

The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

The Dublin Execution

A New Year's Sermon

Protectionism After the War

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A Great Novel of War and Militarism

"A STRONG MAN'S HOUSE"

By Francis Neilson

Member of Parliament, January, 1910--December, 1915

A strong story conceived in fervor for disarmament, brotherhood, and peace.—The World, New York.

A powerful novel written with artistry. Here is no preaching by a man with a message but without an art. Mr. Neilson is an artist first. This complex family life, with its war reflexes, is a difficult situation for the writer to handle and a novice might easily have made a failure of the web, but Mr. Neilson's is a master hand, and his characters are real, pulsating human beings who act in a convincing manner.—William J. Black, The Detroit Journal.

One of the best books having as its foundation the present world imbroglio.—Sun, Pittsburgh.

This is a story from the inside charged with local color. It could not have been written except by one who knows the so-called favored side of English life. He knows those who live in mansions, have servants and go riding with the hounds. It is a book that touches most of the heresies, does not hesitate to run into theological as well as political hot questions. "A Strong Man's House" is a strong man's book and will give strength to the reader.—Jenkin Lloyd Jones, in Unity.

One of the most instructive novels which have resulted from the European war.—Chronicle, San Francisco.

A work of art. As a study in the psychology of the typically prosperous man under present social and economic conditions, this character sketch is invaluable. The thrilling interest of the story holds the reader's attention from cover to cover, and that incidentally many glimpses of the rural life of England with which the author is familiar illuminate its pages.—Alex. Mackendrick, THE PUBLIC.

The novel is one of superb character drawing and tense situations, filled with drama. The book is the work of a man who feels deeply and sees keenly, and who can put his emotions and his intelligence into his fiction.—Bookseller, New York.

I do not know whether or not it will prove one of the best sellers of the season. It deserves to be such. While this is one of the most fascinating stories in the deluge of war literature, it is more than a story. It is that which should be studied by the masters in all lands. Read it. You may not sleep the night you finish the book but God knows a few sleepless nights are better than the long sleep of a shell-swept trench and a blood sodden battlefield.—Horace H. Herr, The Indiana Forum.

It is a tremendously interesting book to those neutrals who do not know the intimate reactions of the people who are under the curse. He does not preach any doctrine too obviously; the situations, although melodramatic in nature, are handled with restraint. He set himself to do his job well and he has done it well.—H. S., The New Republic.

A highly creditable piece of writing, deft in its portraiture of current English types, convincing in its psychology, and marked by a style that is never slothful, tedious, or staccato. It possesses a theme that is thoughtful and engaging, treated in a sanely emotional manner.—Burton Roscoe, in The Chicago Tribune.

This novel is notably different from the general run of novels of English life. The picture is of England in war time, the canvas large, the painting bold, the theme one of purpose most creditably handled. The characters—types—are admirably portrayed, the style sincere and convincing.—Detroit Free Press.

"A Strong Man's House" is something different from all the novels of the war that have come off the presses. It is a picture of England in war time laid on a big canvas with bold strokes.—Globe, Boston.

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EDITORIAL

There is good in Republican leader James R. Mann. He is honored by the opposition of Representative Augustus Gardner of Massachusetts, who considers Mr. Mann too much of a Pacifist. Mr. Gardner will not support Mr. Mann for the speakership. This fact should be recorded to Congressman Mann's credit.

S. D.

* * *

It would appear as though certain stock-jobbing devotees in New York and Boston were determined to live up to the ideal of the Populist conception of Wall Street. While the chancellories of Europe and the press of the world are discussing the President's peace note, and its effect upon public opinion and the war, a notorious stock speculator, aided by a few notoriety-craving politicians, has attempted to center the atten-

tion of the country upon the fact of whether or not the State Department at Washington "leaked." This form of amusement may furnish a needed diversion to minds oppressed by the consciousness that they held their "war baby" investments a little too long, but it is to be hoped that Congress and the press will not become so absorbed in running down anonymous scandal as to forget that the world is still afire.

S. C.

* * *

The announcement that the Mexican government is to resume possession of illegally alienated oil lands, might easily cause renewed demand for intervention. In taking that step the Carranza government strikes at the most powerful of the interests in behalf of which the intervention movement is being carried on.

S. D.

* * *

Those who recall the spirited campaign made last summer by the Steel Trust against the creation of a government armour plant, and the pathetic appeal to public opinion to save the private plant, may experience an unpleasant reaction upon reading that the bids of the Trust for a supply of 16-inch shells for the United States was \$775, while that of a British firm was only \$513. The time of delivery also was in favor of the British firm, which offered to furnish shells in sixteen months, as compared with three years by the Bethlehem firm. The unfavorable contrast is accentuated by Mr. Schwab's boast less than a month ago that his plant had a capacity fifty per cent. greater than that of the Krupps at Essen, and that "it is not money alone that drives men into these great enterprises, but the thrill that comes of successful accomplishment." In view of the fact that the Trust's performances are so far behind those of the British firm as to amaze the officials of the American navy, suggests the thought that possibly the promises and professions made during the pending legislation creating the Government plant were meant to be taken in a Pickwickian sense. It is apparent that there is need of a

definition of protectionist morals, in order that persons not of that cult may know what interpretation to put upon its statements.

S. C.

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Critics who think the President's peace message has done nothing toward bringing the war to an end have small understanding of human nature. Prime ministers may bluster, and generals may decry the settlement of an inconclusive war; but the idea having once been launched will prevail. What could one expect of nations with armies still in the field, but that each would declare itself able to fight on indefinitely? No matter how eager either or both may be to have peace it would be folly to confess it. Before any conclusion is reached we shall see this interplay of wits that Alice Thacher Post has so aptly called the higgling of the peace market. Diplomats will handle the question exactly as traders in the market agree upon a price. The diplomats of both sides will offer far less than they are willing to give, and each will refuse less than he is ready to take. This interplay may continue for months, and there may be times when all hope of settlement seems to be vain; but so long as diplomats discuss peace, and so long as the people think peace, there can be no doubt that the nations are drawing together. Let the higgling of the peace market continue.

S. C.

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The New York Call asks The Public to explain whether it is President Wilson or those pushing a compulsory military service bill who show contempt for the Pacifist voters to whom President Wilson's re-election is due. Undoubtedly it is the latter. The President's duty will be to veto the measure in the very improbable event that it comes to him for his signature. Should he fail to do this a charge of contempt could be sustained. But until there is proof to the contrary, he is but entitled to the presumption that he will do his plain duty.

S. D.

* * *

There may be some doubt as to the real facts in the dispute between the principal of the New Rochelle High School and the boy who claims to have been expelled for refusing to submit to military training; but there can be little question that the principal has an original interpretation of the meaning of the English language. In the interview in the World, the principal says:

When I called him [Daniel Uffner, the student], to the training class he said he did not believe in it. I communicated with the State Board of Education at Albany and was told that military training was compulsory under the law and must be made a part of the teaching. I communicated this to Uffner, who declared he was not in for military training, and would leave before he would comply. When I repeated that he must comply he left. I did not expel him.

If this was not expulsion, it would be interesting to know just what was necessary to be done in addition to what was done to expel this conscientious objector. It would also be interesting to have the State Board of Education define the difference between the present school law, and the Prussianism that is supposed to be the cause of the European war.

S. C.

* * *

It is the poet only who can visualize a great scene and tell it in a line. Of all who have written and spoken of the ill-starred uprising in Dublin, none seems to have grasped and sensed it as has the unknown poet whose lines appear upon another page of THE PUBLIC. The whole struggle for Irish liberty passed before him as he pleaded

For those who did not know the road,

But only saw the goal.

and cautioned the world against harsh judgment upon

The men who had no strength to wait,

But only strength to die.

S. C.

* * *

Inspiring is the news that the Farmers' Nonpartisan League is extending its influence beyond its parent state of North Dakota and bids fair to become national in its scope. Progressives who have feared a period of reaction may well take on renewed courage and Tories have good cause to feel concerned over the growth of this new opponent of predatory privilege.

S. D.

* * *

Speaking of the program of the Farmers' Nonpartisan League of North Dakota, the New York Times says in its issue of January 4:

They are going to bring Henry George to North Dakota. State socialism is to be supplemented by the Singletax. Hear the Master of the Grange.

No more taxes on barns and fencing and farmhouses and sheds. Increase the tax of the unimproved land to equalize the taxes on the improved land. The speculators created by the railroad grants have held back immense acreage from cultivation, waiting for a big rise in land values. A hail tax and an increase in land tax will cause some of these speculators to reinventory their holdings.

Of course all this is not class legislation, it is nonpartisan social equity for the benefit of farmers.

The Times, to the contrary notwithstanding, the abolition of taxes on labor and increased taxation of land values is social equity for the benefit of all useful members of society, not farmers alone. But there is a comical side to the wrath of the Times. Realizing that North Dakota farmers are no longer fooled by the threadbare plutocratic yarn about the Singletax being a burden on the farmer, it now flies to the other extreme and declares it to be class legislation for the farmers' exclusive benefit. Not the least of the services the Farmers' Nonpartisan movement has rendered is the confession it has driven The Times to make. S. D.

