autocracy was at heart friendly to the peasantry and anxious to meet their wishes. It is not strange that here and there impatient and simple peasants should have demanded immediate results of the new revolution and proceeded to expropriate the landlords of the district. "It is our land," they doubtless said; "why not take it at once? Why wait?"

But these incidents are not at all alarming. To repeat, the remarkable thing is that they are so few in number and so far between. Let the peasants, soldiers—and the soldiers are, of course, peasants or laborers—and embattled radicals understand that the provisional government has no intention of

usurping the powers of a constituent assembly, that it will postpone every settlement that can or ought to be postponed, and that it has no aggressive, jingo, imperialistic designs; let the provisional government democratize itself or nationalize itself sufficiently, and the danger of civil war and anarchy can be averted in Russia.

Only blunders worse than crimes—blunders due to lack of candor, or to prejudice, distrust and fear—can destroy the revolution and restore the autocracy or the bureaucratic kleptocracy. Discussion, frank explanations on all occasions, free, full and patient debate should dissipate the fogs of prejudice and suspicion, and insure loyal co-operation and effective organization of the nation for war or for the courageous conclusion of a righteous peace.

PHILOSOPHICALLY SPEAKING.

By Ellis O. Jones.

A Philosopher, a Flea and a Dog once found themselves resting under the same shade tree by the roadside.

Suddenly, by way of expressing the sociable side of his nature, the Flea began to bite the Dog. Thereupon the Dog fell to scratching with a right good will.

The Philosopher observed the scene thoughtfully for a moment and then he remarked to the Dog:

"Please accept my heartiest congratulations."

"Upon what, pray?" inquired the Dog as he stopped his scratching.

"Upon your great good fortune in being plentifully supplied with Fleas."

"I am afraid I don't quite follow you," responded the Dog.

"Perhaps not. It very often happens that beings don't know what is good for them. And besides I must admit that this is not at all a simple matter. But, you see, I know what I'm talking about, because I am a Philosopher. In order to understand the Flea question properly, you must look at it philosophically."

"What do you mean philosophically?" inquired the Dog.

"I mean that you must focus your intelligence upon it in a detached, impersonal way. This is not always easy, as I said before. For instance, when a Flea bites you, your first impulse is to curse and revile the Flea and do everything in your power to destroy it. That, however, is really very short-sighted. The better way to look at it is by reflecting that the Flea develops initiative in you, keeps you from being lonesome, makes you self-reliant

and in other ways exercises a beneficial influence upon your character. Of course I don't say that this might not be overdone if the Fleas were too numerous, but all the best Philosophers are agreed that a certain amount of Fleas are good for a Dog."

"I don't see it," said the Dog doggedly.

"The Philosopher is right," spoke up the Flea. "He is absolutely right. You don't realize that I am really your friend. What I do I do entirely for your sake."

This speech set the Dog into a veritable fury which caused him to attack the Flea so vigorously that the Flea considered it the part of wisdom temporarily to transfer his domicile from the hide of the Dog to the hide of the Philosopher, who lost no time in applying scratches to the points where the Flea made his presence known.

"Please accept my heartiest congratulations," said the Dog. "I feel very deeply the loss of my friend, the Flea, but I am willing to accept it in a sacrificial spirit. Of course, being a Philosopher, you will not fail to look upon his visitation in a philosophical, that is, in a detached impersonal way, recognizing the indisputable fact that a certain amount of Fleas are undoubtedly good for Philosophers. As for myself, I think I will be running along, because if I stayed the temptation of the Flea to desert you might be too great."

MY COMRADE-ENEMY.

By Richard Warner Borst.

I hate you not, I love you, yet I must
Bear arms against you and, amid the blaze
Of war's white fury, see the horrid glaze
Of death steal o'er you at my bayonet-thrust.
You hate me not, you love me, yet the dust
Shall be our common shroud; for in the haze
Of bestial conflict, in profound amaze,
Your dying hands fulfil their ancient trust;

The trust that knows not reason, only fear,
The trust that kings and tyrants all maintain,
The trust that is not trust, but treachery.
So let us meet, my comrade-enemy,
My murderer beloved whom I have slain:
Though life may sever, death shall draw us near.

* * *

I hope that somewhere among the men who hold power . . . there is at least one who will remember . . . that we are the guardians, not only of the nation, but of that common heritage of thought and art and a human way of life into which we were born, but which our children may find wasted by our blind violence and hate.—Bertrand Russell.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending May 15.

Congressional Doings.

Chairman Claude Kitchin of the House Ways and Means Committee introduced on May 9 the war revenue measure. It is estimated to produce additional revenue to the amount of \$1,810,420,000. It lowers the exemption on incomes to \$1,000 for single persons and to \$2,000 for heads of families. It increases the normal rate for individuals to four per cent, and for corporations to six per cent. Beginning with incomes of \$5,000 it provides surtaxes as follows:

Table with 2 columns: Income Range and Surtax Rate. Includes rows for income brackets from \$5,000 to \$100,000 and above, with rates ranging from 1% to 33%.

In addition to the present inheritance tax it provides the following surtaxes besides putting a tax of one per cent on estates between \$25,000 and \$50,000 now exempt:

Table with 2 columns: Estate Value and Surtax Rate. Includes rows for estate value brackets from \$50,000 to \$15,000,000 and over, with rates ranging from 1% to 15%.

