

# The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

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## The President's Message

J. W. Slaughter

## The Democracy of Anatole France

Frank W. Garrison

Contents on Page 117

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# STRAIGHT EDGE INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENT

By AVERY QUERCUS

I have hired this page for a few weeks to tell the readers of THE PUBLIC what is wrong with the Single Tax movement.

Now just hear the buzzing begin! Who said there was anything wrong with the Single Tax movement?

Ten thousand enthusiasts are already on my neck assuring me that I do not understand; that I ought to read or reread Progress and Poverty; and defying me to show a flaw in Henry George's arguments. All of which does not alter the fact that the average citizen rightly regards as a disembodied theory a proposition that must wait to get a law passed before it connects with the here and now.

In this series of articles, I am going to tell you about an enterprise that is business plus; and that supplies a starting-point in fundamental democracy for the economic theorist of whatever brand. It will not delay the process of "getting a law passed." In fact, it bridges over the tedious interim with something more interesting and profitable than bone-crunching, and supplies the human interest that will make the "law" when it is passed an expression of vital force.

**T**HE STRAIGHT EDGE Industrial Settlement is a "working model" of an ideal industrial commonwealth. It is not a mushroom growth, but has been busy for 17 years wrestling with fundamental problems of industrial democracy under actual existing conditions, and maturing a plan for gradually enlisting workers in ever-increasing numbers and capital in ever-increasing volume.

A "working model" doesn't have to do the work of a mogul engine. It is rather built to illustrate and embody a principle. Once do that, and the mogul engine comes easy.

**S**EVERAL YEARS AGO THE PUBLIC used to have frequent references to the Straight Edge enterprise, and to quote copiously from the red-hot little magazine, "The Straight Edge," which is now published only occasionally. No. 118, dated January, 1917, is before me, containing the annual report of the ring-leader of the Straight Edge bunch.

It reads almost like a fairy story, although it is given up largely to dry details. The diagram below is taken from the report, and shows that the Straight Edge folks have found a way of reaching people that is more profitable than talk-selling. The magazine was evidently discontinued because it "didn't pay."

That is one distinctive trait of the Straight Edge enterprise. It has no place in its program for giving people something for nothing or, for a mere fraction of the cost. It has helped a great many people to help themselves, and has always carried far more than its proportionate share of economic and social "problems," but the blind and the lame and the weak are expected to make good. All they get is an *opportunity*, and they do not get that on the basis of a permanent subsidy.

In future articles, I will tell about the Straight Edge "point system," whereby the workers share in the earnings of the enterprise; about the method of holding property, "not for private profit, but for the mutual benefit of all concerned"; about methods of raising capital, so that the workers should not be vassals, but masters of their own destiny; about the kind of products and service upon which the enterprise is based; about the "Founders and Friends" who have supplied the capital; about the "Investor's Share," and how it is differentiated from the workers' share; about the baking plants in New York, and the "School of Coöperative Industry" at Alpine, New Jersey; about the hand-to-hand struggle with poverty through which the enterprise has passed; about the various smash-ups that have occurred, and a lot of other things that will interest you.

**I** WISH EVERY READER of THE PUBLIC would do me a favor. Write me a letter asking how the Straight Edge Industrial Settlement hooks up with *your* personal problems. Tell me something—about yourself, and especially what you would like to do, if you could do just what you would like, and what seems to stand in your way. I have an idea that several thousand of the best

[Continued on page 117]

## GROWTH OF THE STRAIGHT EDGE FOOD INDUSTRY

1908	\$2,317.94
1909	2,819.32
1910	4,275.06
1911	6,577.06
1912	24,358.43
1913	37,651.39
1914	40,593.48
1915	76,644.45
1916	164,516.13

Straight Edge "Foods that Feed" have earned an enviable reputation and their steady growth in volume of output for nine years since they were first sold at wholesale, has been phenomenal. An important factor in this growth has been the unique coöperative system whereby several hundred dealers and consumers have invested capital in Straight Edge 10-year loan certificates, and participate in the "Investor's Share," which is a slice of every loaf, muffin or package sold, and which is administered by Trustees elected by the investors. These certificates paid a 14% dividend last year beside a 10% principal reserve to repay principal at maturity. They are issued in multiples of \$5.00 and are limited to amounts that can be profitably used for the extension of the plant.

# The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

## Editorial

"The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality and co-operation," is one of the fine epigrams of the President's peace message. "Freedom of the seas" would be a misnomer if it meant nothing more than the right to sail unmolested on the open sea, only to be held up and robbed at the dock at the end of the voyage. President Wilson may be safely credited with realizing that true freedom of the seas implies the right to unload cargoes unmolested as well as to transport them. It implies absolute free trade. For the present it may not be possible to secure more than recognition of the abstract principle, as stated by the President. But with that gained, the demand for its concrete application must follow.

\* \* \*

Japan, according to press dispatches, continues the development of a Monroe Doctrine for Asia. Its latest manifestation is in regard to contemplated American loans to China, which the island empire will carefully scrutinize, and, if necessary, oppose. The reasons put forth for this action are that Japan is vitally interested in the stability of the government of China, and could not permit American financiers to take possession of a Chinese railroad that had defaulted interest; nor could she permit loans secured by taxes and customs receipts, lest it involve the taking over of customs stations, and the impairment of the integrity of China. If there be any truth in this report the situation will strike many persons as highly presumptuous on the part of Japan. Yet, how much does it differ from our own Monroe Doctrine, which was laid down, is interpreted, and will be executed by the United States with small regard for the opinions of other American countries. Does it not all indicate a world organization for the treatment of world questions?

Congress, as well as European belligerents, should bear in mind the President's insistence "That no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people." That means not only independence for Poland and the other nations suppressed by members of both Entente and Central Powers, but also independence for the Philippines, withdrawal of the Platt amendment from Cuba, elimination of all the restrictions on suffrage contained in the pending bill for government of Porto Rico, and ending for all time of efforts to force unwilling people anywhere to submit to American control. To bring about permanent and lasting peace it is our duty to remove those causes of war which we have created, and are still upholding.

\* \* \*

Involuntary servitude was put into effect in New Zealand on December 20. On that day a lottery was held under government auspices and 4,000 once-free citizens of the Dominion whose names were drawn were conscripted for service in Europe. The wishes of these citizens received no more consideration than if they had been convicts in the penitentiary, or Belgians deported to Germany, or black slaves in the South before the war. Press reports say that the military band played while the drawing was taking place. Let us hope that the musicians had the good taste to avoid playing "Britons never will be slaves." Senator Chamberlin of Oregon is trying to push through Congress a bill to subject American citizens to similar treatment.

\* \* \*

The gentle art of demonstrating the minimum cost of food for the human body, by means of "diet squads" and otherwise, has its uses from a health point of view, and it may contribute to our knowledge of dietetics; but it should not be mistaken for a solution of the

high cost of living. As long as a more abstemious mode of living is practiced by a few those few will enjoy an advantage, as in an illiterate age the man who could read and write fared better than his fellows. But if all were to put themselves upon such a diet, they would fare no better than the literate man where all are educated. The simple diet may remove bodily ills, and so long as its practice is confined to the few, contribute to their financial wellbeing; but its general practice, other things remaining as at present, would produce a result equivalent to unrestricted Chinese or Hindu immigration.

\* \* \*

The board of assessors of Hartford, Connecticut, has published its new assessment, which is greater by twenty million dollars than its last report. In commenting upon this increase the *Hartford Times*, after noting that it fell upon property centrally located, says:

We don't know whether or not the present personnel of the board of assessors has become converted to the theories of the late Henry George, but this last contribution seems very like the imposition of penalty upon what under the prevailing economic plan is regarded as progress.

Is it any wonder that legislators and their constituents are muddled in regard to the question of taxation when a newspaper such as the *Hartford Times* supposes that the theory of Henry George contemplates levying a penalty on progress. The very essence of Georgism lies in the removal of the penalties that the present system of taxation places upon industry, thrift, and progress.

\* \* \*

An incident not to the credit of the management of Wisconsin University was the prohibition by the Board of Regents of a lecture by Max Eastman, editor of *The Masses*. The reason given was that Mr. Eastman is a "propagandist." That is, he holds certain ideas which he wishes to explain to others in the hope of securing their acceptance. To refuse a hearing for such a reason cannot be otherwise construed than as a desire to censor. It means interference with free speech, a serious fault, from which the University of Wisconsin was hitherto supposed to be free. It is gratifying to report that the students refused to submit to the unreasonable order. They secured a hall outside of the university grounds and Mr.

Eastman had a better audience probably than he would otherwise have had.

\* \* \*

A well-meaning San Francisco clergyman—Reverend Paul Smith—found some hard questions to answer, when, after starting a vice crusade, a delegation of women from the underworld asked for information regarding other ways of getting a living. Mr. Smith's answer, as reported by the *Associated Press*, was:

There are lots of things I would like to solve, but I am only one poor individual.

Does not Mr. Smith know that there is a growing movement in California for abolition of the economic causes of poverty and vice? Does he not know that he had the opportunity, as a citizen, to vote for measures which would make it possible to remove these evils without oppressing anyone? Or does he happen to be one of those citizens who were duped by tory literature into opposition to these measures? As a citizen occupying a more or less influential position he has better opportunities than the average man to be helpful in pushing fundamental reform. Perhaps the questions presented by the despised women may lead him to see the light.

