

The Public

An International Journal
of
Fundamental Democracy

Financing the War

By Louis F. Post

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STRAIGHT EDGE INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENT

By Avery Quercus

THE STRAIGHT EDGE Industrial Settlement is organized to promote Coöperative Industry. It finds men and women who need employment and who want to earn their living by useful industry, and it finances them in industrial groups by means of gifts and loans which it receives from a wide circle of Founders and Friends.

It has no Capital Stock and is not formed for profit. It holds property like a school or church or club, not for private profit but for mutual and public benefit.

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| Average daily sales. | Dividend. |
|----------------------|-----------|
| 1914..... \$.65 | none |
| 1915..... .78 | 2.2% |
| 1916..... 1.55 | 14.0% |
| 1917..... 1.74 | 17.0% |

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Why don't you quit financing your economic funeral and get in line with the Straight Edge?

Address me at 100 Lawrence Street, New York. "Avery Quercus" of course isn't my right name, but the postman will find me.

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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Editorial

The President's note deals with the condition antecedent to the discussion of any terms of peace. It is waste of effort to negotiate with a power whose very nature is a contradiction of good faith. Whether the democratization of Germany comes from within spontaneously or as a consequence of the pressure of events, is for Germany to choose. In all likelihood she will become free only when she is powerless. Liberal forces will of course be strengthened, but not to the extent of making them actualities in the German situation. If we imagine that the President's note is going to democratize Germany, we are merely humbugging ourselves. Every political gesture in Berlin is translated by an uninformed optimism into a happy augury. No competent observer returned from Germany has any faith in a spontaneous democratic movement. If the Papal proposals represent the views of Herr. Erzberger, he can hardly be accused of harboring opinions subversive to kaiserdom. The reforms demanded by the socialists are trifling when measured against the scope of any fundamental change. Every discussion of terms of peace—and it is here that the line has been drawn between liberals and reactionaries—has been well within the limits of a German peace, that is, the kind of peace Germany will grant on the basis of German success. The reaction of the German people against their rulers may be expected only when the latter are fully discredited, either on the field of battle or in their political combinations.

* * *

The most promising possibility is to be found in the situation of Austria. Since the accession of the present emperor, progress has been made in a manner too sustained to be unimportant, toward the federalization of the empire. While a relative freedom of the submerged nationalities is far from democracy, and while the feudalism of Austria and Hungary is the most oppressive in the world, at the same time, the substitution of the fed-

eral system ends imperial irresponsibility, and meets the problem of race. This does not manifest any eagerness on the part of Austria to be a part of Mittleuropa under the hegemony of Prussia. Other important facts are to be associated with this. What kept Austria close to Germany was the fear of Russia; this has been removed. Again, the empire, war-worn and war-weary sees its military strength giving way; the Italian successes have not been accidental. There is every indication that Austria is shaping her course to the peace table. Who can believe that Mr. Balfour's marked courtesy in his recent speech, indicated only a private predilection on the part of that statesman. Mr. Lloyd George's faith that the Allies were nearer the consummation of their hopes than they dreamed was hardly warranted by the military situation. Nothing could be more desirable from the Allies point of view than an Austria detached from an alliance in which she has everything to lose and nothing to gain, and which would end at a blow the Pan-German hope, and create a whole new situation in the Balkans and the Near East.

* * *

The Moscow conference was an attempt to apply the solvent of patriotic devotion to factional differences. The picture of Russian conditions given by Premier Kerensky, Gen. Korniloff and other members of the Provisional Government shows a country and army in desperate straits, disorganized, lacking in discipline and morale, hampered by failure of transport, and facing the menace of overwhelming disaster. This may carry comfort to Germans and dismay to the Allies, until its significance is understood. Russians are proverbially outspoken regarding their defects. The remedy is a concentration and new consecration of purpose, and no better method could have been adopted than a frank display of Russia's dire need. Meanwhile, the political force that will shape the country's

future is forming itself for action. Again and again, attention has been called in these columns to the fact that the industrial element which provides the extremist factions is insignificant when faced by the real power inherent in slow-moving, conservative agricultural Russia. The latest dispatches inform us that the peasant landowners have united in a solid block that exceeds in numbers the population of both the central empires. Their object is to oppose the Workmen's Council. The test for Kerensky will be found in his ability to head the new movement, and make of the Workmen's Council an influence and not a factor. As to the military situation on the eastern front, *The Evening Post* editorial writer shows insight in calling attention to the curious anomaly that the Russian armies are keeping as many Germans employed as they have at any previous time. This is supported by the figures of General Pétain as to the disposition of the German forces. Some of our newspapers seem to consider a daily Russian *dibble* an indispensable part of the war diet of the American people. Perhaps they are not as fond of the democratic evolution of Russia as their professions would indicate.

* * *

The predicament of the people of Hazelton, Pennsylvania, who are debating on the advisability of paying \$200,000 for a square of land in the heart of the city, to be used for park purposes, would disappear with adoption of the land value tax that is urged for war purposes. The *Pittston Gazette* speculates on how all this trouble over the park would have been avoided had the founders of the town reserved the land in question. But it cannot be known at the time each village is laid out whether or not it will grow into a city. Park lands sufficient for a city would be an embarrassment to a village. But the matter would be simplified if the community adopted the principle of taxing land values and exempting labor values. For by that means the selling price of land would be so trifling that the expense of converting a building block into a park, or other public utility, would involve only the loss of the tax heretofore paid on the land, and the cost of the improvements. And since improvements tend to deteriorate with age, land could often be acquired by the municipality for little more than the expense of tearing down the building. The land value tax is as efficacious

in remedying the mistakes of village founders as it is in financing wars and stimulating the production of food.

* * *

That the men in the trenches are doing something beside trying to destroy their opponents is evident from the letters of thoughtful men that filter back from the front. Such a letter appears in August *Land Values* from H. A. Berens, son of Lewis H. Berens, author of "The Story of My Dictatorship." Speaking of the mental atmosphere at the front and the point of view the mass of the men are coming to take, Mr. Berens says:

Looking back over the past year I think we can feel proud and satisfied with the results. No one who has spoken to the men out here on "After-the-war-problems" can help being struck by the new spirit that is rife among them. Never before have I come across an audience pitched in so high a key, and so ready and sympathetic to listen to any one willing to speak to them on social problems. The mere mention of the land question brings forth rounds of applause. The men are red-hot, and are fully determined that when this war is over they are going to reap the benefit (or rather their posterity will) of the great sacrifices they have made. They have not forgotten, or perhaps they are beginning to remember, that we entered this war on behalf of liberty and justice, and they are determined to establish social justice on their return. They have seen more than enough of the twin sisters, Prussianism and Fabianism.

It is a wholesome sign when soldiers come to think as they shoot, and apply the doctrine of freedom to nations and to individuals.

* * *

In opposing heavier excess profits and income taxes, Senator Smoot of Utah pleads for mercy to business. But does not the Senator mean Big Business only? Has he in mind an alternative to these proposed taxes other than taxes which must fall most heavily on wage earners and small business men? It would be possible, as well as desirable, to raise increased revenue without putting heavy burdens on useful business, whether big or little, or on labor in any form. That could be accomplished by a tax on land values. But that is not the tax which Senator Smoot has in mind, and is one which he would probably oppose with greater vigor than he now brings to bear against the proposition before the Senate. Consequently his plea for mercy to Big Business is in effect a demand that heavier burdens be put upon the poor. So long as it has that meaning it deserves no consideration.

The Fruits of Monopoly

New York's subway system suspended operations for three hours in the middle of the day on August 25. Investigation showed that the Interborough Company's coal bunkers had been allowed to go empty because Mr. E. J. Berwind, a director and member of the executive committee of the Interborough, is also the coal dealer who holds the contract for supplying its power plants. No operating official of the most important municipal railway system in the world dared "make a fuss about it" when overdue coal shipments failed to arrive, because Mr. Berwind's power as one of the small group of men who own and control this utility and the natural resource with which power is generated is so great that his wrath is more to be feared than that of New York's five millions. All New York might have to walk home on a Saturday or wait for hours on street corners for inadequate surface cars. But Mr. Berwind's anger must not be aroused. He is one of the men who can make or break, and his arm is long in proportion as he controls the public utilities and natural resources on which the people must depend. The Chairman of the Public Service Commission brutally charged Manager Frank Hedley with "showing the white feather" in not insisting that the coal be delivered. But Mr. Hedley is an engineer and a manager, and to exercise his talents on a large scale it was entirely necessary that he keep Mr. Berwind's support. The Public Service Commissioner would have done better if he had directed his plain speaking to the system that gives a man such arbitrary and tyrannical power, setting his whimsical favor above the welfare of the people as the requisite to success.

Mr. Berwind is one of the great captains of finance and industry to whom the people have entrusted the ownership and control of the most valuable parts of this earth. He is one of those who, we are told, can look after such important matters as the mining and selling of coal and the financing and managing of street railway systems infinitely better than the people could do these things for themselves. The shutting down of the New York subways was a startling and extreme instance of what happens when the interests of the private owners conflict with that of the public. There is not the slightest ques-

tion that such instances arise every day in the conduct of our great monopolized industries. If Mr. Hedley would defer to Mr. Berwind to the extent of paralyzing New York's chief transportation facilities for three hours in the middle of the day, would he be apt to refuse a thousand and one lesser concessions to Mr. Berwind, or to any one of the dozen or so others who wield equal power? How often do the whims and caprices and self-interest of these monopolists defeat the public interest?