* * *

The progressive city of Houston, Texas, has added to its laurels by adopting the preferential method of electing city officials. The first election takes place in February. The objection has been raised that the system is complicated and hard to understand, but that is not the case. The names of the candidates are arranged in one column on the ballot. Adjacent to this list are columns for first choice, second choice and third choice votes. The voter puts his cross in the first choice column opposite the name of the candidate whom he most prefers. If the candidate has more than one opponent, and the voter feels more kindly toward one of these than to another, he may put a cross opposite the name of one in the second choice column. And if he has further choices he may so indicate. The plan is no more difficult or complicated than the old system, and ensures the election of the candidate most satisfactory to the majority. S. D.

* * *

Judge John Stelk, in his address before the Chicago Woman's Club, made some statements regarding the rights of children that may well cause the indifferent to reflect. Much has been said about birth control, and the rights of mothers; but less has been heard of the rights of children. The Chicago jurist asks boldly and unashamed what right parents have to bring children into a world where provision has not been made for their decent uprearing, training, and education; where, in short, there is no room for them. It is not necessary to accept the Judge's charge that the various business interests that profit by cheap labor have deliberately encouraged the propagation of large families;

but the fact that certain people do profit from this cause is evident. And whether they are conscious of this relationship or not they must be made aware of their responsibility. If the moral code is to be interpreted as demanding the unrestrained propagation of children, then that same moral code forbids the bringing into the world children for whom there is no room. For if it be immoral to prevent a soul from coming into the world, how much more immoral is it to curb, dwarf, and stunt the soul that does come into the world. And may it not be, when all is said and done, that the size of families, like sanitation, and many other questions, will be found intimately associated with the question of wages. Few of these troubles afflict the rich and the well-to-do. It should be an easy matter, in view of the stupendous productive power of modern labor, to put everybody on a well-to-do basis. What stands in the way? S. C.

Poor Business and Ethics.

Would a business man seriously consider a suggestion that he pay interest indefinitely on borrowed capital which he could not use, or pay rent on land equally useless to him? What would he think of a statement that he had nothing to gain by returning the useless capital or surrendering the useless land, since he could not sell either anyway? A fitting comment thereon would apply with equal force to a suggestion by Professor A. B. Clark of the University of Manitoba. In an endeavor to show that a land value tax could not compel the owner of valuable unused land to sell, Professor Clark says in an article published in the Winnipeg Free Press:

"When such a tax is first imposed it lowers the capital value of the site by the capitalized value of the tax. Thus the holder, when the tax is imposed, if he sells, must lose as much as if he held and paid the tax annually. Then why should he hasten to sell? He has simply been robbed by the law of a fraction of his property which no action of his can recover. Future holders buy the land subject to this burden, and so pay a correspondingly lower price for it. On the decision of the owner to hold or to sell for building the tax, therefore, has no influence whatever."

In paying taxes on land which he did not use the landowner would be in the position of a borrower paying interest on unused capital, or a tenant paying rent on unused land. Professor Clark cannot see why that would be poor policy when there is a way open to

avoid it. It is to be hoped that none of his students, who may enter business life, will be blinded by such teaching.

Having assumed a position so unreasonable in dealing with one phase of the subject, it is not surprising to note that the Professor takes a stand of the same nature in dealing with other phases. He objects to taxation of unearned increment except that which may accrue some time in the future, because he holds it difficult or impossible to distinguish between what is unearned in every case and what is earned. Therefore he would allow unearned values to be appropriated in cases where no such difficulty exists. The same reasoning would allow all stolen property to remain in the hands of those who have taken it because there may be difficulty occasionally in proving that some property has been stolen.

He argues that if unearned increment in land is taxed, then unearned increment in other things should be taxed also. But how does the Professor know that there is unearned increment in other things? He says, in the case of land: "What looks on the surface like an unearned increment is in many cases richly earned by the owner." So what may look on the surface like an unearned increment in something else may be unearned increment in land, or may be something richly earned. Unfortunately the only concrete suggestion of other things offered by the Professor is in a reference to "any share list." It is strange that one in his position should be so careless as to overlook that a share list consists only of certificates of title to property—frequently landed property—and an increase of value, when it occurs, is in the property represented by the shares, not in the shares themselves. But even where it can be shown that property other than land has yielded an unearned gain to the owner, taxation is not justified, unless the title to the property has no different basis than titles to land, and the unearned value was created by the public.

The argument that would have forbidden abolition of chattel slavery is also resorted to by the Professor. He says:

Government, whether central or local, however, having once admitted land into the circle of exchange, cannot now turn round and say to bona-fide purchasers that land as a gift of nature ought never to have been private property at all, and that it will resume possession by the taxation of rent up to its full value.

A mistake made, or a wrong committed, by people of generations long past, must be endured for all time according to this argument. Followed to its logical conclusion, it forbids all progress, which may run counter to financial expectations built upon confidence in maintenance of existing conditions unchanged. The Professor's ethical reasoning seems as faulty as his views on business propositions. S. D.

Recruiting the Army.

Boyden Nims of Columbia, South Carolina, who enlisted as a private in the United States army, and rose to the rank of "First Class Hospital Sergeant, with \$50 per month, and board, clothes, comfortable quarters, free medical service, and very light duties," writes that it is not so much the low pay as it is the humiliating distinctions that are made between officers and men that keep down enlistments. Though he had an abundance of material comforts his wife and children, had he married, could not have entered into the social life of any army post because of the artificial chasm that exists between officers and even the highest grade of non-commissioned officers. He continues:

That is the price that I and thousands of others are not willing to pay for an easy job in the army. There are entirely too many petty annoyances enlisted men have to submit to that in no way promote efficiency. There is too much saluting, too much standing to attention. The method of choosing cadets at West Point is unfair. These young men should be enlisted into the army in the regular way, and work themselves into West Point as they get promotion in other ways. Army Regulations need to be rewritten from cover to cover, and made to conform to the ideals of democracy. Do that and the pay of the soldier need not be materially raised to get men. The pay is really more than it looks, and promotion is fairly easy for those who will apply themselves.

When THE PUBLIC suggested raising the pay of soldiers as a means of securing army recruits, it was merely using the term "wages" in its general sense. Wages, broadly speaking, is the return for service rendered. This return may consist of other services, of goods, of honors or social distinction, or it may be in the shape of money with which these things may be bought. This paper has urged in terms the very reforms recommended by Mr. Nims; and it is pleasing to know that its position is approved by a man who has tested it in his personal experience. The American army and navy are

patterned after the European system of privileged classes. They deny nearly all the essentials of democracy, and the remainder would go, if conscription were to be adopted. Our military system must be set right, not by destroying what democratic ideals we still retain, but by removing the un-American and autocratic features already in force. To say that the army and navy should be democratized does not mean that the men should elect their own officers, or that the control of the forces should be dependent upon a vote of those in the service. But it does mean that the rights of citizenship should not be set aside when men enter the service of the Government. Since democracy proclaims the equal natural rights of all men, each should have the same right of enlistment and promotion as all others; merit alone should determine advancement, and the right of resignation should be open to all. Instead of permitting the military men on the general staff to frame a bill to draft civilians into the army, our representatives in Congress should enact a law restoring the army and navy to citizenship. There is no need for making all citizens soldiers; but there is every reason why all soldiers should be made citizens. Democracy is not to be attained by burdening all alike under military service, but by making all equal in freedom. S. C.

The Dumping Bogey.

The Chicago Herald, one of the papers frightened by the bogey of "dumping after the war," was asked by a correspondent to explain why American manufacturers would be unable to meet the competition of Europe's disorganized industries. All that the Herald could say in reply was the following:

England is making more and better shoes to-day than she ever made before, is making them more rapidly and cheaply and is utilizing American methods and machinery. Mr. Foyer seems to forget that certain industries, the operation of which is essential to the war, not only have not been robbed of their skilled employes but their staffs have been multiplied. And a shoemaker or any other mechanic when he comes back from the trenches will be a 25 per cent better man physically. Also, if the shoe industry, for instance, at the close of the war should need protection England will not hesitate to apply it, especially as a growing proportion of the labor leaders in Great Britain are in favor of abandoning the all inclusive practice of free trade.

From which it appears that after the war American manufacturers must fear competition of their own methods and machinery,

and of industries so little able to meet competition at home that they will need a tariff to protect them. The Herald ought to see that American methods and machinery are employed in this country by manufacturers who compete with other manufacturers without either putting the other out of business. Why should they fear meeting the same kind of competition from England? And is it not ridiculous that we should need a tariff to shut out foreign products of American machinery? That would be a blow at the manufacture of machinery in the United States, as well as a burden to the consumers of its products.