\* \* \*

The time is not distant when men prominent in public affairs will set secretaries to searching their past utterances to find some word or phrase that can be tortured into an endorsement of fundamental democracy. Not even militarism itself is becoming more discredited than the doctrine that any man has the right to eat his bread in the sweat of another man's face. Just as chattel slavery became so abhorrent, once people were got to think about it, that the world swept it away with loathing, so economic exploitation will seem so monstrous, when it has dawned upon public consciousness, that people will wonder how it could have lasted so long.

#### Enforcing Peace.

Care must be taken to prevent the league for the enforcement of international peace from falling into the hands of the militarists. Some are trying to discredit the idea by charging that this means entangling alliances with Europe; others, that it will mark the end of the Monroe Doctrine; still others, that the Japanese immigration question will be taken out of our hands. All of this criticism is based upon a misconception of the basic

principle underlying the idea of international association. It presupposes a militaristic basis, and assumes that the league, or whatever the association may be called, will enforce its decrees in the world as the strong control the weak.

Such a conception belittles the idea. It is seriously to be doubted whether the world is ready for a military establishment for the enforcement of International order. It would partake too much of the nature of the "balance of power" that has filled Europe with jealousy and suspicion. But what the world is ready for, and what constitutes the essence of the peace league, is passive resistance toward an aggressor, and a greater reliance upon the force of public opinion. Already the judgment of the world is held in such high esteem that the belligerent nations are doing their utmost to win or hold the good opinion, not alone of this and other neutral countries, but of their own people.

If the nations shall, at the conclusion of the war, enter into an international league embodying the spirit of the congresses and conferences at The Hague, but enlarged in scope to cover the wider field that has grown out of the war, they will have laid one stone of the foundation of peace. For by this means the nations can draw together; closer contact will lead to better understanding; and this will bring a recognition of mutual interests. When peoples grasp the fact that national boundaries have no more to do with economics than they do with the weather, and that different nations are as much dependent upon each other's prosperity as are different parts of the same nation, they will be ready for the broader policy that will usher in universal free trade, and unhampered production. Force will not bring these; they come only of reason.

S. C.

### Protest of Pot Against Kettle.

It is hard to see any justification in Secretary of State Lansing's protest to General Carranza against proposed clauses in the new Mexican Constitution. Most of these clauses are designed to restore to the Mexican people control of natural resources granted by the Diaz Administration to foreign corporations. Mr. Lansing's protest declares this confiscatory. If restitution of stolen property to its rightful owners may be correctly called "confiscatory," then confiscation is not an objec-

tionable proceeding. Possibly the methods proposed for accomplishment of the object are not the best. But that is Mexico's affair.

Another clause against which Secretary Lansing protests is one for expulsion of obnoxious foreigners. In view of our own drastic deportation laws, what right have we to make such complaint to any nation? Mr. Lansing protests that the proposition will permit the Executive to expel any one without recourse to appeal. Our own laws permit the Department of Labor to do the same. The courts many years ago took the position that they cannot interfere with an administrative proceeding. So when, during Roosevelt's Administration, an American-born citizen of Chinese parentage was debarred from landing, after a visit abroad, he had no recourse. The power of deportation has become practically unlimited. Although the law is supposed to apply to immigrants only, the denial of right to appeal to the courts would deprive a natural born citizen of any defense should he be charged with being an immigrant, illegally within the country. That such extreme use of this power has not been made does not alter the fact that present laws make it possible. Carranza might well cite this state of affairs in a justifiable refusal to consider Secretary Lansing's protest.

S. D.

### A Commendable Innovation.

Secretary Wilson, of the Department of Labor, has begun a practice that may well be imitated by others in authority, both in official and in commercial life. It has long been the custom to speak of Labor, and of the laboring classes as though the persons composing them were of a different species, having interests diametrically opposed to those of the remaining citizens, and being marked and set apart as irreconcilable malcontents. They have been looked upon by too many as a sort of necessary evil, to be endured because of necessity; and to be suppressed as far as possible. Though they might number a majority of the citizens, and their organizations be represented by able and public spirited men and women, it is not to them that the reporters rush when the press seeks public opinion. And when distinguished persons from abroad visit us, or questions of moment concerning the city or the state are referred to a committee of distinguished citizens, the representatives of Labor are conspicuous by their absence. Bankers are there, and law-

yers, merchants, manufacturers, engineers, and scholars are included, though they may be inconsequential personally, and may represent no one but themselves; but capable and far-seeing men who have given their lives to the task of bettering the conditions of the toilers are omitted.

It is to cure in some degree this fault that Secretary Wilson has established the custom of inviting to a dinner once a year the President and his Cabinet, and the president of the American Federation of Labor and his cabinet, where they may meet as human beings, as citizens, as gentlemen, to discuss, not business, hours of labor, or wages, but the social amenities that engage attention when men gather about the festive board. At the recent dinner given by Mr. Wilson there were five members of the Cabinet, and the assistant secretaries of the remaining members, who greeted President Gompers and twenty-three assistants, representing various trades and industries. There was no spirit of condescension, nor of antagonism, but the fellowship that reigns when men meet to break bread, instead of to break heads. It is to be hoped that Mr. Wilson's example may be followed by board of trade bodies, chambers of commerce, and manufacturers' associations. For, whatever may be the differences of opinion and clashes of interest, the solution will be had the more readily when suspicion has been allayed and confidence engendered. It is a good omen that toilers are coming to be thought of not as members of a class, but as men and women, as citizens.

S. C.

### Push the Bailey Bill.

Although the present Congress does not possess enough statesmanship to offer any hope for passage of Congressman Bailey's land value tax bill, the importance of Mr. Bailey's action should not, for that reason, be overlooked. Propagandists have long felt the need of a bill properly drawn to be offered as a constructive proposition.

Under the Bailey bill citizens would contribute to government in proportion to the benefits they receive. The exact amount that would be required of each State is mentioned in the bill. Roughly speaking, that would be \$2 per capita. But that does not mean that each individual would be assessed that amount, as would be the practical result from additional tariffs. The Bailey bill recognizes that benefits of government are reflected in

land values, and that landowners collect in higher rent or selling price from land users, payment for these benefits. To the extent that government collects revenue from other sources than land values, it allows some individuals to appropriate free the value of governmental services, and compels others to pay a second time in taxes for what they have once paid in rent. That defect is common to tariffs, excise taxes, income taxes, inheritance taxes, corporation taxes and the proposed tax on excess profits. The land value tax alone is free from it.

Moreover, if it became a law, the Bailey bill would prove a powerful force for social justice. It would bring much land into use now withheld, and open new opportunities to labor and capital. Nothing throws greater discredit on Congress than that there is little room for hope at present that so beneficent a measure will even be reported out of committee. But voters can let their Representatives and Senators know how poorly they serve them in allowing such neglect. That will help the prospects of a similar bill in a future Congress.

S. D.

### How to Block Progress.

The tax laws of New York exempt all property owned by clergymen to the amount of \$1,500. Concerning this Martin Saxe of the State Tax Commission tells in his report of last November the following:

An enterprising real estate dealer made a business of dividing up a large tract of land into small lots, which he sold at about \$1,500 a lot to gullible clergymen all over the United States, with the alluring excerpt from our Tax Law indicating that such property in their hands could be held without payment of taxes, while they waited for the unearned increment which they were assured was bound to come, as the land was within the limits of the City of New York. Needless for me to observe further, that the enterprising gentleman succeeded in unloading his tract upon the clergy, and they are waiting for the unearned increment with a patience with which they are undoubtedly all blessed.

Whether the unearned increment will ever come or not, these clergymen can afford to wait. The exemption enables them to hold on indefinitely, without expense, the purchase price having been paid. But while they are waiting home seekers who would use this land, if not compelled to pay an exorbitant price, must look elsewhere. And men who would be employed in building thereon must be out of work. The same result in a less degree must come from taxation of land at a



low rate. Mr. Saxe's story was intended to show only the poor policy of special exemptions. But it shows much more. It makes clear that the lure of unearned increment leads men to stand in the way of industry, and further, it shows the need of a heavy tax on land values to ensure the putting of land to its best use.

S. D.

### Judicial Power to Nullify Legislation.

Senator Owen of Oklahoma has been subjected to much criticism from tory papers for his bill to take from the Federal courts the power to nullify acts of Congress. Since Congress can be held by the people to responsibility for its course, while Federal judges, appointed for life, are beyond popular control, Senator Owen's bill is based on correct principles. The usual defense of assumption by the courts of power to declare unconstitutional legislative enactments is that it is necessary to protect the constitutional rights of the minority. If it did serve as such a protection it would be justified. But experience shows that it affords little protection to poor and unpopular minorities, and more than should be extended to rich and influential ones. Examples are numerous.

The Post Office Department, under authority of a Congressional enactment, has established a dangerous censorship, in spite of constitutional guarantees of freedom of the press. But the courts have not interfered. The postal censorship has been applied often, usually in the case of dissemination of some unpopular or unconventional idea. Once it was used in an effort to suppress the *Appeal to Reason*. The effort failed. But it failed in spite of aid given it by the courts. More successful efforts have recently been made in the case of *Regeneration* of Los Angeles and *The Blast* of San Francisco.

The Constitution guarantees a trial by jury in all criminal prosecutions. The courts found a way to evade this through abuse of the power to issue injunctions. Labor cases furnish the most, if not all, of the examples of such cases.

