

The Public

An International Journal
of
Fundamental Democracy

An American War Program

George Nasmyth

Genuine Universal Service

Edmund Vance Cooke

The Spirit of the Cross

Henry George, Jr.

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The Principles of Natural Taxation

By C. B. Fillebrown

The object of this book, as indicated in the preface, is to trace the metamorphosis of the land question into the rent question; of the equal right to land into the joint right to the rent of land; of the common use of the earth into the collective enjoyment of ground rent; of the nationalization of land into the socialization of its rent; of private property in land, including the private appropriation of its rent, into the public appropriation of that rent without disturbance of the private ownership of land. It is to show the single tax translated into its scientific equivalent, the re-absorption by society of its self-generated life-blood, economic rent.

Part I, devoted to the Authorities, gives a history of the singletax idea, not in cold statement of historic fact, but in brief articles on eight prominent economists who, from the seventeenth century until now, have furthered taxation reform; with appropriate quotations from each.

In Part II is brought together seven "side-lights"—little essays which have already proved popular in pamphlet form, including "Thirty Years of Henry George" and the well-known "Catechism of Natural Taxation." The Appendix contains a study of the Physiocrats, who mistakenly have been classed as singletaxers, as well as a critical account of the writings of four other land-reform theorists.

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The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

Editorial

Conscription is unnecessary in a war approved by the people. To resort to force in obtaining recruits is to create doubt as to whether the people wished war to be declared. Congressmen and Senators who vote for conscription thereby confess their own doubt. When in addition to voting conscription of men, they refuse to vote for conscription of wealth they lay themselves open to even worse imputations.

* * *

Race hatred and class antagonism appear for once to be serving a good purpose. Southern members of Congress object to universal military service on the ground that in certain parts of the country where negroes greatly outnumber the whites it would not be safe to have them armed and drilled as military units. The same objection will be made by those employers of labor who defy public opinion by operating their mines or other business ventures with strike breakers and armed guards. If all laboring men of military age were enrolled as members of the army and of the reserve it would require such a large force of gunmen to overawe the strikers as to make the cost prohibitive. Possibly a little reflection will present a different phase of conscription to Congressmen.

* * *

The entrance of the United States into the war, with the immense orders for munitions, and the stupendous bond issues, at the very moment that foreign orders ceased, and our banks were groaning with uninvested cash, appears to be miraculously opportune. So opportune, indeed, does it seem that some persons may try to trace the relationship of cause and effect. There is one way, and one way only, to disarm this suspicion. That is to see that war profits are kept at a minimum, and that the cost of the war is defrayed by taxes on surplus incomes. Secre-

tary Daniels, acting under the Federal law that empowers the President to take over manufacturing plants that refuse to sell to the Government at a "reasonable price," has arbitrarily scaled down the steel bill on ships now building to the amount of \$18,000,000. This is a good example for the other Cabinet officials to follow. What does Congress intend to do, lay the cost of the war on the poor by means of taxes on production, or upon the rich by taxing surplus incomes?

* * *

Quakers are specifically exempted from military service in the pending army bill. While this is a well-deserved compliment to the one sect that has not weakened in adherence to the Christian doctrine of peace, it was not inserted for such a purpose. If it had been then conscientious objectors not connected with a church devoted to Peace, would have been exempt also. But militarists realize the futility of trying to overcome by force such steadfast unity in devotion to principle as the Quakers have shown. Objectors outside of the church lack, or are supposed to lack, the strength which organization gives to passive resistance. So their principles will not be respected. The Quakers may point with justifiable pride to their exemption as a victory over militarism won by efficient, peaceful methods, and offer it as an example of what similar methods could accomplish in much broader fields, international politics included.

* * *

War is a serious business, and those in authority cannot exercise too much care in laying plans and selecting leaders. Men who enlist in the military service in readiness to give that last full measure of devotion to their country, are entitled to every possible care. Modern warfare, in particular, is highly specialized and requires technical training.

Physical bravery is needed on the part of the men, but the leaders must be men of experience. To entrust the lives of Americans in charge of such a man as, for instance, Colonel Roosevelt, whose military experience is confined to his ridiculous Cuban exploits, would be little short of a crime. The Colonel did not obey orders either in going to Cuba or while there. Nor would he as leader of a division of American troops in Europe obey orders. Indeed, in offering to lead a division under a corps commander, he stipulates the kind of a commander it must be. Enough incompetents will be brought to light at best, without taking up those already known.

* * *

The Chicago *Tribune* departs from its militarist principles sufficiently to serve notice on Congress that it will not obey a censorship law, if one is passed, which will forbid not only publication of military secrets, but exposures of incompetence. "As far as the *Tribune* is concerned," the editorial goes on to say, "it welcomes a sensible censorship." It is much to be feared that the *Tribune* is crying for the Moon. Unless it should be the censor itself, it will not find any censorship an altogether "sensible" one. That the obnoxious character of one feature of militarism is already apparent to a strong militarist organ is a hopeful sign. The *Tribune* may yet realize the tyrannical nature of the whole program it has been so active in preaching.

* * *

Congressman Nicholas Longworth of Ohio, who made a vigorous speech in the House for conscription on April 4, may not realize that his faith in the fairness of conscription will soon be tested in other ways than by words. Mr. Longworth is above the military age and is childless. Conscription of men cannot affect him personally. But he can prove his willingness to make personal sacrifices by voting for conscription of wealth. His distinguished fellow townsman, Herbert S. Bigelow, recently showed that the Longworth family draws an unearned income of \$900,000 a year from the people of Cincinnati. The people pay that for the privilege of living in Cincinnati and producing wealth there. Mr. Longworth will have a chance to vote for a proposition in some form to conscript \$800,000 of this \$900,000 income. That would not be as great a sacrifice as is made by the penniless conscript, but it would be a

pretty big sacrifice, nevertheless. Is Congressman Longworth ready to make it? And are the other conscriptionists in both Houses ready to demand similar service of all in a position similar to Mr. Longworth's? We shall soon see.

* * *

It is hoped that the dispatches announcing the action of the British Government in stopping the London *Nation* from going to foreign subscribers are false, or that the order will quickly be rescinded. The Government blundered when it refused to permit Bertrand Russell to come to this country to lecture, and it should not add to that mistake by withholding from the outside world the ablest exponent of British Liberalism. The *Nation* has stood by the principles of democracy with such "sweet reasonableness" that it would be a blunder approaching a crime to suppress its foreign circulation at this time. For it is now that its message is most needed to aid the democracies of the world in keeping in touch with each other.

* * *

Those grouchy persons who say "what's the use, politics will always be rotten," should not fail to note the recent resignation of a Member of Congress with a fine of \$800 and costs of \$1,200, because he spent more than \$5,000 in his nomination and election. Cynics smiled when the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1910 was passed. They laughed outright when Congressman Robert Baker rose in his place in the Fifty-eighth Congress and declined the railroad passes that had been sent to him in common with all other members of a legislative body whose action was of vital interest to the roads. It is a far cry from pass-taking Congressmen and corporation-assisted candidates to the predicament of the member from Pennsylvania just resigned; but it marks a healthy growth of political morals. And unless all signs fail, the financing of the present war will mark a still greater advance from the good old times when war meant death and hardship for one class, and wealth and honors for another. The world moves.

The Coming Evil.

Conscription from the start is embodied in the army bill presented to Congress. Young men of 19 to 25 years are to be taken from their homes and regular occupations, com-

pelled to train, and later be sent out of the country to service on European battlefields. Some will never return; others will come back mere wrecks. Such sacrifices are not necessary for the nation's defense. Japan, which has been in the war since 1914, has not yet found it essential to her own safety to send a single man to Europe. Australia has refused to send any but those who volunteer for such service. Canada has not resorted to conscription. There is no reason why the United States should take such action, unless it be in fulfillment of a design to fasten compulsory service on the country for an indefinite time, under cover of war necessity.