But why should we fear efficiency in industry anywhere? If European manufacturers have learned to produce things that we need better than we can produce them ourselves, then we are to be congratulated. It means that after the war we can live as well as formerly with less labor. Those who fear "dumping" overlook the fact entirely that, no matter how cheap goods become, they will not be dumped on our shores to be picked up free of charge by the first finder. They will be sold in exchange for products of labor. Not a dollar's worth of goods will be imported except on terms that will require a dollar's worth of labor to be performed here. Otherwise it would be a losing proposition for the foreigner and an unearned gain for us. So the more stuff that will be "dumped" the greater will be the demand for American labor to produce wealth in exchange. The most regrettable feature of the Herald's after-war prediction is that it probably will not materialize. S. D.

Distribution of Wealth.

Denying that two percent of the American people own 60 per cent of the national wealth the National City Bank of New York states in its December bulletin:

The essential point, however, is that the people who use this argument all assume that two per cent. of the population consume sixty per cent. of the food, wear sixty per cent. of the clothing, monopolize sixty per cent. of the shelter, and enjoy sixty per cent. of the comforts and pleasures of life, whereas a moment's thought ought to show that this is a fallacy.

The National City Bank is mistaken. It is not essential whether the people mentioned believe that two percent of the population do 60 percent of the consuming. The essential question is whether they have earned what

they have. If the two percent put in 60 percent of the effort needed to produce wealth, then they ought to have that proportion of the national wealth. But since some of their very conspicuous members have never been known to take an active part in production there is good reason for questioning the justice of existing methods of distribution. It is needless to argue about the accuracy of the statistics which the National City Bank questions. So long as two per cent, or any other proportion have more than they have earned, then the remaining portion must have less, and an injustice exists that is calling for a remedy.

If it is absurd, as the National City Bank says, "to suggest that two percent of the population eat sixty percent of the wheat crop," the fact only makes more clear the harm done by inequitable distribution. It is true that the man whose income is one million dollars a year cannot eat 1,000 times as much as the man who gets but a thousand, cannot wear 1,000 times as much clothes, consume 1,000 times as much fuel, or enjoy 1,000 times the shelter. But that does not disprove the fact that he gets 1,000 times the income. Because those who get more than they earn cannot consume in proportion to what they get there frequently arises a condition miscalled "overproduction." At such times there may be a glut in the wheat market, while persons in need of wheat are on the verge of starvation, or there may be a glut in the market for other commodities, while the very persons who have produced them are in want.

The National City Bank endeavors to explain inequality in distribution by dividing wealth into two classes, one "which includes all things which minister directly to our needs"; the other the kind "which are mere agencies in producing the things of the first class." In this it includes "land, factories, machinery and equipment of all kinds." It then states:

The great figures as to the amount of wealth in the hands of a few relate almost entirely to wealth of the second class. It is permanent property, which, with some deterioration, endures and is added to from year to year, while the consumable products and services which it yields figure very slightly in statistics of wealth or not at all.

So far as "factories, machinery and equipment of all kinds" are concerned the National City Bank is wrong in classing them as "permanent property" "added to from year

to year." Comparatively little of this property in use today was here ten years ago. Comparatively little of what is in use today will be here ten years hence. To replace it constant labor is required and if 60 percent of this form of wealth has passed into the hands of two percent of the population, the evidence of injustice in distribution is quite as strong as if it applied to wealth in more perishable forms.

As to land, it is hard to see why it should be classed with "property which with some deterioration endures and is added to from year to year." It does not answer to that description. It does not wear out and cannot be added to. But its ownership confers control over all opportunities for wealth production, and empowers owners to exact unearned wealth from labor. It would be far better if concentration of ownership applied to any other form of property than that. If land were freed from monopoly, it would not be possible to maintain injustice in distribution of wealth. Workers could not be denied access to opportunities and would not need to submit to unjust terms. But if complaints concerning concentration of ownership apply particularly to that form of property, the situation must be bad indeed.

S. D.

Mexico and the United States.

A great deal of ill-considered criticism has been aimed at the President and his administration because of conditions in Mexico. The ridicule and abuse that have broken out repeatedly during the President's first term were repeated when the protocol was returned by the Mexican government unsigned. Again the statement was made that all the patient conferences had come to naught. But though the work of the Administration was treated lightly, there appeared to be less urging of intervention, and less disposition to belittle General Carranza's government.

Has there really been nothing accomplished by this conference of the American and Mexican commissioners? Suppose Europe should have kept up negotiations on a similar basis since July, 1914, should we have thought nothing had been accomplished? The strain might have been somewhat trying to the nerves; but would not the world have said at the end of each inconclusive conference that mankind could

congratulate itself on the fact that war had not yet been declared. It were better that nations should wrangle and negotiate a hundred years, than that they should fight for thirty days.

It is easy to say an effort has proven a failure, but critics are not so eager to suggest plans before the event. And those lacking responsibility are free enough to have others assume it. There were two plans for handling the Mexican problem at the time the President assumed office. He could intervene, and restore by force the Diaz kind of order; or he could let the Mexicans decide for themselves—as the Americans had done before them—the kind of order they would have. The first plan was the more popular at the beginning. But as time passed, and mankind became sated with the horrors of war, few people were found to favor that plan. Many do, however, criticise the various attempts that have been made to settle the trouble without a resort to force. They appear to be particularly resentful of the way in which General Carranza has stood upon his dignity. And not a few persons who sympathize with Mexican aspirations are inclined to grow impatient at what they look upon as stubbornness.

A little reflection should show them that General Carranza has no alternative. He represents the dominant faction, but is opposed by numerous minor factions, and particularly by the old Diaz element, all of whom are watching eagerly for an opportunity to turn popular sentiment against him. And of all the pitfalls set for him it may be doubted if any is more difficult to avoid than the charge that he has betrayed his country into the hands of the United States. It is this that makes the presence of the American troops in his country so embarrassing to him. So long as they remain he cannot say to his people that he is master of Mexico; nor can he negotiate any treaty or agreement as the representative of a free government. Even should he do exactly what should be done for the good of his country, his opponents and enemies can say the agreement was made under duress, and was therefore humiliating and degrading. Besides, there will remain the dangerous fact of a precedent. It may not be used to the hurt of Mexico this year, nor in this generation; but there it will remain, a ready excuse for some hair-

trigger statesman—such as this country has already seen—to intervene in Mexican affairs.

The American of today has only to recall the thrill of pride that accompanied the reading, when a child, of General Washington's refusal to receive the letter from General Howe, addressed to George Washington, Esquire, to appreciate the Mexican's jealous regard for the dignity of his country.

The American troops in Mexico are apparently performing no service that they could not render from the north side of the boundary. Yet the very fact of their presence prevents General Carranza from accepting or agreeing to any proposal from the United States without, in the eyes of his countrymen, acknowledging the suzerainty of this country. On the other hand, the troops cannot be withdrawn without confessing ourselves in error, and submitting to a humiliation such as no nation is supposed to brook.

We have come apparently to an impasse. If a settlement is to be made within a reasonable time one nation or the other must yield. Which shall it be? If Mexico gives way, it will undermine General Carranza's authority, and it may possibly cause new outbreaks. If the United States yields it will mean nothing more than a touching of our pride, and a reflection upon the Administration. President Wilson has repeatedly shown himself to be a broad minded man. Can he not in this instance, for the sake of a people who have already paid a dear price for liberty, bear the flippant jibes of the small editors and politicians that will be showered upon him if he withdraws the troops? It is a great opportunity for a great man and a great nation.

S. C.

I wish to state you a principle which I believe to be incontestable. It is that the State cannot possibly get any other revenue than the sum of the annual productions of the land. (After labor has got just enough to induce laborers to keep on working) the total amount of the production is divided into two parts. The one is set aside for production of the future, including the interest on advances; the other part is the net produce paid to the proprietor of the land as rent. A tax which does not bear on the proprietor of the land must fall on the laborer. We cannot tax the man who receives wages without increasing the cost of his living; hence, wages must increase and the proprietor must pay the increased wages out of his net produce.—Turgot.

PROTECTIONISM AFTER THE WAR.

Whatever buncombe and rubbish the ignorant stump speakers may have uttered during the recent campaign concerning protection and labor, there is reason to believe that even among those financiers and men of affairs who are not "thinking politically," many are really anxious and apprehensive with reference to the industrial and economic aftermath of the war. Europe, they say, will be desperately poor, and will have to work her laboring classes as they have not worked for decades. Wages will fall, the workday will be long, trade union rules restrictive of output will be thrown to the wind. Efficiency and strenuousness will be the motto, and the output will be colossal. For this output markets will have to be found—near and far, anywhere and everywhere. Trade will be sought and obtained regardless of the cost of production or of profit. America, therefore, will be inundated with goods. The competition will be terrific, merciless, frenzied. Europe, moreover, will have decided advantages over us, in spite of her poverty and staggering debt: she will be disciplined, chastened, efficient and industrially "prepared." We, on the other hand, will be unprepared, slack, inefficient. Our artificial prosperity is demoralizing labor and capitalists alike; everybody is slothful, careless, extravagant, spoiled. How can we hope to cope with our competitors, then? How can we escape a crisis, a slump, a serious depression? The only way to escape is to prepare for the coming industrial struggle by raising our tariff duties and preventing the dumping of cheap goods by foreign producers.

