

# The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

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## The New Imperialism

Frederic C. Howe

## War and Its Social Effects

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# STRAIGHT EDGE INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENT

By AVERY QUERCUS

**M**OST BUSINESS is organized on the theory that the Dollar should vote and direct, while the Worker should perform his little manual and cerebral stunts quietly and unobtrusively, not presuming to meddle with the management.

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This theory has naturally bred a race of dollar aristocrats and industrial serfs, commonly designated respectively as "Capital" and "Labor."

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Fundamental democracy must place the Man ahead of the Dollar, and recognize the worker as the Master of his destiny, not the slave of his tools.

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**I**NVESTORS, on the other hand, are an important factor in the development of business under prevailing conditions, and they are bound to be more and more important factors as industry becomes democratized.

\*\*\*

Can a system be devised, launched and efficiently conducted, in which the investors and workers maintain human relations with one another? That is one of the problems tackled in sober earnest by the Straight Edge Industrial Settlement in its project of forming a "working model of an ideal industrial commonwealth."

\*\*\*

**T**HE INVESTOR'S SHARE has been so defined and so differentiated from the Worker's Share that it has been possible to enlist sufficient capital to develop and carry on a successful business, without depriving the workers of their initiative and responsibility, and the authority that adheres therein.

\*\*\*

Applied to the food industry—the principal industry so far developed to commercial proportions—the "Investor's Share" consists of a definite slice of every "Straight Edge" loaf, muffin or package. To be more specific, it is 10% of the manufacturing price.

\*\*\*

This investor's slice is not a stock dividend. It is not even a share in the profits. It is rather a royalty or cooperative commission. It is administered by Trustees elected by the investors, who hold "loan certificates" and participate in the Investor's Share, or Surplus Fund, under certain well-defined rules.

**V**IEWED FROM ANOTHER ANGLE, the Surplus Fund is the Settlement's means of financing progressively one cooperative industry after another. The Trustees' official valuation of the Settlement's interest in the Straight Edge food industry on June 15, 1916, was \$60,000. Of this amount, about \$14,000 represented cash investments of sums ranging from \$5 to \$1,000 made by several hundred persons. That draws its *pro rata* fourteen-sixtieths of the Surplus Fund. The remaining forty-six-sixtieths goes to the Settlement for the further development of cooperative industries.

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**F**ROM YEAR TO YEAR the Trustees appraise the Settlement's interest in the food industry as the basis for the distribution of the Surplus Fund. The Settlement can thus sell more loan certificates as the Surplus Fund grows, or it can refuse to sell certificates, and have a larger and larger amount of new free capital to use, without having to pay it back.

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The point I wish to emphasize, however, is that a plan has been devised and put into practical operation whereby reasonable investors can be satisfied, and given an opportunity to help boost their own dividends, without saddling the responsible workers with dollar-dictation.

\*\*\*

**W**ORKERS ARE THUS FREE to conduct business on their own responsibility, without being in constant terror of what their "capital" will think or will do to them. They can organize in whatever form they choose. Each company or group simply pays the royalty for the use of the Straight Edge name and organization, which are proving to be well worth the price.

\*\*\*

The plan does not preclude workers from organizing a stock company and making profits for stockholders out of economies of production or distribution. Two such stock companies are already in operation, both paying good dividends.

\*\*\*

Full particulars about the method of administering the Investor's Share will be furnished to any PUBLIC reader on request, addressed to the writer at 100 Lawrence Street, New York.

**S**TRAIGHT EDGE "Foods that Feed" are made by cooperative labor and sold on their merits through cooperative distributing depots throughout the Metropolitan District, and by parcel post throughout the United States. Your weekly stream of food expense will not be increased, and may be reduced, by turning as much as possible of it into Straight Edge channels. Write for full information, or send a dollar for an "Easy Housekeeping Box." Address STRAIGHT EDGE DISTRIBUTING CORPORATION, 100 Lawrence Street, New York City.

# The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

## Editorial

Persons who have felt a growing necessity of falling back upon the Malthusian law to prevent the over-population of the earth may feel somewhat reassured by the dispatches from the Polish front telling of packs of wolves that attack the wounded soldiers, even during the fighting. Territory that harbors wolves has plenty of room for men. And governments that engage in killing men while wolves abound is itself condemned. The price of a battleship would drain a vast swamp, and the labor of an army corps would clear enough ground for its support. It is a sad commentary on government that it should encourage the wolfish spirit in men's hearts at the same time that wolves roam its fields.

\* \* \*

The Republican leader in Congress, James R. Mann, deserves commendation for his opposition to the war fever. In that respect he displays better democracy than some who wear the Democratic label. And he displays a type of courage too high for the comprehension of his valiant militarist Republican colleague, Gardner of Massachusetts, who indulges in the safe pastime of hurling insulting epithets at persons whom he believes will not fight. If it be true that this is a time to forget political parties, then they should be forgotten in a united effort against the country's worst enemies, the interests that are trying to get us into war. In fighting these enemies Congressman Mann is performing valuable service to the nation.

\* \* \*

Strange, is it not, that those who urge universal conscription, on account of its "democracy," should oppose so bitterly the proposition to subject a declaration of war to a referendum? Congressman A. H. Gardner, of Massachusetts, is a conspicuous example of

this style of "democrat." His address in Congress on February 15 indicates that his idea of democracy must be the relation that exists among convicts in a penitentiary. And the same seems true of other conscriptionists who will not tolerate the suggestion of a referendum or a declaration of war.

\* \* \*

The noisy jingoes who profess themselves confident that popular sentiment favors war show weakness of faith in opposing a referendum. And well they may. The informal referendum conducted by the American Union Against Militarism has flooded Congress with protests against a declaration of war without a referendum. Congressman Warren Worth Bailey has taken a postal card referendum of his district, and replies show sentiment there to be eight to one against war. Unless the jingoes would plunge the country into war regardless of the popular will, they will cease their framing of meager excuses for opposing a referendum.

\* \* \*

In July of 1914 the Socialists of Germany and the labor organizations were opposing war and urging opposition to a war policy, if entered upon. But they failed when the crucial test came. Therefore some skeptics question the significance of the action of Samuel Gompers and other American labor leaders in asking co-operation of German fellow-unionists in opposition to war. They further compare the present strong anti-war attitude of American Socialists with the similar position once taken by their European comrades, and predict the same resulting fiasco. But such a result does not necessarily follow. The very fact that European Socialists have proved so bitter a disappointment should make American Socialists welcome the

chance to redeem their movement. It should stimulate them to stand firm in their opposition, should they be put to the test. And the same applies to organized labor. Let us hope that there will be no occasion for the test. But, if there should be, it may turn out to be a case where history will not repeat itself.

\* \* \*

Of unusual merit is the appointment to the Federal Trade Commission of W. B. Colver of St. Paul. The Commission has suffered for want of one member possessed of the economic knowledge essential to carrying out the object for which it was created. Mr. Colver has that and has besides what is equally important—the ability and the will to apply such knowledge. There will be no mystery about such problems as the high cost of living and the trust question, should he be allowed to direct the investigation. And the solutions recommended will be ones that will solve. The right man has been put in the right place.

\* \* \*

In these days of frenzied preparedness the wary citizen will examine carefully all demands for money; and it behooves him to look a long way back of the initial demand. The adage "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts" was never more timely. It is announced that Representative Randall of California is drafting a bill authorizing the President or the Secretary of War to convert liquor distilleries into munition plants. Such a law would enlist another powerful pecuniary interest in having this country go to war. Distilleries have been a drug on the market since dry territory became so extensive, and it would be a master stroke of the liquor men to unload their useless plants on the Government at the usual war profit. Raiding the treasury is likely to be a popular American pastime until the country returns to a condition of sanity, and if a Prohibitionist can be deceived in this way, how will others fare?

\* \* \*

In striking contrast with the demand of some over patriotic people that German teachers in the public schools be discharged because of the present strained relations between the two countries, is the request of the Committee on Instruction of Columbia College that the president and trustees of the college retain the professors and instructors of German or Austrian birth. If teachers in schools and colleges are efficient, they should

be permitted to continue their work undisturbed. The spirit shown by President Wilson in declaring that no unfair advantage would be taken, either of persons or property, should prevail. It was this action of the President that evoked the fine compliment of the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*. Commenting on the efforts of the German government to revive the treaties of 1799 and 1828, this erstwhile critic said: "With a stroke of the pen, with a single proclamation, he has assured the foreigners living here of that full protection that never could have been by ancient treaties."

\* \* \*

The spectacle of the President of the United States begging Congress to ratify the Colombian treaty negotiated nearly three years ago will cause some strange emotions among people who like to think of our Government as based upon the code of gentlemen. One is that the acts of swashbucklers, however much they may be applauded by kindred spirits at the time, are certain to return to plague the nation that permits them. Another thought is that it would have looked better had we offered our apology and made the agreed restitution for Roosevelt's act in "taking Panama" when we were not ourselves in need of favors from the injured state. If the treaty now receives the vote of such Roosevelt partisans as Senator Lodge it will be because they waive their right as partisans, and accept the treaty through fear of what the Germans in the event of war might do to the Canal from the friendly base of Colombia. Verily, there is a difference between Big Stick diplomacy and international democracy.

\* \* \*

That the end justifies the means is, in substance, the argument of a valued correspondent in favor of extension of postal censorship to liquor advertisements, and also in favor of the oleomargarine tax. The end in one case is abolition of drunkenness, and in the other prevention of fraud. Both are good, but neither justifies resort to a vicious principle for its accomplishment. A good end can always be achieved by proper means.