That the proposed conscription violates the constitutional prohibition of involuntary servitude is clear enough. But it is also clear that the militarists expect the courts to uphold this violation—should this point be raised. Nevertheless, the courts should be compelled to pass upon it as soon as the first effort at conscription shall be made. They should be given an opportunity either to save the nation's youth from military slavery or to prove the fallacy of the contention that judicial power to nullify legislation is a protection of constitutional rights.

S. D.

War and Its Obligations.

The question of war has been discussed in all its phases, and the legally constituted authorities, acting in behalf of the people, as provided by the Constitution, have rendered a decision. The nation has undertaken to secure by means of force its rights on the high seas. War has been declared. It is a closed issue. Further discussion of the fact cannot alter it in the slightest degree, but it may cause unnecessary irritation, and prove an obstacle in the way of what remains to do. For, though the fact of the war has been settled, the manner and means of its conduct are still debatable questions. How shall we get the men, and where shall we get the money?

Clearly the men should be had by voluntary enlistment. To force men in a free country to fight in a war for human liberty is a flat denial of the very issue itself. This is not a war against invasion, but to put down a foreign tyranny. It is, in a sense, a free will offering; and as a free will offering in support of the rights of mankind it must be made by free men. Nor is force neces-

sary to secure all the men we can arm. Great Britain with less than half the population of the United States voluntarily enlisted more men than we shall need; so that even should conscription be necessary in the end it should not be resorted to except as a last recourse.

The question of revenue is second only to that of men. It can be raised in ways to cause little harm and small discomfort to any class of citizens; or it may be obtained by methods that will disrupt industry and rest as a crushing burden upon the backs of the poor. A war of free offering in behalf of "the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience," as the President so happily puts it, must not be made the opportunity or excuse for the sordid commercialism that has attended most of the wars of the past. It must not have the slightest savor of a rich man's war and a poor man's fight. Nor should it end with a vast bonded indebtedness to hamper future generations. Rather must it be financed in such a way that it will require equal sacrifice of all, and hardship to none.

To institute an equitable system of taxation requires an amendment to the Federal Constitution empowering Congress to levy taxes upon the States according to property values, instead of according to population. The great disparity in the per capita wealth of the several States makes the present constitutional limitation prohibitive. The machinery for amending this clause should be set in motion at once, in order that Congress may have power to lay equitable taxes. With the attention of the country centered upon affairs at Washington such an amendment should not require much time.

Fortunately the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution provides that "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration." While under normal conditions the Government should derive its support by a tax on land values, such a tax is now impossible because of the constitutional limitation of the powers of Congress; and it might not under abnormal conditions meet the requirements of war. Recourse must be had therefore to the tax on incomes. By exempting small incomes, as at present, and making the

tax rapidly cumulative upon large incomes, ample revenue can be had to defray all the expenses of government without actual hardship to any one.

To lay taxes upon industry means that they will be added to the price of the goods and be paid by the consumers. As the poor spend all their income, while the better-to-do and the rich have some surplus, they will pay much more than their share of the tax, and will suffer great hardship. But a heavy tax on the larger incomes, taking all over a hundred thousand dollars—and if necessary, all over fifty thousand dollars—will mean no actual privation, but merely a temporary curtailment of excessively luxuriant living. Not only will such a tax cause no real hardship to any citizen, but it will cause the least disturbance of industry.

If the war be financed on credit it will mean the inflation of prices, hardship to consumers, an era of speculation, and an inevitable panic. To start the various industries incident to the conduct of war means a new demand for labor, and an unnatural advance in wages—which will lag far behind advancing prices. But if the war industries be financed by surplus incomes the new demand for labor for the manufacture of munitions will be balanced by a corresponding falling off in the demand for labor in the unproductive service of the rich. If the changes were made with sufficient care it is conceivable that every man and woman now serving the rich, either directly as personal servants, or indirectly as makers of luxuries, could be set to making supplies for the army and navy without affecting prices or wages, and without leaving a dollar of war debt at the end of the war.

What is possible, practicable, and just can be done. It must be done. The people of the country should insist that it be done. They have the power and the right, morally and legally. They lack only the knowledge. This must be given them in the quickest way possible. The initial expenditures will necessarily be met by credit; but that credit must be discharged by a sufficiently heavy graduated income tax. Leave the exemptions where they are—not because they are the best but because an attempt to reduce them would vastly burden the machinery for collecting the tax—and take the required amount from the surplus of the rich who can spare it without hardship.

Two things then are necessary to secure the war revenue: An amendment to the Federal Constitution empowering Congress to tax any kind of property "without regard to any census or enumeration"; and the adoption of a sufficiently heavy graduated income tax to meet present expenses.

S. C.

Stand by the Seamen.

One of the evil outcroppings of the present situation is the reported movement among shipping men to petition the authorities at Washington for a suspension of the Seamen's Act for the duration of the war. The attempt to set this law aside even temporarily is most unfortunate. It will tinge with suspicion not alone this action, but all other moves of a similar nature. Seamen were the last to be emancipated from compulsory labor, and the hard won freedom should not be set aside at the behest of the men who fought it so bitterly. Complaint is made that men take advantage of the provision permitting them to quit the ship while in port by leaving just before the vessel sails. If ever there was a time when a man should have the right to say for himself whether or not he shall go to sea it surely is now when death and danger lurk upon every hand. And if the men who do venture should presume to demand commensurate pay it comes with ill grace for those who are getting the present high freight rates to refuse a share. No ship leaving an American port need be short a man if it advances the wages to meet the risk. Never was this freedom of the seamen so much needed as at this very moment. There may be minor points in the law that can be modified; but the right to quit the ship while in port is fundamental, and should stand.

S. C.

Railroad Financiering.

In the April issue of *The Mediator*, Ivy L. Lee offers the following argument for increased railroad rates:

"The railroads are now doing all the business they can possibly handle. But facilities are woefully inadequate. The disparity between facilities available and traffic presented is becoming greater every day. When the railroads asked the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1910 for an increase in freight rates, railroad presidents predicted just what has now happened—if the railroads were un-

able to obtain the capital with which to provide facilities against future needs. But the Commission decided that it knew what was wanted better than the unanimous opinion of the railroad experience of the country, and no increase was granted."

If that is good reasoning for the railroads it applies with equal force to other industrial lines. But would a merchant or manufacturer, foreseeing a great increase in business, act on the principle propounded by Mr. Lee? Suppose he tried it. That would mean that he must increase his prices in the hope of laying by enough capital for the expected new business. But if he did that, would not his customers go to competitors who had not raised prices? So far from getting additional capital, he would probably lose what he had. No business man in his senses would think of resorting to such methods.

The proper method for a business man to follow in such a case would be to secure additional credit in buying supplies or borrow additional capital from a banker or other money lender. The same means of providing for increased business was and is open to the railroads as is open to business concerns prevented by competition from increasing prices.

The fact that railroads are monopolistic concerns does not alter the case. Although they can increase rates without losing all their custom, that is no reason why they should be permitted to do so. A railroad manager should possess financial ability equal at least to that of a successful corner grocer.

S. D.

Proof of the Pudding.