This is the argument that has now become almost stereotyped. Is there anything "in" the argument?

Nothing substantial. The men who are making it with so fine an air of cocksureness are the same men who told us after the outbreak of the war that the United States was facing bankruptcy and panic by reason of it—since American securities would be dumped in our markets, our gold would be drained away from us, our export trade would collapse, and soup-houses would fill the land. What actually has happened, everybody knows. Yet the false prophets, the calamity howlers of two years ago, are again

loudly prophesying and howling calamity—this time peace, not war, being the deadly peril, and high protection being the remedy.

The really thoughtful writers on the subject admit that the situation is too strange, too exceptional, to warrant confident predictions or to make alarming "warnings" in the least impressive. Still, certain statements may be made with reasonable assurance.

In the first place, it is ridiculously untrue to say that Europe is now feverishly manufacturing goods of all sorts with the intention of dumping them here or in other markets. Europe is raising food and manufacturing munitions of war and destroying her capital and savings. There is no possibility of manufacturing for an uncertain future. Neither the men nor the capital can be spared.

In the second place, after the conclusion of a peace treaty Europe will need many of our products instead of having heaps of products to dump at our doors. Reconstruction and rehabilitation will require time, while the European farmers and manufacturers will not be able to wait. They will buy our iron and steel products, our lumber, our cotton, our cereals, our provisions. The American manufacturers of munitions will have to readjust their establishments, and considerable dislocation may ensue. But many industries and trades will be kept busy supplying foreign demands.

In the third place, the assumption that European wages will be drastically cut, the workday lengthened, and products sold regardless of price, is utterly baseless. Labor in Europe, as even the Tories recognize, has learned some lessons from the struggle that do *not* make for resignation, timidity, subserviency. The discharged soldiers will not submit tamely to exploitation and oppression. Wealth, not poverty, will be taxed to pay the interest of the war debt. Wages will rise, instead of falling, and capital will be too scarce to permit dumping of goods produced under a regime of high interest rates and high wages.

Finally, and granting for the sake of argument that Europe will be able, after the war, to dump goods everywhere at low prices and thus to capture lost markets or conquer new ones, would a high tariff enable us to prevent dumping and, at the same time, safeguard our own prosperity? A very high tariff

would keep foreign goods out altogether, perhaps. But could we export without importing, sell without buying? How would Europe pay for our goods, if we refused to take hers? Even the most benighted protectionists must see that to prohibit European importations, directly or otherwise, is to destroy our export trade with Europe. It should be equally plain, however, that to reduce European imports 50 per cent is to reduce our exports to Europe 50 per cent. The impoverished Europe that, by the hypothesis, is to be driven to sell at any cost, foregoing profits and depressing wages, certainly will not pay gold for our exports and will be in no position to go on paying gold indefinitely.

But, protectionists may ask, have we not had for decades extraordinarily "favorable" balances of trade? Have we not sold without buying to a very large extent? Oh, yes, we have; but we have been able to do this—superficially speaking—because we have had to pay hundreds of millions to Europe annually in interest, rent and dividends. Europe has had our bonds and stocks, representing past investments in land, railroads, mines, breweries, etc. Today, according to good authorities, the United States is almost out of debt to Europe. Securities have been repurchased in enormous quantities. We have invested capital in several parts of the world, and have furnished credit as well as goods to the warring nations. The United States is now a creditor nation, and no longer a debtor nation. The "favorable" balance must, therefore, disappear or be replaced by an "unfavorable" one. Europe, to the dismay of the protectionists, will have to pay us interest and dividends, and send us goods without getting our goods in exchange for them. This being the situation, is it not absurd and ignorant to expect to compel Europe to buy additional hundreds of millions' worth of our goods without selling to us? Thus the protection remedy for "dumping" is quack remedy in any case.

Of course, what is true of an American tariff wall is true of any other tariff wall. A policy that would be bad for us would be bad for any other nation; for no nation can buy without selling. We hear much about the markets of the Orient and of Latin America. We are solemnly warned that "prepared" Europe will drive us out of these markets if we do not dig ourselves in, in-

trench ourselves in them. And how, pray, can we do this? By trying to sell to these nations without buying of them? By forcing our capital on them, demanding interest and dividends, while refusing to purchase *their* products. Bedlam could hardly put forth more idiotic economics than our high protectionists, from Hughes down, have been putting forth under the mouth-filling phrases of America efficient, America prepared, safeguarding prosperity, etc.

The only preparedness that protectionism spells is preparedness for more hatred and jealousy, more war, more destruction and more waste. Protectionism is inefficiency and stagnation. Protectionism makes "artificial" prosperity for the few and invites general depression and international crisis. Protectionism is the curse of colonialism and so-called empire.

And yet even in England and France there are public men and economists who are advocating new customs-unions, the isolation of Germany, industrial warfare by the allies against the present enemies. Can such madness prevail? Can the allies be so blind as to permit the blind to betray them into so suicidal a course?

The true friend of peace and good will among the nations will oppose protectionism as aggressively as he opposes militarism. He will work for freer trade, for freer international intercourse, for the open door, and for the abolition of every needless restriction and every form of special privilege.

VICTOR S. YARROS.

A NEW YEAR'S SERMON

There must have been countless men and women everywhere who, pausing last night in that phantom portal which leads from one year to another, felt as I did that those bells which are at once a requiem and a reveille never sounded at a more solemn or critical moment in the history of mankind. The old doubts and hopes, the old questionings, which have always flooded the spirit at such a moment, could surely never before have been so poignant, so insistent, so intensified. Were those chimes ringing in "the nobler modes of life," the "sweeter manners, purer laws," of the poet's vision; or was it but a blacker "darkness of the land," a more fatal succession of those "foul shapes of old disease," which of late have so clouded and poisoned existence? Was that music carolling the shadowy presages of man's rebirth, or was it

but a dirge above the grave of his flouted destiny?

If we could be led, this New Year's morning, to the summit of some Pisgah mount of vision, and there look forth upon Europe narrowed to our view in faithful microcosm, what should we see? A mighty blood-soaked plain, stretching red across the entire continent, from the North Sea and the Baltic to the Black Sea and the Aegean, where vast multitudes of men are engrossed in a frenzy of mutual extermination,—not in manly opposition of muscle to muscle, but by the use of every vile refinement of mechanical and chemical cruelty which human wit has been capable of devising. Everywhere in and about this field of death are countless women and children, starving, bereft of home, stricken to the soul by the loss of those who made life dear to them. Everywhere also are great factories where women and men (those unfit for the direct work of murder) toil by day and by night forging the instruments of slaughter. And above the battle tumult, above the wails of starving children and the weeping of stricken women, above the hum of the death factories, rise the shrill voices of the shepherds of the people—the priests and journalists and statesmen—urging the armed multitudes to still bloodier assassination and the unarmed multitudes to still fiercer resentment, crying "Kill!" "Kill!" and "Hate!" "Hate!" unceasingly.

But you will urge indignantly against me that this black welter is permeated by exalted motives and noble passions which redeem it of its seemingly insensate brutality. These, you will say, I cannot see,—these I ignore. Alas, I see them as clearly as any, and they but deepen the tragedy for me. All that splendid heroism, that measureless devotion, that priceless sacrifice, now being squandered in the destruction and debasement of life,—what would these not accomplish if spent in life's upbuilding and enrichment! Save for one thing only, that mighty complex of ruin is to me the negation of all morality, all justice, all righteousness. To me the sole relief from blank despair for humanity's future lies in the hope that all that warm life-stream flowing from the heart of Europe's youth will wash out forever the ancient lie of lies that physical force is the only sure guarantee of peace.

Never was a warning to mankind fulfilled more utterly than is being fulfilled today the Christ prophecy, "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Yet how are we of America interpreting that warning, written in letters of blood and flame across the Eastern sky? In a panic of fear and cow-

ardice we are wildly throwing overboard our highest national traditions, our Christianity, our commonsense, in a scramble for armaments more vast than those that have brought Europe to its destruction. We turn eager ears to every truckling journalist, every ambitious soldier, every apostate clergyman, every sordid munition maker, every timorous millionaire,—to every false prophet of whatever class who comes to us in his sheep's clothing of hypocritical pleas and lying logic, urging that we arm to the teeth and that our youth be bent under the curse of "universal" soldiering that thereby the "peace" and "honor" of America may be "secured."