It is a constant, continuous, process. Employees on the Interborough are denied the right to organize and are notoriously overworked for small pay. Employees in Mr. Berwind's coal industry are similarly situated, or were three years ago when the hearings of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations revealed shocking conditions among the men employed in handling coal for his company in New York Harbor.

Two Capitalist Views

San Francisco has been in the throes of a street car strike. The United Railroads, looted by Eastern capitalists, whose agents were the central figures in the famous graft prosecution, has been working its men long hours at low wages in a desperate attempt to keep up payments on many millions of watered securities. The publicly-owned Municipal Railways, on the contrary, has been paying its men \$3.50 for an eight-hour day and putting aside handsome profits for the city. Needless to say, its lines were not affected by the walk-out of the United Railroads employees, except that daily receipts immediately doubled. The United Railroads imported more than 1,000 strikebreakers through a New York agency, bringing the men from eastern cities at great expense. The usual violence followed, in spite of all that police and union leaders could do to prevent it. Following a serious outbreak of rioting, in which one strikebreaker was killed, Mr. Frederick J. Koster, president of the Law and Order Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, sent a telegram to the home of Mayor James Rolph, Jr., at 4:30 o'clock in the morning, denouncing him for failure to maintain order and charging him with responsibility for the violence. Mayor Rolph's reply is of particular interest because he is himself a millionaire ship owner actively en-

gaged in the Australian and Far Eastern trade. He is an employer of labor on a large scale. For many years prior to his acceptance of a mayoralty nomination in 1911 from the same business men who constitute the Chamber of Commerce, he dealt with his employes through the Seamen's Union, and their International President, Mr. Andrew Furuseth, is one of his warm friends and supporters. Mr. Rolph replied to Mr. Koster as follows:

"Permit me to say, in the first place, that neither you nor the Law and Order committee has earned, by any conspicuous devotion to law and order, the right to lecture me or the police department. On the contrary, the attitude of you and your particular group have done much, in my opinion, to engender the industrial unrest and class hatred, culminating on a few occasions in turbulence and violence, which have lately distressed this community.

"I am quite as strongly opposed to lawlessness and disorder as you and your committee can possibly be; and I am, moreover, opposed to every form of lawlessness and disorder, whether committed by a corporation, a striker, or a strikebreaker, and whether that lawlessness take the form of bribery, perjury or any sort of chicane, or the more violent form of assault and murder.* * *

"Doubtless you are disappointed because the police have not yet turned machine guns on crowds in our streets and killed a few dozen strikers, including the customary number of innocent bystanders; but with all respect for your opinion, I think the police do well to enforce law and order as firmly as they have done, but without any quick or wanton slaughter of the people. Violent and bloody repression has never maintained law and order so effectually as firmness, coupled with moderation and common sense.

"It is unfortunate that so many persons of your type in this country are so incurably stupid and ignorant about business and industry, the very matters in which you are most concerned and in respect to which you deem yourself most enlightened. The world is changing all around you, and you and your kind don't know it any more than the Czar knew what was happening to him and Russia until it was all over. You still believe in Napoleon's whiff of grapeshot. You still think that industrial discontent can be quelled by

the policeman's club. Happily the rest of us do not need to take you or your Law and Order committee as seriously as you take yourselves. Law and order will be maintained in San Francisco by the police department in spite of the bitterness and hatred which have been aroused in this community by the attitude of yourself and your Law and Order committee."

This is the same Mr. Koster who has been the chief reliance of District Attorney Fickert in the notorious Mooney prosecutions. That he should be so correctly appraised by a Mayor originally elected on the sponsorship of the business interests of the city, and re-elected four years later by a huge majority, is a thing to cheer us in these days when the Rolph type of official and of employer seems so rare.

How We Might Talk

If THE PUBLIC were to adopt the methods of a thoroughly respectable New York newspaper it would say something like this:

"Messrs. Simmons, Penrose, Lodge, and the others of that crew have tried the patience of the Senate and the nation long enough. This is a time when every man in public life must meet the acid test. We are at war, and by their acts our politicians must prove whether they are heart and soul for their country or whether their allegiance is divided. To charge this group of Senators with secret sympathy with German designs is beyond our wish or purpose. What we do charge is that they have, by bringing in and urging a revenue bill that permits wealth to escape its just share of the war burden, placed themselves under grave suspicion. They cannot be so blind as not to know that the Berlin Government could wish nothing better than the adoption of such a revenue program as they propose. The successful prosecution of this war depends utterly on the whole-hearted support of the people. Yet these gentlemen would stir up class hatred and arouse popular discontent by jamming through a bill that more than any other conceivable step within Congress' power to take would make the war unpopular and give the lie to our professions of democracy. In standing out against the President's recommendation that at least half the war cost be met by taxation, they are giving aid and com-

fort to the enemy of the most substantial sort. We warn them that the patriotic, loyal people of this country are near the end of their patience. The time is rapidly coming when we shall be less charitable and discriminating in our treatment of those enemies within whose acts, while not inspired from Germany, could not be more harmful to the country's cause if they were ordered at Potsdam. Nor will the paltry half billion by which this group has consented to increase the amount to be raised by excess profits taxation permit them to escape. In making even this concession they have admitted that their original proposal was iniquitous and indefensible. But to stop short at a total of even \$3,000,000,000 instead of \$2,000,000,000 of conscripted wealth when the first year's cost of the war is to exceed \$10,000,000,000, exclusive of loans to the Allies, is to remain convicted of action against the national interest."

If THE PUBLIC had the assurance that comes of finding one's self in harmony with the existing order, perhaps it could talk that way. Instead, it merely points out that now, as always, property—big property—is in the saddle in the United States Senate, and that the battle against special privilege is only begun. But that battle is raging more fiercely just now than ever before in our time, and it may be that what we have written above about the people's patience and their wrath will come true sooner than we could have hoped for a year ago.

The Price-Fixing Situation

Not altogether in the wrong are the small coal operators who object to the coal prices fixed by the Government. The cost of production at all mines is not the same. The market price to the public must be based primarily on cost at the poorest mines, the output of which is needed to furnish an ample supply. If the Government price is less than that for which coal can be produced profitably at the poorest mines, these mines must be operated at a loss or not at all. It may be assumed that the operators would choose to shut down rather than operate at a loss. Then there would be danger of shortage even though the other mines continued.

This state of affairs need not be. If much good coal land were not withheld from use operators would not be driven to land too

poor for profitable operation at the Government price. And if the withheld land were opened to use there would be a lower cost of production on which to base prices.

It may be said that immediate needs must be provided for, and for that reason a short-cut method, such as Government price-fixing, must be applied. Operators who cannot continue thereunder must surrender their property to the Government, which will have fewer objections to producing at a loss. But though the necessity for this may be granted, the conditions which have made it a necessity should be changed. The better grades of coal lands should be opened, and production at a loss come to an end as soon as possible.

What applies to price-fixing in the case of coal applies thereto in the case of other commodities. Withholding good land from use forces producers to resort to poorer grades, and the public interest suffers. The present situation could have been averted by taxation of land values sufficient to make land speculation unprofitable. It can be cured most speedily by adoption of that policy at the earliest possible moment. Congress and State Legislatures should act promptly.

Mexico's Gain and Our Loss

It is a far cry from Morgantown, West Virginia, seat of the State University, to Mexico. But recent developments show how one act of petty tyranny in Morgantown indirectly helped to lay a foundation for economic freedom in Mexico.

Six years ago the regents of West Virginia's University arbitrarily dismissed Professor Robert B. Brinsmade, head of the department of mining engineering, because he had displeased the powers in control by presiding at a public meeting addressed by Henry George, Jr.

Professor Brinsmade found a demand in Mexico for his services as mining engineer, and located there. He found time to take note of economic conditions and to write and publish a book, "Latifundismo Mexicano," wherein he made clear the cause and cure of Mexico's troubles. The book obtained a favorable reception from the intelligent leaders of the revolution, who could judge a proposition on its merits even though it came from a foreign source.

A number of the students of Professor Brinsmade's book were prominent in the Con-

stitutional Convention, and some provisions of the new constitution bear a striking resemblance to recommendations he had made. The convention did not establish the Single-tax, but it paved the way by declaring it to be the right of the nation "to control private landed property so as to develop and conserve natural resources and ensure an equitable distribution of wealth." All mineral and oil deposits are declared to be the unalienable property of the Government, only to be acquired by private enterprises through leaseholds. Another provision requires that in case of appropriation of private real estate the price paid the owner shall not exceed the last assessed value for taxation plus the value of improvements added since the tax valuation. Mexico's statesmen prove better judges of economic truth than West Virginia's university trustees.