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In San Francisco, according to the American Federation of Labor's weekly news letter, the Chamber of Commerce has attributed to high wages a falling off of the city's manu-

facturing industries. Now comes the chamber's own expert, Dr. B. M. Rastall, who declares, after an investigation, in an address to the Labor Council, that it is the high cost of land in the business section, and not high wages, which is responsible. A similar investigation would have the same results in many other places. The business men of San Francisco who fought Singletax proposals have been doing all they could to commit industrial suicide.

\* \* \*

An opportunity for the State of Wisconsin to vastly improve its tax system is given in the pending resolution by Mr. Nordman in the legislature granting home rule in taxation to cities and towns. The resolution is a moderate one giving to Wisconsin localities the same freedom which cities of Western Canada enjoy. It does not impose any particular tax system on any of them. Those places which are satisfied with the prevailing system may retain it. Those which would exempt in whole or part some classes of property may do so. Those places which make wise use of this power will give the whole state the benefit of their experience, while any that may make mistakes will show what other places should avoid. In the interest of the whole state the resolution should pass and the amendment be adopted.

\* \* \*

Farmers and ranchers of Texas and elsewhere along the border are anticipating labor troubles in consequence of the new immigration law. Heretofore there have been large numbers of Mexicans crossing the border into this country, some to remain as permanent citizens, and some to aid in cotton picking. As nine-tenths of these persons are said to be illiterate, the supply of cheap labor will to that extent be shut off. Not only that, but the Mexicans in Texas will move northward in response to the higher wages, which will leave the ranchmen no option but to meet the higher wages or curtail their activities. We may now look for another army along the United States border to keep out, not raiding bandits but job-hunting laborers; and as the ranchers will be as eager to have the men as they have been to be spared the bandits, it will require a much larger force than that sent against Villa.

\* \* \*

Clearly some of the foreigners coming to our shores are slow to catch the modern idea

of efficiency. After the recent food riots in Brooklyn, in which women mobbed the push cart venders for putting prices out of their reach, the victims met to talk over matters. They insisted that their prices had not advanced as much as what they had to pay for the food they sold, and that they were themselves making scarcely any profit. But the conclusion arrived at displays their archaic state of mind. It was nothing less than that they call a public meeting at which buyers and sellers could talk over the matter together. Such a spirit will never make for preparedness. If these foreign born citizens wish to be "up" in military efficiency they should stand upon their rights to fix their own prices, and insist that the government protect them in that right, even to the extent of shooting down mobs of women who presume to complain because they are unable to buy sufficient food for their children. Away with these mollicoddles!

#### North Dakota's Experience.

When North Dakota voters elected last fall the ticket of the Farmers' Nonpartisan League, they made clear their approval of the League's legislative program. To put this program in effect required a number of constitutional changes, and consequently, as the quickest method, an entirely new constitution was drawn to be submitted to the voters at a special election in June. The submission resolution passed the House, but was blocked in the Senate where hold-over members control.

The Senate offered instead to adopt a resolution for a constitutional convention, which would have involved a needless delay of three years. So the project has come to naught as far as the legislature is concerned. But fortunately the State adopted two years ago the Initiative and Referendum, and an opportunity is thus afforded to submit the Constitution in spite of the State Senate, although it will be delayed more than a year. The requirements for use of the Initiative are difficult. Twenty-five per cent. of the voters in a majority of counties must sign the petition. But the League is well enough organized to make possible what would ordinarily be a prohibitive condition.

A description of the proposed new Constitution by a hostile correspondent for *The Oregon Voter* appears in the issue of February 10. He says:

The new constitution confers the broadest powers. It permits land to be classified for taxation purposes,

so that in enforcing the proposed compulsory hail tax on lands in sections subject to hail, said tax may be heavier than in sections not so likely to be visited.

It permits farm improvements to be exempt from taxation.

It gives the broadest regulative and supervisory powers over insurance, public utilities, etc.

It provides that, "The right of the state or any political subdivision thereof to engage in any occupation or business shall not be denied or prohibited."

From which it seems that the new Constitution empowers the people at any time to manage their affairs as they see fit regardless even of what the framers of the Constitution may think about it. That is the kind of Constitution which every State should have. The North Dakota farmers deserve encouragement in the brave effort they are making for better conditions. And the value of the Initiative has received another demonstration.

S. D.

### Encouraging Industry.

The question is asked by a municipal manager who has been successful in his young profession, "What can a municipality of 350,000 do properly and profitably to encourage present industries, attract new ones, stimulate trade, and increase the steady employment?" It may safely be presumed that such a question occurs now and again to all persons having to do with public affairs. It is a question that must arise in connection with almost every social, political, or economic move; and not to answer it means to invite stagnation and decay.

Government has two means of influencing human activities. It may make a course inviting by smoothing the way, and giving special rewards. Or it may make it difficult by presenting obstructions, and laying penalties. Enterprising cities have sought to attain the ends named in the manager's question by offering bounties or bonuses to new enterprises to locate within their boundaries. Some have offered as an inducement exemption from taxation for a term of years. But bonuses must from their very nature be limited in extent, and be distributed only among the more important and striking cases. Besides, though they may induce the creation of new enterprises they do little toward keeping them alive.

The relation of the municipality to the enterprises within its borders, however, has one constant means of contact, that of taxation. This is the most constant and per-

sistent of all economic forces. By shifting taxes from point to point, by remitting them upon some things and doubling them upon others, industries wax and wane, and social institutions thrive or fall away. Since in any event revenue must be provided for the support of the government it would seem to be the part of wisdom to use this powerful agent as a means of stimulating industry. Experience has shown beyond peradventure that a tax on goods is added to the price, which, by limiting the demand hinders and depresses the industry that makes or handles the goods. The converse also is true, that the removal of a tax from goods cheapens the price, increases the demand, and stimulates and uplifts the industry that makes or handles the goods.

And since there is a legitimate means of obtaining revenue for the support of government without taxing industry, it would appear to be the part of wisdom for the people of the municipality of 350,000, or of any size larger or smaller, to remove all taxes from industry, and derive the revenue from sources that will not depress trade or decrease employment of labor. To meet such a demand economists suggest the employment of a tax on land values, since such a tax cannot be added to price, and cannot therefore make land dearer or lessen the quantity. On the contrary, the economists are agreed that a tax on land values, by falling on vacant as well as improved land, forces lands held for speculation into the market, and so increases the supply and lowers the price.

It may be submitted, therefore, that since the removal of taxes from the products of labor, and their concentration on land values, would cheapen both goods and land, thereby increasing the use of both, such a measure would serve to "encourage present industries, attract new ones, stimulate trade, and increase and steady employment of labor."

S. C.

### Rent and Taxes.

The New York *Evening World* of February 10 contains the following news item:

Representatives of all realty interests will meet during the next few days to determine whether State and city shall be forced to relieve real estate by raising part of the needed income from other sources or whether realty owners shall preserve their economic integrity through a concerted movement to raise rents on all classes of property.

The position of these realty owners is not

wholly unreasonable. They are entitled to relief from taxation upon their improvements. There is neither reason nor justice in a tax system which exacts a greater contribution to the public treasury from the land owner who erects a building upon his property than from the one who allows equally valuable land to remain unused. The exemption of improvements from taxation and placing upon bare land values the burden of all public expenses would give realty owners the relief which they should have.

The Lower Rents Society of New York City has been trying for some years to secure from the legislature power for the city to untax improvements. So far its efforts have proved unsuccessful, chiefly because many owners of improvements have foolishly made common cause with owners of unimproved lands in opposition. Their present plight would have been avoided had they not allowed themselves to be thus misled. It is not fair, however, that rent payers should be penalized for the mistaken policy of their landlords. The threatened increase of rents is but another example of the evil results of the existing tax system, and should arouse tenants to the need of a more energetic fight on land monopoly.

S. D.

### Cuba's Insurrection.

When *The Public* called attention last November to Cuba's predicament on account of the Platt Amendment, which gives to this country the right to intervene in the island's affairs whenever we choose, it was not thought the act was so imminent. Already the Secretary of State at Washington has warned the Cuban people that no government set up by insurrection will be recognized by this country. Possibly the Cubans should be thankful that the interference for the present is negative. With a President of the Big Stick kind at Washington we should speedily look for an invasion of the American army. With the present Administration we shall probably have nothing more than passive resistance.

But what kind of freedom is it that Cuba enjoys that depends not upon the kind of President her people elect, but upon the kind of President that our people elect? Revolution is said to be the inherent right of any people; but an exception must be made of Cubans. Nominally independent, they are yet dependent; and no uprising of their peo-

ple, no matter what the cause or provocation, can be successful unless it has the approval of the American Government.

Clearly this is wrong. It is a false position for both countries. It robs Cubans of their independence; and it tempts this country to meddle with matters that it does not understand. But while it prevents the people of Cuba from successfully revolting against anything that the government of this country approves, it leaves wide the door for adventurers of that country to blackmail their government by threatening a disturbance that will bring upon them the American troops. No government should have such power over an alien people, least of all one that is based upon the principle that governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed. The Platt Amendment should be repealed.