And this at a moment in history when there is before us the noblest opportunity that ever lay in the path of a Christian people,—the opportunity of leading the war-wrecked nations of the world out of the bondage of militarism into the promised land of reason and brotherhood. Instead of this base stampede to the old suicidal dependence upon brute force, imagine for a moment that we had the courage to show to mankind one nation at least that dared to base its future on the fundamental word of the Prince of Peace. Instead of squandering our millions upon implements of death, imagine for a moment that we were Christian enough to devote our wealth to the healing and upbuilding of battle-torn Europe. With this example before the world of a mighty, free, unarmed, generous-hearted people, daring to trust others as we do not hesitate to trust ourselves, a symbol to all mankind of the spirit that giveth life as opposed to the letter that killeth,—who can say what glorious blossoming of age-long dreams and aspirations might not follow! What a crusade for a high-hearted Christian people,—staking their all not to attain the sepulchre of the Saviour but to make Him and His Word a living presence in the heart of men!

But even as I write these sentences, I can hear the derisive laughter with which they will be greeted. Sentimentalism, pure and simple,—that is the word which will spring with one accord to the lips of the hard-headed and hollow-hearted everywhere. But looking upon the ruin which the counterparts of these "practical" persons have wrought in Europe, I care not what term they apply to my vision. One thing at least is certain,—that their "practicality," the alternative to my "sentimentality," has been tested to the full since the dim era of the caveman, and can show at the last for its perfect blossoming and fruition only this wide-spreading pageant of slaughter, terror and desolation.

No,—to you, the wise and practical who

abhor (or imagine you abhor) "sentimentalism," I attempt no appeal. For you Christ's message of peace and brotherhood is at the best merely a part of your languid Sunday ritual—like the clothes which you wear only to church. In the weekday life of actualities, you must base your conduct upon "considerations of fact" and "conclusions of reason." Human nature is as it is, as it always will be; and you know well enough how to deal with it. But listen for a moment to the voice of one whom some among you delight to quote for your own purposes,—one whose portrait appeared not long ago in a "preparedness" organ above the words, "John Ruskin—Militarist."

There is death in the thoughts of men: the world is one wide riddle to them, darker and darker as it draws to a close; but the secret of it is known to the child, and the Lord of heaven and earth is most to be thanked in that "He has hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and has revealed them unto babes." Yes, and there is death—infinite of death—in the principalities and powers of men. As far as the east is from the west, so far our sins are—not set from us, but multiplied around us: the Sun himself think you he now "rejoices" to run his course, when he plunges westward to the horizon, so widely red, not with clouds, but blood? And it will be red more widely yet. Whatever drought of the early and latter rain may be, there will be none of that red rain. You fortify yourselves, you arm yourselves against it, in vain; the enemy and avenger will be upon you also, unless you learn that it is not out of the mouths of the knitted gun, or the smoothed rifle, but "out of the mouths of babes and sucklings" that the strength is ordained, which shall "still the enemy and avenger."

There is the truth from the mouth of your "militarist," the truth which you shall yet take to heart or perish. And so whatever of hope I am able to summon in this dark opening of a New Year rests not in "the wise and prudent," but in the children of men. To some of them has already been revealed the vision of an America taking her place in the van of human progress, instead of bringing up the rear in the old procession of death and anarchy. Seeing with their own clear eyes the frightful evil being wrought today by man's negation of the Christ creed, they may yet have courage to make that creed a code of national conduct, for the first time in history. And in that day there will be no divided counsel in the matter of "preparedness,"—not the "preparedness" that has made an abattoir of Europe, but that which alone has the sanction of Christ and for which St. Paul was an "ambassador in bonds":

"Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace."

WALDO R. BROWNE.

THE DUBLIN EXECUTION

Sent to Frank Stephens from Ireland by an anonymous Post.

Pray every man in his abode
And let the church bells toll,
For those who did not know the road,
But only saw the goal.

Let there be weeping in the land,
And Charity of mind
For those who did not understand,
Because their love was blind.

Their errant scheme that we condemn,
All perished at a touch;
But much should be forgiven them
Because they loved much.

Let no harsh tongue applaud their fate,
Or their clean names decry;
The men who had no strength to wait,
But only strength to die.

Come all ye to their requiem,
Who gave all men can give,
And be ye slow to follow them,
And hasty to forgive.

And let each man in his abode,
Pray for each dead man's soul,
Of those who did not know the road,
But only saw the goal.

UNDER WHICH BANNER?

Sophie Bronson Titterington in the Standard (Chicago).

Sure, this is the time when the under dog
Is finding his share in the fray;
While the dog on top with his death-like grip,
With his heart of stone and his jaws that drip,
Is finding out to his dismay
That the times are changing, and this old world,
With its banner of fellowship fair unfurled,
Isn't the world of yesterday.

But the uppermost dog is fierce and strong,
Ready to fight for the old-time creed
That Might is Right, and the toiler a slave,
That Gold is king on this side of the grave.
Duped and blinded by selfish greed,
He sees not the handwriting on the wall,
Nor Humanity's thrill at tocsin call—
The prophecy all men may read.

The cry of his children has gone to God
For many a sorrowful year;
Though his mills grind slowly, they yet grind sure,
And the Word of the Lord shall aye endure,
And its meaning at last be made clear:
That Right is Might, and the toiler a man,
That Gold is not king in Jehovah's plan,
With its ministers—Pain and Fear.

Humanity's clock is striking the hour
Foretold by the prophets of old—
When cometh the year of the great release,
The lion and lamb shall lie down in peace
As the plans of the Lord unfold.
But the question rings for you and for me—
Shall the toiling man be a slave, or free?
Brothers, which is it—God—or Gold?

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending January 9, 1917

Congressional Doings.

By a vote of 48 to 17 the United States Senate passed, on January 5, the following resolution, introduced by Jones of Washington, Republican, after Senator Hitchcock had accepted it as a substitute for a similar resolution of his own:

Resolved, That the Senate approves and strongly endorses the request by the President, in the diplomatic notes of December 18 to the nations now engaged in war, that those nations state the terms upon which peace might be discussed.

Ten Republicans voted with 38 Democrats for the resolution and one Democrat, Martine of New Jersey, voted with 16 Republicans in opposition. The Republicans who voted favorably were Borah, Clapp, Cummins, Curtis, Jones, Kenyon, Lippitt, Norris, Sterling, and Townsend. [See current volume page 14.]

* *

On January 6 Congressman Adamson, chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, introduced the bill to regulate railroad strikes, as follows:

That it shall be unlawful for any common carrier, its officers or agents, subject to this act, to require or permit any employe, subject to this act, to be or remain on duty for a longer period than eight hours in any period of twenty-four hours; but such eight-hour service need not be consecutive; provided, the Interstate Commerce Commission, after full hearing in a particular case, and for good cause shown, may extend the period within which a common carrier shall comply with this provision as to such case; and the Interstate Commerce Commission is authorized, in case of disagreement or controversy, on the request of either party, or any third person, or on its own motion, to prescribe regulations of, or allowances and tolerances for, necessary overtime to be paid for at not exceeding the pro rata of wage per day.

* *

The House passed, on January 4, by 247 to 82, the bill allowing American power plants to draw from Niagara Falls, 20,000 feet of water a second, the full amount permitted under the treaty with Great Britain.

* *

The House Committee on Rules began on January 8 its investigation of how advance information was given out on the President's peace note. Thomas W. Lawson appeared but refused to give the information he had claimed to have. Joseph P. Tumulty, private secretary to the President, made a statement, in part:

I appear before this committee to resent the unjust intimation that I gave information to Mr. B. M. Baruch in regard to the so-called peace note sent

to the European belligerents last month by the Secretary of State. This intimation was contained in a statement made to this committee by Representative Wood of Indiana, a man whom I do not know. To the best of my knowledge I have never met Mr. Wood. Certainly he made no effort to find out the truth from me before dragging my name into this affair.

He denied having had any knowledge of the peace note until copies had been furnished the press, and he had never transacted any business on the stock market, and said further, "I am still waiting for Mr. Wood's public apology." President Wilson upheld Tumulty by authorizing him to issue the following statement:

I wish, in justice to Mr. Tumulty, to say that he has stated the exact fact. He had no knowledge of the note whatever until it was given out for publication.

Farmers' League Spreading.

The government of North Dakota passed into the hands of the Farmers' Nonpartisan League on January 3. In his inaugural message Governor Lynn J. Frazier outlined the program of his administration comprising erection of State-owned terminal elevators, packing plants, flour mills, cold storage plants and warehouses, hail insurance upon an acreage basis, exemption of farm improvements from taxation, rural credit bank operated at cost. [See vol. xix, p. 1235.]

* *

In a public statement on January 7, president A. C. Townley of the League announced that similar organizations have been formed in South Dakota, Montana, Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin and Michigan. These are now united into one and combined headquarters have been established in St. Paul. The intention is to make the organization national.

National Single Tax League Formed.

The final meeting of the Joseph Fels Fund Commission was held on January 3 at 122 E. 37th street, New York. Its affairs were closed and the commission dissolved, to give way to the new national Singletax organization in process of formation. A letter was received from Mrs. Joseph Fels thanking the members and declaring:

The foremost object of my life is to help toward the realization of the dream to which my husband dedicated the latter years of his life, "the best and happiest years" as he called them.