The Constitution forbids slavery or involuntary servitude. Yet, until adoption of the La Follette Seamen's Act, the courts upheld the holding of sailors in enforced service. Another violation of the Thirteenth Amendment is contemplated in proposed legislation for compulsory military service. And militarists are confident, perhaps with good reason, that the courts will approve the violation. But frequently when legislation has been enacted to curb predatory power of monopolies, or to protect workers from excessive

exploitation, the enactments have been promptly annulled on constitutional grounds. The courts, which could see no confiscation of property in the triple damages of which the Danbury hatters were mulcted, were quick to see it in efforts to regulate railroad fares.

In view of such facts, it is apparent that, in spite of an occasional proper use, judicial power to nullify legislation is a failure as a protection of just minority rights. Senator Owen would put on Congress the responsibility of making its acts conform with the Constitution, and experience indicates that he proposes the wisest course.

S. D.

### War and the Tariff.

Those ambi-minded persons who have achieved the feat of believing a protective tariff raises prices for the producer and lowers them to the consumer may be interested in knowing that the people of the Antipodes have not been entirely successful in repealing the law of supply and demand. In Australia where the government aids the sugar producers by levying a protective duty on foreign sugar, and assists the consumers by encouraging home production, the price, according to *Progress* of Melbourne, was 7 cents a pound; while in New Zealand, which does not levy a protective duty on sugar, it sold for 5½ cents. The protesting American housewife is told that the war and not the tariff is responsible for the price of sugar in this country. Apparently the war does not have that influence in New Zealand.

This situation indicates the greater culpability on the part of Australia because the United States has done what it could to give their people cheap sugar. For be it known by all who do not appreciate the blessings of a protective tariff that sugar imported into the United States is taxed, and Americans using that sugar pay that tax. But if the refiners re-export that sugar the duty is refunded, and the consumer does not have to pay it. That is to say, the New Zealander does not; but the Australian, who enjoys a government more like our own, does have to pay what we have so generously remitted.

Protectionists are quick to silence our complaints at the high price of sugar in this country by saying it would be much higher if it were not for the tariff that has encouraged the domestic production. Here again nature has been uncivil enough to disregard the feelings of our guardians. For New Zea-

land, which is not a sugar producing country, and has no sugar duty, enjoyed 5½-cent sugar; while Australia, which does produce sugar and has a tariff, pays 7 cents. All this merely goes to prove the perversity of inanimate things. It also goes to show the difficulty of maintaining some beliefs. Reason was always against a protective tariff; but its devotees had but to point to the United States. This country has protection, and it is prosperous; therefore! But now comes a country without a protective tariff on sugar, and although it raises none itself the price there is less than in the neighboring country that does grow it. Can it be possible that if the import duty levied upon sugar brought to New York were remitted on what is consumed within the country it would be as cheap as in New Zealand?

S. C.

### Material and Spiritual Force.

In the earlier days of the war people were amazed at the various manifestations of material force. The British fleet swept the navy of Germany from the seas, but could not enter her harbors; the German army crumpled up the Belgian forces, but was turned back from the Marne by the French; the overwhelming assaults upon Verdun were met by impregnable defenses; the drives through Poland, Serbia, and Roumania, the monster guns, the liquid fire, the gas, the submarines, aeroplanes, and Zeppelins: each seemed to be irresistible until opposed by another force. And no one can today say with any degree of certainty which force in the end will prevail. But running throughout the hostilities, and keeping in touch with all manifestations has been another force, which, though at first feeble, has steadily grown in volume until it now overshadows all others. This is the spiritual force that springs from the human conscience.

It was this spiritual force that the President set forth in his Senate speech. It appealed to each according to his understanding. Had the speech been delivered a year ago it would have awakened little response, for men's minds were then concerned almost wholly with material agencies, and those who appealed to the higher force were incomprehensible. Little regard was shown for their honesty, and less for their judgment. But a second year devoted to physical force has shown its devotees that their efforts have

been in vain. They do not admit it as yet, even to themselves; they are still hoping that some master inventor will devise a weapon that will overwhelm their opponents. Meantime the toll taken by the enemy is breaking down their pride; and they are being brought little by little to realize that a new force has come into the field. They protest it is not there, and they cry out against it; but all the while they are succumbing to it.

When President Wilson made his appeal to the conscience of mankind the materialists were amazed. They had been so absorbed in unloosing more and greater physical forces that they had forgotten there was any other kind. One belligerent exclaimed: "What does he mean? Is he for us, or against us?" While the wielders of big sticks pretended to be much amused, and tried to laugh the President out of court. Little politicians, both in his own country and abroad, attempted to make party capital out of it. But so big was the idea, and so hungry was the world for it, that they succeeded only in attracting momentary attention to their own insignificance. The great men and women in all lands hailed the message with gladness. Already it has had its influence upon the leading belligerents. Each has expressed himself in agreement with the President. A little more time will pass, a few more men will be killed and maimed, other property will be destroyed, more pride will be humbled, and at last they will agree with each other.

Science and industry have performed what was formerly considered incredible feats in creating the enginery of war; they may accomplish still more monstrous results; but in the end all must yield to the power of the human conscience. President Wilson did not concern himself with armies or navies, nor with submarines or aircraft; he did not enter into plans at all. What he did was to breathe into international affairs the breath of life, to add the spiritual to the material, and to quicken the conscience of mankind. It was not his purpose to oppose this nation or that, to judge one country or another, to overthrow leaders here or there, but to ask each and every one to look into his own heart and see the better self that is struggling for expression. By that one bold stroke humanity has been raised to a higher plane, and the material forces will yield before the spiritual.

S. C.



## The President's Message

There has never been a combat of either groups or individuals in which each participant did not believe himself to be entirely and exclusively in the right. There has never been a combatant who did not, in the heat of conflict, resent the impartial judgment of an outsider on the merits of his case. But every intelligent fighter suspects that an outside judgment is more likely to be right than his own. This will make him the more vigorous in his denunciation of interference.

Those factors in President Wilson's speech which are supposed to disqualify it as a serious practical utterance, and relegate it to the region of academic phrase-making, mere pious aspirations toward Utopia, are precisely those which show his grasp of realities. The material consequences of war are unimportant compared with the psychological results. It is the mental state, the concerted feelings, the dominant ideas, the focalized attitudes that matter. Whether a man is sane or not is of more significance than what he may do when raving. The latter is clearly inconsequential. President Wilson has rightly carried the discussion into the field where the realities lie. The objective of the European blood-letting is the attainment of a state of mind.

Already the desirability of a permanent peace has emerged into the foreground. Each side claims that it is fighting for conditions that will insure future tranquillity. That assured peace is more desirable than any of the objects for which the war was begun is the first notable transposition of values. Every reason for war except that of self-defense becomes merely trivial against the magnitude of this conflict. With each side, therefore, all claims gravitate toward and merge into that of national self-preservation. A permanent peace, then, is of itself supremely desirable, and warrants the subordination of all matters that prevent its initiation or endanger its continuance. A curious delusion is here encountered. It may cost more blood, as all delusions cost something. It is that guarantees exacted from the enemy can insure peace. If this means the acceptance of a rôle of weakness or inferiority, imposed by victory and maintained by a conqueror, it is a mere stultification of language. If it means a formal agreement, then clearly it is voluntary or nothing, in which case it cannot be exacted. A piece of domestic legislation merely encumbers the statute book unless it is a formulation of continuous and vital public opinion. The principle is not different in arrangements be-

tween the nations. Guarantees can issue from agreement but cannot be imposed. The same can be said about the rights of small nations. Their safety will be preserved or endangered, not by treaties, but by the attitude of the nations at the time the issue arises.

If the matters just mentioned suffer from the danger of mistaking the form for reality, this is even more certainly the case with the limitation of armaments. The crucial point lies behind armaments. A man may be a peaceful neighbor even if he owns two rifles and two shot guns. If he is bad, he will not be made good by having to give up a portion of his firearms. If he deals with his neighbors on the basis of threatening violence if not given his way, and they deal with him on the same basis, the number of guns each possesses makes very little difference. The only way to reduce armaments is to render them unnecessary. So long as international relations continue as in the past, British naval supremacy is a necessary condition of existence, and any suggestion of its discontinuance is futile. Equally, German militarism is justified as essential to a nation situated between two powerful allies, both with ultimately hostile intentions. All of which is equivalent to saying that this war came out of certain conditions, and that these conditions will just as inevitably bring on another war. The problem of securing permanent peace is that of changing the conditions, not of juggling with any of the trappings or consequences. It is to be hoped that Mr. Wilson's thinking has passed beyond the fallacy that a compulsory delay can prevent war. The present conflict has been preparing since the great nations snarled at each other over their spheres of influence in China sixteen years ago. At what point would the guarantor of peace have intervened? When the Austrian Crown Prince was assassinated? Only a stupid lawyer could suppose that the moment of fighting is the time for intervention. A guarantee to be effective must be in the premises, not in the conclusion.

The statement in which President Wilson interpreted the answers to his note as implying a peace without victory has produced a naive dismay in the belligerent capitals. He stated in effect that a permanent peace on the basis of victory is a contradiction in terms. A great nation beaten to its knees and made to accept unfair terms is a nation that will inevitably prepare for vengeance and redressing its wrongs. The only way in which a great nation can be ended is, as

Bernard Shaw says, by the massacre of its women, which procedure would hardly be acceptable to the defenders of either *Kultur* or civilization.