There is more to be drawn from this incident than the mere fact that an injury to West Virginia turned out to be a help to Mexico. It shows to what extent the United States loses the services of its ablest thinkers in universities subject to plutocratic control. Professor Brinsmade is but one of a long list of professors who have been penalized for independent thinking on economic lines. To this the fact may be due that when Congress found itself in need of an economic expert in framing a revenue bill it had to be content with one of an inferior quality. A comparison of results of help given to Congress by Professor Seligman with results obtained by the Mexican Convention from Professor Brinsmade is enough to show that Mexico gained a valuable asset which we might have retained.

Ideals and Realities

It has been the practice of a few persons to bemoan the decadence of the liberties bequeathed us by the Fathers of the Republic. And to prove their contention they quote the Declaration of Independence on human rights, and cite the Constitution. During the earlier days of the Revolution in Russia they were given to comparing Russian democracy with American democracy, to the great disparagement of the latter. In all of which there is manifested the too common human weakness that mistakes desire for attainment, and fails to distinguish between aspirations and realities.

The American Declaration of Independence marked the highest political ideals that had up to that time been formulated. But it was a declaration of principles, not a statement of facts. As a statement of principle the declarations "that all men are created equal," and "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," are as true today as when first written. But they had far less reality then than they have now. The very man who penned the immortal words was a slave owner. Few of those who signed the document believed in manhood suffrage; none of them accepted universal suffrage. The necessity of a property qualification for voting was a common belief. Woman's rights were almost nil. Her right to vote was never considered. Though personal liberty, the freedom of the press, and the right of assembly were guaranteed by the Constitution the States paid them small deference; and during the recurring wars there was little hesitation on the part of executives to suppress objectionable agitators. Tory sympathizers during the Revolution had short shrift at the hands of Patriots. Nor did they fare much better during the War of 1812. The Mexican War was comparatively small, but it sufficed to bring out this same arbitrary spirit. The Civil War's extra legal procedure is a matter of knowledge of men now living.

Another fact also is true. Though our practice has always fallen short of our professions, there has been a steady trend upward. After each war, and following every flagrant violation of our declaration of principles the country has attained a higher degree of observance than before. Hence although men have protested during each war against the subversion of liberty, peace has always returned to a freer state of society than before. This greater freedom was not necessarily because of or due to the war, but marked the ever broadening conception of liberty in the minds of men.

Yet in spite of this steady advance toward a fuller realization of the truths enunciated in the Declaration of Independence men prated of American liberties for nearly three quarters of a century before the Declaration of Sentiments, issued at Seneca Falls, New York in 1848. How far realization had lagged behind aspiration may be seen in these indictments of the Seneca Falls con-

vention in which the Declaration of 1776 was paraphrased, with the substitution of "man" for King George, and "woman" for the people. As evidence of man's injustice to woman it was declared that:

"He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable rights to the elective franchise.

"He has compelled her to submit to laws in the formation of which she has had no voice.

"He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded of men—both natives and foreigners.

"Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

"He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

"He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

"After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

"He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her."

Even this declaration did not include the wrongs of the Negro, both male and female. Chattel slavery had still seventeen years to run; and it was not till 1869 that the Women of Wyoming were given the suffrage upon the same terms as men. The subsequent progress and the present status are matters of common information.

Is not the lesson set forth in the pages of history plain to those who will read? Human liberty, cribbed and confined though it be, has never been so great as it is today; nor is it in any other large country more extensive, all things considered, than it is in the United States. This is not to say that we have full freedom or just economic conditions, nor to suggest that further efforts should cease; but it is to maintain that the course of this country has been toward, not away from, liberty, and that hope, not despair, should be the word. Democracy has a firmer hold today upon the minds of men than ever before; and that hold will be still stronger tomorrow. The normal human

mind does not leap from one condition to another. It passes by slow and gradual gradations. Broad-visioned statesmen understand this and shape their course accordingly. They aid the people along the only road they can travel. It is the erratic mind, the fanatic, the wild enthusiast, that insists upon scaling the heights at a bound.

Democratic Russia must pass through these same trials. She too must learn the difference between aspiration and realization. Already it is manifest that the work of putting ideals into practice in that country is a matter not of days, but of generations. The world after all is very real. The forces of evil are quite substantial. Tyranny and privilege do not disappear with the passing of a resolution or the enactment of a law, but are overcome and destroyed only as they are up-rooted from men's minds. And time is the indispensable requirement for the process. Russia's battles will not be fought by armies directed by committees. Nor will her railroads and factories be operated under the guidance of boards that deal only with local conditions without regard to industry as a whole. The substitution of liberty for tyranny does not mean the abolition of rules and regulations, but the subjection of those rules and regulations to the will of all the people instead of the will of a few. To permit separate parts of the people to make the rules regardless of the rights and interests of others is merely to change the form of the tyranny.

It is incumbent upon all persons aspiring to leadership, or desiring to aid in the progress of the race, that they give more thought to things as they are. To scold and rail at people for not changing at once from one state of society to a radically different state of society is as irrational and illogical as to blame a child for not doing the work of a man. The people of this country are realizing their ideals as the people of Russia will realize theirs, by growth in wisdom. There will be infractions of liberty here, and in Russia, as there will be jostlings in a crowd moving from a burning building, but we are not on that account to engage in internecine strife and so delay the movement toward freedom. We are not falling away from our ideals; we are moving toward them. War, which has temporarily abridged personal liberty, has increased our longing, stimulated our devotion.

Financing the War

By Louis F. Post

I.

"Where will the money come from?" This question in one form of phrasing or another is on the tongue of most persons who talk about financing the war, and at the pen-tip of most who write about it. The unusual but absolutely true answer is that very little money will come from anywhere, and that not much would be needed if it came.

The war cannot be financed with money. This is not a dogmatic pronouncement, but a statement of fact which needs only to be considered thoughtfully in order to be recognized as true. No wars are financed with money. It is not money that is borrowed when war bonds are issued, nor money that is confiscated when war taxes are levied. Labor products, not money, are the things needed and used in war.

The few pieces of money that are paid for bonds or taxes are taken by the government only as tokens to be passed on for the consumable and destructible things it really needs. What it borrows with the bonds which it issues, or confiscates by the taxes which it levies, is not the money even when it takes money in payment. Money can neither be eaten nor worn, nor yet loaded into guns and shot at the enemy. The subjects of governmental borrowing or confiscating for war purposes are the food, the clothing, the munitions and the like which come to the government as the pieces of money it happens to take pass on and round-about—mere counters in the flow of exchanges.

In fact, however, the great majority of all the multitudinous and intricate transactions necessary for financing the war will be neither dependent upon nor effected by any borrowing on war bonds, nor by any confiscation by war taxes, of anything that can be called money. They will be effected by means of checks, drafts and other orders upon banks. Nor can it be said that these are substitutes for money, or are money by another name. They are nothing but instructions to bank bookkeepers to make debit and credit entries in bank ledgers. The transactions by which the government borrows its war necessities with bonds or confiscates them by taxes, are consummated (by means of those instruc-

tions to bookkeepers) through the ledgers of banks and clearing houses. The whole war-financing process is a bookkeeping process. And the bookkeeping, though the entries are expressed in terms of money, bears witness not to transfers of money, except in minute degree, but to receipts of consumable commodities in exchange for government bonds and tax levies. The transactions culminate in deliveries by the government of war bonds and tax receipts for food, clothing, munitions and the like which it needs for prosecuting the war.

No one who is at all familiar with the mechanism of financial transactions will be misled by the use of money terms. He may speak with awe of the vast volume of "money" necessary to prosecute the war, but the word is to him only a bit of business "patter" connoting anything and everything that can be measured in terms of money. He knows that it is not money that is needed, but industrial output. A vast majority of folk, however, do not distinguish money symbols from money itself. So they fall into the error of supposing that money in fabulous abundance will be indispensable to a successful prosecution of the war. It is this misapprehension that evokes the frequent question regarding war financeering—"Where will the money come from?" When one realizes, though, that financing the war consists not in getting money, either by borrowing it on bonds or by confiscating it by taxation, but in getting currently produced labor products, and that this is not achieved by getting money in exchange for bonds or tax receipts, but that it is effected by bookkeeping transfers of individual credits in bank ledgers, the question, "Where will the money come from?" loses its embarrassing significance. For it is then clearly enough seen that the whole problem of financing the war, so far from being a problem of finding money and taking it over, is a problem of marshalling labor and taking over its products for war supplies.

That war supplies must be produced continuously as the war goes on, we have already seen. They must be produced, that is, by

continuous labor—mostly wage-earning labor. "The man behind the plow keeps the man behind the gun," as some one has phrased the thought in its elemental phases. And this productive labor must support not only the fighting forces of the country but itself as well. It must also renew its machinery as it works. Moreover, in order to be thus continuously productive, those of our fellow citizens who produce must have continuous access to appropriate natural opportunities for production.