She furthermore contributed \$1,000 to the new organization.

* *

The Commission chose as trustees of the Single Tax Endowment Fund: Daniel Kiefer, Mary Fels, Charles H. Ingersoll, Lincoln

Steffens, Jackson H. Ralston, Frederic C. Howe and Bolton Hall. This fund incorporated in the District of Columbia is authorized to receive bequests for Singletax work. The form which can be safely used in drawing up wills for this purpose is as follows:

I give, devise and bequeath unto the Singletax Endowment Fund (a corporation duly organized under the laws of the District of Columbia), its successors and assigns, the sum of..... Dollars (or the following described real estate, to-wit), the same to be used, managed and controlled and disposed of in any manner the said Fund may see fit for the purpose of advancing the adoption in the United States of that method of taxation known as the Singletax.

* *

After the dissolution of the Fels Fund Commission, the Provisional Committee of the new national organization met with others interested. Alice Thacher Post was made chairman. The meeting continued on the following day, January 4. The total amount contributed up to that time for support of the association's work was \$29,250. An endeavor will be made to increase this to at least \$50,000. The name adopted for the organization was "National Single Tax League of the United States." The following constitution was adopted:

1. The name of this organization shall be The National Singletax League of the United States.
2. Its object shall be the furtherance of Singletax.
3. Its membership shall be those who enroll.
4. There shall be a National Committee, consisting of members receiving the votes of two hundred or more members of the League, such votes shall be in the form of continuous, assignable, transferable proxies.
5. The National Committee shall elect a National Chairman, each National Committeeman voting the number of promises which he holds.
6. The National Chairman shall have full executive power, shall choose his own advisors and hold office until his successor is elected.
7. The National Committee shall have power of initiative and referendum on the motion of any National Committeeman and each National Committeeman shall vote the number of proxies held by him.
8. This constitution may be amended by the action of the National Committee.

Daniel Kiefer was authorized to act as national chairman, pending election of the national committee. Appreciation of the services and devotion of Mrs. Fels was expressed in resolutions adopted. [See vol. xix, p. 805.]

San Francisco Police Methods.

The office of The Blast, the San Francisco paper edited by Alexander Berkman, was forcibly entered by detectives from the dis-

trict attorney's office on December 30, and all letters, mailing lists, files and other documents removed therefrom. The only person in the office at the time was Miss Eleanor Fitzgerald, who declares that they showed no warrant, and that they treated her roughly. The alleged object was to ascertain if some correspondence might not be found to lead to the conviction of Thomas Mooney on trial for complicity in the bomb-throwing of July. Miss Fitzgerald declares that no letter from Mooney had been received by The Blast before the explosion, nor since, except a recent communication concerning an effort to call public attention to frame-up methods practiced in the bond cases. [See vol. xix, pp. 926, 965, 1061.]

Militarism in New York.

Under the law passed at the last session of the New York Legislature, military training is being established at the high schools. Daniel Uffner, a pupil of the New Rochelle school, refused to take the training, declaring that he came for a business education and not military training. Principal Walter D. Head referred the matter to the State Board of Education, which ruled that the training is compulsory. Principal Head said he had no authority to expel Uffner, but that he will not be allowed to return to school unless he takes the training. [See vol. xix, p. 589.]

Mexico and the United States.

The American and Mexican Commissioners who drew up the Protocol of November 24, 1916, finished consideration of General Carranza's refusal to accept it on the 2d. It is expected that efforts to arrive at an agreement between the two countries by means of the present commission will be abandoned. It is intimated that Henry P. Fletcher, who was confirmed as United States Ambassador to Mexico nearly a year ago, will soon go to his post. Eliseo Arredondo, Mexican Ambassador Designate, is now on his way to Mexico to consult with his own government. He expressed himself as hopeful of a satisfactory ending of all matters in dispute between the two countries. [See current volume, page 16.]

* *

A battle is reported at Jiminez on the 4th, between the Villa forces and the Carranza forces under General Francisco Murguia, in which the former were outed with heavy losses. General Murguia is pursuing the shattered forces of Villa toward Parral.

* *

The official press bureau of the Mexican government at Washington publishes the fol-

lowing statement regarding the production of oil by the government:

As a measure of economy and in order to meet the great and constantly increasing demand for fuel, oil and gasoline in its various departments, such as railroads, etc., the government is now engaged in sinking oil wells in the Tampico region, with the best prospects for success. These wells are located in the so-called zona maritima, a belt of land 20 meters (65½ feet) in width, extending inland from extreme high-water mark. This belt is by law reserved exclusively to the nation as its special property and cannot be alienated from public ownership, although permits or leases for its use by private parties or companies are legal. But it cannot pass into private ownership, nor can the beds of rivers, lakes, or bays.

It is true concessions have been illegally granted in the past purporting to convey private ownership to such lands, and some were transferred under the Huerta regime in order to set up a shadow of title thereto and perhaps afford ground for international complications. But the law is very plain and the present government does not propose to recognize or tolerate its violation.

As soon as a sufficient flow of oil shall have been secured, and of this there can be no doubt, a refinery will be established and the large quantities of gasoline at present only procurable at high cost from outside sources for government use will be furnished at cost of production and no more. It is expected that over a hundred thousand dollars in gold will be saved monthly for fuel oil alone through the completion of these wells by the authorities, while in time there is no reason to doubt that the government will itself be able to enter the export field, since the proven oil territory that it can develop is of very large extent and easily accessible.

European War.

Military activities for the week appear to have been of minor importance. Raiding parties and artillery duels mark the extent of operations on the western front, both on the Somme and at Verdun, as well as in the Champagne district. Berlin announced on the 5th the capture of Braila, the chief port of Roumania, situated on the Danube about a hundred miles from the sea, and an advance to Galatz, ten miles further north. Dobrudja is reported to be entirely clear of Russians and Roumanians. As the German lines approach the River Sereth, the Russian resistance grows stronger. Nothing definite of importance is reported from Italy or Greece. [See current volume, page 16.]

Diplomacy attracts more and more attention. The Entente answer to Germany has provoked much discussion among the neutral nations, and caused bitter comment by the German press, the burden being that since the Allies refuse the peace offered them the war must go on to the end. The answer of

the Entente Allies to President Wilson's note is reported to be ready for delivery, but has not been forwarded. Meantime many public men in England and in France are urging that the reply comply with the President's request and state the terms upon which they are ready to conclude peace. Minister of Pensions Barnes, a member of the Lloyd George cabinet, in a public address on the 7th, said:

I should like to see something done in the way of making our general terms, or the general objects for which we are in this war, more widely known to the American people. We should accept the invitation of the American President to tell him, at any rate, what our terms or objects are; whether they should be made public is another matter.

The President should be assured that this country is not out to smash the Germans, Germany, or any one or any thing except military power and military pride. I think he may be told of our negative objects and assured that we have no idea in this war of increasing our territory or power, or anything of the kind.

* *

A conference of Entente civil officials and high military officers, including Premier Lloyd George and Lord Milner of the British Cabinet, and Premier Briand of France, held at Rome on the 5th and 6th is supposed to bear upon concerted action by their respective nations. No statement of the results of the meeting has been given to the press.

NOTES

—President Wilson nominated Lieutenant-Colonel Chester Harding on January 3, as Governor of the Panama Canal Zone [see Vol. xix, p. 517].

—Formal election of President Wilson and Vice-president Marshall, by the electors chosen in November took place on January 8. The vote was 277 to 254.

—Governor Brumbaugh of Pennsylvania urged re-submission of the woman suffrage Amendment in his message to the Legislature on January 2 [see Vol. xviii, p. 1098].

—A tax on capital stock and dividends of manufacturing corporations and a recording tax on all instruments filed for record were recommended to the New York Legislature by the State Tax Commission, of which Ogden G. Mills is the chairman.

—On the new Shipping Board to have charge of the Government merchant marine, President Wilson has appointed William Denman of San Francisco, Bernard N. Baker of Baltimore, John A. Donald of New York, John Barber White of Kansas City and Theodore Brent of New Orleans [see Vol. xix, p. 490].

—The United States Supreme Court upheld on January 8 the Webb-Kenyon act forbidding liquor shipments into Prohibition States. The vote was 7 to 2; Justices Holmes and Vandewater dissenting. The Court also upheld the West Virginia Statute forbidding importation of liquor for personal use.

—Under the New York State law requiring official recording of lobbyists, seven registered at the open-

ing of the legislative session at Albany on January 4. They announced themselves as representing the State Brewers' Association, Lager Beer Brewers' Board of Trade, Society of Restaurateurs and Anti-Saloon League.

—The cheapest bid for armor-piercing shells received by the Navy Department on January 4 was from the Hadfields Limited Corporation of England. It offered to supply 3,000 sixteen-inch projectiles in 16 months at \$513 each. The Bethlehem Steel Company asked \$775 to provide 4000 in 36 months, and the Midvale Steel Company asked \$900 each for 1000 in 24 months.