The President is indeed speaking for the "silent masses" of mankind. He must be well aware that the populations of belligerent countries had no fundamental antagonism, that they were in the main fooled into the conflict by every kind of sham catch-phrase, by a fictitious but compelling public opinion aroused by carefully planned devices. A campaign to advertise the war was called a recruiting campaign in England. The object was always to create a public opinion that would compel enlistment. It must have been in the mind of the President that war-making was the function of a few monopolists of power who had lent themselves to the dangerous game of imperialistic enterprise. The fortunes of peace are fairly safe in the hands of a nation, whose government really rests upon the consent of the governed. With the silent masses the most important point of Mr. Wilson's speech will find its response. It is the extension of the Monroe Doctrine to all the world. Not only the small nations

of Europe, but the less defended peoples of all continents, must be accorded security and immunity from the exploitation which imperial Europe has so long practiced upon them. It was the competition of greed that brought on this terrible Nemesis. President Wilson has put his finger on the potent cause of war and shown how it may be removed. The Mobile speech of three years ago began a new chapter in the history of international relations.

The President has said in effect to the belligerents, "When you have fought until each has decided that he has enough, I shall be glad to help you to an agreement." A simple matter, but the speech will have more effect upon the war than a submarine campaign or a Somme drive. Mr. Wilson is too wise to suppose that the conditions of enduring peace can be established at a stroke. This work will require time, but it must be done while the memory of war is still green. The first note only has been struck. But it is the keynote, a note of sanity, and it has halted the attention of a world that seemed undivorceable from its appalling madness.

J. W. SLAUGHTER.

## The Democracy of Anatole France

If Anatole France, in the face of the vast calamity which befell his country in the summer of 1914, surrendered the vital principle of his creed of universal brotherhood, it was the man and not the principle which was changed by external events. In order to gain some idea of his contribution to democratic thought we must seek for it in the works which lie between his earliest and his latest period, and especially in his speeches. Here we shall find a glowing vision of that better day when social justice shall have prepared the way for universal peace. Human society he pictures as a caravan whose vanguard has entered the luminous regions of science, while its further end still crawls under the thick clouds of superstition in obscure regions haunted by phantoms and spectres; and he exhorts the stragglers to hasten forward into the sunshine.

Reason is at once the gentlest, and the only invincible force. Patriotism is compatible with justice and peace, with respect for the rights of others and acknowledgment of the higher law of humanity. Patriotism, he insists, breeds hatred of humanity only in narrow and violent minds, minds too small

to perceive the solidarity of mankind or to understand that the destiny of any one human group is inextricably linked with the destiny of all men. In the ceaseless struggle for freedom "universal suffrage is the only guarantee of our rights and liberties, and it needs but a breath—a breath of fraternity wafted over meadow and town—to forge from it an instrument of human justice."

To Anatole France the immense popular demonstration at the funeral of Victor Hugo on the first of June, 1885, signalized an epoch. The streets through which the populace walked were dotted with banners bearing "not the names of battles, but of books. For the honors formerly reserved for kings and emperors, for sovereigns and conquerors, were bestowed by the deeply-moved throng upon a man of work and thought . . . The pompous apparel, which from time immemorial had served to glorify force and violence, was now seen for the first time linked to the gentle puissance of the mind, and celebrating an innocent glory." It seemed to offer the hope that the people would at last substitute "free thought in place of dogma, liberty in place of abso-

lutism, the badges of reason for the images of force, justice and peace for war, and love and friendship for hatred."

Once enlisted in the service of democracy, Anatole France was not to be turned aside by derision. He welcomed the epithets visionary and utopian. "Without the utopians of former ages," he declared, "men would still be living in caverns, naked and miserable. Utopians traced the lines of the first city. The political party which is without utopians is to be pitied. From generous dreams spring beneficent realities. Utopia is the principle of all progress, and in it lies the promise of a happier future."

In the movement to loosen the grip of the church on affairs of state he warned his countrymen against violence, fearing lest persecution give the priests a renewed strength. The weapon he recommended was an invincible toleration. "Laws to be effective should be as gentle as they are firm." A profound equity in laws and actions would overcome the anger and hatred of the separated church. Seditious attempts would be swamped in the liberty of the press, and freedom of assemblage would counteract the power of revolutionary sermons.

The Dreyfus persecution brought a prompt and courageous response from Anatole France and committed him firmly to the cause of universal justice. Speaking in Italy, he explained that it was not his purpose to comment on the domestic affairs of a foreign country. "But," he continued, "since, Italian or French, we are men; since it is our sorry lot to be human, there is a policy which we can, and which we ought to have in common: the policy of humanity." And so the man who had been lightly set down as skeptic, cynic and sensualist, is seen devoting his matchless gift of words to the cause of freedom, preaching the Golden Rule, and breaking the silence in which the large majority of those who profess the religion of Christ are habitually wrapped.

The chains that men wear are of their own forging. If we are still grossly superstitious, it is because we accept the dogmas invented by an age ignorant of natural law. Under the influence of false beliefs honest men act criminally through a sense of duty. If the violence and cruelty we see on all sides were a true reflection of human nature, we might well despair; but hope returns when we realize that these excesses are less the result of the wickedness of men than of their perversion. "If we reflect on the miseries which have afflicted mankind from the age of caverns to our own still barbaric days,

we almost always find the cause in a false interpretation of nature. . . . Bad physics make bad morals, and to such an extent that for centuries generations of men have been born and have died in an abyss of suffering and desolation."

Taking his stand in politics with the Radical Socialists, Anatole France predicted the enlightenment of the masses and their ultimate liberation from superstition and tyranny, and he advised the election of candidates bent on establishing social justice in preparation for universal peace through the union of laborers. He sounded a warning against pretended liberals who in their eagerness to compromise are ready to respect every oppression and sanction every iniquity. In themselves the anti-democratic forces may be trivial, but the obscure impulses born of ignorance and hatred make them dangerous. "There is in men a substratum of barbarity and ferocity. During their early existence, when they lived in the great trees of the forest or in caves overhanging torrents, they were too long anthropophagic for their primitive instinct, lulled by centuries of easy life, not to awake at times, and for their old taste for murder not to rise in occasional gusts to their nostrils." The simple and the weak allow themselves to swept away into barbaric practices and to submit once more to the rule of castes, as in the rude epochs when men prostrated themselves before their feather-clad chief, and permitted their priests to offer human victims to gods as ignorant and ferocious as themselves.

Without attempting to verify all the links in the chain of evidence, we may venture to discern in the catastrophe of war a Nemesis overtaking a civilization founded upon theft and supported by murder. Particularly repellent to Anatole France were those collective crimes committed in the name of colonial expansion, and he has characterized them with cutting irony. He comments on the methods of that league to enforce peace which entered China in 1901, and having covered itself with military glory, signed one of the innumerable treaties by which the Great Powers guarantee the integrity of the country whose provinces they divide among themselves. But the day of reckoning will come. In the Sea of Japan and the gorges of Manchuria the Russians paid not only for their own greedy and brutal policy in the Orient, but for the colonial policy of Europe; atoned not only for their own crimes, but for the crimes of military and commercial Christianity.

Beneath the struggle for territorial aggrandizement will be found the economic impulse. It is still customary to view world commerce through the eyes of the competing interests in each country, and a free competition which should reduce the margin of profit of the manufacturer is not yet recognized as a boon to consumers the world over. World trade is subject to antagonisms which spring from the protection fallacy, and unrestricted barter, which should be the life-giving principle of human society, is turned into economic war. "Every nation is in an economic struggle with every other nation. Everywhere production is furiously arming against production. . . . We recognize only the right of the strongest. . . . Is there any people in the world who have a right to speak in the name of justice?" How long will it be before it is generally understood the great human value is man himself? "To make the earth valuable we must first make men valuable. In order to exploit the earth, the mines, the waters, all the substances and all the forces of the planet, man is necessary, the whole men, humanity, all humanity. The complete exploitation of the terrestrial globe demands the combined labor of white, yellow and black men. By reducing, diminishing, combating a part of humanity, we act against ourselves. It is to our advantage to have the people of every race and color powerful, free and rich. Our prosperity and wealth depend upon theirs. The more they produce, the more they will consume. The more they profit by us, the more shall we profit by them. Let them rejoice abundantly in our labor, and we shall rejoice abundantly in theirs."

Anatole France was not blind to the powerful forces bent on defeating any attempt to apply to economic relationships the disturbing requirements of the Golden Rule. In Russia czarism was all-powerful; England, Germany, and even the United States were dominated by imperialism; Belgium was in the grip of clericalism, and France was menaced by nationalism, a synonym for jingoism. He saw these "powers of death" suspended over all kingdoms, empires and republics; and he urged all the proletarians of the world to unite against them, against the universal triumvirate of priest, soldier and financier.

The financier, the soldier, and the priest now ride upon the storm they have conjured up. Will they continue to control human destinies when calm and fog succeed the tempest, or will the latent democratic forces develop sufficient power to sub-

stitute the compass of social and economic justice for the fatal dead reckoning of a blind and greedy diplomacy? Not until the transition comes is the world likely to estimate at its true value the contribution of Anatole France to the cause of democracy.

FRANK W. GARRISON.