As the products of this continuous labor upon continuously accessible land are continuously exchanged in the market places—not for money in any great degree, for money cuts a small figure in industrial exchanges; but product for product by measurements in money-terms evidenced by checks, drafts and other commercial paper—individual credits in bank ledgers are continuously created by deposits of evidences of credit certifying to the value in exchange of what the depositor has sold. Against those credits the respective depositors continuously draw checks and other bank orders. With some of these, war-bonds are purchased. Others are used for payments of war taxes. Upon receiving them in due banking course, the government delivers its bonds and tax receipts. Also in due banking course, the credit balances of the check-drawers are to that extent reduced in the ledgers of their respective banks by debit entries. Thereby the depositors exchange particular portions of their credit balances in the ledgers of their respective banks for value-equivalents in war bonds or war taxes. Whatever they themselves might have got out of the market in exchange for what they had put into the market, the government may now get; and the transfer has been effected not by money but through book-keeping.

When the government offsets its own credits thus created in bank ledgers, by drawing drafts or checks in payment for what it needs to prosecute the war, it has to that extent, and without any appreciable use of money, either borrowed on war bonds or confiscated by war taxation (or else in part by one and in part by the other) food, clothing, munitions, ships and other necessities of warfare. It has done in effect what it might have done more crudely and with clumsier results, if it had borrowed or confiscated those identical

necessaries directly, instead of doing so indirectly through the financial facilities which the mechanism of modern banking affords. It has in effect done precisely what it would have done had it conscripted men to produce food, clothing, munitions, etc., paying no wages for part of the work and giving interest-bearing scrip for the rest. The process is dependent hardly even if at all upon money. It is a process, by means of ledger entries, of exchanging bonds and tax receipts for currently produced labor products.

Reduced to its essentials, then, financing the war has consisted and will continue to consist, not in getting for the government vast sums of money from somewhere, but in causing continuous production of vast volumes of war supplies for the government through voluntary or coercive transfers of bank-ledger credits. Voluntary transfers of those credits may be effected through issues of war bonds; coercive transfers can be effected by levies of war taxes.

Irrespective, however, of method—whether by issues of war bonds or by levies of war taxes,—the processes of financing the war must consist essentially in the taking of consumable things for war purposes. Unless these things are borrowed, subject to future repayment in consumable things produced in the future, they must be confiscated outright. And they can neither be borrowed nor confiscated from accumulations; for consumable things cannot be accumulated. It is from products of labor as produced, that the borrowing or the taking by taxation must be made. In other words, whatsoever the government takes must be either borrowed or confiscated or both, from the contemporaneous labor that produces it or from persons who derive it from that labor.

And whether the taking be by borrowing or by confiscating, no financial return by the government is possible. The only way in which the government can repay what it borrows, is by resorting to future confiscations from future production. The same thing is true of its war taxes. What the government confiscates by war taxation from present day producers, it cannot make any financial return for—except by confiscating from future producers.

There is, it is true, one way in which the government could make financial compensation to both bondholders and taxpayers. In

so far as land is increased in value by governmental expenditures, its enhanced values might be devoted to repaying war loans and returning war taxes. But consideration of this possibility may be deferred for the present. Another apparent exception to the general rule that the government can make no financial compensation for what it takes in taxes, is indirect taxation—taxation, that is, upon the processes of business; for when a tax is thus indirect, the taxpayer can usually recover it from consumers of the taxed commodity by adding it to prices. Since it increases the cost of doing business, how can it be prevented from increasing the prices of business products? But the supposed taxpayer in this case is in reality not a taxpayer at all; he is a tax collector. The true taxpayers are his customers. Nevertheless, although the government cannot itself financially compensate either lenders or taxpayers, it *can* compel future taxpayers to compensate both—they or their heirs or assigns.

In this war, however, it is not expected that future taxpayers will be compelled to compensate war-taxpayers. But it is expected that future taxpayers will be compelled to compensate war-bondholders. The choice of method, therefore, for taking consumable things for war purposes, is of high importance with reference to the simplest principles of human justice and the plainest perceptions of social fairness.

Shall the war be financed by long-time war bonds or by taxation? That is, shall we place the financial burdens of this war upon the labor of future generations of producers, as long-time war-bonds would? or shall we pay as we go? And if we pay as we go, confiscating products of labor for war purposes as they are produced, by what fiscal method shall the confiscation be made? Shall it be by taxes upon production, which producers who first pay them will collect of consumers in augmented prices? or shall it be by taxes directly upon profits, which the first payers cannot collect of others but must bear altogether themselves? And if by direct taxes upon profits, shall the taxes confiscate earned profits or only the profits of privilege?

II

When President Wilson called upon the country to meet the German Kaiser's war against the government and people of the United States with their acceptance of the

status of belligerency thus thrust upon them, he indicated the magnitude and character of the financial obligation that would be involved. Saying that it would involve "the granting of adequate credits to the government," he added an expression of his hope that these would be sustained, "so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation."

It was a judicious admonition against the creation of vast public loans having long periods of time to run. To have proposed at the beginning of the war that it should be financially supported altogether by the present generation would have discredited any statesman making the utterance. Habits of generations have established a childlike confidence in the notion that the wars of one generation can be equitably paid for by later generations. It was a huge mistake, and we are rapidly finding it out.

To realize that nations live from hand to mouth, that production and consumption necessarily coincide, is to understand that wars cannot be equitably paid for except as they are being fought. Not only is this the only equitable way of paying for them; it is essentially the only way in which they can be paid for at all. We do not fight wars on after-the-war products. Public loans payable by future generations can no more enable any previous generation to escape the cost of its wars, or any part of their cost, than next year's rains can revive the harvests that were withered by last year's drought. As a distinguished professor of political economy has said, "it is a manifest truth that each generation must subsist upon the product of its own industry," that "no father can eat the potatoes to be hoed by an unborn son, nor can an army live on bread to be delivered, at the option of the baker, between ten and forty years from the date of the contract.* All that public loans can do in this respect is to furnish an alchemy of legislative law whereby some persons in future generations may idly draw tribute from their industrious contemporaries.

This self-evident truth was convincingly put by one of America's greatest publicists

* Prof. Henry C. Adams of the University of Michigan. "War Finance Primer," issued by the National Bank of Commerce in New York, May, 1917. Page 52.

nearly forty years ago. A single quotation is conclusive on the point: "If it were possible for the Present to borrow of the Future, for those now living to draw upon wealth to be created by those who are yet to come, there could be no more dangerous power, none more certain to be abused; and none that would involve in its exercise a more flagrant contempt for the natural and unalienable rights of man. But we have no such power, and there is no possible invention by which we can obtain it. When we talk about calling upon future generations to bear their part in the costs and burdens of the present, about imposing upon them a share in expenditures, we take the liberty of assuming they will consider to have been made for their benefit as well as for ours, we are carrying metaphor into absurdity. Public debts are not a device for borrowing from the future, for compelling those yet to be to bear a share in expenses which a present generation may choose to incur. That is, of course, a physical impossibility. They are merely a device for obtaining control of wealth in the present by promising that a certain distribution of wealth in the future shall be made—a device by which the owners of existing wealth are induced to give it up under promise, not merely that other people shall be taxed to pay them, but that other people's children shall be taxed for the benefit of their children or the children of their assigns."*

In this view of the matter the only equitable basis for financing the war in which we are now involved, will be that which requires the present generation of American citizens to sustain all its cost. They will have to sustain it in terms of human life destroyed. They will have to sustain it in terms of production for war consumption. Why ought they not to sustain it also in terms of legal obligation with reference to the distribution of future products of labor? Equitably considered, there should be no long-time bond issues based upon any part of the cost of the war; no financial pretense of postponement to future generations of any part of the labor cost which the war imposes. To resort to the hoary device of bond issues for relieving the propertied classes of the present of war burdens, enriching an unborn few at the expense of the unborn many,

would tend to turn this righteous war for the defense and extension of democracy into another "rich man's war and poor man's fight."

That anything of this kind will be done is extremely improbable. It is urged, to be sure, by parasitical financial interests whose demands are phrased and statisticized for them by hired advocates and echoed by unconscious dupes; but they are evidently losing ground rather than making headway. Although bonds have been issued, they are not long-time bonds; and although additional bonds will be issued, these are likely, too, to be short-time bonds. So short are the time-terms of the issued bonds that the bonds are hardly more than due-bills for bridging over the emergency until an equitable system of taxation can be adopted. The tendency is clearly away from the policy of putting a huge war-debt over upon the disinherited of future generations.

One may reasonably regret, therefore, that so many of our democratic people who are sensitive to the evils of permanent public debts, have not been quicker to recognize the manifestly democratic meaning of the recently placed "Liberty Loan." It is to be hoped that the meaning of the next one will be more quickly apprehended. Only by general sympathy with officials responsible for financing the war, in their efforts to do so without fastening a permanent debt upon the nation, can such a debt and its brood of social evils be avoided. Public officials are not omnipotent. They must have public sympathy and support in their endeavor to stem the profiteering tides that war inevitably sets in motion, or they will be swallowed up helplessly in the flood—not because they wish or are willing to be thus submerged, but because they cannot help it if public opinion misjudges their purposes and ignores their difficulties. To a high degree the administration had this support in placing the "Liberty Loan," but not in sufficient volume to overwhelm the profiteering interests whose greed it disappointed.