—President Wilson nominated on January 5 the three members of the United States Employees Compensation Commission to administer the Federal Workmen's Compensation act. They are Mrs. Frances C. Axtell of Bellingham, Washington, Progressive; Dr. Riley McMillan Little of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, Republican; and John J. Keegan of Indianapolis, Democrat.

—Two hundred and thirty-two tenants of apartments in Bronx Borough, New York City, who have refused to pay rent until the landlords heat their flats properly were ordered evicted by Justice Michael J. Scanlan of the Municipal Court on January 5. In addition the landlords have declared that the leaders of the tenants will be blacklisted. L. A. Malkiel, attorney for the strikers, announced that an appeal would be taken from Justice Scanlan's decision.

PRESS OPINIONS

Interesting News from Uruguay.

Christian Science Monitor, December 11.—Little Uruguay, a pastoral land, supposed by the general-ity of people to be of comparatively little importance geographically, politically or commercially, has, nevertheless, some very big and some very forward notions of the relations that ought to exist between those who work with their capital and those who work mentally or with their hands. In Uruguay, for example, the people settled long ago a question that was supposed to have been settled in the United States, up to the passage of a recent act of Congress. It is not possible for the laborer to toil for more than eight hours, daily, during six days, in Uruguay. He may work more than eight hours on any day, but he shall not, the law says, work more than forty-eight hours in a week. In Uruguay, people are found who will say to the wayfarer, "We believe in a rhythmic round of toil which makes it possible to have five-sixths of the population working every day in the week, and one-sixth resting." Now, a nation cannot be progressive long in one line before becoming progressive in others. It is no surprise, therefore, to learn that Uruguay, having solved a problem which gives the mass of its toilers opportunity to look about them, has also solved a problem that throws education open to all. There is in that country what is called "a unique arrangement," by which a student can pass from the kindergarten stage to the last moment of graduate work without paying a single penny for his tuition.

Even textbooks are provided by the State. This is a dream in most lands; in Uruguay it is a dream realized. . . . Education in Uruguay means more than book learning. The republic is training its people for every vocation into which they are likely to be called. They are educated as to the soil; they are taught how to manage live stock; they are schooled in mining, and in all the mechanical arts, and this is done without sacrifice of the cultural branches. Uruguay, indeed, offers study for its individuality, its originality and its independence.

Lansing's War.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat, December 26—Secretary of State Lansing has informed the American people that we are drawing "nearer the verge of war." That is the reason, he says, why President Wilson has asked the European nations to tell us just what they are fighting for. If we are to go into the war, the Secretary of State argues, we should know what the war is all about. Not only that, but Secretary of State Lansing should be very sharply reminded that if the United States enters the war the American people will want to know the reasons why. Up to the present time not a single one of the European nations has informed its citizens why they are fighting or what they are fighting for. And, up to the present time, the American government has not informed its citizens just what dangers threaten. . . . Our foreign minister says war creeps slowly towards us. That, mayhap, we must needs soon fight. In what cause, Lansing, in what cause? Will we range the stars and stripes with the lilies of France, the German eagle or the ensign of Great Britain? Or will we stand out opposed to all of them? Let us have done with the cryptic utterances. What war goblin gibbers and affrights official Washington? Give us facts. Secretary Lansing asks Europe why it fights. Just why would Lansing have us fight? There must be an answer. Give it to us.

Poverty-Stricken America.

December Bulletin of Merchants' Reserve Life Insurance Co. (Chicago)—United States Government statistics reveal these facts which every life insurance agent should have on the end of his tongue: 358,000 only out of 100,000,000 people report incomes in excess of \$2,500 per year. Ninety per cent. of estates of over \$5,000 are entirely dissipated in seven years. Nineteen out of every twenty fail to provide either for their old age or families. Over 8,000,000 women must work to live. Ninety-five per cent. of men engaged in business fail. Ninety per cent. of children who enter school at age six have to stop before completing the eighth grade.

CORRESPONDENCE

THIRD DEGREE IN SAN FRANCISCO.

San Francisco, December 28.

Raymond Guthrie, a sailor, is about to prefer charges before the Police Commission, that he was

brutally beaten in the city jail in San Francisco on the 22nd day of this month. This man has been of considerable assistance to the Defense League in its efforts to release the defendants in the so-called bomb cases. When not at sea, he has spent a good deal of time in the League headquarters, giving what assistance he could in the mailing, etc. I have often seen him there. Furthermore, he located a material witness, Wm. H. Taylor, who made affidavit after he had been brought back to the city, to the effect that on the 22nd of July he (Taylor) had seen a man place the suitcase that the police maintained contained the bomb; that this man was not at all similar to Billings in appearance, being dark and apparently a foreigner (whereas Billings is fair and was born in this country); and that, when he would not implicate Billings or Mooney, he was sent by the police to Stockton. Guthre says that, since finding Taylor, he has known that he was followed by detectives. He has lived in San Francisco, off and on, for about fifteen years, without being molested before.

On the 15th of this month he came off of his ship, and paid his room rent until the 29th of this month. This receipt is in my possession. On the 22nd he left the rooms of the Defense League and went over to the I. W. W. headquarters, remaining there a short time. On leaving that place, he was arrested by a policeman. According to Guthre, the policeman said to him, "You are the man we want," and took him over to the Southern Station, where he struck Guthre violently in the face. After about an hour, Guthre was taken to the city jail on Kearny street and locked up. The charge on which he was arrested was "vagrancy." At that time he had at least \$15.

A number of I. W. W. men were arrested on the 21st also, and several of them were lodged in the same row of cells as was Guthre. What happened on the morning of the 22nd is related in affidavits sworn to by several of these men. They say that, at about six o'clock that morning, Guthre and a number of the others were singing in their cells; that a guard came by and ordered them to cease singing, and that they did so without provocative remark from Guthre or the others; but that the policeman, singling out Guthre, said to him, "I will be back and take care of your case;" that he did return with another uniformed officer, and that they got Guthre out of his cell and took him to the corridor, out of sight of the other prisoners, but not out of hearing; that the affiants saw Guthre leave his cell in good condition, and saw him after he was injured. Guthre says these two policemen beat him with lead tied in the ends of sacks until he fell to the floor, and that they then continued to strike and kick him; that he was obliged to crawl back on his hands and knees to his cell, being too badly injured to walk. He is a strong man—partly Indian; he must weigh nearly two hundred pounds. When he was taken, that same day, before police-judge Morris Oppenheim, he fell from his seat in the court room to the floor; and on Sunday, when he went to Dr. Plincz, he was still weak and dizzy from the beating, and Dr. Plincz ordered him to go home and stay quietly in bed.

Oppenheim placed the bail for Guthre—for "vagrancy"—at \$100, which was raised.

I did not know anything about Guthre's case until

Saturday afternoon (the 23rd), when I found him sitting in the rooms of the Defense League as I came in there. He was a terrible sight—his face swollen almost beyond recognition, and with a long, livid streak under one partly-closed eye. I took him at once to the office of Mr. Roche, the president of the police commission—who, at least, had a good look at him, expressed interest, and said he would do what he could; but that the police would, of course, deny the assault and that there were no eye-witnesses to the attack. (There are, however, affidavits from several prisoners, members of the I. W. W. who were also arrested on the 21st and were in the same row of cells with Guthre; and these men say they saw Guthre leave his cell in good condition, and saw him returned to it injured. George Speed, the I. W. W. secretary, saw Guthre only two or three minutes before his arrest, and knows that he was then perfectly sober and in good physical condition.)

From the office of Mr. Roche I took Guthre to be examined by Dr. Ryer. On Sunday, for the sake of caution, I took him also to Dr. John Plincz, who thought no ribs were broken, but spoke of the possibility of a permanent injury to the boy's sight. Then we went to the house of Mayor Rolph, but he was away, and we had to arrange for a hearing on Tuesday morning. At that hearing, the Mayor looked at Guthre, who was still badly disfigured, expressed concern, and sent for a report from Lieut. Tobin—who was in charge of the jail on the morning of the assault. A further hearing was held on Wednesday morning before the Mayor. Tobin attended, and said he did not believe any such outrage could have taken place in the jail. He was then directed to look into the matter. Attorney Gail Laughlin, the suffrage worker, kindly consented to go with Guthre to the Mayor, and did go both times; and Miss Anita Whitney, a social worker, went the first time. Miss Laughlin will probably assist Attorney Lawlor in handling the case before the Police Commission. At the second hearing in the Mayor's office it developed that Guthre was in jail in Tonopah about three years ago in an I. W. W. free-speech fight.

Guthre is a member of the Sailors' Union, in good standing. This union appointed a committee to investigate the attack on Guthre, and promised to have the committee on hand at the hearing before the Mayor. It was not there. Feeling is bitter here among the trades unions against the I. W. W.'s; for the reason that the unions have been steadily losing in their resistance to the aggressions of the Chamber of Commerce, dissatisfied members have been seceding to the I. W. W. camp. A number have just gone from the Waiters' Union as the result of the loss of their strike.