It is a well established fact in the minds of protectionists that tariff taxes on imports are paid by the foreigner, and that these import duties make goods cheaper than they would be without the tax. Yet protectionists appear to be slow in applying their philosophy. Mr. Brougham Villiers, in *Land Values* for March, points out that on September 17, 1914, at the very beginning of the war, the German tariff on bread, beans, butter, eggs, poultry, edible fats, fish, meat, prepared alimentary products, cereals and flour, potatoes, cheese, cattle, pigs, sheep, and margarine was suspended. Apparently free trade in these articles did not raise prices in

Germany or ruin domestic industry, for on May 6, 1915, the taxes on certain fruits, game, arrowroot, sago, tapioca, sugar, and yeast were removed. Austria took similar action on October 9, 1914, by suspending the duties on a great number of the more common kinds of foods. Italy followed suit on January 1, 1915, before she had even entered the war. Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Sweden, and Norway suspended the duties on the chief food products. Since one of the chief arguments for a tariff is that it fortifies a nation in time of war it is a little strange that countries that have had tariffs for generations should have suspended them as soon as the war began. That is, it appears strange to rational beings; it no doubt looks quite natural to persons who persist in taking an Alice-in-Wonderland point of view. Now that we also are at war, which do our protectionists recommend, that we raise the import duties on food products, or lower them? Speak up, gentlemen, shall we put the tax back on Chinese eggs, or leave it off? S. C.

Rights Menaced by War.

The Constitution of the State of New York provides as follows:

Every citizen may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press. In all criminal prosecutions or indictments for libel, the truth may be given as evidence to the jury.

The provision is clear enough. It obviously makes illegal the following resolution adopted by the Grand Jury of New York:

Whereas, the right of freedom of speech is a cherished privilege among free people and has been guarded by our institutions, there are limits which it should not be allowed to transgress at any time when it incites to violence or a disregard of the law;

RESOLVED, by the Regular Grand Jury for the County of New York at this time sitting, that it views with dismay and reprobation the tolerance shown to assemblages in the public parks, squares and streets, in allowing them to listen to and applaud utterances of a seditious nature tending to reflect upon and bring into contempt the President and Government of the United States, behind which every American should stand at all times and particularly at this juncture;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the District Attorney of this County be instructed to bring the objectionable practice to the notice of the Commissioner of Police and procure for him any authority he may need to bring such practice to an immediate end;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the District Attorney be requested to prepare a bill to submit to the Legislature for its immediate attention, making any seditious utterances a crime punishable by a severe penalty, and otherwise to suggest any legislation that may be necessary to remedy the evil.

In spite of the obvious unconstitutionality of the proposition, District Attorney Swann is said to be preparing a bill, in accordance therewith, to be presented to the Legislature. It is but one more example of how the war will be made a pretext for attacks upon the popular rights which distinguish a free country from a despotism. S. D.

Chicago's Straw Vote.

The Chicago Aldermanic election of April 3 deserves national attention, though only local issues were directly involved. The contest was one of privileged corporations seeking to get more, against democratic elements in opposition to their plans. Mayor Thompson, with the assistance wherever it was needed of the Sullivan organization, stood by the corporations. The first fight was at the primary, where Thompson and the franchise interests gained a partial advantage in preventing the official renomination of Alderman Merriam. This required considerable maneuvering. Though Merriam had a majority of votes, enough were thrown out to defeat him. Then, when a petition was presented naming him as an independent candidate, signed by 3,000 voters, the election board refused to receive it on the frivolous technical ground that the signers were referred to as "qualified" voters, and not as "duly registered."

As a result of such methods, Merriam's name did not appear on the official ballot, but no less than 10,000 voters wrote his name thereon. But 1,500 of these, unfortunately, did not exercise proper care by writing his name in full and this invalidated their vote. Merriam was not elected, but morally his victory was tremendous. His successor is discredited from the start, and the rebuke to Mayor Thompson is severe.

In other Chicago wards, similar tendencies are observable. Socialist Alderman Kennedy was bitterly fought by the franchise grabbers as was to be expected; the fight was made under cover. They did not ask that Kennedy be defeated because he is an obstacle to their predatory designs; they urged against him the fact that he is opposed to war and

had presided at an anti-war meeting. Both the *Tribune* and the *Herald* joined in this puerile argument for replacing Kennedy with some one ready to vote away the rights of the people. It is to the credit of the voters of the ward that they were not impressed by that appeal. Kennedy was re-elected by the biggest plurality received by a successful candidate at the election. He had a clear majority over his three opponents combined.

In another ward another Socialist candidate was elected, giving the party three members in the new council. There also the war issue was brought in; but accomplished nothing for the plotters who wear the mantle of patriotism in order to serve public enemies. There is nation-wide encouragement to democracy in these results. S. D.

Free Industry.

The *American Economist* asks THE PUBLIC to explain the meaning of "free industry." Since freedom means the right to do as one will without infringing on the equal rights of others, it follows that to be free useful industry must not be subjected to artificial restrictions. Abolition of the tariff would be a step in the direction of freedom, but there are other restrictions which should be removed as well. All State and local taxes on industry or its products come under this head. All tribute in the form of extortionate prices for supplies, extortionate charges for transportation and land, and other methods of exacting something for nothing are burdens from which industry should be freed.

The *American Economist* makes the mistake of holding high wages to be a burden which no industry may successfully carry if it must meet lower wage competition. Laboring under this misapprehension it urges a protective tariff. It does not see that a high wage may and usually does imply a low labor cost. Wages differ from monopoly tribute inasmuch as the laborer produces value in return. It is not a burden, but erroneously imagining it to be so, the *American Economist* fears lest high wages should prove a handicap to American industry in meeting foreign competition. Still that should make it see the advantage of relieving industry from the burden of artificial restrictions. That alone would give American producers an enormous advantage over their competitors in foreign countries not ready to rid

themselves of their own parasites on industry. And the gain would not be at the expense of American consumers.

The *American Economist* says that tariff abolition would "open the biggest and best consuming market to the products of foreign labor paid from one-half to one-tenth the wages paid in the United States." It states further in that event American labor would either accept reduced wages at "the European or Oriental levels," or "let foreigners supply the American market." The former alternative the *American Economist* declares inconceivable, leaving it to be inferred that it considers the latter inevitable.

Such reasoning overlooks some important facts. The "biggest and best consuming market" referred to consists of the 100,000,000 inhabitants of the United States. Unless these people remain at work they will cease to be the "biggest and best consuming market," for the reason that no European or Oriental producer will send anything into the United States, unless he gets paid for it. And in order to pay for imports there must be produced within the country wealth of equal value. Every dollar's worth of goods imported necessitates performance of a dollar's worth of labor in exchange, and consequently the greater the imports the greater the demand must be for American labor. And it follows also that restriction of imports compels American workers to put forth greater efforts to get no better results than a lesser effort would yield them under free trade.

Tariff abolition would enable American workers to get the same results that they get now with less labor, or greater results with the same labor.

It has been shown frequently enough that most of the low-wage foreign labor is not cheap, that it usually produces less in proportion to what it gets than American labor. But let that be waived. Let it be assumed that we are manufacturing some things which could be obtained cheaper abroad. In that case labor is being wasted. The country would be richer if this labor were devoted instead to production of those forms of wealth for which conditions here are more favorable. It is contrary to labor's interest that we shut out foreign goods in order to produce similar goods ourselves, when the same labor in the same time could produce a

greater value of some other kind of goods. The difference in value between the potential import and the potential manufacture has been lost, and labor is the loser. The *American Economist* is upholding a wasteful and injurious policy. S. D.

TAXATION AND FOOD.

By Grace Isabel Colbron.

The following tables (to which our attention is called by Mr. George H. Duncan of East Jaffrey, a convinced single taxer and a former member of the Legislature of New Hampshire) may throw some light upon the present high cost of meat. Also upon the intimate connection between taxation and the cost of living generally.

During the past four years in New Hampshire there has been an increase in the assessment of taxable value in oxen of 20 per cent., with the result that there has been a decrease of 32 per cent. in numbers. For other animals the list reads:

Cows, inc. taxable val.,	30%;	dec. in number,	6%
Neat stock,	" " 52%;	" " "	37%
Sheep,	" " 22%;	" " "	39%
Hogs,	" " 39%;	" " "	49%

The figures, extending over a period of four years, show the immediate effect of taxation in restricting industry and discouraging production. Continued, this policy means an outlook for the future which is anything but cheerful, as it will eventually lead to a meat famine. And there is little hope in the thought that other states may not be as short-sighted as New Hampshire. The facts are too well known.