The excess profits tax is raised to sixteen per cent. All tariff rates are advanced ten per cent and a ten per cent duty laid on articles now on the free list. Letter postage is to be increased from two cents to three cents, postal cards to two cents and second-class rates are to be increased to two cents a pound for the first two parcel post zones, three cents for the third and fourth, four cents for the fifth and sixth, five cents for the seventh and six cents for the eighth. The present rate is one cent a pound universally. Periodicals conducted without profit are to pay a universal rate of 1 1/2 cents a pound. Advertising is to pay five per cent. All life insurance policies, except industrial insurance, are taxed 8 cents on each \$100; marine, fire and casualty policies, one per cent of the premium; automobiles, motorcycles and rubber tires, 5 per cent on wholesale price; oil pipe lines, 5 per cent on their charges. A tax of ten per cent is put on railroad passenger tickets, and tickets for parlor car seats and berths. Express rates are taxed ten per cent; freight bills, three per cent; electrical power five per cent; tele-

graph and local telephone messages, five per cent; long distance telephone messages over fifteen cents, five cents a message; jewelry, five per cent; musical instruments and talking machines, five per cent; cosmetics and proprietary medicines, five per cent; amusement tickets, ten per cent; moving picture films when sold to the user ½ cent a foot, and when ready for projection one cent a foot; sporting goods, parts of games, and pleasure boats, five per cent; playing cards, eight cents a pack. Club memberships ten per cent; chewing gum, five per cent. Heavy increases are provided on liquors, soft drinks, tobacco, cigarettes and cigarette papers. Other taxes fall on stock exchange transactions, capital stock, bonds, drafts, checks, notes, deeds, indemnity bonds, power of attorney and proxies. The Committee estimates that the new income tax will produce \$640,000,000 additional revenue; excess profits tax, \$200,000,000; tariff duties, \$200,000,000; inheritance tax, \$6,000,000; and pipe line tax, \$4,500,000. The New York *Times* figures the effect of the proposed income tax, based on exemption of \$2,000 for heads of families as follows:

Income.	Under Original Law.	Law of Sept. 8, 1916.	Under Proposed Revision.
\$3,000.....	\$40
4,000.....	80
5,000.....	\$10	120	120
10,000.....	60	120	355
15,000.....	110	220	730
20,000.....	160	320	1,120
25,000.....	260	470	1,730
40,000.....	560	920	3,380
50,000.....	760	1,820	4,780
60,000.....	1,060	1,720	6,180
75,000.....	1,510	2,470	8,880
100,000.....	2,510	3,920	14,180
125,000.....	3,760	5,670	20,680
150,000.....	5,010	7,420	27,180
175,000.....	6,260	9,420	37,680
200,000.....	7,510	11,420	42,180
250,000.....	10,010	15,920	59,680
300,000.....	13,010	20,920	79,180
400,000.....	19,010	31,920	119,180
500,000.....	25,010	42,920	165,180
750,000.....	42,510	72,920	282,680
1,000,000.....	60,010	102,920	400,180
1,500,000.....	95,010	167,920	640,180
2,000,000.....	130,010	237,920	885,180
2,500,000.....	165,010	312,920	1,135,180
3,000,000.....	200,010	387,920	1,385,180

Protests against many of these proposed taxes are already pouring in. [See current volume, page 458.]

* * *

The House and Senate Conference Committee finally agreed on May 10 on the Conscription bill and it was reported to both branches. The settlement makes liable to conscription all men between 21 and 31. The bill increases the pay of enlisted men, making the minimum amount \$25 a month, instead of \$15 as at present, and increasing the wages of higher paid men. Permission for raising of volunteer divisions, intended for the benefit of ex-President Roosevelt, was stricken out, but after a fight the provision was re-inserted on May 12.

The press censorship clause of the espionage bill was stricken from it by the Senate on May 12, on

motion of Senator Johnson of California, by a vote of 39 to 38. An amendment was then offered by Kirby of Arkansas for a censorship under the supervision of the Secretaries of War and the Navy. This was rejected by a vote of 65 to 5. Those who opposed Johnson's motion were Brady, Colt, Culberston, Fletcher, Gerry, Hale, Hollis, Husting, James, Jones of New Mexico, Kendrick, King, Kirby, Lodge, McCumber, Pittman, Poindexter, Pomerene, Ransdell, Robinson, Shafroth, Sheppard, Simmons, Smith of Arizona, Smith of South Carolina, Sterling, Stone, Thompson, Walsh, Warren, Weeks, Williams, Wolcott and Trammell. Finally on May 14 the bill passed by a vote of 77 to 6 with provisions for censorship omitted, after an effort by Senator Overman to restore the clause had been defeated by a vote of 48 to 34.

Council of Defense on the Industrial Situation.

To dissipate misunderstanding of its recent action urging against taking advantage of the war situation by employers or employees, the Council of National Defense has issued the following statement:

There have been established by legislation, by mutual agreement between employers and employees, or by custom certain standards constituting a day's work. These vary from seven hours per day in some kinds of office work to twelve hours per day in continuous operation plants. The various states and municipalities have established specific standards of safety and sanitation and have provided inspection service to enforce the regulations. They have also established maximum hours of work for women and minimum age limits for children employed in gainful occupations. It is the judgment of the Council of National Defense that the Federal, State and Municipal Governments should continue to enforce the standards they have established unless and until the Council of National Defense has determined that some modification or change of these standards is essential to the national safety; that employers and employees in private industries should not attempt to take advantage of the existing abnormal conditions to change the standards which they were unable to change under normal conditions.