S. C.

### The Threatened Slavery.

The courtmartial of five unfortunate militiamen at New York, and of the officers who ill-treated them, throws more light on the degradation and slavery which compulsory military service implies. The men had resented unjust treatment on the part of their superior officers. But assertion of self-respect on the part of a private is an offense against discipline. So they were subjected to a cruel punishment. Fortunately some civilians witnessed the punishment, the matter became public, and a trial by court martial was ordered.

But the court martial has only made clearer than ever the helplessness of the enlisted man against overbearing tyranny on the part of his officers. It disregarded the strong provocation that the men had and ordered, in addition to the severe punishment they had already suffered, a six months' term in prison and a dishonorable discharge. That means disfranchisement. As to the officers, whose tyranny drove the men to rebellion, the court martial upheld them by a verdict of acquittal.

Only through benevolent exercise of despotic power by General Wood were the convicted privates saved from further punishment. He saw fit to disapprove the finding of the court martial. This sets aside the sentence against the men, but cannot affect the acquittal of the officers. It may be unfair to General Wood to ask whether he would have interfered had there been no publicity, as there seldom is concerning cases of discipline

in the army. But there is no questioning of the fact that enlisted men are as helpless as slaves, will be punished for resenting injustice, and can be helped only by the exercise of power that may as readily be turned against them.

At present men who enlist voluntarily are the only ones liable to such treatment. But conscriptionists are at work in Congress trying to make it compulsory for citizens to subject themselves to such conditions. Slavery, under the name of "universal military training," is as objectionable and outrageous as under its conventional title.

S. D.

### America's Greatest Danger.

Great harm to this country is impending. Issues the most far-reaching in the nation's history are crystalizing; and the people will soon be called upon to make a decision which, if wrong, may long stand as a mark of retrogression. That danger is militarism. And the evil lies not in the size of our military establishment, nor in the uses to which it may be put, but in the fact that it is based upon compulsion. It is apparent that a very large part of the people of this country have been brought to a state of mind in which they are willing that a nation dedicated to freedom should have compulsory military service.

And this danger is the greater because due to an honest belief. Were militarism confined to munition makers and soldiers it would be comparatively harmless; but when the idea is held by our best people, the danger is incalculable. Men and women who persist in thinking of the world as it has been in the tooth and claw age, instead of as it is and is to be, feel impelled to continue military methods. They hope to outgrow such an age; but for the present, they insist, we must meet other nations as they meet us.

These victims of their own fears are following bold leaders who no longer hesitate to push their program, which includes not only a great military establishment, but the military spirit as well. An adequate army and navy, however large, must be constructed, they insist, on the European model. Thus, military conscription, the one distinguishing mark that has separated the old world from the new, is to be set up here. And with it is to come the censorship of speech and press, and the accompaniments of despotism.

All friends of free institutions, Americans

who have felt that this country stands for something more than the tyrannies of Europe, must put forth their full force in this crisis. The militarists are acting upon Mr. Taft's advice to take advantage of the war scare to enact the universal service law. They appear to have won over Secretary of War Baker; and they are claiming the support of the President.

This last claim must not, cannot, be. It is incredible that a man who has risen to the height attained by President Wilson, who has caught a vision of the new order, and has phrased it in such inspiring words, should accept any degree of compulsory service as a part of his program. To adopt the conscriptionist program would forfeit the elements of strength that have made him irresistible in his work for idealism. But such rumors make it all the more important that the President have behind him every man and woman who is opposed to compulsory military service. The corrupting thought must not be permitted to find permanent lodgment in the minds of Americans, much less a place on our statutes.

S. C.

### A Left-Handed Indorsement.

Militarist and tory Congressman Gardner has little cause to feel proud of the action of his fellow members in ordering expunged from *The Record* a statement concerning him by Congressman Warren Worth Bailey. Mr. Bailey had replied to a speech of Mr. Gardner opposing a referendum, with arguments consisting largely of vituperative remarks and innuendo concerning William J. Bryan and other pacifists. Mr. Bailey said in his reply that Mr. Gardner "would sacrifice the peace of 100,000,000 Americans in his anxious desire to promote British success in the present bloody enterprise." But the making of personal remarks is apparently a privilege that Mr. Gardner would confine to himself, since he succeeded in having Mr. Bailey's records expunged by the close vote of 163 to 125.

The vote cannot well be construed as one of confidence in Mr. Gardner. The members who opposed expunging must have considered Mr. Bailey's statement a proper one. Those who favored it must have been aware, nevertheless, that Mr. Bailey spoke the truth when he said that Mr. Gardner would "sacrifice the peace of 100,000,000 Americans."

It is possible that he erred in stating the motive. For while it is true that Mr. Gardner is an outspoken partisan of the Allies, it does not necessarily follow that that is his reason for desiring to plunge the country into war.

War is desired, and the war spirit is being fostered by interests which have motives other than unselfish partiality toward a European belligerent. Many of these motives would look much worse than the one mentioned by Mr. Bailey. The vote indicates that some members feel that Mr. Bailey should have offered a different explanation. Mr. Gardner is easily satisfied, if the result gives him any pleasure.

S. D.

### New Tyrannies for Old.

A great many well-meaning people endorse compulsory military service without realizing what a serious step it would be for this country.

We must remember that enforced service in the army is, in reality, slavery, only it is slavery to a master-state, instead of to a master-individual. It is just as much a negation of a man's freedom to force him to fight or to serve in the army against his will, as it is to force him to serve in a cotton field against his will. In each case the man loses his freedom; in each case the master has life and death power over the man; in each case the man is deprived of the protection of a jury trial and other constitutional guarantees of liberty. He ceases to be, in the ordinary sense, a sovereign citizen, and becomes the bond-servant of somebody else. The difference, as has been said, is between the two masters, and not between the two negations of liberty.

Europe has, to a large extent, abolished the divine right of kings. A new tyranny has arisen. It is the divine right of the government. This is what has killed the spirit of democracy in Germany. Since Bismarck's time, Prussia, through a false appeal to patriotism, has inculcated one cardinal doctrine in the German mind. That doctrine is The State Can Do No Wrong.

And now, in this country we find the beginnings of the same error. We are told by the press, the pulpit, the rostrum, and by the army class, the privileged class and the politician class, that in the hour of crisis, democracy must be dumb; the people must not criticize, must not think, must only serve

and yield obedience to the state—for *the state can do no wrong*.

Compulsory military service is the foundation of the Prussian state absolute. If you take a young male and accustom him to a reflex physical obedience to his officer (generally a member of the privileged class), if you let the officer, in the name of the state, give him a thousand orders, to which the youth's body must respond a thousand times; if you shape the young man's brain and spirit to silent submission to the authority of the officer, you thereby shape them to submission to authority in general, to the man above him, the employer, the government, the state absolute. To the man thus trained, mind and conscience become something not his own. They are held in trust for him by somebody else.

This is what has happened in Germany. This is what our privileged class, our great employers, our military and naval hierarchy who have been so long starved of power, while their brethren of Europe have been gorged with it, this is what our Roosevelts, Wickershams and Roots, our disbelievers in democracy instinctively desire. This in point of fact is militarism, Prussianism—the thing that the young and hopeful civilization of America condemns and must condemn as long as our democracy continues. That it is urged in the name of patriotism, safety, and even of Christianity, does not alter the situation. It is wrong; it is dangerous to what we love best in the world, and it is obviously unnecessary, even from a military point of view, except in the time of ultimate need.

The war scare has given to the new tyranny of the State a golden opportunity to urge compulsory training of the American youth. How unfounded is the war scare, and how unwarranted compulsory service, is realized when we turn our eyes to Germany. Her armies are surrounded, her fleet bottled up, she can not sail a transport ship on one of the seven seas. Even if there was no one on the whole American continent but young children, armed with toy bows and arrows, Germany could probably not land a regiment on our shores. Will the public awake in time to the meaning of the campaign for compulsory military service? Will it realize, before it is too late, that it is the advance agent of a state absolute, to be imposed, as in Prussia, upon a subject people?

AMOS PINCHOT.

## The New Imperialism.

By Frederic C. Howe.

Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York.

I

A few weeks ago a prominent Japanese official, accredited to this country, called upon me to discuss Oriental immigration. The conversation shifted to the relations of Japan and the United States. The official stated that public opinion in Japan viewed our great military and naval program as an expression of intention on our part to back up by force if necessary any aggressive financial and commercial penetration into China and the Orient, and that whatever apprehension of the United States prevailed in Japan was traceable to this fear. About this time there appeared in the New York press announcements of contracts secured by American bankers for a loan to China, and contracts for the building of canals, railroads, etc. Simultaneously with the announcements articles appeared in the press and papers were read before scientific associations, setting forth the opportunities which lay before America in the field of over-seas trade financing and exploitation.

The European War has changed the face of America in many ways, but no change portends so much as the menace of financial imperialism or dollar diplomacy. It is a menace not only to our traditions but to our peaceful relations with weak and dependent countries in South America, in the Orient, in Africa and wherever opportunities for financial exploitation offer themselves. It is a menace that threatens our relations with the great powers of Europe as well.