* * *

If you should see a flock of pigeons in a field of corn; and if (instead of each picking where and what it liked, take just as much as it wanted and no more) you should see ninety-nine of them gathering all they got into a heap keeping this heap for one, and that the weakest, perhaps worst, pigeon of the flock; sitting around and looking on all the winter, whilst this one was devouring, throwing about and wasting it; and if a pigeon more hardly or hungry than the rest touched a grain of the hoard, all the others instantly flying upon it and tearing it to pieces; if you should see this, you would see nothing more than what is every day practiced and established among men. Among men you see the ninety-and-nine toiling and scraping together a heap of superfluities for one (and this one, too, oftentimes the feeblest and worst of the whole set, a child, a woman, a madman, or a fool); getting nothing for themselves all the while but a little of the coarsest of the provision which their own industry produces; looking quietly on while they see the fruits of all their labor spent or spoiled; and if one of the number take or touch a particle of the hoard the others joining against him and hanging him for the theft.—WILLIAM PALEY.

The Spirit of the Cross.

By the Late Henry George, Jr.

The Manuscript of This Hitherto Unpublished Story Was Kindly Given The Public for Publication by Mrs. George.

It occurred at Zima. This is a lonely little station on the Trans-Siberian line. Most of the men passengers had got off as usual to get the change and exercise, when the three taps of the station bell sounded, the train-master blew his shrill whistle and the passengers climbed on as our train began to move.

As we gathered way, the headlights of a locomotive were seen on the righthand tracks coming toward us. They were coming rapidly and belonged to a heavy passenger train which was to stop at this station.

Just when the engine had come very close, a man stepped from the platform to the tracks in front of it. Was he mad? The train was almost upon him! Was he blind, deaf? Was he drunk? He carried a small parcel close to his head? Was he hiding sight of the moving monster? Did he intend—ha! he reeled! Did he catch his foot or throw himself? He was down in a flash—down across the rails! A gasp of horror—and then the engine hit him and tossed him like a bundle of rags a dozen feet along the shining lines of steel and then again rushed toward him!

There was a grinding of brakes on our train. A tall, young German, who was standing on the lowest step of our car, jumped to the ground, and shouting something in his excitement that nobody could understand, dashed down the passage between the trains toward the spot where the man had fallen.

At the head of the other train was a passenger car with heavy iron-grated windows. Soldiers with rifles stood at the doorways. "Condemned, being transported," someone said. I looked up. Behind the bars were many faces. They were exiles coming to a living death in Siberia.

As our German passenger ran crying ahead, he was mistaken for an exile trying to escape. A shout was raised. A soldier with a drawn sword sprang from somewhere and rushed in pursuit. German, soldier, and all, came to a sudden stop at the place of the tragedy.

The man who had stepped down on the tracks a moment before was in a heap under the tender; arm and leg gone and a terrible gash on the head. White-faced men lifted him out and placed him upon our train, to be carried to the nearest point for surgical treatment. But it was against hope. The spark of life soon fled.

Who was he? Nobody seemed to know. His clothes showed him to be of the peasant class—that class that has to work so hard and gets so little in life. His face was lean and gaunt, in spite of his obvious early manhood. A reddish young beard covered his chin.

Was there no writing, nothing to identify him? Nothing. The parcel he had carried proved to be only a few old garments—perhaps all he had in the world. This unknown being, whom some woman, with fear and pain and joy, had brought into the world, had given suck, reared through childhood and youth to manhood, and perhaps his twenty-fifth year, had now closed his account with the Most High—perhaps tired to death of living the hard life on the Siberian frontier. "Finished," was entered upon the Great Ledger—finished, when life should have only begun.

I turned away physically and spiritually sickened and walked back toward my car. As I did so I was accosted by voices from a prison window of the other train. Looking up, I saw the faces of three young women peering through the bars in excited questioning. A light came from the interior, throwing their heads into silhouette. All three were less than twenty-five; not refined, but in the early flower of life, with firmness and strength in mouth and eye. One had beautiful hair, which the light behind lit up like a halo—a halo in this Siberian prison car; a halo going to the horrors of the convict life!

I understood not their tongue, but I knew from their manner and strained expressions that they asked what had happened. I said a few words and made signs toward the wheels. They caught the meaning and drew in their breath in pained sympathy.

These poor young creatures, going in a barred and guarded car to the Dread Realm of Despair, could yet pour out their hearts' feeling for one whose life had been ground out under the wheels!

Or was it that they envied him? He had now done with the pains and terrors of it all!

What could I do? What could a thousand such as I do? What can any do until the people of Russia themselves arouse from their dull submission to the military despotism that sucks the blood of their labor while it beats them with rods of iron?

I had gone further along toward my car when I was stopped by voices from another

window. This, also, was barred; but men's not women's faces, were here. One face fascinated me—that of a young student-like man, with wavy hair and gold-rimmed spectacles. I had seen his type often in New York—spoken with his kind often from the same platforms for Free Russia.

He was going—where? Perhaps to the mines! For what? Maybe for the expression of political opinions that we in this country hold as cheap as the encompassing air.

He questioned me—doubtless asked what had happened. I answered as well as I could. He, too, showed in his face his heart's pity—this better nurtured man who was going to serve the bloom of his life in the terrible wilderness! Yet he could forget self in such a plight and give his pity to another!

Is not this the spirit of the Cross? And shall it not yet overthrow the Crowned Tyranny on the banks of the Neva?

Genuine Universal Service.

By Edmund Vance Cooke.

For the past few weeks and months we have been beset by a clamor for universal military service as the only thing which will save the country. I am not sure that universal military service might not be a good thing if it were really made universal and democratic, but if democracy in the army is such a good thing, why have we not had it in the army which we already have? Will any militarist who urges universal service leave it to a vote of the men in the ranks of the regular army as to whether our army is democratic—or autocratic? Is not practically every army officer's idea of a good soldier one who obeys "the orders of his superiors" unquestioningly and unthinkingly?

How many army officers are candid enough and democratic enough to agree with Major Harlee of the Marine Corps, who stated before the Senate Sub-Committee on Universal Service: "The oath of enlistment is an oath of bondage. It marks the man who takes it as of a lower caste. I am opposed to any service except that rendered by willing men." As a recruiting officer, Major Harlee testified that it is this caste system and the fixed obligations of the enlisting oath which deter men from entering the service. He proposed that men be trained annually and be permitted to leave the service at will. Major Harlee's recommendations might go far toward making a democratic army, but how many of his associates endorse his views? Certainly not many of them who are advising "universal service" on the grounds that "universal service is democratic."

I submit it as an undisputable mathematical proposition that it is better to kill off the men of the country who have only ten, twenty or thirty years of life in them anyway, than it is to kill off the young men who have a reasonable expectancy of fifty, forty or thirty years of life. Furthermore, the chances are at least even that the physical training and

camp rigors and regularity are just what are needed to harden and rejuvenate these soft-muscled and enervated men of the banquet tables, the hustings and the inner offices of corporations. The chances are good that a considerable portion of them would come out of the army with an appetite and digestion for hardtack and sowbelly, and an increased longevity, instead of a tendency toward diabetes, such as now threatens so many of them. Let the first call be for men from sixty-five to fifty-five, the second call for those from fifty-five to forty-five, the third from forty-five to thirty-five. Men younger than that are entitled to exemption, except in cases of the direst necessity, for they have not yet had a chance to live their lives and to establish their families. Thus, when the war is over, the weaklings and the ageings will have largely disappeared and the country will be readily rebuilt by the young and the strong, the vigorous and vital. How much more sensible than to cripple and kill the young and virile and leave the future of the country to the senile and degenerate!