The one other standard that the Council had in mind was the standard of living. It recognizes that the standard of living is indefinite and difficult to determine, because it is in a measure dependent upon the purchasing power of the wages received remaining the same. It believes, however, that no arbitrary change in wages should be sought at this time by either employers or employees through the process of strikes or lockouts without at least giving the established agencies of the Government, the Mediation Board in the transportation service and the Division of Conciliation of the Department of Labor in the other industries, an opportunity to adjust the difficulties without a stoppage of work occurring. While the Council of National Defense does not mean to intimate that under ordinary circumstances the efficiency of workers is the only element that should be taken into consideration in fixing the hours of labor, safety, sanitation, women's work and child labor standards, it is the object that must be attained during the period when the nation's safety is involved. It may, therefore, be necessary for the Council as a result of its investigations and experience to suggest modifications and changes in these standards during that time. It is not the

purpose of the Council, however, to undertake to determine the wage rate that will be sufficient to maintain the existing standards of living. That should be referred to the mediation agencies of the Government above referred to or to such other constituted agencies as may exist to the end that such questions may be adjusted in an orderly and equitable manner to avoid the stoppage of industries which are so vital to the interests of the nation at this critical time. This is no time for rocking the boat.

Conference on Democratic Control.

A call for a conference on democracy and peace, to meet in New York on May 30 was issued on May 10. The call refers to growing disregard of constitutional rights of citizens, since the declaration of war and states further:

We call on all American citizens to unite with us in the first American conference on democracy and terms of peace, to discuss how best we can aid our government in bringing to ourselves and the world a speedy, righteous and enduring peace.

Among the signers are an Episcopal Bishop, Paul Jones of Salt Lake City, Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch of Chicago, Professor Simon N. Patten of the University of Pennsylvania, Professor William I. Hull of Swarthmore College, Brent Don Allinson of the Harvard International Polity Club, James McKeen Cattell, May Wright Sewell, Mrs. Glendower Evans, Edward T. Hartman, Joseph D. Cannon, Louis P. Lochner and others. The tentative program for discussion by the conference is as follows:

The conference favors a speedy and universal peace, in harmony with the principles outlined by the President of the United States and by revolutionary Russia, and indorsed substantially by the Social Democratic organizations of Italy, France, Germany and Austria and the liberal and democratic forces of England and other countries, namely:

- No forcible annexation of territory.
- No punitive indemnities.
- Free development of all nations.

The headquarters of the executive committee in charge of the matter, consisting of Elizabeth Freeman, Roy Brazzle and Louis P. Lochner, are at the Holland House, New York City.

The Pacific Coast Class War.

The Grand Jury in San Francisco, of which John D. Spreckels was foreman, refused to indict F. C. Oxman for perjury, in the Mooney trial and in a public statement on May 3 commended District Attorney Fickert "for the able and fearless manner in which he has performed his duties." It refused to call before it Estelle Smith, on whose testimony Billings had been convicted of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. After exposure of the frame-up proceedings Miss Smith had made the following affidavit:

That said Oxman asked affiant if it was not a fact that she had seen the defendant, Israel Weinberg, standing by a post on the afternoon of July 22, 1916, in front of said 721 Market street. That your affiant told said Oxman that she had never

in her life seen said Weinberg until after his arrest. Said Oxman then stated:

"If you will testify and testify right I will see that you get a sum in five figures and will not have to work any more. No one who knows anything about the bomb case will ever know you and you can start all over again where no one knows you."

I asked said Oxman:

"Did Mr. Fickert send you to me?"

And said Oxman replied:

"No; the men higher up than Fickert sent me to you."

I, affiant, repeated in substance the above affidavit to Charles M. Fickert at about the time it occurred.

In spite of the Grand Jury's refusal to act, Police Judge Mathew Brady decided to hold Oxman for the Superior Court. [See current volume, page 426.]

* *

Following the acquittal of Thomas H. Tracy, at Everett, Washington, the other I. W. W. prisoners have been released at the request of the prosecutor. Twenty were freed on May 8, and the others, two days later. [See current volume, page 459.]

Tax Reform News.

The town of Columbia Heights, Maryland, endorsed by popular vote on May 8 a proposition to raise local revenue by taxing land values only. The town of Hyattsville will vote on May 19 on a similar proposition. [See vol. xix, pp. 418, 1236.]

* *

The Rotary Club of Syracuse, N. Y., adopted on April 27 the following resolution:

As business men, interested in the growth and prosperity of our city and country, conscious of the heavy burden which taxation often puts upon industry, believing that individually created wealth rightfully belongs to the individuals who create this wealth, believing also that socially created wealth belongs to that society which creates this wealth, it is our conviction that the time has come for a careful study of the whole subject of taxation for the purpose of discovering, if possible, a more equitable system than the present one of distributing this burden upon prosperity.

Therefore, we recommend the appointment of a Rotary Singletax Committee whose duty it shall be to study the subject of taxation and from time to time report the results of its investigation to the Rotary Club. [See vol. xix, p. 703.]