Consider the situation. A vast purchasing power for war materials was needed by the government at once. There was not enough time to design and adopt legislation for equitably confiscating this power by means of war taxation. The power had to be borrowed. This could have been done without difficulty in the old way of issuing long-time

* Henry George. "Social Problems," Ch. XVI.

bonds in large denominations, selling them in bulk to bankers' syndicates at less than par, and leaving the syndicates to make a profit by retailing the bonds to rich investors at par or more. The government would then have got less war supplies than the value of its bonds, and workers of future generations would have had to struggle with a gigantic permanent debt upon the so-called "interest" of which (annual taxation) their more or less idle fellow citizens of those future generations would have lived. It could have been done, and it would have been the easier way. But rightly and wisely the administration chose another way. By issuing short-time bonds it reserved to the present generation the right to call these bonds in and substitute equitable taxation for them. By making them of small denominations—not as small as the denominations ought to be, yet within the financial reach of most citizens—it afforded an opportunity to the people to spread this temporary debt so widely among themselves that no powerful special interest desiring to perpetuate the debt could spring up. By giving small purchasers the preference, it strengthened the spreading-out tendency. Thus, on the one hand, the least possible opportunity for profiteering was afforded, while on the other the utmost opportunity for bringing the temporary loan to an early end by substituting taxation for it was offered.

Fortunately, the administration has been, as it still is, in a strong position to pursue that financial policy for prosecuting the war. For this advantage the public interests are deeply indebted to a great financial reform which the same administration had already made without reference to war necessities. But for the Federal Reserve banking law of 1914, and its faithful and efficient administration, there would have been little opportunity for choice on the question of a permanent war-debt. Prior to that law, the monopolization of control over bank deposits by the financial "combines" commonly known as "Wall street," was so nearly absolute that, if it had continued, no policy for financing the war could have been adopted in the face of "Wall street" opposition without imminent risk of a tremendous financial panic. This syndicalistic power was swept away by the Federal Reserve law of the Wilson administration. Consequently, in financing the war, the administration is not bound hand and

foot by financial syndicalism. All it needs for war-financing in order to serve the people with singleness of purpose and directness of aim, is the quick understanding and steady support of the masses of the people. If in large numbers they buy war-bonds of small denominations and in small amounts, directly from the government and at par, these bonds will be distributed so generally as to minimize almost to the vanishing point all profiteering interest in our temporary war loans. They will also thereby enable the administration, whatever financial syndicalists may wish or say, to keep the bonds within such reasonable time-limits for redemption as to give the people full opportunity, if they so desire, to redeem all war bonds within this generation, by effective and equitable methods of taxation.

The extent, then, to which temporary bonds of small denominations are generally purchased by the common people of the United States, may largely influence the fate of American democracy in so far as this can be affected by the creation of permanent public debts. It may be widespread, and thereby determine that our war bonds shall be what they now are, mere temporary loans pending the enactment of a just system of tax-levies for war purposes; or it may be disappointing, and thereby determine that our war-bonds must be of large denominations and for long time-terms and be "brokered" by "Wall street" syndicates. In the latter event these bonds would become the nucleus of a gigantic permanent debt by means of which generation after generation of industrious Americans would be compelled to work for their fellow citizens, and for aliens too, without other pay than tax receipts.

To discourage widespread investment in short-time war bonds of small denominations is, therefore, not only to obstruct the government in its prosecution of this truly defensive war. It is also to help prepare the way for a permanent public debt in the interest of unborn generations of plutocrats, at the industrial expense of unborn generations of workers. On the other hand, to promote the sale of these bonds universally among the common people of the country is to contribute not only to the prosecution of the war, but also to the political possibilities of making an early and desirable substitu-

tion of an efficient and equitable system of war taxation for all war-bonds.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

For Week Ending September 4.

Congressional Doings

September 10 was fixed by the Senate on August 30 as the date for a vote on the revenue bill. On the preceding day the Finance Committee offered an amendment designed to increase by \$500,000,000 the tax on war profits. This provides a graduated scale as follows:

Five per cent. on all net income above 5 per cent. of the normal pre-war profit.

Ten per cent. on all net income above 5 per cent. and not exceeding 10 per cent. of pre-war profit.

Twenty-five per cent. on net income above 10 per cent. and not exceeding 15 per cent. of pre-war profit.

Fifty per cent. on net income above 15 per cent. and not exceeding 20 per cent. of pre-war profit.

Seventy-five per cent. on net income above 20 per cent. of pre-war profit.

This is said to be equivalent to an average tax of 33 1/3 per cent. and does not satisfy the war profits conscriptionists. Senator Brady of Idaho introduced on August 30 an amendment providing a flat 60 per cent. tax on all war profits. Senator Hollis of New Hampshire proposed a tax of 50 to 60 per cent.; Senator Kenyon of Iowa, 54 per cent.; Senator Jones of Washington, 55 per cent.; Senator Gore of Oklahoma, 66 2/3 per cent.; Senator Johnson of California, 73 per cent.; and Senator La Follette of Wisconsin, 75 per cent. [See current volume, page 843.]

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On September 1, the Senate by a vote of 62 to 17 rejected Senator Johnson's amendment for an 80 per cent tax on excess war profits. Those who voted for it were Ashurst, Gore, Hollis, Husting, Johnson of South Dakota, Kirby, Thompson, Vardaman, Borah, Gronna, Johnson of California, Jones of Washington, Kenyon, La Follette, McNary and Norris. In opposing the amendment Senator Lodge said that if adopted it would crush business. On September 3 two amendments by Senator La Follette providing excess profit taxes respectively of 70 per cent and 65 per cent were voted down by 55 to 20 and 53 to 17. In addition to the seventeen who supported Johnson's amendment, Senators King of Utah, McKellar of Tennessee and Trammel of Florida supported the first of La Follette's propositions.

The Free Speech Fight

Under the Espionage act the headquarters of the Socialist party at Philadelphia were raided on August 23, by the postal authorities and the secretary of the party was arrested together with three other members. Bail was fixed at \$10,000. The arrest was based on the sending of a circular through the mails, the contents of which were not reported.

The street speaking campaign in New York City

of the Friends of Irish Freedom, has been repeatedly interfered with, both by the police and by an organization called "The Vigilantes," headed by Cleveland Moffett, the magazine writer, who objected to the criticism of the British Government. Interference with meetings by the latter once caused his arrest, but he was promptly discharged by the magistrate. Since then continual interference has caused frequent disturbances. On August 29, acting evidently under instructions, the police arrested John D. Moore, national secretary of the Friends of Irish Freedom, Miss Margaret Curley of Boston, and other speakers. They were charged with obstructing traffic. Announcement from police headquarters has been made that all meetings where disorder occurs will be broken up.

* *

In accordance with a suggestion offered by President Wilson to Amos Pinchot, the American Union Against Militarism has submitted a memorandum to the President of violations of Constitutional rights of citizens since the war:

We present the record of eight indictments for crimes ranging from treason and conspiracy to simple misdemeanor, for the sole offense of criticizing the Government's war policies or agitating for peace. These cases have occurred in Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, Grand Rapids, New York City, Pittsburgh, and Seattle.

In Philadelphia thirteen persons were recently arrested and charged with treason for distributing a leaflet entitled "Long Live the Constitution of the United States," which dealt in a lawful way with the constitutionality of conscription.

In Indianapolis an ordinance has been passed making it a misdemeanor, punishable by a heavy fine, "to speak disrespectfully of the President or the Government of the United States," the crime of lese majeste, or of circulating any matter which might prompt workers to demand better conditions or hours of labor in industrial establishments during the war.

One man in New York City was arrested and sentenced to ninety days in jail for distributing leaflets which contained only quotations from the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

A postoffice employe in St. Paul was discharged after years of faithful service solely because he went on the bonds of three old friends charged with failing to register under the conscription act.

The evidence presented shows that federal district attorneys, United States marshals, local prosecuting officials and the police have acted in gross violation of the law in making arrests for opposition to war policies and agitation for peace. In many cities, as these affidavits show, men and women have been arrested without warrant, their private papers unlawfully seized, and the opportunity denied them to secure bail or counsel for hours at a time.

The most striking single instance of violation on the part of the military was the breaking up of the Peace Parade in Boston on Sunday, July 1. Beginning at the statue of Abraham Lincoln in Park Square, sailors and soldiers in uniforms followed this parade with the deliberate intention of breaking it up; they tore banners from the hands of the women, they beat and injured men and women; later they forcibly entered the Socialist Party headquarters, destroyed property and

burned many valuable papers. The police did nothing.

Although the War Department has issued orders forbidding soldiers to interfere with public meetings the trouble has not ceased. A public meeting was broken up by United States soldiers in Seattle as recently as August 1.

Soldiers and sailors at many so-called peace meetings have held and searched men for registration cards. Those unable to produce them they have turned over to the police, who have detained them indefinitely until they could produce either the cards or some evidence of the date of birth. Men both above and below the registration age have thus been unlawfully held for hours in many places without any charge being leveled against them, and yet without the right to secure counsel or bail.

In Syracuse, N. Y., a young man who wrote on his registration blank in the state military census that he was opposed to participation in this war was proceeded against by the Federal District Attorney under the Espionage act for obstructing the recruiting and enlistment service!