### SEE THE FINANCIAL WRITER.

Oh, see the Financial Writer!

Yes, what a dignified looking individual he is. Why does he knit his brow so tensely?

That is because he takes himself and his profession so seriously.

Listen. What is he saying?

He is using many words, but he is saying nothing. He is merely pursuing himself around a verbal circle.

Surely you are mistaken. How could a man with such a bizarre and such a pompous vocabulary be saying nothing?

It is always thus. The more dense a person's obfuscation upon a given subject, the more necessary for him to use polysyllabic words and polygonal sentences in order to conceal it.

Yes, but how positive his manner is and how intolerant of criticism. Doesn't that indicate that he is sure of his ground and that he has an important message to convey?

Not at all. A positive exterior usually indicates a negative interior. Great men with great opinions are more apt to express them timidly.

But perhaps the subject is more to blame than the Financial Writer. It is said to be a very abstruse subject. Perhaps he is doing all in his power to make it simple.

That may be true. On the other hand, there are many who consider it a very simple subject and that the Financial Writer is doing everything in his power to make it abstruse.

ELLIS O. JONES.

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They who look upon Liberty as having accomplished her mission when she has abolished hereditary privileges and given men the ballot, who think of her as having no further relation to the everyday affairs of life, have not seen her real grandeur—to them the poets who have sung of her must seem rhapsodists, and her martyrs fools! As the sun is the lord of life, as well as of light, as his beams not merely pierce the clouds, but support all growth, supply all motion, and call forth from what would otherwise be a cold and inert mass all the infinite diversities of being and beauty, so is liberty to mankind. It is not for an abstraction that men have toiled and died; that in every age the witnesses of Liberty have stood forth, and the martyrs of Liberty have suffered.—*Henry George.*

# NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending January 30, 1917

## Congressional Doings.

By a vote of 122 to 13, the House Democratic caucus on January 26 agreed on the new revenue bill by which there is to be a tax of 8 per cent. on profits of business other than agriculture in excess of 8 per cent. on capital, provided the amount be in excess of \$5,000. The inheritance tax is to be increased 50 per cent. In addition certificates of indebtedness are to be issued, redeemable within a year, amounting to \$300,000,000. There is also to be an issue of long term bonds amounting to \$100,000,000, and a sale of \$231,000,000 Panama Canal bonds. The thirteen opposition members were Taylor of Arkansas, Callaway of Texas, Olney of Massachusetts, Thomas of Kentucky, Bailey of Pennsylvania, Dies of Texas, Thompson of Oklahoma, Page of North Carolina, Quinn and Stevens of Mississippi, Burnett of Alabama, Doughton of North Carolina, and Sherwood of Ohio. The bill was introduced in the form agreed upon. [See current volume, page 85.]

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The House Rules Committee on January 29 took the testimony of Pliny Fisk, the broker charged by Thomas W. Lawson with representing Secretary McAdoo in stock gambling transaction in connection with the President's peace message. Mr. Fisk denied having had any dealing with the Secretary or other officials.

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The Senate Interstate Commerce Committee refused on January 24 to include prohibition of strikes or lockouts in the railroad legislation it is preparing. It agreed, however, to a stringent prohibition of trespass on railroad property by strikers.

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On January 29 the President returned with his veto the Burnett Immigration bill. He declared that the literacy test penalized the immigrant for lack of one of the opportunities in the country from which he came to obtain which he comes here. He further objected to the giving of discretionary power to the Department of Labor to determine whether an immigrant is escaping from religious persecution. This, the President says, is equivalent to passing judgment on laws of foreign nations.

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Before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs Philip Schaefer, formerly of the Swiss national army, testified on January 16 concerning the workings of compulsory ser-

vice in Switzerland. In narrating his own experience he said that his military training began when 12 years of age at school. His father, being poor, could furnish him with only a tattered military coat while wealthier boys had fine uniforms. The wealthier boys could afford to take training necessary to become officers. The poor ones could not. When he served in the adult training force he said:

My lieutenant's family were the largest hardware dealers in the district, my captain represented the ownership of a mill employing 3,000 persons; my regimental commander was the son of the owner of a silk mill employing 5,000 people, and his superior officer in turn was the son of the richest family in the whole of Switzerland.

Men from the ranks may become officers, if they take the training, but they are expected to follow the customs of officers, which include dining at public restaurants at a cost which is beyond the purse of a working man. As the payment to a recruit is about ten cents a day in the one period and sixteen cents a day in the other, it is clear that no working man can afford to be an officer. He finds it bad enough to pay for underclothing, shoes, socks and laundry out of his wages, and his family may have nothing from his earnings for their own support. Switzerland makes no provision for the maintenance of the destitute family of the soldier, except the ordinary recourse of charity.

So the working class fills the ranks, and the ruling class has the control of the army in "democratic" Switzerland. Cavalry regiments, which are used in cases of strikes to put down the workers, are made up of those men who can afford to keep a horse for this purpose throughout the year. Last September a peaceful parade of the Young People's Socialist League was ridden down by such a force—men, women and children trampled upon as though they were dogs.

When a mill strike was called, the troops from the farming district nearby were called out by their officer, who managed the mill, and the town wage-workers' attempt to better their condition was brutally suppressed. The army of Switzerland has never been of any other use than that—the use by the rich to crush the labor movement. Swiss soldiers have no more democratic treatment at the hands of these middle-class and upper-class officers than have Prussian soldiers. If you protest at ill-treatment you go to the dungeon for three days. In 1902 a soldier committed suicide as the result of this punishment.

He told how men were led into intemperance. He himself had been a total abstainer until he was forced to drink intoxicants because the army service bottle contained wine, while the officers refused to allow him milk or coffee. The army, he said, had no defensive value. The country to the north is open and a German force could easily enter that part of it, while to attempt resistance from the strong places in the Alps would result in being surrounded and starved out in a week.

**Industrial Relations Testimony Published.**

The testimony taken by the Commission on Industrial Relations during its sittings in 1913 and 1914 has just been published. Ten thousand sets of 11 volumes each, ordered by Congress, came from the press on January 17. Each Senator is entitled to 25 sets for distribution, and each Representative to 16 sets. [See vol. xix, pp. 467, 563.]

**Report on Forest Conservation.**

That unstable and partly speculative forest ownership in the West and South is the cause of frequent over-cutting of the market and waste of forest resources is announced by the Forest Service in a report issued on January 24. Too large stocks of timber acquired from the public domain and too much timber speculation mixed with the manufacture of lumber, says the Service, underlie the present instability of the industry. All this, the Service points out, concerns the lumber user. Many States are paying dearly for lumber because their own timber is largely used up and outside supplies can be obtained only at high cost for transportation. With little being done to grow new forests on cutover lands, a more widespread shortage of forest products is threatened in the future. The Forest Service finds that the main problem of the lumber industry has grown out of the hundreds of billions of feet of timber acquired cheaply a few years ago from the public domain. Lumbermen in the West are carrying vast quantities of timberland beyond all possible needs of their present sawmills and logging camps. Widespread speculation during a few years of sudden development carried timber values very high, and many western stumpage holdings have been over-capitalized.

The report lays special emphasis upon the fact that waste in the use of our natural forest wealth, as is now taking place, will tell inevitably in the future cost of lumber, paper, and other products manufactured from timber, as it has told already in many "cut out" States. Furthermore, under present conditions, little is being done to restock the forest lands logged for their virgin timber. The total use of wood in the United States exceeds by a good deal the aggregate growth of its forests; and unless the enormous areas of cutover land, to which millions of acres are added every year, are put to growing new forests, the Forest Service thinks that the danger of a nation-wide shortage of timber and high prices for all wood products will become acute. A national mistake, the report goes on to say, was made in such rapid and wholesale passing of title to timberlands in the public domain, beyond all immediate

needs for local or industrial development. Private ownership, hard pressed to carry these staggering quantities of timber during the long periods which must necessarily elapse before they can be converted into lumber, is now sacrificing them in part by wasteful use because of its own financial exigencies. The carrying of this future resource, the Forest Service declares, should have been a public rather than a private function. The report urges that this situation be faced frankly and the obvious remedy applied, that of taking part of the western timberlands back. Much can be accomplished also, the report says, by public and private co-operation in fire protection and in securing methods of taxation better adapted to timberlands; and, to insure the regrowth of logged-off forests, reasonable public regulation of the handling of private lands will unquestionably find a place in working out the problem.

**Public Ownership Information.**

The National Public Ownership League, with headquarters at 4131 N. Keeler avenue, Chicago, will begin issuing on March 1 a number of bulletins on various phases of public ownership. They are to be prepared by specialists who will bring the subjects down to date. The first issue will be on Municipal Electric Lighting and will be prepared by the engineering firm of Burns & McDonnell, of Kansas City. Another one will be by Congressman David J. Lewis on postalization of the telegraph and telephone. Other bulletins will deal with waterworks, railways and other phases, and will be sold at 25 cents each, with reduction for quantities.

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Municipal ownership was endorsed on January 27 by the Democratic County Committee of Bronx Borough, New York City. The resolutions adopted, introduced by Register Edward Polak, were as follows:

Whereas, There is a source of revenue, belonging to the people, now appropriated by the public service corporations, which, if collected for the benefit of the people, would be sufficient to defray the legitimate expenses of city government, thereby relieving the oppressive burdens which now fall on the taxpayers.