European War.

Attacks and counter-attacks on the western front have continued throughout the week. The British advance suffered a temporary setback east of Vimy Ridge, where the Germans recaptured the village of Fresnoy. But on the 14th the advance was renewed and the village of Roeux on the right bank of the Scarpe River and six miles east of Arras, was taken. French movements have been confined to lesser activities during the week. It is officially reported that from April 9 to May 12 the French and British have taken 49,579 prisoners, including 976 officers, and 444 heavy cannon and field pieces, 943 machine guns, and 386 trench cannon. The practical cessation of fighting on the Russian front and in Rou-

mania has enabled Germany to transfer such masses of troops to the western front as to bring the advance of the Allies almost to a standstill. In Macedonia an offensive has been renewed by the Allies in the region of Lake Doiran and the Vardar River, but its extent is not known. There appears also to be a renewal of the campaign in Mesopotamia where the Russian forces have been reported as inactive since the Revolution. A successful advance along the upper Euphrates River southwest of Erzingan is announced by the Russians, and the British report progress northwest of Bagdad and in Palestine. Italy again figures in the press dispatches because of renewed activity in the Trentino and in the southern section of the Carso. [See current volume, page 460.]

* *

The submarine toll, as given out by the British Admiralty on the 9th, showed a slight increase in number of vessels lost over the preceding week, but a lesser tonnage. Of the 62 ships destroyed, 24 were over 1,600 tons, as compared with 38 of the week before. A larger number of fishing boats were destroyed than for some time past. The Admiralty report states:

Vessels of all nationalities: Arrivals, 2,374; sailings, 2,499. British merchantment over 1,600 tons sunk, including five not reported previously, 24; under 1,600 tons, 22. British merchantmen unsuccessfully attacked, including six previously not reported, 34. British fishers sunk, including one not previously reported and thirteen sailers, 16.

* *

Haiti and Liberia have broken off diplomatic relations with Germany, it is reported. Cables pass through Liberia, which lends some importance to the action of the government of that country.

* *

No definite peace developments are reported. Active discussions continue among the Socialists and labor representatives, both within German and in the neighboring countries, but without any apparent agreement. The questions of indemnities and annexation are still obstacles in the way of further negotiations. Much appears to rest with the action of the Russian populace. The issue between liberals and conservatives in Germany regarding the liberalizing of the Constitution appears to be growing sharper, the liberals demanding a representative government responsible to the people, and the conservatives resisting all encroachments upon hereditary rights.

* *

No military news is announced by the American Government beyond the continued effort to whip things into shape for action. Submarine chasers are to be launched as rapidly as possible, and the building of the billion dollar merchant fleet has been begun. Plans are laid to build 1,000 ships of wood and steel within eighteen months. These are to be medium sized ships, and will represent about 3,000,000 tons. The French and British Commissions have been received at New York, Boston, and Montreal with great enthusiasm.

Russia.

Matters are not going smoothly with the new Government. The Cabinet has attempted to form a coalition Government that would lay responsibility upon the various factors in the Revolutionary movement; but the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which appear to be the strongest single body, refuse to accept official place in the Government. Military discipline at the front appears to be held in abeyance. The Russian and German soldiers fraternize to a degree that has called for warning orders from officers in command. General Korniloff, commander of the Petrograd garrison, resigned his command because of the conflicting sources of authority that made action impossible. But though the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates will not work officially with the Government they appear to have the same end in view, and have so far avoided an open rupture. Both the Delegates and the Government oppose a separate peace, but the former is less exacting of terms. The Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates has issued an appeal to the army, warning the men that Germany is attempting to overthrow the Revolution, and appealing to them to defend Russia with all their might. A general peace is possible, it says, only by an agreement among all nations, and that the Council is appealing to the workmen of the Central Powers to throw off the yoke of absolutism. Until the German workmen do throw off this yoke the Russian soldiers are urged to stand firm in the defense of their own country. [See current volume, page 461.]

* *

The confusion at Petrograd and throughout the empire is leading to much speculation as to the possibility of a dictator. Minister of Justice Kerensky said in speaking of the situation: "We have taken our sip of freedom and it has somewhat intoxicated us." In an impassioned appeal to delegates from the front he made the most alarming diagnosis of Russia's internal crisis made by any official. From having been one of the most optimistic of the Revolutionists Kerensky is filled with forebodings, and believes that if things continue as they are Russia will fall under a dictatorship.

* *

The grave condition of affairs at Petrograd lends special importance to the appointment of the American commission to visit Petrograd. The Commission consists of Elihu Root, chairman; Charles R. Crane, Chicago manufacturer, now in Russia; John R. Mott, of New York, general secretary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association; Cyrus McCormick, of Chicago, president of the International Harvester Company; Samuel R. Bertron, New York banker; James Duncan, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor; Charles Edward Russell, of New York, Socialist and author; Major General Hugh L. Scott, Chief of Staff of United States Army; Rear Admiral James H. Glennon, United States Navy. The commission has been selected with a view to assuring the Russians of America's warm interest in their welfare, and a desire to aid in any way possible the young republic.

NOTES

—Ex-Senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio, died at Cincinnati on May 10.

—Joseph H. Choate, former American Ambassador to Great Britain, died in New York on May 14, aged 85.