Two reasons are responsible for these conditions. In the first place the war has bankrupted Europe. It has used up the surplus capital of England, France and Germany, the great investing nations of the world. Their resources will be needed for internal recuperation for many years to come. These creditor countries will be unable to meet the calls made upon them for loans, and particularly for development work all over the world. Along with the bankruptcy of Europe, America has become a creditor nation. Surplus wealth has appeared. Colossal war orders, a balance of trade in our favor of approximately five billion dollars in two years' time, but most of all the enormous profits from domestic industry, have heaped up surplus wealth in our banking institutions, which is seeking investment at high rates of interest. It is turning to other countries where no usury laws limit the rate of return, and where the conditions of the people compel them to ac-

cept such terms as are offered. In two years' time two and a quarter billion dollars have been loaned to Europe, Canada, South America and the Orient. Similar loans have been made to the East Indies and Africa. Already the wealth of America is penetrating peacefully into the outposts of civilization. It is coming into conflict with England, France, Germany and Japan, which countries have heretofore looked upon the loaning of capital and the exploitation of weaker peoples as their exclusive prerogative.

The American International Corporation has been organized with a capital of fifty million dollars for over-seas trade and financing. It is financed and officered by Standard Oil and Morgan interests. It is the American expression of the big exploiting banks of England, Germany and France. The officers of this corporation are boldly insisting that this country must enter the fields which they have laid out for it, that the adverse decision of President Wilson in the Chinese five power loan must be abandoned and that America must stand back of these exploiting and investing interests in their over-seas activities.

Dollar diplomacy is being forced upon us by every possible means within the control of high finance. The press, the bankers, chambers of commerce and the agencies which control the making of public opinion are sweeping this country into the most dangerous situation that has confronted it in fifty years. It is not being done openly. The ultimate motives of over-seas finance are not disclosed. The history of Egypt, Tunis, Morocco, Persia, Turkey, Africa and China are not referred to. But by every possible means the suggestion is being made that the State Department, the diplomatic service and the rest of the Government shall enter into a partnership with high finance as a means of promoting its loans, concessions, spheres of influence, and with it more or less exclusive privileges, in the distant parts of the earth. For that is what financial imperialism or dollar diplomacy means. It is not trade or commerce with other nations. Rather it is the peaceful penetration, and later political or financial domination, under the guise of protecting American citizens or American property. This is the story of Mexico. This lies back of the demand for intervention in that country. This is one of the forces promoting a great navy and universal military service.

Those who own the resources of America, the railroads, the mines, and the public service corporations, are now turning their eyes outward toward the world, and are demanding that America shall become a collection or insurance agency; that our boys shall police their private possessions; that diplomacy shall be an adjunct to Wall street. And when diplomacy fails, battleships shall be at the behest of the investor to compel the payment of usurious loans, to protect monopolies, to put down civil disorder and revolutions, and in the name of American honor to subject weaker people to our will.

No such menace ever confronted us. And the accumulation of surplus wealth, dissatis-

fied with diminishing returns at home, backed by the munition plants, the steel trust, the oil and copper interests, and directed by the great banking institutions of America, are insisting that the American flag shall be turned to new uses and become the extra-territorial guardian of a handful of men who have already monopolized the resources of America, and in part at least our government as well. Herein is a grave menace to our domestic security and to our relations with the powers of Europe as well. This is the real menace in the Pacific. It is the gravest of all dangers to our peaceful relations with both Japan and China.

## War and Its Social Effects

By Victor S. Yarros.

Certain British liberals have publicly confessed that they have been compelled to change their opinion concerning the effects of war. While formerly they favored peace—presumably peace with justice—today they feel that war has beneficial consequences and results. The present war, terrible as it is, has been, it appears to them, productive of much good in a social and moral sense.

From time to time eminent and progressive thinkers are quoted by the militarists in support of the assertion that war is a powerful agency of progress. Ruskin wrote of the virtues fostered by war. Lowell recognized that civilization often advances "on a powder cart." It is not strange that less acute thinkers should fall into the blunder of talking about "the benefits of war."

Much confusion of thought is revealed in this sort of talk. History is—what it is. We cannot rewrite it. That which has happened must have happened—must have happened because human nature, the conditions of life, the heritage of the past, are what they are. The wars of the past having failed to wipe out the human race, mankind has contrived to extract some good out of the evils of "war"—which is a very short name for wholesale murder, pillage, waste, devastation. Nations have been consolidated by war; concessions and reforms have been granted as the result of war. But what of all this? Would any sane person welcome an avoidable war because of "the benefits of war" generally? Even righteous social explosions, insurrections or revolutions, which are the fruit of injustice and wrong, are regarded by the truly civilized as "lesser evils." No radical reformer fights for the sake of fighting, or for

the moral benefits of fighting; he fights because there is no tolerable alternative, because submission and resignation are, in certain circumstances, unworthy of self-respecting men and women.

Would Lincoln have chosen the way of war in preference to the way of conciliation and compromise if the bourbons of the North and South had allowed him to work out a settlement? Did any sane American want the civil war for the sake of its "moral benefits"? It was preferred to secession, disruption and the triumph of the slave oligarchy of the South; it was a lesser evil.

The American Revolution was a justifiable one, but the war it entailed was accepted as an unavoidable evil. Had England yielded to the colonists on essential points, war would gladly have been avoided. No one would have insisted on fighting for the sake of the moral effects of war.

No other illustrations are needed. War is always an evil, but it may be a lesser evil than the alternative of the moment. The present great war is an appalling calamity to mankind, and those who are really responsible for it deserve eternal disgrace and infamy, for they were either criminally aggressive and arrogant, or stupid, ignorant and reckless. The tragedy may ultimately prove to have had its compensations, but only fanatical militarists will assert that the compensations will be worth the price paid for them.

Meantime, since this drivel about the moral benefits of war is heard far oftener than it should be, it may be well to glance at some of the known and discussed effects of the war.

The *London Truth* is not a radical organ. Indeed, it is rather alarmed by some of the

legislative precedents that are being created with the approval of the conservatives. Yet a few weeks ago it printed the following editorial paragraph:

Are our landlords as wise as they are otherwise estimable? The Peers are protesting against telegraph poles being planted on their estates—this with Prussian guns within earshot of Paris—and there are threats of serious opposition to the bill, which reserves for the state the many and valuable munition factories, built on acquired sites. If this kind of thing goes on, there will be very straight talking when the war is over, and we may all of us have more than we desire or deserve of our Wedgwoods, Outhwaites, and Snowdens.

Evidently, the peers and landlords have not all been "ennobled" by the war. Their readiness for patriotic sacrifices has very strange limitations! Their nature, in fact, has hardly changed.

In a recent issue of the *New York Evening Post* we found the following item:

The *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* is disgusted with the rudeness still displayed in tramcars and other public conveyances "after the lessons of more than two years of war." Young and robust people of both sexes remain glued to their seats when aged and infirm persons are standing, and never dream that it is their duty to give their places to these persons.

Still more disgusted is the paper with the attitude displayed in churches. The writer of the article from which we quote has noticed sisters of mercy and wounded soldiers standing in the aisles of crowded churches while the pews are filled with strong, able-bodied youths and girls. These young people seem not to realize what their duty is. It may be thoughtlessness, he says, but it is disgraceful, and displays a callousness which goes to justify some unfavorable criticisms of the enemy. It was all very well, this sort of hobbledehoy conduct before the war, but the refining influences of twenty-eight months of war should have made an end of it.

The "refining influences"! Where are they? Are they seen in the greed and selfishness of which the German landlords and farmers are accused by Social Democrats and others? Are they seen in the increase of juvenile crime reported from every country at war? Are they seen in the sort of school books—books full of absurd lies and follies—that are being written in the warring countries, books against which rational persons are issuing earnest protests? Are they seen in the reported violations and evasions of the laws regulating food consumption? Are they seen in the vulgar and flippant vaudeville and music-hall "shows" that correspondents from London, Berlin and Vienna tell of? Are they seen in the overwhelming defeat of the resolution favoring the admission of English women lawyers to court practice? The services and sacrifices of the women of Britain are known to the whole world. Even As-

quith, chief of the anti-suffragists, publicly admitted the claim of the women to a voice in the settlement of the suffrage problem. Yet the lawyers of London defeat "overwhelmingly" a motion favoring the extension of equal professional rights to women lawyers! How the war has ennobled and refined the London bar!

It is hardly necessary to multiply illustrations further. The "good" effects of the world war are as dust in the balance beside the evil effects—the effects already seen and felt, to say nothing of the indirect and remote effects. The treatment of the conscientious objectors in Britain, the suppression of free speech, the overthrow of liberalism and radicalism—all these facts have scarcely received attention among the rank and file of the self-styled liberals.

The friend of progress wants peace in Europe if peace is possible on fair and reasonable terms. The democratization of Prussia should be left to the Prussians. The men and women of ideals, of sincere attachment to justice and progress, will redouble their efforts to advance their cause in the several warring countries after peace shall have been restored. They will have their hands full in spite of "the ennobling effects" of the struggle. They are not troubled by the need of a "moral equivalent of war." Nor do they need war, conscription, militarism, to purge them of selfishness or sloth. Under the existing industrial and social conditions the average man does not find it a holiday task to make a living and support a family. The more honest and unselfish he is, the harder and thornier his path is. And if, in addition to his personal and family obligations, he assumes civic and social obligations—if he becomes a soldier of progress, a propagandist of radical reforms, his life is strenuous enough and lively enough to satisfy any rational seeker of "moral equivalents of war."

It is doubtful, however, whether those who have discovered good effects and ennobling influences in the present war will warm up perceptibly to the idea of enlisting in the bloodless war on social injustice, on unfair privilege, on class and nationalistic aggressions, on false patriotism and false democracy.

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What is Freedom? It is obedience to Nature's laws and to those laws only.—LAURIE J. QUINBY.