Seventeen issues of various publications have been declared non-mailable by the Post Office Department under the Espionage act, although the Department of Justice has declined to recognize any of the publications as indictable under the same act.

Furthermore the Post Office Department has summoned the editors of several of these publications to show cause why their second-class mailing privileges should not be withdrawn on the ground that "continuity of publication has been broken," knowing full well that the break in continuity of publication was caused solely by its own act in suppressing an issue. Denial of second-class privilege would mean the total suppression of the papers. It is inconceivable that the Post Office Department will be allowed to proceed to such manifest tyranny unchecked.

* *

Judge Emory Speer of the United States District Court at Thomson, Georgia, granted an injunction on August 31 to Thomas E. Watson's paper, the *Weekly Jeffersonian*, forbidding the Post Office Department from barring the publication from the mails as second class matter. The Department's attorneys will appeal.

New York Suffrage Convention

At the campaign conference of the New York Woman Suffrage party at Saratoga on August 29, a letter endorsing suffrage from President Wilson to Miss Norma Whitehouse was read. It said:

I am greatly gratified to learn that it is your impression that there is a growing sentiment in the State of New York in favor of woman suffrage, and I shall look forward with the greatest interest to the results of the State conference you are planning to hold in Saratoga. May I not express the hope that the conference will lead to a very widespread interest in your campaign, and that your efforts will be crowned with the most substantial and satisfactory success?

I hope that the voters of the State of New York will rally to the support of woman suffrage by a handsome majority. It would be a splendid vindication of the principle of the cause in which we all believe.

Governor Whitman and Mayor Mitchel both addressed the meeting and pledged their support of the pending amendment. Resolutions were adopted on the following day condemning the picketing of the White House.

Massachusetts Constitutional Convention

By a vote of 275 to 25, the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention on August 22 adopted the anti-sectarian amendment which forbids all grants of public aid to sectarian institutions. All amendments providing for exceptions to the rule were defeated.

Pastoriza's Successor

J. C. Hutcheson, Jr., progressive candidate was practically elected Mayor of Houston, Texas, at the Democratic primary on August 14, to succeed the late J. J. Pastoriza. Mr. Hutcheson's principal opponents were Andral Vann, who was Pastoriza's unsuccessful opponent at the February primary and J. J. Settegast, Jr., who had led the legal attack on the Houston plan of taxation. The election was by the preferential system and resulted as follows:

| | First choice | Second choice | Third choice | Total |
|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-------|
| J. C. Hutcheson, Jr. | 3074 | 1001 | 195 | 4270 |
| J. F. Maddox | 140 | 363 | 413 | 916 |
| Andral Vann | 2397 | 1144 | 217 | 3758 |
| J. J. Settegast, Jr. | 3486 | 352 | 166 | 4004 |
| J. F. Talbot | 5 | 52 | 120 | 177 |
| | 9102 | 2912 | 1111 | 13125 |

Traction Companies Charged With Tax Dodging.

That Chicago traction corporations have been dodging taxes for the past nine years is the charge made by Hugh Reid, after an investigation in behalf of the Municipal Ownership League. Under its agreement with the city made in 1907 the street railway corporations must pay the city 55 per cent. of net profits in excess of six per cent. on capitalization. The city's board of supervising engineers fixes the valuation upon which the corporations' six per cent is to be based. Mr. Reid discloses that in 1908, the first year of this arrangement, the engineers certified the value of the property, as a basis of profits, at \$9,000,000 more than the same property was returned for taxation. This discrepancy has increased from year to year until in 1916, the last year for which assessment figures are available, the discrepancy was \$79,418,925. The report shows that either the supervising engineers have over-valued the property and thus enabled the corporations to retain a larger share of the profits than their agreement entitles them to, or the tax assessors have undervalued it.

European War

Italy has continued her advance in the face of Austrian opposition until her campaign is now heralded as one of the most brilliant as well as important of the movements of the war. It is reported that the Austrians have lost 125,000 men and 3,500 officers during the series of engagements, German troops in large numbers are reported on the Austrian front trying to stop the victorious Italians. On the Western front the French have

made further gains on the Aisne, which they have held against the heaviest German counter attacks. They also have improved their positions at Verdun. The British activities during the week have been confined to lesser actions because of bad weather. On the Russian front fortune still favors the Germans. They crossed the Dvina River on the 3d to threaten Riga on the South and East, and the Russians abandoned the city without giving battle. Elsewhere on the Russian front and in Roumania little change has taken place. [See current volume, page 845.]

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The number of British merchant vessels sunk by mines and torpedoes during the week, as announced by the Admiralty, was 18 over 1,600 tons, and 5 under that tonnage, which is a slight increase over the preceding week. The number of arrivals was 2,829, and the departures 2,680.

* *

The London conference of Allied Socialists and Laborites did not reach an agreement regarding the Stockholm conference. A majority representing Great Britain, France and Italy wished to go to Stockholm to insist upon the war aims of the Allies, but the same majority is determined to pursue the war till Prussianism has been crushed. It accepted President Wilson's note to the Pope as expressing its view. The minority was composed of pacifists who want the war stopped in any way, some because of humanitarian reasons, others because they hold all wars to be manifestations of capitalism. The Trade Union Congress that opened in London on the 3d is expected to decide against attending the Stockholm conference, its Parliamentary committee having reported to that effect. Arthur Henderson, former Labor member in the War Cabinet, who has been in favor of the Stockholm conference is reported as saying: "We can have no conference at all until a common ground for agreement is reached among the workers of the Allied countries." The feeling appears to be growing that the contemplated conference at Stockholm is manipulated in the interests of the German Government.

* *

President Wilson replied to the Pope's peace proposals in a note under date of August 28. The President expressed the warmest sympathy with the humane and generous motives that prompted the proposal, but declared it would be folly to enter into a peace that gave no assurance of justice or permanence. Continuing, the note says:

The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible Government which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long established practices and long cherished principle of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also, and of the helpless poor; and now stands

balked but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world. This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted with temporary zest to the domination of its purpose; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling.

To deal with such a power by way of peace upon the plan proposed by His Holiness the Pope would, so far as we can see, involve a recuperation of its strength and a renewal of its policy; would make it necessary to create a permanent hostile combination of nations against the German people, who are its instruments, and would result in abandoning the new-born Russia to the intrigue, the manifold subtle interference, and the certain counter-revolution which would be attempted by all the malign influences to which the German Government has of late accustomed the world. Can peace be based upon a restitution of its power or upon any word of honor it could pledge in a treaty of settlement and accommodation.

Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others; upon vindictive action of any sort, or any kind of revenge or deliberate injury. The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war, which they did not choose. They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of the peoples, not the rights of Governments—the rights of peoples great or small, weak or powerful—their equal right to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world—the German people, of course, included, if they will accept equality and not seek domination.

The test, therefore, of every plan of peace is this: Is it based upon the faith of all the peoples involved or merely upon the word of an ambitious and intriguing Government on the one hand and of a group of free peoples on the other? This is a test which goes to the root of the matter, and it is the test which must be applied.

The purposes of the United States in this war are known to the whole world, to every people to whom the truth has been permitted to come. They do not need to be stated again. We seek no material advantage of any kind. We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German Government ought to be repaired, but not at the expense of the sovereignty of any people—rather a vindication of the sovereignty both of those that are weak and of those that are strong. Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues we deem inexpedient and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all of an enduring peace. That must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind.

We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure, unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of

the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting. Without such guarantees treaties of settlement, agreements for disarmament, covenants to set up arbitration in the place of force, territorial adjustments, reconstitutions of small nations, if made with the German Government, no man, no nation could now depend on. We must await some new evidence of the purposes of the great peoples of the Central Powers. God grant it may be given soon and in a way to restore the confidence of all peoples everywhere in the faith of nations and the possibility of a covenanted peace.

* * *

American preparations for military action go on with increasing rapidity. Eight of the sixteen cantonments that are to house the National Army have been completed, and are ready for the arrival of the first quota of soldiers September 5. The others will be ready as fast as needed for the gathering Army. The camps completed are at Louisville, Fort Sam Houston, Ayer, Mass.; Petersburg, Va.; Chillicothe, Ohio; American Lake, Wash.; Rockford, Ill., and Little Rock. Camps at Des Moines, Fort Riley, Kan.; Atlanta, Columbia, S. C.; Battle Creek, Wrightstown, N. J., and Yaphank, L. I., will not be ready for some days later. Camp Meade, at Admiral, Md., will not be ready until September 19. Secretary Baker states that about \$150,000,000 is being spent on these sixteen camps. In a brief message to the soldiers of the National Army President Wilson said:

You are undertaking a great duty. The heart of the whole country is with you. Everything that you do will be watched with the deepest interest and with the deepest solicitude, not only by those who are near and dear to you, but by the whole nation besides. For this great war draws us all together, makes us all comrades and brothers, as all true Americans felt themselves to be when we first made good our national independence. The eyes of all the world will be upon you, because you are in some special sense the soldiers of freedom. Let it be your pride, therefore, to show all men everywhere not only what good soldiers you are, but also what good men you are, keeping yourselves fit and straight in everything and pure and clean through and through. Let us set for ourselves a standard so high that it will be a glory to live up to, and then let us live up to it and add a new laurel to the crown of America. My affectionate confidence goes with you in every battle and every test. God keep and guide you!