—The Connecticut House of Representatives approved on May 8 an equal suffrage Constitutional Amendment. It must be ratified by the next General Assembly before it can be submitted to the electors.

—An article by Judson King, showing the present status of the Initiative and Referendum, has been put into the *Congressional Record* by Senator Owen and may be obtained in franked envelopes ready for mailing on application to any Senator or Congressman.

—Boards of Supervisors of the State of New York have been urged by the State Commission of Prisons to make immediate arrangements to employ the hundreds of idle prisoners serving sentences in county jails in the cultivation of farms and gardens during the summer.

—Political party Singletaxers of Wilmington, Delaware, have nominated a ticket, for the coming city election, headed by Samuel Melville, nominee for Mayor, one of the veterans of the free speech fight of 1896 in Dover. The other nominees are Charles Dulin and William F. Burns.

—The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor in considering the effect of the war upon school children in England says that from the breaking out of the war to May 1, 1916, 28,000 children of school age were excused from attendance for farm work. The chief medical inspector in deprecating this policy says of the child: "His introduction to labor at this time renders him liable to conditions detrimental to his physical well-being."

—Rice growers in Siam who have hitherto been the victims of money lenders who charged 40 to 50 per cent. interest, and who were forced in consequence to sell at ruinous prices to middlemen, are to be given relief by the Government through a system of co-operative credit societies that will charge 12 per cent., and by a system of government warehouses that will receive the rice till it is needed. The Government will act as selling agent at Bangkok for a small commission.

—Immigrant aliens admitted to the United States in March numbered 15,512; emigrant aliens departing numbered 2,318. England furnished the largest number, 1,730; Spain, 1,676; Mexico, 1,644; Italy, 1,294; France, 1,235; Portugal, 1,198; no other nation sent as many as a thousand. Of the 15,512 immigrants 414 were classified as of the professional class; 2,763, skilled labor; 1,696, farmers and farm laborers; 2,803, laborers; 1,183, servants; 6,653 miscellaneous, including women and children.

—A movement has been launched in Boston by the War Prohibition Conservation Committee to conserve the food supply by suspending the manufacture of distilled and fermented liquors. A statement signed by T. N. Carver, Edmund E. Day, William Z. Ripley, Edwin T. Gay, Professors of Economics;

Walter B. Cannon, Professor, and Percy G. Styles, Assistant Professor of Physiology, all of Harvard, and Irving Fisher, Professor of Political Economy, Yale University, gives figures from the Internal Revenue Report and the United States Census showing that 7,000,000,000 pounds of food stuffs are used annually in the manufacture of distilled and fermented liquors. This they estimate is sufficient, after deducting the amount necessary for denatured alcohol, to feed 7,000,000 men a year.

—Among the significant items of news from England that were not reported in the American press was the monster meeting held in Albert Hall, London, to celebrate the success of the Russian Revolution. Speeches were made by H. W. Nevins, Robert Smillie, Robert Williams, Israel Zangwill, Commander Wedgwood, M. P., A. Bellamy, Dr. Lynch, M. P., and others, all stressing the demand that British democracy be brought up to the level of the newly constituted democratic regime in Russia. The fact that a hall holding 20,000 people had to turn away 5,000 is taken to indicate the interest of the British people in Russian democracy, and the speakers took advantage of the opportunity to launch some severe criticism on the present British Cabinet.

PRESS OPINIONS

A Land Experiment.

The *New Republic*, May 12.—California's land settlement bill recently passed both houses of the legislature by overwhelming majorities. Preparations are making under the act to purchase a 5,000 acre tract of land to be developed as an organic unit. The department of farm engineering of the state agricultural college is working out systematic plans. Soon we shall have in this country one little oasis in which the farmer may set out upon his career without the handicap of insanitary and ill designed buildings, a grinding mortgage or the desperate isolation of the frontier. If the project is successful—and all the technical conditions point to its success—the movement thus inaugurated is certain to extend itself. But unless taxation is employed to check the development of unearned increment, most of the benefits from recolonization will fall to the existing land owners.

No More Frame-Ups Wanted.

New York *Evening Post*, May 12.—The outcome of the I. W. W. trial at Everett, Wash., is a vindication for the administration of justice on the Pacific Coast and of the spirit of fair play which is bound to assert itself in a community when once it has freed itself from panic. With the acquittal of the three-score defendants at Everett, a saner and healthier public sentiment should enter into the vexed relations between capital and labor, whose recent history on the Coast has been unsavory. There has been provocation on both sides, and violence on both sides, whether it has been labor violence through dynamite at Los Angeles or "law and order" violence at Seattle and Everett. It is a puzzle to us of the enslaved East that in the progressive States of the Pacific Coast, where so much pioneer work has been done towards the upbuilding

of industrial justice, there should be frequently recurring crises involving guerrilla warfare with rifle and bomb, the suppression of free speech, and the misuse of the courts, as in the trial of the labor leader, Mooney, in San Francisco. But if it has been a case of violence begetting violence, the chances are that decisive action such as has taken place at Everett, and such as we expect in San Francisco, will break the evil chain.

Convincing Refutation Found at Last.