\* \* \*

All one's life is music if one touches the notes rightly and in time. But there must be no hurry. There is no music in a rest, but there's the making of music in it. And people are always missing that part of the life-melody and scrambling on without counting. Not that it's easy to count, but nothing on which so much depends ever is easy.

—Ruskin.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending February 20.

## Anti-War Movement.

A protest meeting against war was held under auspices of the Woman's Peace Party at the Coliseum in Chicago on February 18, attended by more than 12,000 people. Reverend Fred A. Moore presided. It was addressed by Congressman Callaway of Texas, Herbert S. Bigelow, Grace Abbott and Jenkin Lloyd Jones. Resolutions adopted were as follows:

We, 12,000 citizens assembled in the Coliseum and with thousands more turned away, believing that not only the lives of our young men and our material wealth, but our stores of good will and international sympathy should be treasured, and knowing that if the United States now joins in this world war the lives and property of American citizens will be further endangered and our opportunity for leadership in the establishment of an international organization for the preservation of world peace will be jeopardized, urge that American citizens and American vessels be warned against entering the war zone.

Believing also that war should be undertaken only as the expressed and deliberate choice of the people upon whom its burdens will chiefly fall, we urge that the will of the people be ascertained by a referendum vote before a state of war is allowed to develop between this people and any other Government. [See current volume, page 155.]

At the 30 forums of New York City meetings against war were held on February 18. Major William C. Haillee of the United States Marine Corps and Oswald Garrison Villard, president of the New York Evening Post Publishing Company, addressed a symposium at the Rand School. Mr. Villard charged that in the main the movement for compulsory military training had originated with the forces protected by special privilege. "I have too much proof," he said, "of people who give large checks to the preparedness and universal service movements on the ground that this will lead to the suppression of the coming social revolution, for me to have any doubt that is one of the main factors behind the agitation."

Major Haillee said the oath of enlistment, the fact that the privates were bound to serve once they enlisted, military caste and unscientific methods were some of the things that were the matter with the army. As remedies he proposed this plan:

The new army I propose would not train more than six months, would have no oath of enlistment, would hire both officers and men on the same basis and discharge them when found unsatisfactory. It would reorganize every year, when the ratings would be adjusted, and every officer would have to

advance once a year or drop out. And it would cost \$30,000,000 a year, instead of \$300,000,000.

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A demonstration by the Collegiate Anti-Militarist League is planned at Washington, February 22. A mass meeting will be held in New York at Cooper Union on the night preceding under the same auspices.

\* \*

The postal card referendum taken by Congressman Warren Worth Bailey in his district, the 19th Pennsylvania, has resulted up to February 19 in return of 876 votes. Of these 796 are opposed to war and 80 are in favor. Of those opposed, 478 declared in favor of a national referendum on the question.

## Congressional Doings.

The House passed on February 13, by 353 to 23, the naval appropriation bill carrying \$368,553,388.07, or \$55,000,000 more than the bill of last year. Before passage an amendment by Congressman Mann was adopted declaring

It is hereby reaffirmed to be the policy of the United States to adjust and settle its international disputes through mediation or arbitration to the end that war may be honorably avoided.

The Congressmen voting against the bill were: Republicans—Cramton, Michigan; Hollingsworth, Ohio; Lindbergh, Minnesota; Nelson, Wisconsin. Socialist—London, New York. Democrats—Bailey, Pennsylvania; Burnett, Alabama; Callaway and Davis, Texas; Doughton, Kitchin, and Page, North Carolina; Gordon and Sherwood, Ohio; Saunders, Virginia; Sears, Florida; Sisson, Mississippi; Tavenner, Illinois; Thomas, Kentucky; Thompson, Oklahoma; Tillman, Arkansas; Huddleston, Alabama, and Johnson, Kentucky. The total appropriations for Army and Navy will be \$777,564,784. The House Committee on Appropriations refused on February 19 to appropriate \$400,000 for the investigation of the high cost of living asked by the President. [See current volume, page 157.]

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The postal appropriation bill carrying \$330,000,000 passed the Senate on February 16. It contained a clause barring from the mails liquor advertisements for states under prohibition, and provides a penalty for sending liquor into such states. All efforts to amend rates for first and second class postage were defeated.

## The Court Martial Verdict.

The court martial at New York City in the case of five militiamen who had been "spread-

eagled" on the order of officers resulted in finding the men guilty of insubordination, and exoneration of the officers, who were declared to have done nothing illegal. The men were sentenced to dishonorable discharge and six months' imprisonment. The verdict was sent for confirmation to Major-General Leonard E. Wood, who disapproved of it. This freed the men, but does not affect the acquittal of the officers. In his statement of disapproval on February 9, General Wood censured the officers and said there was no evidence to show that the men had deserved the punishment. [See current volume, page 133.]

#### North Dakota Fight for New Constitution.

The North Dakota State Senate on February 9, refused, by a vote of 29 to 20, to submit the new constitution demanded by the Farmers' Nonpartisan League. *The Nonpartisan Leader*, organ of the League, announced that the constitution will be submitted nevertheless through the Initiative, and voted on in 1918. One of the Senators elected by the League voted against submission of the new constitution, while four holdover Senators voted for it. [See current volume, page 136.]

#### Farmers On the High Cost of Living.

At a gathering of farmers in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, to form a Nonpartisan League along the lines of the North Dakota organization, the following resolution was adopted:

WHEREAS, the high prices complained of by the consumer of the products of the farm are not caused by the price paid the farmer for his products, but by the operations of intervening persons who stand between the producer and consumer, and so manipulate both that the consumer pays more than twice what the producer receives for his product—(these intervening persons are the grain-elevators, stockyards, packing-houses and transportation corporations, the parasites of society who "toil not, neither do they spin," but so manage as to gather to themselves the product of the toil of others—the high price the consumer pays for coal in South Dakota, that of \$12 per ton for anthracite and \$6 to \$8 for bituminous coal, is no proof that the coal miner is receiving too much wages, but is proof again that the intervening parties are robbing both)—

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That this convention is in favor of the public ownership of the means of transportation and the facilities for marketing and manufacturing the products of the farm so that the consumer will pay less and the farmer will receive more for what he produces, and thus compel the parasites of society to go to work.

#### Ohio Women Get Presidential Suffrage.

The Ohio Senate passed on February 15 the

bill giving women the right to vote for Presidential electors. It has already passed the House. Governor Cox has promised to sign it. This makes 13 States with 115 electoral votes in which women may now vote for President. [See current volume, page 114.]

#### Effect of Woman Suffrage on the Presidency.

The extent to which women of the suffrage States voted for re-election of President Wilson is shown in figures compiled by Mrs. Frances C. Axtell, a former Progressive party member of the Washington legislature. Mrs. Axtell says in part:

In six of the twelve woman suffrage States, the women were casting their first vote for president. Four of these States more than doubled their votes of 1912. In the other two, Kansas and Nevada, the vote was nearly doubled. In all these States there are more men than women, Nevada having 179 men to every 100 women. So doubling the vote means that the women voted. In the six States where women had previously voted for president, there was also a very heavy increase over the vote of 1912. This is interesting as evidence that the Presidential campaign brought out the votes, both men and women, but still more interesting is the analysis of the votes which shows how that increased vote was cast.

Wilson made a big gain over his own 1912 vote in every one of the twelve suffrage States. In the six States where women cast their first Presidential vote, Wilson's gain over his own 1912 vote exceeded the Hughes gain over the combined Republican and Progressive votes of 1912, and more significant still is the fact that this is true even in the two States which Hughes won—Oregon and Illinois.

In Illinois, Wilson doubled his own vote of 1912 by more than 150,000 votes, while Hughes fell short of doubling the 1912 combined Republican and Progressive votes by over 127,000. In Oregon the proportion is even more striking. Wilson nearly trebled his 1912 vote, while Hughes fell 17,000 short of doubling the combined Republican and Progressive vote of 1912. Moreover in five of the twelve suffrage States the Hughes vote of 1916 was less than the combined Republican and Progressive votes of 1912.

That this universal big gain which Wilson made in the suffrage States could have been accomplished without the women's votes is utterly impossible.

#### Free Speech Fight at Columbia University.

A mass meeting of Columbia University students on February 15 adopted a protest against the action of Professor J. D. Prince in prohibiting a talk at the Cosmopolitan Club of the university by Count Ilya Tolstoy. The meeting was attended by 300 students who called on President Nicholas Murray Butler "to declare publicly that freedom of thought and expression are not to be suppressed." The meeting was addressed by five members of the faculty. An apology was sent to Count Tolstoy. In an interview

Professor Prince stated as the cause of his action that at this time any attempt "to belittle the importance of nationalism and to denounce patriotism ought not to be associated with the name of the university."

#### New Evidence in Mooney's Case.

The sentencing of Thomas Mooney in San Francisco was postponed on February 13. Mooney was convicted of participation in the throwing of a bomb at the preparedness parade in July. The only testimony against him on which conviction could be based was that of Henry Oxman, said to be an Oregon cattle dealer. Passing of sentence was postponed because a woman made affidavit on February 13 that she was with Oxman at the time when he testified he saw Mooney in an automobile with a suitcase on the day of the explosion. She declared that Oxman was in fact a mile away from that spot. [See current volume, page 161.]