Russia

The Moscow National Council Assembly, having no power of action, devoted its attention to conferences, the hearing of reports from the leading members of the Government and from Generals, and the exchange of ideas regarding the condition of the country. There was some opposition on the part of extremists, but it appears not to have been serious. The whole tenor of the conference seems to have been in accord with the determination to push the war to a conclusion. Premier Kerensky, in a message to the American people, said:

The National Assembly was convoked for two objects.

First, it was considered necessary to get ac-

quainted with the needs and opinions of the country and to tell the whole bare truth to the representatives of all classes and all races apropos of Russia's crisis.

Second, it was to impress on the national consciousness the necessity of union of all for defence of the country and of liberty.

After consultation of the temporary Government with about 2,500 representatives of the people thus assembled I am confident both objects have been attained.

We are convinced a majority of the people are overwhelmingly democratic and that the whole nation is preparing actively to make sacrifice for the country's defence.

All sides are willing to make the concessions necessary for united effort. I am sure the nation's impassioned impulse resulting from learning the whole truth will not fade away but will burn with an ever-increasing flame.

The Government in its efforts to restore discipline in the army has revived the death penalty. The Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates has protested against this action, and is demanding that the measure be revoked. A counterplot to restore the monarchy has been discovered by the Government, and a large number of arrests have been made.

Former Czar Nicholas Romanoff is in Tobolsk, Siberia, where he is living with his family in a fourteen room apartment on the second floor of an old fashioned house. The guards having the former rulers in charge are cavaliers of the Order of St. George.

China

Eighteen of the twenty-two Provinces have approved the proposal for a National Council, which it is expected will be established in a few days. Generals commanding 50,000 troops from three of the Provinces have offered their forces for service in Europe. The Provisional Governors of Yunnan and Kunagtung have given official recognition of Peking's declaration of war against Germany, which is taken to indicate their reconciliation with the Government of the Acting President, General Feng Kwo Chang. It is announced that the hostile movement of the southern Provinces is dying out. [See current volume, page 773.]

NOTES

—At the municipal primary in Dayton, Ohio, on August 14, the Socialist candidates received 11,017 votes, which exceeds the combined vote of all other parties.

—Independent Oklahoma oil producers complained to the Interstate Commerce Commission on August 29 that oil monopoly is being perpetuated by excessive and unreasonable railroad rates.

—The National Civil and Political Party of America was organized at Atlantic City on August 30 at a meeting of 400 prominent Negroes from all sections of the United States.

—Airplanes capable of carrying twenty-five men and of traveling 900 miles without a stop have been developed in Italy. Airplanes of still greater capacity have been designed by the same constructors.

It is with such planes that the fortifications of Trieste and Pola have been bombarded.

—Five Socialists charged with conspiring against the conscription law were acquitted by a jury at Detroit on August 18. They had circulated copies of the Michigan *Socialist* containing the anti-conscription resolutions of the Socialist party.

—Members of the Japanese Diet are agitating for an increase of salary from \$1,000 to \$1,500 per annum. High cost of living is given for the proposed increase. Ten years ago the salary was \$400 per annum.

—On August 30, President Wilson fixed the price of newsprint paper used in printing the daily Official Bulletin, at 2¼ cents a pound. The price asked by the International Paper Company was 3 cents a pound.

—The manufacture of distilled spirits in the United States comes to an end on September 6. Every distillery must then close for the period of the war, in accordance with the provisions of the Food Control law.

—After the trial of the 157 members of the Twenty-fourth infantry at Fort Bliss, Texas, for rebellion and the killing of seventeen persons at Houston, the Negro regiment will be ordered to the Philippines for service until the end of the war. [See current volume, page 844.]

—Six suffrage pickets at the White House, who were arrested on August 20 and convicted, were granted an appeal for a new trial on August 27 and immediately resumed their places before the White House gates. With four others they were rearrested on August 28.

—The commission that is revising the federal constitution of Uruguay has adopted a clause separating the Church and State, and providing for the confiscation of Church property. The final draft of the Constitution will have to be approved by Congress before becoming effective.

—The commission headed by Professor Harry A. Garfield fixed, on August 30, the price of \$2.20 a bushel for the 1917 wheat crop. The price is based on Chicago delivery and applies to grade No. 1, or northern spring wheat. In New York City the price is to be \$2.30. For the second grade the price is five cents less.

—During the last fiscal year \$179,372,888 were paid in income taxes by individuals. Corporations paid \$180,108,340. The total was \$359,481,228. Excise tax receipts show a great increase in manufacture of distilled spirits and tobacco. Spirits paid a tax of \$186,563,065, beer \$91,897,193, tobacco in all forms, \$103,201,592. Other excise taxes yielded \$68,050,832.

—The Federal Child Labor law was declared unconstitutional on August 31 by United States District Judge, James E. Boyd of North Carolina. The decision was based on the ground that though the law is ostensibly a regulation of interstate commerce, its real intent is regulation of conditions within a State and therefore beyond its powers. The Government will appeal.

—Santiago Iglesias, Socialist and president of the Porto Rico branch of the American Federation of Labor, was declared elected to the insular Senate

as a result of recount of votes cast at the recent election. The first returns elected the Republican candidate. Iglesias demanded a recount which showed that he had won by 984 votes. Another contest made by Dr. Aybar, Socialist candidate for Representative at Large is still pending. [See current volume, page 727.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Governor Frazier's Timely Word

Non-Partisan Leader, August 16.—The proclamation issued by the farmers' Governor of North Dakota to the sheriffs of the state expresses the views on labor troubles held by every thoughtful citizen who is not swayed by prejudice or unreasoning bitterness. Governor Frazier tells sheriffs that the law of the state is going to be upheld.

Any person burning or attempting to burn crops, destroy harvesting machinery or commit disorderly acts of any kind against employers of labor will be attended to under the law, the Governor says.

On the other hand, the Governor says that any attempts by peace officers to violate the law on the other side, will likewise be suppressed. Laborers are not to be clubbed and driven out of the community because they ask wages higher than peace officers may think justified; they are not to be mobbed because they assemble peacefully to hold meetings or because they are "broke."

In other words, the Governor knows that labor riots, lynchings and other disgraceful proceedings are usually the result of enforcing the law against one side of the controversy and failing or refusing to enforce it against the other. We have laws to take care of persons attempting to destroy property, and it should be enforced vigorously against them, says the Governor. But it is not for peace officers, or mobs or "Vigilance" societies to take the law into their hands. When they do, they cannot blame the laborer who thinks he has a grievance, when he takes the law into his hands. We do not want civil war in the United States, now of all times.

Monopoly Bred Incompetence

Passaic, N. J., *News*, August 30.—The first thing that the United States Government did when it assumed control of the fuel industry was to tackle the situation existing around the Great Lakes. The lake ports were suffering from a shortage, and the whole Northwest was threatened with a coal famine next winter. There was plenty of coal being mined, but the railroads were not carrying it to the lake ports, and the freighters were not carrying it up the lakes. The Administration promptly did three things in rapid succession. First, it established a "pooling system" through which any freighter seeking a cargo of coal at any port could take on any coal that happened to be there awaiting shipment. That avoided the old delays in loading. The Government itself made the necessary readjustments. Second, the Administration ordered that until the shortage was relieved, the several dozen railroads running between coal fields and lake ports should give coal priority of shipment. Third, it ordered that the

practice of freighters going up the lakes "light" should be discontinued—that every boat should carry coal up as well as ore down. These were simple, obvious, sensible things to do. There have been many times before when they needed doing. But nobody ever did them. The ease with which they were done, and the immediate relief they gave, afford a striking example of the need and value of public management in many of our great industries.

Labor and the Suffragists.

New York *Tribune*, August 31.—The interchange of communications between the conventions of the suffragists at Saratoga and the New York State Federation of Labor at Jamestown is evidence of a valuable cooperation in the battle for broader democracy. The one group seeks a political democracy still unachieved completely in this state because of a sex discrimination. The other seeks a more complete industrial or economic democracy than it has yet won. The struggle, as the suffragists aptly said, is the same from different aspects. Just as the struggle of the suffragists and organized labor is essentially the same, their adversaries are the same. The politicians who object to woman suffrage chiefly because it would overturn conditions now nicely adjusted for their advantage are of the same element in the community as the financial or industrial interests which see in the spread of economic democracy only an overturning of the status quo which would produce harm to themselves. The politicians and many business interests have long made common cause, frequently without regard to political lines. It is only right and proper that labor and the suffragists should unite in a fight which inevitably must when won advance the desires of both.

CORRESPONDENCE

PRODUCTION OR DISTRIBUTION

Evidence is daily accumulating that the Food and Farm problem is not so easy as many thought it to be a few months ago. This is made clear when an economist like Frederic C. Howe stated in the *PUBLIC* of August 10th: "The really important question in the food problem is not distribution, it is production."