Dr. Frank Crane in *New York Globe*: I sat down at the club the other day and along came my friend the Singletaxer. I like Singletaxers. They rank with Christian Scientists and Socialists as our most enthusiastic believers, and in "these days of down-pulling and disbelief," to use Carlyle's phrase, it is refreshing to meet a man that believes hard. My own temper of mind being somewhat critical and inclined to question, I look with envy upon men of militant positivity. It's a good thing somebody is sure of something. He held me in some interesting conversation which I herewith pass on to those more learned and equipped in economics than I.

"We've just paid twenty-five million dollars for the Danish West India islands," he said. "What did we get for our money?"

"Why, we get the islands, I suppose."

"We did, did we? Who's we?"

"Why, the people of the United States."

"Not at all. Those islands belong to a few land owners. They owned them when they were Danish. They own 'em now they are American. Just got a different colored flag, that's all."

"Well, there's something in that."

"Yes, sir. One of those islands, St. Croix, is as large as Manhattan Island, and is owned entirely by three men. There are 25,000 people on St. Croix engaged in raising sugar cane. For the privilege of living and working there they must give the three owners the greater part of the wealth they produce, just as the people on Manhattan Island must give a few families a big part of their earnings for the privilege of living there. Now that the United States has paid \$25,000,000 for the power to govern the islands, it should do one of two things: It should either empower the 25,000 people who live on St. Croix to take for common use the rental value of the island they live on, and should empower the people of the two other islands to do the same thing, or it should take the rental value itself and use the money for the benefit of the islanders. That is one way that we can get value in return for the \$25,000,000 spent. Until we do take this rental value for public use not one cent should be taken in taxation from the laborers who are producing wealth on the islands."

I repeated this conversation to a college professor who is bitterly opposed to Singletax. He said:

"Stuff and nonsense!"

I was glad to hear this convincing refutation of the Singletaxer's screed. I knew there must be some answer to his specious arguments, of course, but I couldn't think what it was.

A Fruit of Monopoly.

Chicago Herald, May 6.—According to a bulletin of the Equitable Life Assurance Society there are

10,000,000 unmarried men in the United States between the ages of 18 and 44. That is 45 per cent of the 22,000,000 of American men of this class. Nearly one-half of the age group in which marriage normally occurs are bachelors. The fact is that the cost of living has advanced so rapidly and wages have risen relatively so slowly that marriage is becoming a luxury whose sheer cost causes many prudent men to hesitate. It is not that they are averse to accepting family responsibilities. They simply doubt their ability to solve successfully the economic problems presented by marriage. After this war the tendency may turn. The necessity of replacing the workers lost or incapacitated in battle ordinarily induces the birth rate to go up after great wars. More influential than this general movement will be the attention which the nations must give to the situation. In order to assure their own prosperity the governments must conspire to arrange economic affairs in such a way that reasonable men and women may marry without financial fear.

One Cause of High Freight Rates.

The Ground Hog (Cleveland), May 10.—There is a great deal of grumbling about the great cost of transportation in this country. But then just consider the enormous areas of vacant land everywhere over or past which goods must be hauled. The land speculator is the cause of high freight rates, and the people are to blame for the speculators. If we had started out on a reasonable system of land tenure there would be no railway problem to-day and no demand for higher freight rates. Roads of all kinds in city and country, walks, pavements, telephones, telegraphs, drains, sewers and all such improvements cost the people enormously more on account of the ubiquitous owner of vacant land.

* * *

Let me say a word about this question as it affects the towns. . . . The land in London is worth about £500,000,000. It is worth more than all the municipal debt throughout the kingdom. . . . Who created that wealth? It was not the landlords. London was a swamp, and the landlords did not even create that. All the wealth has been created by the industry, the energy, and the enterprise of the people who dwell in London. Every year the value of that land goes up by ten millions . . . by the energy of the people and without anything to do with the great landlords into whose coffers this enormous sum of money pours. . . . The first duty of any reforming, progressive Government is to compel these gentlemen to contribute their share towards public expenditure.—*Lloyd George at Newcastle-on-Tyne*, 1903.

* * *

The rent of land is paid to private landlords simply for permission to use it, but it is the people's fault if they allow the landlord to keep it.—*Joseph Fels*.

* * *

A social system which so restricts opportunities for employment that thousands gladly accept a chance to work amidst the most unhealthy surroundings, under the most harmful conditions, inevitably produces consumptives by the thousands.—*Joseph Fels*.

CORRESPONDENCE

DIRECT ACTION.

Judge-made law in labor cases has reached such proportions that the Bureau of Statistics of Massachusetts is able to issue a two hundred and fifty-page book under the title—"Labor Injunctions in Massachusetts." The volume is practically filled with quotations and summaries taken from cases in which judges have issued injunctions in labor disputes.

Two things are noticeable in these cases. The first is the fact that the injunction is a weapon which is used by the employer against the employees. The workers do not use the injunction. Whatever its possibilities, the workers have not availed themselves of the opportunity which the injunction might give them to secure quick action on vital questions.

The injunction is a form of direct action. Where irreparable damage is threatened; where it can be shown that the ordinary processes of law are inadequate to give relief from injustice, injunctions may be secured from the courts. If, for example, one man appeared on the property of another and began cutting his shade trees, for which no damages would be an adequate compensation, the court would issue an injunction forbidding the intruder to continue cutting the trees. If he persisted, he would be adjudged in contempt of court and punished by the judge who had issued the injunction.