But sensible as this suggestion is, it will be considered as merely fantastic by so many people, that I do not urge it—at least not at present. But I do urge a universal service which shall really be universal, not one which makes a mockery of the name by enlisting youths and adolescents who have little or no voice in the enacting of such a policy or the making of public opinion, while it exempts the ones who are responsible for the procedure.

I propose a plan of universal service which shall come somewhere near fulfilling its name, a plan which will make all of us "do our bit." *I propose that we confiscate the entire income of all the people of the United States beyond that which will care for their immediate necessities, the said appropriation to be applied to the conduct of the war and to*

last as long as the war lasts and until all debts incurred by the war are satisfied.

I do not now propose the details of such a plan, except in a general way, as a suggestion. Our statisticians assert that it costs between seven and eight hundred dollars per annum to maintain an average American family in the average city, and we know that this is possible, because the incomes of the average wage-earners is less than the amount cited. However, to be on the safe side, suppose we say that the amount of income necessary to maintain a family is one thousand dollars. Then, to be entirely generous, we will double this amount and say that an American family is entitled to an income of two thousand dollars, provided that it can get it. But all over this amount of income should revert to the War Fund of the United States, and this should be a horizontal rule applying alike to coupon-clipper and coal-heaver, provided he have a dollar of income over two thousand a year.

If there is any injustice in this suggestion, where is it? War is a horrible thing and a matter of suffering and sacrifice. What sacrifice is it to a Rockefeller or a Morgan who is exempt from service? What sacrifice is it to a man with five thousand or so dollars per annum, but who never sees service? Suppose the Government does levy an income or other tax and takes a hundred thousand a year from the multi-millionaire and a hundred dollars from me, does that affect either of us in any degree? Neither of us really knows that it is taken.

But if either of us happens to have a son of nineteen or twenty and the country sends that son to the trenches, does not his father and his mother feel his loss? Do you tell me that it is justifiable to conscript a young man's years and even to demand his life, but that you may not take his father's surplus income? Are the dollars of the fathers so much more sacred than the lives of the sons?

In the name of a genuine Universal Service, let us demand something approaching a Democratic Sacrifice. While the war lasts, at least, let no one make a penny out of the blood of young manhood and the tears of motherhood. We can then make the gift of a billion dollars to France, which has been suggested, and we can do so knowing that it comes with some sacrifice from the House of Have instead of only from the House of Want. We can then pay for this war as we go, instead of resorting to the questionable, if not cowardly, expedient of saddling its debt upon our children and grandchildren. There are difficulties to be worked out in applying a plan of this sort, but they are by

no means insurmountable. They do not at all compare with the difficulties of a "universal service" which proposes to take the lives of part of our people and let another part go Scot free or even to profit thereby.

More than this, I claim, that under such an arrangement we would come out of the war with our hearts bound together by the spirit of universal sacrifice and our heads held high that each of us had done his part, and that we had not bequeathed our task and our burden to generations yet to come.

AN AMERICAN WAR PROGRAM.

By George Nasmyth.

I. America's Objects in the War.

Principles as stated by President Wilson, January 22, 1917:

- (a) A League of Nations to insure peace and justice in place of "Balance of Power";
- (b) Equality of rights among nations;
- (c) Democracy: government by the consent of the governed;
- (d) Independence and autonomy for subject nations, e.g. Poland;
- (e) Guarantee of security of life, of worship and of industrial and social development to all peoples;
- (f) Freedom of the seas and free access to the great highway of the sea for all nations;
- (g) International limitation of armaments.

II. Financial Preparedness.

Pay as you go policy during the war:

(Economically, the only sound policy is to pay for the war, as far as possible, by taxation during the war. The war must be paid for in real wealth—ammunition, shoes, clothing, food, etc.—during the war, and postponing the money payment for this real wealth only adds additional burdens of huge interest payments to the taxes which are inevitable anyway. From a military point of view, the United States will be much more secure at the end of the war, if it has not been brought to the verge of bankruptcy by excessive borrowing. Moreover, this policy will enforce economy and, incidentally, tend to shorten the war.)

New taxes upon incomes, inheritances, land values, property and war profits.

III. Industrial Mobilization.

- (a) Nationalization of all munition plants, dockyards and shipyards;
- (b) Nationalization of railways, telegraph and telephone lines;

- (c) Nationalization of mining industries, coal, iron and copper;
- (d) Nationalization of oil wells and oil industry;
- (e) Co-operation of labor unions in determining conditions of labor and control in all industries;
- (f) Government control of prices and distribution of food.

IV. Physical and Mental Preparedness.

- (a) No curtailment of funds for education, physical training, child welfare, scientific research;
- (b) Social insurance for unemployment, health, maternity, accidents and old age;
- (c) Civic relief;
- (d) National prohibition.

V. Democratic Control.

- (a) Woman suffrage by Federal action (because of increased participation of women in industry and necessity for protection);
- (b) No conscription for foreign service without a Referendum;
- (c) No universal military training without a Referendum;
- (d) No war in the future without a Referendum;
- (e) Increased publicity and democratic control over foreign policy;
- (f) The maintenance of freedom of speech, of assembly, of the press, and of conscience, and the supremacy of the civil over the military authority.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending April 10.

War Declared.

On April 4 the Senate, in accordance with the President's declaration, passed the following resolution by a vote of 82 to 6:

Whereas, The Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America; therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, which has thus been thrust upon the United States, is hereby formally declared; and

That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

The opposition consisted of Lane of Ore-

gon, Stone of Missouri, Vardaman of Mississippi, Gronna of North Dakota, La Follette of Wisconsin, and Norris of Nebraska.

On April 6, after an all-night session, at 3:30 in the morning, the House passed the resolution by a vote of 373 to 50, and the nation was thus committed to war. Those who opposed were Congresswoman Rankin; Congressmen London, Randall, Almon, Burnett, Church, Connelly (Kan.), Dill, Decker, Dominick, Hensley, Hilliard, Igoe, Keating, Kitchin, McLemore, Shackelford, Sherwood, Van Dyke, Bacon, Britten, Browne, Cary, Cooper (Wis.), Davidson, Davis, Dillon, Esch, Frear, Fuller (Ill.), Haugen, Hayes, Hull (Iowa), Johnson (S. D.), Kincaid, King, Knutson, La Follette, Little, Lundeen, Mason, Nelson, Reavis, Roberts, Rodenberg, Sloan, Stafford, Voight, Wheeler, Woods (Iowa).

On the same day the President issued a proclamation announcing a state of war and warning German subjects to conduct themselves according to law:

1. An alien enemy shall not have in his possession at any time or place any firearms, weapons, or implements of war, or component parts thereof, ammunition, Maxim or other silencer, arms, or explosives or material used in the manufacture of explosives;

2. An alien enemy shall not have in his possession at any time or place, or use or operate, any aircraft or wireless apparatus, or any form of signaling device or any form of cipher code or any paper, document, or book written or printed in cipher or in which there may be invisible writing;

3. All property found in the possession of an alien enemy in violation of the foregoing regulations shall be subject to seizure by the United States;

4. An alien enemy shall not approach or be found within one-half of a mile of any Federal or State fort, camp, arsenal, aircraft station, Government or naval vessel, navy yard, factory, or workshop for the manufacture of munitions of war or of any products for the use of the army or navy;

5. An alien enemy shall not write, print, or publish any attack or threat against the Government or Congress of the United States, or either branch thereof, or against the measures or policy of the United States, or against the persons or property of any person in the military, naval, or civil service of the United States, or of the States or Territories, or of the District of Columbia, or of the municipal governments therein;

6. An alien enemy shall not commit or abet any hostile acts against the United States or give information, aid, or comfort to its enemies;

7. An alien enemy shall not reside in or continue to reside in, to remain in, or enter any locality which the President may from time to time designate by an Executive order as a prohibitive area, in which residence by an alien enemy shall be found by him to constitute a danger to the public peace and safety of the United States, except by permit

from the President and except under such limitations or restrictions as the President may prescribe;