#### Taxation in Washington.

The Special Committee on Taxation of the Columbia Heights Citizens' Association of the District of Columbia, in reporting on the tax system of the District, finds that \$9,000,000 of local revenue is raised as follows:

Land values, assessed at 1½ per cent of two-thirds value.....	\$3,150,000
Buildings and improvements at 1½ per cent of two-thirds value.....	2,850,000
Public utilities, building and loan associations, and banks.....	750,000
Water tax.....	800,000
Personal property assessed at 1½ per cent on full value.....	500,000
Liquor licenses.....	500,000
Occupational licenses and fees (57 varieties).....	150,000
Street assessment and permit work.....	150,000
Police court fines and fees (40,000 arrests per year).....	150,000

Total District share (exclusive U. S. share, about \$5,000,000).....\$9,000,000

The committee recommends abolition of the taxation of intangible property, because such property can be hidden and the tax puts a premium on perjury and deception. The ideal tax, the committee finds, "is one that can be levied without the necessity of seeking information from the owner." Other recommendations are abolition of occupational licenses and fees, since legitimate businesses should be free and unhampered; gradual exemption of buildings and improvements as in Pittsburgh, where it has resulted in cutting up of many big estates and an increase in the building of small homes; annual assessments instead of triennial as at present; the

naming of true consideration in deeds; publication of assessment sheets and land plots; a separate board to hear tax appeals; the Torrens system and excess condemnation. In conclusion the committee states:

By the adoption of these above-named recommendations, the District of Columbia will be progressing toward a more modern and efficient system of taxation, and will not only relieve industry and labor from unnecessary taxes but will serve as an example for other cities. Whatever is done in Washington, the Capital of the Nation, is looked upon as an example in other parts of the country.

#### Unearned Increment in New York Land Deal.

In a letter to Governor Whitman on February 18, William Bulloch of the Bureau of City Inquiry of New York City charges that 65 acres of land at Rockaway, bought by the city for \$5,032 an acre from the Neponset Realty Company, had been valued for taxation by the company's appraisers under oath at \$31 an acre. The tract was originally owned by the State, which sold it in December, 1909, to the Neponset Realty Company for \$13,113.62. If the State received a fair price and if the price paid by the city represents its true worth then the land has increased in value 2,400 per cent. in little more than seven years.

#### Obituaries.

The Singletax movement has recently lost four prominent active workers by death. They are Miss Caroline Knox of Chicago, Mrs. Helen Moore of San Francisco, Herman Gutstadt of San Francisco, and Alden Thayer Ames of Centerville, California. Of Miss Knox, who was a nurse at the Home for Incurables, and who died on January 30, Alice Thacher Post writes as follows:

She must have done a vast amount of propaganda and perhaps no one among all of us has given so large a proportion of income to propaganda purposes as she has given. Over and over it was \$25 at a time if not much more for she was very silent as to what she did. And she dressed most simply and every dollar was earned by labor of body and mind, with the strain of nerves involved in the constant care of the sick.

Mrs. Moore, who died on February 2, had once been associated with Kate Douglas Wiggin in kindergarten work. She took an active part not only in Singletax but in other progressive work. She gave considerable help to the Seamen's Union, although not connected with the organization. She conducted a vigorous propaganda for the Initiative and Referendum before there was an organized effort in behalf of these measures. She also engaged in suffrage work and public ownership propaganda.

Herman Gutstadt, who died on January 16, was one of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, and a delegate to its first national convention. He had read "Progress and Poverty" with Samuel Gompers, president of the Federation, about that time, and both became convinced of its correctness. From then until the day of his death he had been a steady worker for the cause.

Alden Thayer Ames was a descendant of John and Priscilla Alden. He helped with money and effort in the California campaigns.

#### Mexico and the United States.

Henry P. Fletcher, American Ambassador to Mexico, arrived in Mexico City on the 18th. Mr. Fletcher was accorded elaborate honors both at his destination and at the State lines, where he was met by the governors of the States through which he passed. He expressed himself as very much pleased at his reception throughout the journey from the border to the capital. At Saltillo he had an opportunity to see something of the new school construction, and attended a meeting of teachers from all parts of Mexico. [See current volume, page 159.]

General Zapata has issued another manifesto, denouncing the de facto government, and warning foreign countries against entering into treaties with it. Present dispatches indicate that the Carranza government is overcoming armed opposition, which is now confined to irregular bands that resort to guerilla warfare.

#### Cuba.

The special election in Santa Clara Province is reported to have given a large majority to President Menocal, leader of the Conservatives; but it is not known whether or not it is sufficient to turn the total vote of the country. President Menocal announces that the government has command of the situation, and that the rebellion will soon be crushed. [See current volume, page 159.]

#### European War.

Military activity on the western front appears to be reaching serious proportions. The Germans on the 16th launched an attack on the Champagne front by which they claim to have pierced the French line a half mile on a front of a mile and a half, and to have taken 858 prisoners. On the Somme front the British continue a steady pressure on both sides of the Ancre. The movement that gave them Grandcourt led to a two days' battle on the 17th and 18th, which has added still further to their gains, including an ap-

proach to the ruined villages of Miraumont and Little Miraumont, and the taking of 800 prisoners. Renewed activities on the Macedonian front also are reported, but little result is claimed by either side. No new moves are reported from the Roumanian front or from the Riga section. The British on the Tigris claim to be making steady headway against the Turks at Kut-el-Amara, the latest attack resulting in the capture of 1,995 prisoners. [See current volume, page 159.]

The submarine warfare has resulted in adding 36 ships of 71,398 tonnage to the German credit, making the total destroyed since February 1, 125 ships, of 257,872 tons. No evidence is yet apparent that Great Britain seriously feels the loss of ships, or is suffering for want of food or materials. Her leaders profess to have the matter well in hand, and to be confident of success in fighting the submarines. Sweden, Norway and Denmark have joined in a protest against the German submarine method of warfare, but have not threatened war or a break in diplomatic relations. Brazil has sent another protest to Germany, notifying her that she will be held to strict accountability for the fate of three Brazilian ships approaching the war zone.

Great Britain appears to have been highly successful in floating the "Victory" loan. It is estimated that \$3,500,000,000 have been subscribed. Alexandre Ribot, French Minister of Finance, has asked the Chamber of Deputies to appropriate \$1,914,800,000 to cover the government's expenditures for the second quarter of the present year. Germany, which in the earlier part of the war depended upon loans instead of increasing taxes to meet expenses, is now making radical increases. A heavy ad valorem tax is to be laid on the output of collieries, and a surtax on passenger and goods traffic on railways and internal shipping. The estimated revenue from the war taxes is \$312,500,000.

There have been no new developments in the diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany. Submarines, whether by chance or design, have not committed the "overt act" that is to call for decisive action on the part of the United States. American ships have passed through the war zone, and more are leaving American ports destined to enter it. Germany has made no public announcement of exemption of American or other neutral shipping.

It is announced that the relief work for

Belgium and Poland will be continued as before the breaking off of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany. Mr. Brand Whitlock, American Minister to Belgium, who remained at Brussels to aid in the relief work for the Belgians, has been asked by the German government to lower the American flag. This act formally marks the end of Mr. Whitlock's diplomatic service on Belgian soil. It is reported that he will be allowed to remain for the present in an unofficial capacity.

## NOTES

—It requires, according to the British Admiralty statement, 400,000 men to man the present British navy.

—The South Carolina House passed on February 15 the Senate bill prohibiting publication of liquor advertisements in the State.

—German authorities have decided to begin the daylight saving schedule April 15 this year, instead of May 1, as they did last year.

—The Minnesota Senate on February 15 passed the House bill submitting a prohibition amendment to a popular vote at the 1918 election.

—The State Farmers' Union of Texas endorsed on February 17 the resolution of Senator Owen of Oklahoma to prohibit Federal judges from declaring acts of Congress unconstitutional.

—A military census of Connecticut ordered by Governor Holcomb began on February 19. Under it there will be an enrollment of citizens together with the qualifications of each for military duty.

—The British Board of Trade, it is announced, will take over the coal mines throughout the kingdom for the duration of the war. A separate department will be carried for the administration of the mines.

—President Wilson and Senator-elect Johnson of California were invited on February 15, by Mathew Hale, Chairman of the Progressive National Committee to address the party conference to be held at St. Louis in April.

—The money in circulation in the United States, based on an estimated population of 103,403,000, is \$43.50 per capita, which is \$4.83 more than in February, 1916. The per capita circulation in February, 1879, was \$16.92.

—American marines in Santo Domingo are engaged in scouring the country for bandits. They have collected nearly 75,000 rifles and revolvers. When the Americans assumed control the authorities assured them there were not more than 7,000 rifles on the island.

—One of the striking facts brought out by the New York exhibit of the High Cost of Living was that of the 1,100,000 families in New York City, 833 families receive 17.4 of the ground rent of the city. Thirteen families receive 4.4 per cent. The Astor family receive 1.5 per cent.

—The Seamen's law was upheld on February 16,

by Federal District Judge Ervin, at Mobile. The Court ruled that seamen on a Russian vessel were entitled to full pay and discharge. The Russian Consul had contended that the law violated the commercial treaty with Russia, although that treaty was abrogated several years ago.

—In a message to the New York legislature on February 15, Governor Whitman urged it to follow the lead of the California legislature by recommending to Congress the calling of a national conference on taxation for more clearly defining the proper sources for State and Federal revenue. The California legislature took this action on January 23.

—The President appointed to the Federal Trade Commission on February 19 W. B. Colver, Democrat, publisher of the St. Paul *Daily News* and ex-Governor Franklin Fort of New Jersey, Republican. Mr. Colver succeeds E. N. Hurley, resigned, and Governor Fort succeeds George H. Rublee, whom the Senate rejected as a personal favor to one of its members, Gallinger of New Hampshire. [See vol. xix, p. 803.]