Proceeding upon this theory, courts have issued injunctions in labor disputes. A group of workers, striking against their employer, are threatening to destroy his property. These workers have no property upon which the employer can levy if he wins a damage suit against them. Besides that, the injury which they are doing to his business is so great that no money damages would ever compensate for it. The court grants the injunction because no amount of damages will make up for the loss sustained.

Look at the other side of the question for a minute.

A hundred women are at work in a State where the law requires that women shall be provided with seats. No seats are provided, however, and the constant standing, day by day, undermines and finally destroys the health of the women. These women have a remedy at law. They may compel the factory inspectors to enforce the law and to provide seats. But that takes time. Meanwhile, the women are suffering a daily and irreparable loss of health. This is clearly a case for the issuance of an injunction.

A number of men are at work in a mine. The mining company, in violation of the law, does not provide adequate ventilation. The men's health is damaged in consequence, and one day the dust and gas in the mine will explode, killing and maiming scores or perhaps hundreds. The danger is imminent and constant. The men have a remedy at law, but meanwhile, irreparable damage is being done. Again there is a case for the use of the injunction.

Oddly enough, injunctions are not issued in these cases. It is only when irreparable damage will be done to property that the courts hasten to the as-

sistance of citizens. Injunctions are secured by employers to protect property.

The property owners of the United States are the real direct-actionists. The workers appoint legislative committees, elect representatives, lobby for legislation, and when it is declared unconstitutional, they go back and pursue the weary path again—sometimes consuming years in the process. Children are toiling; women are being overworked at starvation wages; trade diseases threaten health and life; accidents occur by the tens of thousands—happiness, health and life itself are destroyed ruthlessly with no redress save the tedious machinery of legislative action. A strike is called. Strikers and strikebreakers come into conflict, property is threatened, and presto—an injunction is granted and the danger of irreparable damage to property is warded off.

Injunctions are issued to prevent irreparable damage; they are issued at the behest of the employer; they are issued for the protection of property. Blessed are they that own for theirs is the power of the judiciary.

SCOTT NEARING.

Toledo, Ohio.

BOOKS

AN INSPIRING WORK.

Russian Sociology. By J. F. Hecker, Ph. D. Published by Columbia University Press, New York. Price \$2.50 net.

In this interesting work Professor Hecker critically examines the theories of the Russian sociologists, their philosophical presuppositions and methodological peculiarities. The result is a work full of human interest, and the effect upon the careful reader is to fill him with a supreme admiration for those men that, under fearful penalties, still fought for the truth and a better way of life and a superior social order. Recalling Lavroff, Bakounin, Krapotkin, Stepniak and others, and their single-hearted determination to fight for a higher life, their pure ideals and noble aspirations, one almost despairs of the world as it is to-day. It seems that we have grown lazy, indifferent, callous or cowardly—that true patriotism and chivalry are dead—that unselfishness is a lost virtue—that the standard has been lowered and trailed in the dirt and the slime.

The author doubtless never intended the book as anything but a historical study, but the record of heroic deed and thought fires the blood like some Norse Saga, and the reader is the better for the reading.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

ENGLAND'S POLITICAL NAPOLEON.

Lloyd George. The Man and His Story. By Frank Dilnot. Published by Harper and Brothers, New York. \$1.00 net.

An engagingly simple personal sketch of the man who, once England's greatest democrat, is now England's greatest autocrat, ruling England with "an absoluteness granted to no man, king or statesman, since the British became a nation."

Mr. Dilnot brings David Lloyd George, now Prime Minister of England, near to us personally in a way that explains, just as doubtless personal acquaintance would explain, much that has seemed contradic-

tory and disappointing in the development and career of this most extraordinary man. Other men there have been who have risen to the highest places their country had to offer, risen from obscurity and poverty. But the history of the world shows little to equal the changing aspects of Lloyd George's career as an English statesman, and the changing aspects of the public mind in England toward Lloyd George.

Within less than a decade this little Welshman, son of a poor country school master, who early left the boy fatherless and penniless on the bounty of a cobbler uncle, accomplished two things of such diametrically opposed character that the mind can scarce grasp the thought. He dared and accomplished what few other democrats in England had ever dared and what none had accomplished, he broke the power of the House of Lords and deprived them forever of their might over English law. Then in less than seven years after that, Lloyd George broke the power of the Trades Unions of England and asked the English people to submit to shackles such as they had not known since the tyranny of the Middle Ages. It was the war that forced this submission of course, but it is doubtful if any other man could have thus robbed the English people of the measure of democracy he had won for them and found them submitting willingly.

The early years of Lloyd George's career are told simply and sincerely, and many readers of THE PUBLIC who once had high hopes of this remarkable man will be glad to know more about him, for much in this book will make their hopes revive. The author gives a vivid picture of the famous budget Fight of 1909 and 1910, when the then Chancellor of the Exchequer was the most hated man in England; and, hated of the "upper class," but trusted and beloved by the great mass of people who felt he was fighting their fight. That possibly is why they submit now to an autocracy more absolute than these same people have even endured before. Mr. Dilnot saw and understood the opposition that rose to crush the "ignorant demagogue," the "self-seeking upstart" who boldly hurled his thundering oratory against the sacred vested rights of British landlordocracy. But he does not quite see the main point at issue. To him the social insurance clauses of the Budget were of as great importance, and just as much a bone of contention as were the land value taxation clauses. A keener study of the progress of social insurance legislation all over the so-called civilized globe would prove to Mr. Dilnot that the Powers that Be fear it very little, and are often ready and willing to grant it to counteract the demand for more fundamental reforms.