8. An alien enemy whom the President shall have reasonable cause to believe to be aiding or about to aid the enemy or to be at large to the danger of the public peace or safety of the United States, or to have violated or to be about to violate any of these regulations, shall remove to any location designated by the President by Executive order, and shall not remove therefrom without permit, or shall depart from the United States if so required by the President;

9. No alien enemy shall depart from the United States until he shall have received such permit as the President shall prescribe, or except under order of a court, Judge, or Justice, under Sections 4,069 and 4,070 of the Revised Statutes;

10. No alien enemy shall land in or enter the United States except under such restrictions and at such places as the President may prescribe;

11. If necessary to prevent violation of the regulations, all alien enemies will be obliged to register;

12. An alien enemy whom there may be reasonable cause to believe to be aiding or about to aid the enemy, or who may be at large to the danger of the public peace or safety, or who violates or who attempts to violate or of whom there is reasonable grounds to believe that he is about to violate, any regulation to be promulgated by the President or any criminal law of the United States, or of the States or Territories thereof, will be subject to summary arrest by the United States Marshal, or his Deputy, or such other officers as the President shall designate, and to confinement in such penitentiary, prison, jail, military camp, or other place of detention as may be directed by the President.

[See current volume, page 328.]

Labor Laws in War Time.

Samuel Gompers, in a report to the Council of National Defense, on April 6 recommended that it issue a statement urging that neither employers nor employees take advantage of the war situation to change existing standards. When conditions make a change necessary an investigation should first be made by the Council and its recommendations acted upon. He also recommended that the Council urge that no departure be made by legislatures or State administrations from existing laws or rulings regarding labor without its approval. And he further recommended

That the Council of National Defense urge upon the legislatures of the several States that before final adjournment they delegate to the Governors of their respective States the power to suspend or modify restrictions contained in their labor laws when such suspension or modification shall be requested by the Council of National Defense and such suspension or modification, when made, shall continue for a specified period and not longer than the duration of the war.

The Council unanimously approved Mr. Gompers' recommendations.

The Movement Against Conscription.

The Central Labor Council of Seattle on April 5 unanimously passed strong resolutions against war and conscription. In Birmingham, Alabama, the Trades Council adopted resolutions quoting statistics regarding distribution of wealth in the United States. Referring to the report that two per cent. of the population owns 65 per cent. of national wealth, the resolutions state:

The owners of the property are the ones to do the fighting and dying for their country;

Therefore be it resolved, when this man power is exhausted to proceed to enlist or draft from the 33 per cent of the population which owns 35 per cent of the wealth; and,

Further, when this man power is exhausted and the war still continuing, we, the Birmingham Trades Council, pledging our undying loyalty and devotion to our President, urge all union bodies and workers in general, in a word, the 65 per cent which owns the 5 per cent of the total wealth, to voluntarily prepare to fight and die, if necessary, for their homes and liberty.

The Chicago Federation of Labor also took action on April 2 against war and conscription.

* *

The most recent addition to the No Conscription Fellowship organized at Philadelphia is Professor Scott Nearing. The following to the President was delivered personally by Frank Stephens of Arden to Secretary Tumulty on April 3:

The blood guilt of this war is upon you, and neither you nor the law shall make me a sharer in it. I will neither kill nor help kill. When it seems expedient to you, as it soon must, to make an example by punishment, of those who will not obey your war laws, and who appeal to others not to obey them, I offer myself for that service to my country.

I. & R. Upheld in Mississippi.

The Supreme Court of Mississippi has definitely upheld the act of the Legislature putting in effect the Initiative and Referendum amendment approved by the people in 1914. The matter came before the court twice before, but each time the judges, while passing on the specific object of controversy, declined to pass on the validity of the Initiative and Referendum. It has now settled the question. [See volume xix, pp. 998, 1068.]

A False Press Report.

The report telegraphed from Baltimore to papers throughout the country on April 1 regarding the alleged breaking up of a peace meeting addressed by David Starr Jordan

was incorrect. The facts were that a number of irresponsible youths, some of them under the influence of liquor, broke into the meeting and tried to start trouble. One of the audience reports as follows:

It really was ludicrous to see how hard those foolish youngsters tried to "start something." We started to sing "America" and "The Star Spangled Banner," and completely broke up their efforts. There really was no special reason for leaving the theatre except that the much perturbed manager was afraid his property might be damaged. . . . The boys who created the disturbance deserved a spanking more than anything else.

The same correspondent states:

On page 330 of the issue of April 6, you give the names of those reported to be in the front ranks of the rioters in Baltimore and among them I find "Dr. J. H. Mason Knox." I feel perfectly safe in saying that I do not believe for one instant that Dr. Knox was in the crowd. As a matter of fact he is far from being a militarist.

[See current volume, page 329.]

Mexico.

Reports from time to time that large numbers of Germans have been leaving the United States for Mexico since the severing of diplomatic relations, are discredited by the Federal authorities. There are, however, considerable numbers of Germans in Mexico engaged in business, and a small number are said to be officers in the Mexican armies. This awakens interest in the reports that the Carranza troops are in pursuit of Villista troops approaching the American line in Chihuahua. No statement as to Mexico's position in the present conflict has been made other than the denial of General Carranza that he ever received the Zimmerman note, copy of which was intercepted by the United States. [See current volume, page 331.]

European War.

Trench warfare appears to have been renewed on the "Hindenburg line," the new line from Arras to Soissons. Fighting was reported during the week at various points along this line, and as far west as Ypres, and eastward to the Vosges Mountains in Alsace; but no decided changes of front have occurred until the 9th, when the British attacked in force on a twelve mile front north and south of Arras. They advanced from two to three miles on this front, capturing 9,000 prisoners, together with a large number of guns and trench mortars. Particular note is made of the aerial operations undertaken by the Allies in their efforts to determine the strength of their opponents' positions. In

the contest between aeroplanes over German territory on the 8th, twenty-eight British planes are reported wrecked, with 15 German planes destroyed and 31 crippled. The British claim to have overmastered the German planes, and to have strewn bombs on aerodomes, magazines, and depots to a distance of fifty miles behind the German lines. They took 1,700 photographs of the German positions. On the 7th the German artillery threw 1,200 shells into the city of Rheims, killing one civilian and wounding three. The French authorities have ordered everybody from the city except those engaged in its defense. No movements of note have been announced on the Russian front, nor in Roumania or Macedonia. In the East the British and Russian forces have effected a junction in Mesopotamia, northeast of Bagdad. This completes the military ring around the Central Powers, save as they dive under in submarines, or fly over in Zeppelins. [See current volume, page 332.]

* *

No changes or modifications in the submarine warfare have been reported; nor has any official announcement of the tonnage destroyed been given out during the week. The American steamship Missouri was sunk by a submarine off the coast of Italy south of Genoa. None of the crew was lost. The captain reports that he could have saved his ship had he had a gun for defense.

* *

The most important event of the week was the American declaration of a state of war with Germany, which the President issued on the 6th, after its passage by the Senate and House. Steps were immediately taken to put the nation on a war footing. As soon as war had been declared German ships interned in American harbors were seized. Ninety-six vessels all told were taken in charge by the Federal authorities, 88 steam, and 8 sailing craft, amounting to a tonnage of 628,155, and valued at \$107,250,000. Some of the ships were damaged by their crews at the time diplomatic relations were broken off, but no statement as to its extent has yet been made. No resistance was offered except by the crew of the German gunboat Cormoran, interned at the island of Guam, which blew up the vessel rather than surrender it. Two members of the crew were killed by the explosion and several others are missing. The crews of all German vessels are in charge of the Federal authorities.