Therefore, be it resolved that it is the sense of this meeting that the revenue now appropriated by these public service corporations be used for public purposes; and as a means of conserving this revenue we strongly advocate Municipal Ownership and operation of all public utilities.

**President Wilson on Suffrage.**

Upon learning of the adoption of limited woman suffrage in North Dakota and submission of a full suffrage amendment, Presi-



dent Wilson addressed the following letter to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association:

May I not express to you and your organization, as well as to the women of North Dakota, my congratulations upon the passage by the Legislature of that State of a bill granting to the women of the State the right to vote for Presidential Electors and for municipal officers? As you know, I have a very real interest in the extension of the suffrage to the women, and I feel that every step in this direction should be applauded.

[See current volume, page 86.]

#### North Dakota's Proposed New Constitution.

A new constitution embodying all the demands of the Farmers' Nonpartisan League has been prepared and introduced in the North Dakota House of Representatives. If passed by both houses it will go to a popular vote in June. Otherwise the process of amending the Constitution will require several years. The Nonpartisan League controls the House, but one-half of the Senate consists of holdover members elected before the League came into existence. At least six of these must vote with the 19 Nonpartisan members to submit the new constitution. [See vol. xix, p. 661.]

#### New Singletax Amendment for California.

The measure decided upon by the California Equity Tax Association for submission through the Initiative is as follows:

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

Article XIII of the Constitution is hereby amended by adding the following as Section 5 thereof—

Section 5. On and after January 1st, 1919, all personal property, except the franchises of public service corporations, shall be exempt from taxation thereafter to be levied.

On and after January 1, 1920, all improvements on land shall be exempt from taxation thereafter to be levied, but the value of land and the value of such franchises shall not be so exempt.

Provided that sections 11 and 14 of Article XIII of the Constitution shall not be affected thereby in so far as they concern State revenues.

All provisions of Article XIII of the Constitution in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

This amendment is self-executing.

The sections 11 and 14 have to do with the State's source of income from corporation tax and inheritance tax, and it was decided to let those provisions stand for the present. The Equity Tax Association is a union of all the progressive elements which backed the Home Rule measures of 1912 and 1914 and the State-wide measure of 1916. In pushing the proposed amendment it will state its object to be the abolition of poverty by the

overthrow of land monopoly. [See current volume, page 87.]

#### Massachusetts Single Tax League Honored.

At the dinner to members of the Massachusetts Singletax League given by the Manhattan Singletax Club at New York on January 26, the speakers were: Robt. E. Blakelee, James R. Caret, William Lloyd Garrison, Alexander Mackendrick, ex-Governor L. F. C. Garvin, James R. Brown and Professor L. J. Johnson. Professor Johnson's remarks were in part as follows:

The Singletax is a proposal to solve once and for all the question of public revenue and at the same time discourage and even eliminate certain disastrous evils due to the abuse of land ownership and to needless restrictions on trade and industry. The Singletax is based upon the recognition of the paramount right of the public to the site-value of land, meaning thereby that portion of the value of land due to natural advantages and to the presence, activities and expenditures of the community.

Site-value not being an individual product, should not be permitted to be appropriated by individuals; on the other hand since it is a community product, site-value should be appropriated by the community and be enjoyed by the community on equal terms in the form of good government and public facilities and improvements. Site-value is a measure of the cash value of government and society, plus the value of all natural resources, mineral and others, and must in the nature of things suffice for the support of all governmental enterprises worthy of support.

All property other than site-value being a product of individual labor, should be sacred to private ownership. Its value should not be permitted to be appropriated by the public.

Justice accordingly dictates making the site-value of land the sole basis of revenue taxes, and doing so as rapidly as the public may see its way clear to do so; this of course will be gradual. The more gradually, however, the longer must legitimate business, thrift and industry endure the burdensome injustices of our present regime—simply for the sake of avoiding hardships, largely imaginary, for the microscopic number of non-producers who are subsidized by the present system and are the sole beneficiaries of it. They could and doubtless would be readily cared for by special provisions lasting through the period of change.

To be more specific: Singletaxers favor the abolition of all taxes on personal property, machinery, live stock, buildings, all improvements to land and all other forms of labor, on imports; on incomes and inheritances except as these are reached automatically by the tax on site-values. Thus we would untax food, clothing and shelter as well as trade, manufacturing, agriculture and all useful industry.

We would carry the collection for public revenue of the site-value of land at least to the point where adequate use of valuable land (whether for buildings or for open spaces) becomes more profitable than inadequate use or non-use; thus making it

## The Public

112

easier for workers to own homes and farms; thus opening opportunities for both labor and capital; clearing the way to industrial peace and well-distributed prosperity.

The demand for land for speculation thus being destroyed, the supply of available land would be found to outrun the only remaining—the only legitimate demand for land—the demand for proper use and enjoyment, for everything except speculation. The price of land (measured in combined taxes and purchase price) would drop to a normal figure—in all outlying land to a merely nominal figure; but no cash gain could come from owning it unless it be kept in use. Our present system of titles would remain intact. None would be discommoded even temporarily except the very few whose expectations to live upon the labor of others without furnishing anything in return would be disappointed. Even these would find themselves under fairer conditions for earning a living by useful service than others now enjoy—and this quite apart from special and temporary dispensations above suggested.

I believe no great reform has ever been proposed in which the breakage attendant upon its realization would be so slight or to which adjustment after its adoption would be so quick, easy, natural and permanent.

#### Court Enjoins Payment to Sectarian Schools.

Judge Baldwin of the Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois, at Chicago, on January 25, enjoined the county authorities from paying \$4,151.50 to the Chicago Training School for Girls, a Catholic institution, on the ground that it is sectarian. The State Constitution forbids payment to such institutions, but nevertheless under a legislative act the county has for 27 years placed therein wards of the Juvenile Court. If upheld by the Supreme Court, the ruling may compel sectarian institutions to return to the county all payments made since 1890.

#### Forcible Feeding at Blackwell's Island.

Mrs. Ethel Byrne, serving a 30 day sentence at Blackwell's Island, New York, for giving out of birth-control information, began a hunger strike at once upon her imprisonment on January 22. After five days, while in a very weakened condition, forcible feeding was resorted to. The statements of the prison officials are the only sources of information concerning the details of the case, since her friends are not allowed to see her. The officials report that forcible feeding has been successfully continued since. [See current volume, page 89.]

#### Court Holds Unauthorized Police Searches Criminal

For secretly entering the offices of Seymour & Seymour in New York City last March and making copies of private letters which were turned over to J. P. Morgan & Co., Detective

William J. Burns was convicted in the Court of Special Sessions at New York City on January 26 and fined \$100. The court held that an acquittal would belie the principle that a man's house is his castle. An appeal will be taken. In passing sentence Justice Freschi said: "No detective, no private detective, has any right to enter a place of business in order to get information for purposes of his own." The search was made to learn how information had been obtained regarding secret war contracts awarded to J. P. Morgan by the British and French governments. The information thus obtained was used to corner the supply of some material which these contracts would require.

#### Mexico and the United States.

Secretary of War Baker announced on the 28th that General Pershing had been ordered to bring the American troops out of Mexico. Preparatory moves to this end are understood to have been under way for several days. The forces, which number 12,000 men, were thrown into Mexico shortly after the Villa massacre at Columbus, New Mexico, March 9, 1916. The head of the column, which was at Colonia Dublin, 110 miles south of the border, has already been withdrawn, and it is expected that the whole expedition will be on American soil by the 4th of February. It is reported that Villa forces are occupying the outlying posts abandoned by the American troops, and that the small Carranza garrisons are being consolidated into a few larger posts. General Obregon announces from Mexico City that complete arrangements have been made for government troops to occupy the territory evacuated by the American forces. A large number of refugees, Americans, Mormons, and Chinese, are accompanying the expedition. [See current volume, page 88.]

#### Costa Rica.

President Alfredo Gonzales, who was chosen President of Costa Rica by Congress in May, 1914, was deposed on the 27th by the military forces of the capital, supported by the populace. Administrative power was conferred upon the Minister of War, Federico Tinoco, as provisional chief executive. No disorder occurred as the President left his home and took refuge in the American Legation. The Tinoco Government is preparing to call a convention for April 1, for the election of a President. The delegates will be chosen by the people. The cause of the revolution is said to have been a desire of the President for a re-election, contrary to the Constitution. Unpopularity of the new sys-

tem of taxation introduced also is said to have strengthened his enemies. This was a graduated tax running from  $\frac{1}{4}$  of one per cent. on 250 hectares (618 acres) to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on land above 5,000 hectares. [See current volume, page 64.]

#### European War.

Military movements are of minor importance. Fighting has taken place on the Somme front, where the British have made small gains, and at Verdun, where the Germans have taken some out-posts. The struggle on the Riga front between the German and Russian forces appears to be growing in intensity, but has as yet resulted in small changes in the lines. The fighting in Roumania has decreased to minor engagements. Nothing of moment is reported from Greece or Italy. The British on the Tigris have begun a campaign in the Kut-el-Amara region, and appear to be making small gains. Greater interest centers in the sea warfare, where German submarines have made serious inroads into the shipping of the Allies. It is reported that the German government is preparing with a great fleet of submarines to increase its attacks on shipping; which the British, according to similar reports, will meet by arming merchantmen. The loss of merchant shipping added to the amount used in transport service, is making the food question increasingly acute. [See current volume, page 88.]