—Representatives of organized labor in Oregon met with the State Grange and Farmers' Union on February 17 and agreed to unite in pushing through the legislature demands for good roads, defeat of the pending anti-picketing bill, defeat of all measures for changes in direct legislation laws, defeat of all amendments to the eight-hour law, enactment of legislation providing one day's rest in seven and for a rural credit law.

—The Interstate Commerce Commission reported on February 14, valuation of the Elgin, Joliet and Eastern railway at \$11,507,598. Of this \$1,964,906 is for land. Including leased and used lines the Commission valued the line at \$27,899,986. The road has 800 miles of track. Its net revenue for the year ending June 30, 1916 was \$5,273,556. The Commission valued the Chicago, Lake Shore and Eastern Railway at \$16,479,597, the Joliet, Blue Island railway at \$362,791 and the Winston-Salem Southbound, at \$5,121,188.

—The French Food Ministry has decided to fix maximum prices to take effect after February 19, for milk, butter, and cheese. In the department of the Seine, including Paris, milk must not exceed 10 cents a litre—about a pint and three quarters—if bought in a shop, 11 cents if delivered. Maximum prices for butter vary from \$1.12 to \$1.34 per kilo—roughly two pounds—according to quality. The two-course regulation, which applies to hotels and restaurants, went into effect on the 15th.

—The Chinese opium trade may have an extension of life on account of unsettled conditions in China. An agreement between Great Britain and China in 1907 provided for a reduction of 10 per cent a year of the opium imported into China, provided that the government of that country made a similar reduction in the amount grown in the Chinese Empire. Under this agreement the amount of British imports of opium into China dropped from 82,612 chests to 7,487 in 1914. The Chinese revolution has made it impossible to carry out the opium law in its entirety, but the government has refused to extend the life of the opium monopoly. [See vol. xvii, p. 37.]

## PRESS OPINIONS

## How the Revolution Has Benefited Yucatan.

George Miner in *Pan-American Magazine*.—Yucatan is striding ahead. The progressive spirit has taken hold of the people of all classes and prosperity is assured all over that great arm of land reaching out at the south of the gulf. The first thing that General Alvarado did when he took command of the country and established himself in Merida was to abolish the evils. He abolished slavery with one word and made the peons free and independent. More than that, he also saw to it that they got good wages for their labor. The result is that the working classes are better paid in Yucatan now than they are almost anywhere else in the two Americas. They are getting wages that compare favorably with those paid in the United States. Then the governor cleaned up the cities. Merida had fairly reeked with vice and corruption in the old days. White slavery was carried on to such an extent as was never dreamed of anywhere else, managed by a thoroughly organized syndicate of scoundrels from Cuba. There is no red-light district in Merida today. . . . The governor gathered an army of school teachers. To get enough of them he had to import hundreds from the United States. These he scattered all over the broad peninsula and as every hacienda had a church and the churches had been closed he turned them into schoolhouses. Every child was compelled to go to school and the grown people who could not read or write were compelled to go to school on Sundays until they learned the rudiments. Each hacienda owner was told he must pay the salary of the school teacher on his farm. Today there are more than 2,000 school teachers in the state of Yucatan alone. . . . The revolution let in the democratic light of progress and equal rights and awakened nearly half a million people to the knowledge that there is something in life to live for beside a handful of corn a day. . . . Such is the land that is now waking up and coming into its own, and such are the people to whose uplifting General Alvarado and his associates are devoting their time and energy. They are well worth it.

## Gagging Universities.

The *Evening Post* (New York), February 14.—Whenever a university is torn by such an agitation as now excites Columbia, the wonder grows that college professors and presidents seem to know so little of student nature. To forbid young men to hear any given speaker is the direct method of making them wild to hear him. If Count Tolstoy had been permitted without any fuss to give his lecture at Columbia, most of the few undergraduates who attended it would doubtless have voted it a good deal of a bore. Didn't the old gentleman know that we had heard all that drivel about his father a dozen times before? But once let it be known that the college buildings are closed to the son of the great Tolstoy, and up flames the student protest. "Free speech at Columbia is threatened." "Shall we submit to it?" "We invite you to meet," etc. It has happened a hundred

times; it is sure to happen on every provocation of the kind; yet the professors are painfully surprised each time. If they have observed their students so badly, can't they at least remember how their own hearts leaped up within them when they were boys?

## The Treasonable Chamberlain Bill.

Duluth *Herald*, February 12.—Compulsory universal military training having been reported out of a Senate committee, is now before the Senate and the country. And it is a more vital matter than the crisis with Germany, and a graver peril lurks within it. . . . It is a proposal that this country adopt a military policy modeled on the practices that have put Europe where it is to-day. Those who propose such plans as these are usually cunning, and this case is no exception. The reserve army created by the compulsory service plan now before the Senate would be available, according to the terms of the bill, "only in the event of a DEFENSIVE war or the imminence thereof." When you hear that, gentle reader, you are supposed to say: "Oh, only a defensive war, eh? Well, then, that's all right." Can the American people be fooled by such chaff as that? Germany is fighting a defensive war to-day, as her people profoundly believe. Turkey is fighting a defensive war. So is France. So is England. EVERY NATION AT WAR IN EUROPE TO-DAY IS FIGHTING A DEFENSIVE WAR. Indeed, there is no other kind of war nowadays but a defensive war. "Defensive" is one of the militarist's conjuring words, wherewith he hoodwinks the people—and its sister word is "patriotism."

## The Business the Public Should Own.

New York *Call*, January 10.—There is no law that compels New Yorkers to attend the Metropolitan opera, and if the opera there is not what it should be, or if the prices for seats are too high, the answer is, that you may stay away. If a New Yorker does not want to eat at the Astor, or at Rector's, or Murray's; if he does not want to send his son to Columbia, or his girl to Vassar, no law on earth can compel him, and so any kick that he may have at the conduct of these institutions may very properly be answered by a request to transfer the patronage elsewhere, or not to indulge in that sort of extravagance at all. But no New Yorker can stay away from the street cars; no New Yorker can eschew the subway and the elevated and the gas companies. . . . A New Yorker cannot keep away from the utilities; he cannot boycott them. And it happens that, in the utility field, at least, monopoly is the normal, natural state of affairs. . . . New Yorkers are limited to but one set of utilities for this absolutely indispensable service. And New Yorkers have been wretchedly served from the beginning. They have been swindled and robbed. They have been looted and their public servants debauched. The service has been unutterably wretched. And the treatment of the workers employed in the utilities has been a bit worse than the worst in other lines of industry. And, when the workers have talked revolt, there has been talk of "mutiny," as if this necessary public service were already in the hands of all the people. . . . Now is the time for the workers to demand that in this

most necessary function of the city the majority should be the ones to be consulted, rather than stockholders and officers of companies.

#### Must Not be a George W. Perkins Investigation

Milwaukee *Daily News*, February 14.—At last! The federal government has really taken steps to investigate the causes of the high cost of living. Congress will ask President Wilson to approve of a \$400,000 appropriation to investigate every angle of the food situation. The field is large; there are many sides; the probe, properly conducted, should go to the bottom, get all the facts, bring relief to the over-burdened householder and strike terror to the hearts of the greedy monopolists who are bleeding the public for "all there is in it." . . . Potatoes in Milwaukee today are \$3 per bushel; yet Britain is shipping potatoes to the United States and they are selling in the Chicago markets at \$2.25 per bushel! What's the answer? There is but one—American monopoly. There is a weakness in the plan—congress proposes to have the federal trade commission to do the probing. This is unfortunate. The federal trade board is a "weak sister;" it has done nothing worth while since its birth; it has no record, and its members have no record of achievement to merit public confidence as an efficient organization. And unless the probe is aggressive, thorough, efficient; unless the inquiry goes to the bottom; unless it gets at these blood-suckers who would starve millions for a few dollars, it must dismally fail. Everybody hopes for the best, but there are two fundamental defects in the proposed inquiry: The investigators lack the confidence of the country; the investigation should have been begun months ago before the speculators took their toll. But better late than never and better an inquiry by "weak sisters" than none at all—let's hope that something worth while may be accomplished.

## BOOKS

### POEMS ON PRESENT DAY TOPICS.

*Friendship and Other Poems.* By B. H. Nadal. Published by Robert J. Shores, New York. Price \$1.00 net.

A remarkable thing has happened. A Single-taxer has written poems good enough to induce a publisher to make a book of them. True, only a few of them have the economic taint, and these are not the best. Of course, we have Joseph Dana Miller, whose verse is rhythmically impeccable, often eloquent. We have Frank Stephens, who can not help being a poet, when he merely tries to add a heart throb to the cold reasoning of our economic philosophy—but as a general thing a mind which has assimilated economic philosophy shows itself incapable of high poetical achievement. Perhaps it is because the true poet or prosaist has to be the mere recording instrument of an extraneous impulse which controls him rather than is controlled. The mind which has been subjected or submitted to economic training becomes too self-conscious, too inflexibly logical to respond to those subtle influences which underlie or inspire literature. In great and enduring literature there seems to be

an almost mediumistic attitude on part of the nominal author.

Mr. Nadal's poems will seem didactic to the "general," but their philosophy will be familiar to Single-taxers. He has the faculty of the precise word, the pungent phrase and the inevitable characterization. The following poem, "To Henry George," is orthodox and descriptive of the frame of mind of many Single-taxers.