* *

Austria severed diplomatic relations with

the United States on the 9th. She was not included in the declaration against Germany, nor was Turkey or Bulgaria. Germany has made no answer to this Nation's declaration of a state of war. Cuba and Panama have declared war on Germany, which will make their ports available for use by this country and the Entente Allies. Brazil, Chili, and Guatemala are on the point of declaring war against Germany. Several other South and Central American countries are restless, and an effort is being made by them to formulate an international policy. Mexico is expected to remain neutral. Seventeen nations are now engaged in the war, the Central Powers, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey on the one side, and the Entente Allies, Belgium, British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Montenegro, Portugal, Roumania, Russian Empire, and Serbia, the United States, Cuba, and Panama, on the other. Brazil, because of the loss of a ship and some of the members of the crew by a submarine without warning, is expected to declare war if the reports are confirmed. One of the first steps to be taken by the United States will be to put an end to German intrigue in South and Central American countries, and to prevent German raiders from getting supplies on this side of the Atlantic.

* *

German efforts to make a separate peace with Russia, which were on the point of success when the Czar was deposed, have been renewed through Socialist channels. It is reported that a leader of the German Socialists is now on a mission to appeal to the Russian comrades to effect a popular union of the two countries in the bonds of peace. This is one reason given for the present lack of German aggression on the Russian front.

German Unrest.

That the revolutionary sentiment of Russia is finding acceptance in Germany is evident from the increasing number of reports from that country regarding the demands of the Socialists and the progressive Germans. To Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg's declaration that that man would be foolish who should expect at the end of the war to go back to the old order, Emperor William has ordered the Chancellor to submit to him certain proposals for the reform of the Prussian Electoral Law to be discussed and put into operation after the conclusion of the war. The Emperor's stand appears to be creating much discussion. The Junkers are furious that any concessions at all should have been made, and the Socialists and radicals are impatient that reforms should be delayed till

the end of the war, when they may be denied entirely. Moderates express various shades of opinion, but all unite in attaching much importance to the fact of the Emperor's concessions. Maximilian Harden, the noted liberal editor, recommends the remodeling of the Prussian monarchy on the lines of the British. The leading Socialist paper, the *Vorwaerts*, hails the Emperor's declaration with the greatest enthusiasm as a pledge of the monarch himself that the reforms will be undertaken.

Russian Revolution.

The new government appears to be bringing order out of chaos. Perfect fidelity on the part of the army is announced. The various social and political groups maintain an active propaganda for their several programs, but no evidence has appeared to indicate marked dissatisfaction with the present administration. A congress of the Constitutional Democrats, it is reported, has declared in favor of the principle that the land ought to be handed over to the working classes. But the dispatches contain no details as to their program. Premier Lvoff announces that the entrance of the United States into the war has had a very encouraging effect upon Russian democracy. [See current volume, page 332.]

NOTES

—H. W. McFarlane, formerly of Chicago, was elected president of the Los Angeles Singletax League to succeed Mrs. Lona Ingham Robinson, resigned. The league is now located at permanent headquarters, 514 Lissner Building.

—The California State Senate on April 2 by a vote of 22 to 17 passed a bill prohibiting sale of whiskey and other strong alcoholic drinks, abolishing saloons, and allowing sale of beer and light wines in restaurants and clubs and of bottled beer to families. It must still pass the House.

—Richard Olney, former Secretary of State and Attorney General in President Cleveland's cabinet, died in Boston on April 9. His decision as Attorney General in 1894 to give the President a pretext for federal interference with the railroad strike, did much to solidify democratic opposition to the administration.

—On being haled before the New York State Senate to explain his insinuations of treason against Senator Wagner, Mayor Mitchel of New York on April 5 explained that he did not wish his remark to be so construed. The State Senate adopted resolutions professing confidence in Wagner and the incident was then ended.

—A dinner to John J. Hopper of the Manhattan Singletax Club, Register of New York County, will be given by the Democratic Club of Harlem at 226 West 125th street, New York City, on April 21, at

seven o'clock. Former Justice Samuel Seabury will preside. Other speakers will be Professor Frederick W. Roman of Syracuse University, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, James R. Brown, Justices Samuel H. Ordway and John J. Hopper.

—The Chicago aldermanic election on April 4 resulted in election of 22 Democrats, 12 Republicans and 2 Socialists. The latter have now 3 members in council, as a result. The Democratic candidate for City Clerk was elected by 32,342 plurality. The total Socialist vote in the city was about 35,000. The result is considered a rebuke to Mayor Thompson.

—The United States Supreme Court on April 9 upheld Oregon's minimum wage law, and ten-hour day law. It also decided, in a case of R. H. Macy against the Victor Talking Machine Co., that holders of patent rights have not the right to fix resale prices of their products. Another decision denies the right of patentees of moving picture machines to restrict their use to films controlled by themselves.

PRESS OPINIONS

Genuine Universal Service.

The *New Republic*, March 31.—Of supreme importance to liberals is the method of financing war. On grounds of sheer business expediency as well as just distribution of burdens, it ought to be a cardinal principle that war is to be paid for in the largest practicable measure by immediate conscription of income. Liberals should work for the most fearless taxation of large incomes and war profits. Specially heavy taxation should be put upon luxurious expenditure, upon retinues of servants, motor cars, yachts. In the interest of economy as well as democracy it is important to cut off the expenditure on conspicuous waste. . . . Liberals must fight to resist every effort to skimp on funds for education, research, and community progress. War is costly, but Europe's experience shows that the financial resources of a great nation are greater than any one had imagined. For us to enfeeble the next generation on the pretext of economy would be criminal folly, and should not for an instant be tolerated. Instead of retrenchment, there should be a vast expansion of educational opportunity and means for scientific research.

The Socialist View.

New York Call, April 7.—The long expected has happened. The United States is now at war with Germany. What is done cannot be undone. We Socialists have put up the best opposition it was in our power to put up against this measure, though we saw it coming through long months, and many of us saw it almost from the beginning of hostilities in Europe. Though we hold the same views about war in general that we have always held, it is now a condition and not a theory that confronts us. We have crossed the line, and it is futile now to "speak disrespectfully of the equator" or "disapprove of the Atlantic." The condition that exists we must endure as best we can; also whatever is to come out of it. There is no use crying over spilt milk. . . . Controversy on whether it is an offensive or defensive war is now belated and superfluous. The

one thing that seems fairly sure is, that we will not be invaded as Belgium, Poland, France and East Prussia were, and need expect none of the "horrors of war" accompanying invasion. Nor is it likely that we will pay any considerable toll in human life at all comparable with what the chief belligerents have paid. The greatest danger that we now have to look out for is the growth of militarism and the military spirit—chiefly the latter—that is now likely to arise in our midst. We must see to it, with whatever power we may possess, that all attempts "to fasten militarism on the country," as it is popularly called, are, as far as possible, frustrated. And while the war progresses it will be our part to see to it that, as far as possible, the expenses of the conflict are paid out of the profits of the exploiting class; that, if the bodies of some men are sacrificed, the wealth of others shall be dealt with in the same way. . . . So far as lies in our power, we must see to it that labor does not yield one inch of the ground it has won, while the main burden is placed on the shoulders of capital, as the capitalist system, and not labor, is wholly responsible for the war. And, finally, we must see to it that in every possible way the war must be made to subserve the cause of Socialism and industrial emancipation. The war in Europe is doing that, despite the popular, but certainly erroneous, belief that war invariably serves the cause of reaction. In that respect, war is a two-edged sword that cuts both ways.

CORRESPONDENCE

OREGON HAPPENINGS.

It is being discovered by some of the press of Oregon that the "harmonious constitution" advocates do not want any Initiative whatever, and have succeeded in submitting what the president of the State Federation of Labor characterized in a public speech recently as the "most vicious attack on the Initiative yet conceived." It is being denounced by leaders of labor, and by the Grange and Farmers' Union as dangerous and vicious. A special election has been called for June 4 to vote on ten State measures, submitted by the legislature.