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No peace moves have taken place through diplomatic channels, but there has been almost continuous discussion of President Wilson's address to the Senate on the 22d. The message though at first resented in some quarters among the belligerents has grown in favor. From Berlin, Paris, London, Petrograd, and Rome, friendly comments are heard from leaders and the press. The Russian Foreign Office has given to the press a statement endorsing the position taken by President Wilson, and reiterating its promise of a free Poland, including all three provinces, German and Austrian, as well as Russian. In conclusion the statement says:

As to the nature of the peace to be concluded, whether it be a peace without victory or not, one should remember that it never has been the aim of the Allies to crush their enemies, and that they have never insisted upon victory in that sense over Germany. It is Germany who has taken that point of view and who wishes to dictate peace as a victor.

#### British Labor Party.

The British Labor party which held its annual conference at Manchester, 23d to 25th, was attended by about 700 delegates, including Mr. Henderson, a member of the War Cabinet, and five other members of Parliament. The conference endorsed the action of its members in Parliament in supporting the war policy of the government by a card vote of 1,349,000 to 307,000. The conference rejected by a three to one vote a resolution favoring the immediate offer of peace proposals. A resolution was adopted unanimously declaring for the immediate conscription of accumulated wealth, the taking of 75 per cent of unearned incomes, the direct taxation of land values, and the nationalization of the banking system. The mention of President Wilson's name in relation to peace measures caused a great demonstration of approval.

## NOTES

—Bernard N. Baker of Baltimore, resigned from the new Federal Shipping Board on January 27. [See current volume, page 40.]

—Farm products of the United States for 1916 were worth \$13,449,000,000, according to an estimate of the Department of Agriculture.

—The Illinois State Senate on January 24 passed the resolution for a Constitutional Convention. It must still pass the House and then be submitted to the voters.

—The franchises of New York City's public service corporations were valued by the State Tax Commission, January 29, at \$494,231,250, an increase over last year of \$34,362,000.

—It is estimated that in 1915 about 40,000 forest fires occurred in the United States, which burned over about 5,900,000 acres and caused a damage of approximately \$7,000,000.

—The Indiana House, by a vote of 70 to 28, passed a State-wide prohibition bill on January 25, to go into effect on January 1, 1918. The Senate must still act upon it.

—The Bavarian government is preparing to introduce in the Chamber a bill for the construction of a canal from the Danube to the Rhine, capable of accommodating vessels of 1,200 tons. The work is to be begun after peace has been declared.

—France, in order to relieve shipping and prevent unnecessary export of gold, has forbidden the sale of candies, cakes and tarts on two days a week. Sugar cards are to be used in order to restrict the use of sugar.

—The new naval radio station at Chollas Heights, near San Diego, gave a demonstration of its power on the 26th by talking with Arlington, Va., station; Darien, Panama; Nome, Alaska; Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands; and Melbourne, Australia.

—An equal suffrage amendment has again been submitted in South Dakota to be voted on in 1918. The House passed the submission resolution

on January 25. The Senate adopted it ten days before.

—Because he had been flogged by the principal of a school at Kingston, New York, \$1,500 damages was awarded to a 12-year-old boy, Malcolm I. Roney, by Justice Ford of the Supreme Court in New York City on January 25.

—The Washington State Senate passed on January 19 the resolution submitting to the people the question of holding a Constitutional convention. It has already passed the House. The popular vote thereon will be at the general election of 1918.

—The Presidential election in Cuba, which has been under litigation because of frauds charged, has been decided by the supreme court in favor of Dr. Alfredo Zayas y Alonso, who as a Liberal, will succeed the Conservative President Menocal, May 20th.

—Total federal revenue on beer and whisky in 1916 was \$252,708,935 as against \$223,712,934 in 1915. Cigarettes yielded \$31,541,200 as against \$22,424,042 in 1915. The increase in liquor revenue is attributed by Government agents to more strict enforcement of revenue laws.

—Governor Frazier, of North Dakota, signed the limited woman suffrage bill on January 23. It goes into effect on July 1. The Constitutional Amendment for full suffrage must be passed again by the next legislature before submission to the people. [See current volume, page 86.]

—Revised estimates place the amount of standing merchantable timber in the United States at approximately 2,767 billion board feet. Of this amount 1,464 billion board feet, or 53 per cent. of the total, is in California, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana.

—The first steps toward reorganization of the Progressive party of New York were taken at a convention at Albany, on January 27. Homer D. Call of Onondaga county presided. It was decided to appoint a committee of one representative from each Judicial district to organize the voters. Resolutions passed declared against participating, as a party, in local contests. Roosevelt and Perkins were criticized by speakers but were not mentioned in the resolutions.

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States [see vol. xix, p. 1196] for the eleven months ending November, 1916, as given by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce for November, 1916:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance	
Merchandise	\$4,961,246,815	\$2,186,821,703	\$2,774,425,112	Expt.
Gold	127,319,208	527,369,553	399,550,345	Impt.
Silver	61,586,620	23,710,504	32,876,116	Expt.
Total	\$5,150,652,643	\$2,742,901,760	\$2,407,750,883	

The exports for November, 1916, the twenty-eighth month of the European War, were \$517,920,544, as compared with \$327,670,353 for November, 1915, and \$205,878,333 in 1914. The imports for November, 1916, were \$176,988,305, as compared with \$155,496,675 for November, 1915, and \$126,467,062 in 1914. The exports for November, 1916, were the largest ever recorded for a single month.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### AFFAIRS IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

In April, 1916, the Sydney City Council adopted the principle of rating upon the unimproved capital value of the land as its only method of local taxation. Since 1909 it had had a dual system, consisting of 1/9 in the pound upon the assessed annual values of properties, with a supposed minimum of five per cent of the unimproved value where land was vacant, and 1½d in the pound on the bare value of the land. As a result of the City Elections in December, 1915, when the electors declared for taxation of land values only, one rate of 4d in the pound upon the value of land was adopted in April, 1916.

After the elections Ald. R. D. Meagher, M. L. A., was appointed Lord Mayor of Sydney. He had long been a supporter of the principle of land value rating. He smoothed out the difficulties still in the way and when the Council actually imposed the new form of rating the opposition collapsed. Although the adoption of this reform was primarily due to popular agitation, the importance of the part played by the Lord Mayor cannot be overestimated. On the 7th of December, 1916, the Sydney City Council met to elect a Lord Mayor for 1917 and Ald. Meagher was re-elected for a second term. In briefly returning thanks he said: The economic changes he had inaugurated here had focused the eyes of students and statesmen upon the city, as had been shown by the receipt of at least 15 or 16 communications, which he had received from North and South America and other parts of the world, in which the writers were anxious to know the operation of the Council's new form of taxation.

The re-election of the Lord Mayor has given general satisfaction for it is recognized on all sides that he has done well in a very difficult year.

It may interest your readers to learn some of the effects of altering the system of local taxation. The best way I can show it is by actual examples. In the first paragraph I mentioned that under the former system of rating on the assessed annual value there was a supposed minimum of five per cent where land was vacant. There were, however, a number of properties where the land was used which were assessed at less than five per cent of the bare value of the land. The following particulars show three classes of properties with the old and new rates. The first table shows the class rated at less than it would have been as vacant land. Second table shows highly improved properties.

Property	Rates 1915	Rates 1916	Increase
Warehouse and offices.....	£1,170	£2,013	£884
Shops, Market St.....	431	834	403
Hotel and shops.....	303	508	206
House and cow run.....	140	312	172
House, Hunter St.....	103	229	126

These increases are fairly substantial and serve to remind the owners that their duty to society is to make efficient use of the portion of the earth's surface to which they possess a title. On vacant land owners pay an increase in rates of 56 per cent. Here is an example: land in Elizabeth street valued at £30,000 the rates in 1915 were £319 and in 1916 £500. The following cases show how highly improved properties were affected:

Property	Rates 1915	Rates 1916	Reduction
Strand Arcade .....	£2,983	£1,527	£556
Culwulla Chambers .....	939	455	484
Bull's Chambers .....	659	405	254
Beanbah Chambers .....	368	141	227
Baking House .....	629	417	212

These reductions are very satisfactory and a very distinct encouragement to owners to make better use of their land. It may be asked what has been the effect on the building trade in 1916. For several reasons the effect is not very marked yet. The war over-shadows everything and has very seriously affected the building trade. Give the new system a little time and a return to normal conditions and the result will be all that we can expect.

I would like to make it quite clear that the "City of Sydney" is merely the inner portion of the capital of N. S. W. It is surrounded by 40 suburbs which have imposed their local taxes on land values only since 1908. The progress of the building trade in the suburbs since 1908 has been phenomenal. The values of land are assessed by the local governing bodies and generally are very low—probably not more, on an average, than half the real value. While that is a defect it is not so serious as might be supposed. It is met by a higher rate of tax. Under the Land Valuation Act of 1916, however, the question of valuation is placed in the hands of a State Department and in the course of a few years the valuations should be much better.

Here is a summary of the position, comparing 1908 with 1914. It should be borne in mind, however, that in 1908 the power to impose a rate on unimproved values was given to the City Council which added £100,000 to its revenue in 1909. As a set-off it incurred additional expenditure.