Under these local conditions I am afraid we are not going to get much support in an investigation of this Guthre matter. It appears that in this instance we have proof that will convince any fair-minded person that a brutal attack was made on a prisoner. Several years ago a vicious assault was made on Mr. Horr in the Bush-street station of this city, after he had been arrested for distributing some anti-clerical newspapers; but in that case we could not procure affidavits to support the charges.

LOUISA HARDING.

UPHOLDING MR. BRYAN.

Sault de Sainte Marie, Michigan, December 9, 1916.

I have read with great interest Mr. Western Starr's contribution in *THE PUBLIC*, December 15, upon "Mr. Bryan's Opportunity."

There was a time when I looked upon the questions of prohibition, intemperance, and poverty exactly as Mr. Starr does, and I handled the problem in that manner in my first message as Governor of the State of Michigan.

I have changed my mind, and, if I understand Mr. Bryan's position, I endorse it.

The war against alcohol is a basal war between life and death. Just as life has been contending against death from the beginning, so it is doing now. Alcohol is one of the forms of death. It is a menace to the human race. As such its dangers must be reduced to the minimum. That is the reason of the world's movement against it.

There are a lot of things in the Bible that can be quoted upon the drink habit, and of course we shall attribute the greatest wisdom to the sayings of the Honorable Solomon; and one would be disposed also to agree with Frances Willard's statement—that which Mr. Starr credits to her but which I had never seen—that drinking is caused by poverty rather than poverty by drinking.*

But what are we to say to the fact that there is no widespread drinking in India, even before, during or after the famine time? Nor do the poor of Madagascar drink intoxicating liquors generally, and there are many poverty stricken people there. In China there is the greatest distress and most abject poverty, either sporadically or more widespread all of the time; there is no such thing as common drinking, and until the Chinese were debauched by the English, opium was not used as a contagious source of surcease.

In our own country the poor drink and in their drunkenness are temporarily immune to suffering, I suppose. On the other hand, the most miserable drunkards in America are the useless rich bibbers.

You would not say that poverty causes the cock-tail-gynocrats to drink, nor would you say that being poor causes the club drinking wherever rich men have clubs.

I have been among the peoples of the world and have seen the poor sober and the rich drunk. And I have come to the conclusion that drink causes poverty rather than otherwise. It certainly stimulates the early dissipation of fortunes bequeathed to errant sons. Possibly in that way it serves society, although there might be vastly better instruments.

I think Mr. Bryan is right. We must have prohibition. Under prohibition conditions are made wherein it is rather more difficult to secure drink. The incentive of gain is taken out of the business and so plunderers do not use it to the degree that they do where licensed liquor sales are permitted.

The great harm of drink is to the masses. It does not much matter whether a few indolent rich drink themselves to death or not, but it is of vast importance that the core of the nation shall not be burned out by booze.

* In Miss Willard's answer to Question, Club of Chicago.—
Editors of *THE PUBLIC*.

Too often it is the case that masses have not great initiative, either constructive or destructive. If they can get booze easily, they will take it. If it is difficult to obtain, they will let it alone, as a wide proposition.

I think Mr. Bryan's opportunity is in doing just what he is proposing to do, and no one is more equal to it, and I wish him Godspeed.

CHASE S. OSBORN.

BOOKS

SEEKING ECONOMIC DELIVERANCE

Democracy or Despotism. By Walter Thomas Mills, M. A. Published by The International School of Social Economy, Berkeley, California. Price \$1.00 net.

Amidst our periodic throwing up of caps and Fourth of July self-congratulations that we are not as other nations, it is well to remember that democracy and despotism are not of necessity mutually exclusive, and that in our America of to-day there exists under the forms of democracy, a despotism as soul-destroying as any that the dark ages have witnessed, or as prevailed in the ancient Greek republic of culture and enlightenment.

To demonstrate this fact, and to indicate "the pathway that leads to real deliverance," is the purpose of the little book recently issued by Mr. Walter Thomas Mills, of Berkeley, California. The text around which the treatise is written may be stated in Mr. Mills' own words, "In this country we have a politician's democracy, and a working man's despotism." In the course of tracing "the pathway of deliverance" Mr. Mills presents us with many useful and stimulating ideas. The place given to the Initiative, referendum, and recall, as instruments for making the will of the people prevail, will satisfy the instincts of every genuine democrat. The suggestion of educating the people in public affairs by the issue of a national bulletin, weekly or monthly, under the care of a Government bureau or a department of a State university, giving information free from party-bias, of all the legislative proposals at the moment before the nation, is, so far as we know, original and valuable. The analogies however, which are drawn from the comparison of the state to a business organization, are misleading. The state is not intelligibly to be visualized as a trading concern or as an industrial organization, but rather as a board

of equalization, whose function it is to hold the balance of advantage impartially between its citizens, so that a genuine equality of opportunity may be realized. Some perception of this is indicated on the third page in the words, "It is impossible to confer special privileges of any sort on any one, without at the same time enforcing corresponding disadvantages on all the rest." But the conclusion to which this premiss clearly points becomes obscured by the assumption that privilege generates itself or accrues "to economic achievement, thus securing to the few the control of the means by which the many live." We confess therefore to a difficulty in reaching a clear understanding of what Mr. Mills' social philosophy really is. In the chapter entitled "Industrial democracy," the reader must search diligently to discover what is meant by democracy control of industry, and may fail to find it.

Mr. Mills, like many other sociologists, assumes the necessity of increasing the complexity of governmental and regulative machinery, unembarrassed by the dread which haunts the minds of many, that complexity in social relationships not only makes for waste and leakage of effort, but produces that condition of unstable equilibrium under which it becomes impossible to feel sure that results will work out as was intended. What our author seems to lack is faith in the beneficent working-out of natural tendencies when undeflected by artificial or law-sanctioned privileges. Only thus can we account for the evident horror of the master-and-servant relation which finds expression in the words "the infamous relationship of mastery and slavery." This attitude towards the most useful of human institutions is difficult to understand. If one free man sells his services to another under stipulation that he will carry out not his own ideas as to how the work should be done, but the purchaser's, it is hard to trace the slightest element of despotism in the transaction. The despotism can only begin when the freedom to bargain on equal terms disappears; and then the despotism is not necessarily the despotism of a master, but of circumstances to which the master himself may be victim. It may seem puerile to dwell upon the difference of attitude among democrats on this question, but there

is reason to suspect that the frequent demand for popular control in industry brings the democratic principle into disrespect with those whose sympathies it is essential to capture. Every able man or woman, every person who can do things, knows beyond the shadow of doubt that a factory or workshop cannot be successfully managed nor a ship successfully sailed, except under a system of discipline and obedience to orders. It was the perception of this irrefragable principle that called forth the sneer of Huxley, "democracy means the putting of the captain in irons and committing the navigation of the ship into the hands of the cook, the cabin-boy, and the man before the mast."

"Things are in the saddle and ride mankind." The problem of to-day is how to get things out of the saddle, so that we may control our own movements. Valuable in detail, as is this latest contribution to the literature of sociology, it is difficult to see that Mr. Mills has done more than to show how the motions of the "things" may be so regulated that the weight of the rider may become less irksome. It may be that freedom of a kind may be attained through regulation, but most democrats will prefer the idea of a freedom that will make it possible to live with less rather than more regulation than we endure at present.

ALEX. MACKENDRICK.

* * *

TRUE AND FALSE IDEALS

Americanization. By Royal Dixon. Published by Macmillan and Co., New York. Price 50 cents net.

Mr. Dixon's special plea is for the Americanization of the new-comer. His desire is to fill him with the American ideal of citizenship—a spirit of civic pride and national honor. This, he thinks, may be done in many ways, but best of all, by ways educational. Of all the means at hand he finds that most potent which is exercised by the different Women's Clubs. That leads to what is essentially the best chapter in the book.

Without criticism, it may be urged that first, we need some agreement as to what constitutes the national ideal. Mr. Dixon very clearly repudiates the Wilson policy of non-interference as very un-American, and finds much to admire in the Rooseveltian "fight at the drop of the hat" rhodomontade. That was before the election, however. Obviously, in teaching the new-comer to ac-

cept our national ideals, one must, at times, suspend his judgment, nor too rashly attempt to impose his private opinions as to preparedness upon the benighted foreigner as a national idea, as Mr. Dixon would have done.

CHAS. J. FINGER.

* * *

The Taxation of Land Value. By Yetta Scheftel. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1916. Price, \$2.00 net.

Social Rule. By Elsie Clews Parsons. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1916. Price, \$1.00 net.

Outline of Applied Sociology. By Henry Pratt Fairchild. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. Price \$1.75.

State Government in the United States. By Arthur N. Holcombe. Published by the Macmillan Co. Price \$2.25.

* * *

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