It is interesting to learn that the Northcliffe press, which in the days of 1910 and much later, seemed to exist merely for the attempt to crush Lloyd George, is now his strong ally, just as the classes that once hated him now uphold him. Mr. Dilnot, from a personal knowledge of Mr. Lloyd George, believes that this extraordinary man has not in any way lost interest in or hope for, his plans for a change in land tenure nor in the economic basis of English life. But he, like all forceful personalities, can think of but one thing at a time, and when he has set one goal for himself that goal is to be at-

tained at any cost. He has set himself the task of fitting England to win the war. To this end he is willing to crush out what measure of democracy England possessed or what measure he helped to win for England, just as he is willing to throw out of his path every other personality that seems to hinder him. Mr. Asquith gave Lloyd George the start that put him miles on his career. When Mr. Asquith seemed to Lloyd George to stand in his way, he supplanted his benefactor as Prime Minister. Does this truly astonishing man feel himself strong enough to return to democracy if his autocracy helps him to achieve the goal he has now set? Does he trust the march of events . . . or his own power to make good come out of evil? Of the many new and important developments the end of the war will bring, none will be more important nor more interesting than the task it will bring for David Lloyd George and the manner in which he will meet it.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

* * *

Amusing blunders in an essay competition on alcohol are credited to the young essayists. Here are a few: "Alcohol is a mocker; at last it biteth like a servant and stingeth like a hatter." "To-day many people are in a gaol for committing suicide while under the influence of drink." "A teetotaler is strong, and has a better chance to get on in life, whilst a drunkard is weak and fat, and stands at street corners all his life." "Doctors say that fatal disease are the worst." "It causes liver complaint and consumption, and cities and nations are much more fatal. Shortened lives have been increased." "It ruins many of their families and disease on the stomach, liver, and consumption." "Alcohol is a dreadful poison which is the root of all evilness."—*Christian Life*.

* * *

Only a few days ago the editor of a paper in Indiana grew tired of being called a liar and announced that he would tell the truth in future; and the next issue of the paper contained the following items:

"John Bonin, the laziest merchant in town, made a trip to Belleville yesterday.

"John Coyle, our groceryman, is doing a poor business. His store is dirty and dusty. How can he do so much?

"Rev. Sty preached last Sunday night on 'Charity.' The sermon was punk.

"Dove Sonkey died at his home in this place. The doctor gave it out as heart failure. Whisky killed him.

"Married—Miss Slyvan Rhodes and James Collin, last Saturday, at the Baptist parsonage. The bride is a very ordinary town girl, who doesn't know any more about cooking than a jack rabbit, and never helped her mother three days in her life. She is not a beauty by any means, and has a gait like a duck. The groom is an up-to-date loafer. He has been living off the old folks at home all his life and is not worth shucks. It will be a hard life."—*The Truth Seeker*.

* * *

For he lives twice who can at once employ
The present well, and e'en the past enjoy.—*Pope*.

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 Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Peggy—Daddy, what did the Dead Sea die of?
 Daddy—Oh, I don't know, dear.
 Peggy—Daddy, where do the Zeppelins start from?
 Daddy—I don't know.
 Peggy—Daddy, when will the war end?
 Daddy—I don't know.
 Peggy—I say, Daddy, who made you an editor?
 —*The Sketch.*

* * *

The Teacher.—Can you describe a seahorse?
 The Kid.—Yes'm. It's the present tense of saw-
 horse.—*Unidentified.*



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“GOD’S TERMS OF PEACE”

Mrs. Despard, sister of General French and of Mrs. Harvey, the English woman who was killed at her hospital post in Serbia, is the most gallant of them all! Seventy years of age, she has for years been a leader in the Woman’s Suffrage fight in Great Britain, not always fighting wisely, possibly, but always fighting nobly!

Now she is fighting for Peace. A German Peace? No. An Allied Peace? No.

* * * *

On April 15th in East London militant peace workers organized a Peace Parade to Hyde Park. When the parade arrived, the speakers’ platforms were in the hands of opponents of the meeting. Mrs. Despard mounted the railings to address the crowd. Someone shouted, “We don’t want the Germans terms: we want our terms!”

The aged lady answered, “You will have neither the German terms nor your own terms: You will have God’s terms.”

* * * *

“God’s terms of Peace!” The world will not get what it is not ready for. What is it ready for? What will it be ready for at the end of the War?

International justice—international democracy—is the only ultimate “God’s Peace.” That is the ideal that THE PUBLIC is trying to uphold in these difficult days and it is trying to show the method by which the ideal can be achieved.

No one in this country wants a German peace, and there is an encouraging number who see the danger of an Allied peace, if the great democracies that make the Allied Powers swing to tariffs and trade wars. The people who realize this danger stand on the boundary line between the old and the new ideas of world government and on these boundary-line folk rests the future’s hope. It is they to whom THE PUBLIC does its missionary work. THE PUBLIC’S work is not to tell the old fundamental democrat what he knows, but to present his case to the folk on the boundary-line, who, once they understand fundamentals and see how Justice can be obtained will have faith in its practicability.

* * * *

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