	Area sq. miles	1908. Popu- lation	Land Values	Rates
City of Sydney..	4½	118,380	£20,207,812	£196,854
Suburbs .....	144	478,720	28,799,856	331,072
Country municipi- palities .....	2,848	444,800	20,104,983	287,988
Shires .....	182,111	547,800	82,414,771	370,373

	Area sq. miles	1914. Popu- lation	Land Values	Rates
City of Sydney..	5	110,700	27,395,826	458,279
Suburbs .....	143½	623,510	31,979,353	579,845
Country municipi- palities .....	2,764	457,150	22,573,671	450,140
Shires .....	180,655	619,040	103,451,177	623,600

The changes in areas are due to local adjustments and the deduction of the Federal capital area from one of the Shires. In the first table, except the City of Sydney, almost the whole of the rates—local taxation—were on land values only. In the second table the City revenues included about £158,000 from land values. Apart from the City all the rest is almost entirely from land values, the exceptions only being a few of the country municipalities which rate to some extent on improvements. The proportion so raised is trifling, probably not more than one per cent.

It is difficult to make comparisons between our local governing bodies and those in other countries. *The great essential fact to bear in mind is that in 1916 almost the whole of the local taxation in N. S. W. was drawn from the value of land exclusive of all improvements.* The water supplies for Sydney and Newcastle are outside the local government system, but are included in other centers. The Sydney and Newcastle Water Boards rate on the old system of the annual value. A Bill was recently

passed through the Lower House giving the Boards the option of rating on unimproved values but it had not been finally dealt with in the Upper House where it is meeting with some opposition when the session ended. When that Bill passes it will enable the Boards to alter the incidence of about £700,000 in taxation for the water and sewerage of the Sydney and Newcastle districts to unimproved land values. In N. S. W. the Harbour Trust is apart from the Local Governing bodies. The Tramway system is a State Department and in Sydney the gas supply is in the hands of private companies. I hope that these particulars will be of some use to those who desire to compare Sydney and the rest of the State of N. S. W. with their own city, and State or country with respect to local taxation.

A. G. HUIE.

Sydney, N. S. W.

## BOOKS

### THE NEW OLD FRAUD.

*The New Protectionism.* By John A. Hobson. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Price \$1.00.

"The New Protectionism," the name given by Mr. Hobson to "the recommendations of the Economic Conference of the Allies held at Paris in June, 1916," is the title of a book which should command the attention of all whose minds are still open to the appeal of common sense on the Tariff question. The book is written by an Englishman who enjoys a reputation as an authority in economics, and it may be well to remind American readers, of whom we trust there may be many, that the words "Tariff reform," in free-trade England bear an exactly opposite meaning to that which they convey in the protected United States.

Whether uttered or unexpressed, it is probable that every well-conditioned mind recognizes the unspeakable meanness involved in the proposal seriously discussed by the representatives of the Allies, to continue after the war is over, an attitude of enmity to those suffering subjects of the Central Powers whose friendship it should be the aim of all true apostles of liberty to capture. It may be seriously questioned, indeed, if the Allies will really have vanquished German Militarism if they have not at the same time overcome that hatred and misunderstanding on the part of the German people which has been introduced like a virus into their blood by their Prussian rulers. To deliberately assume that because they, the rulers of the belligerent countries, have fallen out and precipitated a war for which there was no desire on either side, the conditions which caused the quarrel are to be perpetuated, and a legacy of inflammable relationships handed on to succeeding generations, is a species of madness which it is difficult to account for even by the super-heated psychological conditions which war generates.

"The New Protectionism" is not based upon reason or argument. Indeed, to do its sponsors justice, they make no attempt to establish it on logical foundations. As Mr. Hobson reminds his readers, the protectionist campaign inaugurated by Mr. Cham-

berlain in 1903 nearly succeeded, and probably would have succeeded had it been able to confine its appeal to that spirit which is vulgarly called jingoism, but more politely described as "Imperialism;" but that sentiment not being sufficiently strong at the time, the tariff missionary found it necessary to have recourse to argument, and there he completely failed. The European war, arousing as it has done, a huge mass of national passions and misunderstandings, has furnished the protectionist with just the opportunity he so narrowly missed in 1903, and these passions are now being exploited for all they are worth. It is assumed that common sense and past experience are not required as witnesses, and that the forces of race-prejudice are sufficiently strong to carry the movement along to success without the necessity of appeal to the high court of reason. To exploit the basest passions that can move mankind in an effort to produce after-war conditions that may bring profit to groups of individuals in the Allied countries, and to do it quickly while those passions are hot, is the obvious purpose of those "recommendations."

But while all generous souls will perceive at once the childishness and ignoble vindictiveness which underlie the proposal, the futility, and indeed the ultimate impossibility of achieving the purposes aimed at, may not be so obvious, and we are indebted to Mr. Hobson for having set before us the considerations which invalidate all the recommendations of the conference. In the first place it is shown that boycott of the kind proposed, even if it could be perfectly successful, has always a recoil equal to the force of the discharge. "If under freedom," Mr. Hobson asks, "we buy goods from Germany because it benefits us, what *prima facie* evidence is there that it will damage Germany more than us, to stop the trade?" There is of course no answer. But absolute stoppage is impossible. German goods would reach British shores through Holland, Sweden or Switzerland plus cost of handling and transmission, and the only effect would be that the British consumer would lose in the middlemen's profits; or German goods would displace native goods in neutral countries, liberating these for sale to Britain; or raw and semi-manufactured goods would be finished in neutral countries and then find their way into the territory of the Allies. So long as men follow their natural instincts as traders, and buy where they best can and sell where most profit lies, exchange of goods and services will take place. "Drive out nature with a fork, and she comes running back."

That otherwise sane men should conceive it possible to damage an enemy in trade, without at the same time injuring themselves, requires some explanation, and this is to be found in the persistence of two superstitions that have held the minds of nationalities for generations and which like all superstitious beliefs, die hard. These are, as Mr. Hobson points out and elucidates, (1) the regarding of nations as trading units, and ignoring the fact that it is individuals within those nations who do the trading; and (2) the separation between the interests of the seller and the buyer, with the assumption that those of the former should take precedence. The feeling from which these superstitions arise, and to which the protectionist appeals, is not far

to seek. Every worker or business man is a producer of one thing, but a consumer of many. He exchanges his surplus of one commodity against an infinite number of small surpluses of other commodities. As a producer he is one, as a consumer he is many, and so becomes more sensitively conscious of an increased competition of sellers (especially those of foreign countries), against his own single product, than of a decreased competition among those from whom he draws the many products that sustain his life.

Exceedingly interesting is Mr. Hobson's treatment of the subtle protectionist argument that tariffs are necessary as a measure of defence against dependence on foreign supplies in time of war. Sir Leo Chiozza Money's suggestion that British agriculture should be fostered by a system of bounties is disposed of by Sir Leo's own admission that "the bulk of the bounty money paid by the State . . . would pass into the hands of landlords in increased rents," unless the State were to "acquire by purchase the whole of our agricultural lands."

Considerations of space forbid further attempts at analysis of this timely book; but it cannot be too forcibly urged that the lesson it teaches is not for the warring nations alone, but may profitably be taken to heart by our own peace-loving and liberty-loving America.

ALEX MACKENDRICK

\* \* \*

"My man," said the magistrate, in his most persuasive tones, "are you willing to fight for your King and country?"

"No, I beant, sir," was the prompt reply, "an' I be surprised at you askin' me for to do it. Two years ago come next month you yourself fined I twenty shillings for fighting wi' Bill Smith, and you said it wor wicked to fight, an' I promised you as I wouldn't repeat the offense, an' aillus kept my word."—*Buffalo News*.

\* \* \*

A recruiting sergeant stationed in the south of Ireland met Pat and asked him to join the army. The latter refused, whereupon the sergeant asked his reason for refusing.

"Aren't the King and the Kaiser cousins?" asked Pat.

"Yes," said the recruiting sergeant.

"Well," said Pat, "begorra, I once interfered in a family squabble, and I'm not going to do so again."—*Chicago News*.

\* \* \*

Mr. Goodleigh—Her age really surprised me; she doesn't look twenty-eight, does she?

Miss Snappe—Not now, but I suppose she did once.—*Candle*.

\* \* \*

"Blessed are the meek," quoted the deacon, in reproving the backslider, "for they shall inherit the earth."

"They may inherit all right, deacon," said the irreverent one, "but somehow or other they never seem to get possession."—*British Weekly*.

\* \* \*

Tenor (singing)—"Oh, 'appy, 'appy be thy dreams." Professor—"Stop, stop! Why don't you sound the H?" Tenor—"It don't go no higher than G!"—*Boston Transcript*.



## CONTENTS.

Editorial .....	99
The President's Message. J. W. Slaughter...	105
The Democracy of Anatole France. Frank W. Garrison .....	106
See the Financial Writer. Ellis O. Jones.....	108
News of the Week.....	109
Correspondence .....	114
Books .....	115

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## Straight Edge Industrial Settlement

[Continued from page 98]

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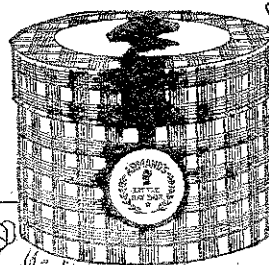


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Meanwhile it has been thought well to announce that anyone who was unable to complete his or her scenario by December 31, can still send it in, provided it reaches us not later than February 28.

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