It is especially unfortunate that a man like Mr. Howe should let a statement like this go forth at this time, when the enemies of the producer are watching carefully for any crumbs of comfort from whatever direction.

All who know Mr. Howe realize that his one desire is to secure equality of opportunity for all, and he stands in no need of justification at my hands, but this is a crucial time and great care is needed in stating matters so the ordinary man may not err. Passing by the obvious fact that production must precede distribution, let me draw attention to the fact that with all the energy that has been devoted to production of farm products in the past by the Government experts, the fact is clear that not only is there a shortage but it has required all kinds of inducements from the President down, to get the farmers to increase their output, the most potent of all being the cry of patriotism.

Mr. Howe explains this by showing how land monopoly prevents men going back to the farms. While this is perfectly true, it does not answer the question why farmers now in possession of farms containing from 50 to 200 acres are not working them near their capacity.

The answer of the ordinary man to this is inefficiency on the part of the farmer, and up to the present this idea has passed as sufficient to account for the situation. The publicity given the whole farm question during the past six months, however, has to a large extent dispelled the inefficiency answer as the farmer has responded so completely to the call, and the amateurs are beginning to realize that there is something in farming besides tickling the earth with a feather. All the facts so far brought out show the farmer abundantly able to produce all the food stuffs needed, provided he had a reasonable certainty that he would be able to dispose of his produce at a price that would give him a fair return for his labor. This being the case, it is easy to see that putting more men back on farms would not remedy the condition we are now in; but would rather increase the difficulty.

The fact is the two blades of grass theory has been exploded, the increased production cry has been tried out, carried to its logical conclusion and found wanting, and the inefficiency explanation has been proven a falsehood on its face. We have, therefore, the obvious fact before us that with a proper system of distribution, the entire question of production will take care of itself, but just so long as the producer finds it unprofitable to produce food, just so long will he have to figure carefully not to grow too much, or it would be better for him had he grown nothing at all.

The reason why we have these divergent ideas on this subject is owing to the fact so many people write about them who have had no experience in farming, while on the other hand there are few farmers who can state the case so the public can grasp the most obvious facts.

Finally, it is a question of the Government doing things it ought not, and leaving undone things it should have done. It has granted to a few, monopolies in transportation and in terminal facilities which enable them to hold up deliveries and thus control prices. The remedy lies in seeing that the Government attend to its own business, which is in securing equality of opportunity for all, and granting special privileges to none.

W. TRUMAN.

Route 4, Kingston, N. Y.

BOOKS

"The Single Tax Year Book (Quinquennial)." Published by The Single Tax Review Publishing Co., New York. Price \$2.50.

Mr. Dana Miller is to be congratulated on the timely appearance of his quinquennial year book and on the hearty reception that is assured to it from the Singletaxers of the United States. It provides not only what is promised in the preface, a handy source of information as to the progress of the movement in all countries, but much interesting historical matter, and many stimulating suggestions and restatements of fundamentals; it pro-

vides in short, just what the Singletax movement requires at the present stage of its progress.

The book opens with an editorial introduction in Mr. Miller's best style, followed by an article in which Mr. Leubuscher has collaborated with the editor in an account of the movement's progress from the publication of "Progress and Poverty," through the New York mayoralty campaigns of 1886 and 1897, to the death of Henry George. The articles following this include two editorials on "The general movement from 1897," and "Singletax conferences," with a series of articles by writers of reputation in their respective States, dealing with the progress made in Colorado, Delaware, Missouri, Rhode Island, and California. "Partial applications" of Singletax as in California's irrigation districts, "recent steps" such as those in Pittsburg, Scranton, and Houston, and "Singletax enclaves" are all dealt with exhaustively by the most highly qualified writers on these aspects of the movement. Following these are the foreign historical articles, in all of which a clear and succinct impression is conveyed of the progress of Singletax opinion in fifteen different countries or provinces, along with a quantity of statistical facts that may be of much practical value to speakers and writers. A series of "fiscal problems" and "related questions" are ably handled by various writers, and Mr. Samuel Milliken contributes an article indicating much pains-taking historical research, on "Forerunners of Henry George." Finally the book is enriched by an appendix containing a wealth of valuable information, and a bibliography and list of organizations which may at any time be of use for reference.

A good book that is mainly a record of facts leaves little room for the efforts of a sympathetic reviewer, further than to express his gratitude and that of his friends. The only section of the book that is made up of opinions rather than facts, is that which treats of "related questions"; and the articles under this reading bearing the titles "Singletax and Socialism," "Singletax and Immigration," etc., etc., are very edifying. Such expressions of opinion on the relation of the Singletax to those aspects of the social problem that are being dealt with separately by philanthropists and reformers, are of value in raising the theory of scientific taxation to the position it ought to occupy as a fundamental principle underlying and holding together all the perplexing social questions of to-day. One's only regret therefore, is that this section is not larger, and that more of such questions of relation are not investigated. It might for example, be exceedingly helpful to future platform speakers, to have a trustworthy opinion as to the relation the Singletax principle bears to tenant-farming, or to living in rented homes. It has been assumed both by protagonists and antagonists of the Singletax theory, that wide-spread farm-owning and home-owning are indications of healthy social conditions. Is this really so, or may it be on the contrary, that perfect social well-being might comport with conditions of universal tenancy;—conditions under which landowning and regulating of use, having ceased to be a privilege, had become a business whose profits regulate themselves as do the profits of lawyers and physicians and others who offer services to society? Are Singletaxers free to recog-

nize an advantage in the mobility that is suggested by the idea of general land-tenancy, and the corresponding disadvantage of fixity and immobility that farm and home ownership implies? Or should the attitude of the intelligent Singletaxer be one of indifference? These questions of the relation of taxation to the social disharmonies on which reformers and uplifters focus their attention, can hardly be too thoroughly elucidated, and when the time comes for the next issue it is to be hoped the discussion of "related questions" may cover the whole field. It remains to be said that the typography, the paper, the binding, and indeed the entire make-up of the book are all that could be desired.

ALEX. MACKENDRICK.

PERIODICALS

Persons interested in economic questions, particularly in their relation to taxation, who failed to subscribe for Land Values (London, Fifty cents per year) may be spurred to repair the neglect when they know of the splendid August number. The current comment, the Russian Revolution and the land questions, the Scottish small holdings act, Tenement Buildings and Land Value Taxation, the News of the Movement, local and foreign, including timely correspondence, all contribute to the making of a well-nigh indispensable paper. It is a great constructive force opposing the destructive elements now out of control.

WHO MADE THE LAW?

On the body of Sergeant Leshe Coulson, killed in the Somme fighting on October 8 last, was found with his pipe and last letter from his father, the following tragic poem, evidently written a day or so before, for it bore his signature and the date, "October 16." These mementoes only reached England recently.

Who made the Law that men should die in meadows,
Who spake the Word that death should splash in lanes,
Who gave it forth that gardens should be bcneyards,
Who spread the hills with flesh and blood and brains?
Who made the Law?

Who made the Law that Death should stalk the valleys,
Who spake the Word to kill among the sheaves,
Who gave it forth that death should lurk in hedge-rows,
Who flung the dead among the fallen leaves?
Who made the Law?

Those who return shall find that Peace endures,
Find old things old, and know the things they knew,
Walk in the garden, slumber by the fireside,
Share the peace of dawn, and dream amid the dew—
Those who return.

Those who return shall till the ancient pastures,
Clean-hearted men shall guide the plow-horse reins,
Some shall grow apples and flowers in village,
Some shall go courting in summer down the lanes—
Those who return.

But who made the Law? The trees shall whisper to him:

"See, see, the blood—the splashes on our bark!"
Walking the meadows he shall hear bones crackle,
And fleshless mouths shall gibber in silent lanes at dark.

Who made the Law?

Who made the Law? At noon upon the hillside
His ears shall hear a moan, his cheek shall feel a breath,
And all along valleys, past gardens, crofts and home-steads,

He who made the Law shall walk alone with Death—
Who made the Law?

* * *

"You have read my new story?"

"Yes."

"What do you think of it?"

"To be perfectly candid with you, I think the covers are too far apart."—*Puck*.

* * *

Vicar's Wife—Yes, Arnold has gone up to London to learn pharmacy.

Village Dame—Oh, missus, 'e needn't 'ave gone to all that expense! 'E could 'ave come on our farm an' welcome!—*The Joker*.

* * *

Robert Mantell tells of a barnstorming company in the West, in the old days, that made a try at Shakespeare. Considerable complaint was heard relative to the efforts of the man who essayed to do the *Ghost* in "Hamlet."

One day a dramatic man on a local paper said to the leading man: "That fellow who plays the *Ghost* does not suggest the supernatural."

"I should say not," assented the leading man, "but he does suggest the natural super."—*Everybody's Magazine*.

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Progress and Poverty

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The Women's Trade Union League of Chicago

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Women's Work in War Time

Discussed by members of the Women's Trade Union League serving on Committees of the Council of National Defense.

A delegation of Chicago members will be in Washington on September 5th attending a meeting of the committee on Women in Industry.

PUBLIC MEETING — ADMISSION FREE