Though to a dim uncharted land our thoughts to-night are borne,  
Oh, Captain of a gallant band, we do not come to mourn.

Among the nobler, wiser shades who haunt that viewless space,  
Your genius like a glowing star shines in its firm fixed place.

You, dreamer of a splendid dream, a time still far away,  
Battering monopoly's brazen gates, hoping that in your day  
Justice might reign through all the Earth because you led the way,  
Prone on the Century's threshold fell, a martyr in the fray.

Now in this new-born, pregnant time we watch earth's warring hosts—

What of the future? Can you say, great company of ghosts?

We do not know. We can not tell. We may not read aright.

We wait. We watch. We guard the flame his spirit set alight.

His "Ode to the Vers Libre" has been much admired, and is perhaps the cleverest thing in the book. He has evidently been greatly stirred by the European pandemonium. His views are those of the strong partisan, which may explain why he can write literature.

JOHN J. MURPHY.

### A PLEA IN BEHALF OF WRONG.

*Distributive Justice.* By Dr. John A. Ryan. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. Price \$1.50.

This book will appeal to different minds in different ways. To those who honestly believe, in the author's words, that "length of existence creates a presumption in favor of the social, and therefore of the moral value of any institution," the argument from beginning to end will be exceedingly satisfying. It may indeed be described as a powerful defence of the status quo, with a well-elaborated scheme for remedying the admitted defects in our present economic relationships. Those on the other hand, who deny the validity of the governing premise, and who with equal sincerity believe that old things and old institutions have only one prescribed right, that of disappearing and making way for newer and better things and institutions, will consider the entire argument invalid, as being built upon an unsound foundation. It is needless to say that an attitude of tolerance towards opponents in economic theory, and a broad spirit of patience with the blunderings of humanity in its gropings towards social justice, per-

vades the book. A due recognition, however, of the lofty intentions of an author ought not to protect his writings from honest criticism, and the following are a few among the notes made during the perusal of the book.

Regarded simply as one more among the many expositions of the science of economics, it might be said that needless space is occupied in reiterating fundamental postulates that have become common-places;—as for example, that a man receives rent and interest even though he tills his own soil with his own tools and fertilizers, and calls his net return his "income." Again, to one who has imbibed the scientific passion for simplification and reduction of categories, it is perplexing to find an economist of this date adding a fourth factor in production to the three that have hitherto served our purpose well; and the author has neither shown how the "business man" can be clearly distinguished from the laborer, nor what aid to clear thinking he is to serve if we do get him properly segregated. On pp. 24, 25, 26, we find a futile discussion as to whether first occupancy, or labor spent on raw material, gives a moral title to land; and, in dealing with Henry George's contention that when an individual appropriates raw material that has a demand-value he squares his accounts with the community by paying over that value into the public purse, Dr. Ryan makes the astonishing statement that "Inasmuch as the individual must pay this price before he begins to produce, his right to the use of natural opportunities is not 'free,' nor does his labor alone constitute a title to that part of them that he utilizes in production." The error which this quoted sentence appears to cover seems to lead naturally to the factitious distinction between "economically free" goods, and "economically valuable" materials. The author seems at this point to have lost hold of the illuminating principle that no raw materials are ever "economically valuable" until society makes them so;—until pressure of population with its invariable accompaniment of governmental protection and facilities for communal life confers a value on such raw materials.

Remembering as we do Dr. Ryan's review eight years ago of Mr. Fillebrown's A B C, in which he commends that book as showing "the clear distinction between the Singletax and land-nationalization" and where he admits that "in no adequate sense of the words, is the Singletax the equivalent of common ownership," we are at a loss to account for such utterances as "opponents of private property in land to-day are either socialists or disciples of Henry George." Many other sentences could be quoted which seem to assume that private landownership stands in antithetic relation to the Singletax theory of revenue-raising. In some further particulars Dr. Ryan has not dealt fairly with the Singletax gospel and its disciples, and lays himself open in consequence to counter-criticism. On page 24 he accuses Henry George of "pure assumption" in asserting that "There can be to the ownership of anything no rightful title which is not derived from the title of the producer," and characterizes as "untrue" the statement that "The only original title is man's right to his own faculties." We are tempted to apply the same description of "pure assumption" to the statement on page 38 that "The social consequences

of the confiscation of rent and land-values would be even more injurious than those falling upon the individuals despoiled." And what shall we say of the paragraph on page 36, in which, after enumerating the hardships to investors in land in having its saleable value gradually annihilated, Dr. Ryan continues, "On the other hand, the persons who own no land under the present system, the persons who are deprived of their 'birthright' suffer no such degree of hardship when they are continued in that condition. To prolong this condition is not to inflict upon them any new or positive inconvenience. Evidently their welfare and claims in the circumstances are not of the same moral importance as the welfare and claims of persons who would be called upon to suffer the loss of goods already possessed and enjoyed, and acquired with the full sanction of society." To every admirer of Dr. Ryan these words will come with a shock of painful surprise, and will only prepare him to dismiss as unworthy of consideration the sentence on page 39 which runs: "The proposal to confiscate rent is so abhorrent to the moral sense of the average man that it could never take place except in conditions of revolution and anarchy. If that day should ever arrive the confiscation would not stop with land."

ALEX. MACKENDRICK.

## PAMPHLETS

### Unification of Government.

Efforts toward the simplification of municipal government, and the fixing of responsibility will be stimulated by the report of the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, on the "Unification of Local Governments in Chicago." The need of such unification may be inferred from the fact that there are 22 distinct agencies within the city levying and expending taxes for local purposes. The report makes an exhaustive examination into conditions, and sets forth facts in tables and diagrams in a way to make them intelligible. Among the recommendations for the consolidated government it is encouraging to note the city manager feature. "The application of the city manager plan to Chicago would be easy," the report says, "provided the people could be made to see the desirability of the change. Make the mayor elective by the City Council instead of by popular vote, and substitute an indefinite tenure for the present fixed term, and Chicago will have the city manager plan in essence." The report also suggests a four-year term for aldermen, with the recall provision to guard against mistakes and misrepresentation. Among the interesting data in the Appendix are the expenses of the seven elections and primaries in Chicago for 1916, which total \$2,106,047.

\* \* \*

"Major Rasher, I saw a man to-day who would like the pleasure of kicking you," said a friend.

"Kicking me!" exploded the Major. "Kicking me! Give me his name at once!"

"I hardly like to tell you," said the other.

"I insist upon knowing," said the Major.

"Ah, well, I'll tell you," said the other. "It's a soldier who's in the hospital with both legs off."

Tid-Bits.

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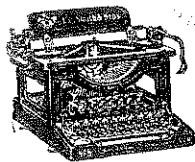
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We aim to reach that stage of development this year. Not, bear in mind, to wipe out the deficit—that is not hoped for in one year—but to reach a point where a much larger educational campaign can be carried, on a deficit comparatively smaller. On a circulation of 25,000 as sound as our present circulation of 12,500, our advertising rates can be doubled and The Public will command much more attention from publishers of the best books (in whose midst it now is) and other high-grade advertisers.

Double the circulation this year is our slogan. The ten-month campaign planned involves the co-operation of nearly 2,000 known circulation workers and all the new ones who will get into and enjoy the game. Workers will include some of the best known men and women of the country. It is to be a sane, cautious, conservative, rather than a sensational, campaign. Public, high school and college libraries will have special attention; as well as country newspaper editors, liberal members of town and city councils and members of state and national legislatures.

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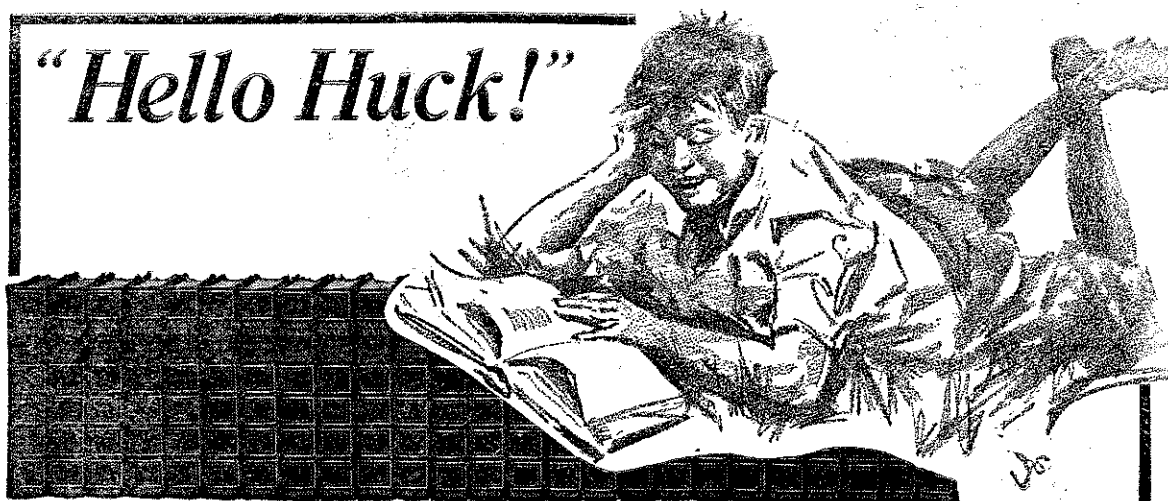
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