In Portland a city election will be held on the same day, and a number of measures are out for Initiative signatures. Two are for new charters to restore the old councilmanic system and abolish the commission form. Some honest men in both organizations, mostly old line politicians, are pulling the strings.

A proposed establishment of a municipal lighting plant plan proposed by the commissioner of public service is being jockeyed with by the commissioners, and it may not secure a place on the ballot. The city owns a magnificent water system and can develop from 5,000 to 100,000 horse power from it without paying a cent for the water, the sites or any timber needed.

In the State at large the leading issue is a \$6,000,000 bond issue for good roads, submitted by the legislature. The land speculators have found that good roads are good things when the land owners do not have to pay for them. This bond issue is to be paid for by licenses on automobiles, and the plea,

that as there will be no taxes it is all right, seems to be acceptable to most people. Automobiles are so entering into every branch of production and service, however, that licenses on them are fast becoming a burden upon the final consumer. As the bonds are to be spent for hard surface only, and not for the roadbed it looks as if some patent paving combines expected to get a slice of the melon as well as the land speculators. The Farmers' Union, the Grange and the State Federation of Labor are opposing it. The support for it seems to have abundance of funds and enthusiasm.

Another State-wide measure is one allowing classification of property for taxation. It is opposed by a big business bunch of patriots and supported by a conservative body of reformers. The Single Taxers have nothing to do with it.

ALFRED D. CRIDGE.

Portland, Ore.

REAL PREPAREDNESS.

Thinking people are agreed upon the desirability and the necessity for preparedness; there can be no dispute upon that point. The term implies a state of being prepared, or in readiness.

The preparedness of a Woodrow Wilson, a Franklin Lane, a General Gorgas or a Jacob Schiff is not the preparedness of a Roosevelt or a Perkins, nor yet of a Hughes, a Choate or a Root. The term carries in the minds of different men vastly different implications. So do the terms of Patriotism and Americanism.

Preparedness, to the mind of a Woodrow Wilson or a Jacob H. Schiff is preparedness to make an actuality of the vision of the Prophet:

They shall sit, every man under his vine
and under his fig tree and none shall make
them afraid.

The preparedness and the readiness to assert and maintain the freedom of the common man.

Then there is that conception of preparedness which would turn our country into a military camp; and which, having eyes only for the suppositious armed foreign invader, is blissfully ignorant of that more insidious and vastly more potent foe—domestic discontent and indifference to national existence which springs from the denial of justice. It is the preparedness of might of the strongest taking for himself what he can and pushing the weaker to the wall. It takes no account of the economical truth that the earth was created for all; that all men and all people have an inalienable right to work out their own destiny and to prosper in the measure that they contribute to the enrichment of humanity. It is the preparedness of a Hohenzollern, mad with pride.

Then there is that third conception of preparedness—that of a Hughes, a Choate or a Root, the champions of things as they are, who

When their own front door is closed,
swear the whole world's warm.

They likewise see only the spectral foe beyond the walls, heedless of the fire within. Who will say that the anarchistic regime which perpetrated the Colorado outrage of a few years ago, does not hold greater perils to our national security than the fear of a

mythical foreign invader? I call to mind the poster issued by the British War Office, a year ago, calling for volunteers. It showed a pretty villa nestled in the hills with a hand pointing to it and asking, "Is not this worth fighting for?" The reply given by many of the British laborers was:

Let them that owns them fight for them!

Where there is an unjust distribution of wealth, where economic justice has lost sway, there you will find corruption chronic, public spirit lost and patriotism a thing of mockery. The leeches of privilege bleed the nation white; demagogues come into control becoming the leaders of blind desire and passion; democratic forms are discarded and brute force is enthroned.

Civilization must either progress or retrogress. There is a disposition to scoff at any intimation that we are not now progressing. It would have seemed madness indeed to have said when Rome was increasing her wealth, enlarging her boundaries, refining her manners and developing her language and literature, that at that time she was entering upon her decline. That which destroyed the civilization of Rome and the civilizations which preceded and followed it, and that which imperils our own civilization and our national existence far more than any danger of foreign invasion can, is social injustice and the inequitable distribution of wealth. The tendency of our development has been towards legal and political equality, but the forms of political and legal equality are vanity when economic justice as a basis is gone.

Everywhere the struggle for mere existence is becoming more intense and is destroying forces that make for improvement and progress. Disease, because of lack of food, bad lodging, monotonous and wearisome toil and child labor are constantly on the increase. The persistence of abject and undeserved poverty in the midst of plenty, destroys their capacity for patriotic devotion. The first requisite of preparedness requires that every man have a real stake in the country, lest we too, when the foreign aggressor is at our door, are to meet with the answer,

Let them that owns them fight for them!

Is it not the part of wisdom—to say nothing of justice—to now prepare to bring about as speedily as may be, the time when

They shall sit, every man under his vine
and under his fig tree and none shall make
them afraid.

W. LUSTGARTEN.

* * *

There might be in a town a plot of ground worth about £3 or £4 an acre. Suddenly the town spread out in that direction, with the result that the £4 per acre ground became a valuable building site. The owner might be charging £100 or £150 a year for it, and he had done nothing for it, and had never helped the industries of the town in any way. Still, he was receiving the greater part of the revenue and had contributed nothing. Those owners of such ground ought to be compelled to contribute by the first Liberal Government that came into power.—*Lloyd George at Falkirk, November 19, 1903.*

BOOKS

INTERNATIONAL MOB SPIRIT.

Germany versus Civilization. By William Roscoe Thayer. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. Price \$1.00.

This volume is characteristic of intellectual states prevailing among certain elements of our citizenship. Mr. Thayer is a graceful and able writer, whose mental balance has been unfavorably affected by the great war. His fundamental thesis is that German human nature is different from other kinds of human nature; and that the war is due to this difference.

Speaking of Belgium's resistance to the German army, the author says, "At Liege, she checked the onslaught of the Germans, who were at first surprised by her foolhardiness, and then infuriated. They quickly threw off the restraints of civilized warfare, in which they never were at ease, and proved themselves in acts the Huns they were at heart, if not by descent" (p. 139). After reciting German cruelties in Belgium, he goes on to say, "In modern war, the brutal passions which were once uppermost in all men (*italics ours*), burst into fierce activity" (p. 146). Then follows, however, in spite of this admission, an attempt to prove the existence of a special burden of guilt resting on the Germans over and above that which rests on all who have waged cruel war.

While a great deal of evidence is cited which need not here be questioned, Mr. Thayer does not succeed in proving his fundamental thesis that the rape of Belgium was due to some essential difference between the nature of Germans and the nature of other peoples. Instead, all the material which he brings forward lends itself to the conclusion that any race of human beings, having lived in the physical area now called "Germany," in what has been for ages the cockpit of Europe, dominated by a grafting aristocracy, and surrounded by other communities likewise ruled by privileged grafters, would give us the kind of exhibition with which the world is now being favored by Germany.

Mr. Thayer speaks of aristocracy and privilege in contrast with democracy, avowing himself in favor of the latter (226-227), but here again he disappoints by showing that he does not really know the historical and economic implications of these terms. With him, aristocracy and democracy have a purely political meaning. In spite of his inconsequential thesis, however, he is frequently on the scent of real principles. Speaking of the doctrine of the German state, he writes, "In theory, this state was an abstraction, existing above society or the individual. . . . [But] the real State was no abstraction: it was the Kaiser, the military clique, the Junker aristocracy and their counterparts in other German provinces" (p. 41). Here are facts. But the author does not have the training which would enable him to stick to these facts and study the world war from the standpoint of special privilege as opposed to human rights, not only in Germany, but elsewhere—in Boston, for instance.

The author should quit speculating about the balance of power as between the Junkers and their imperial chief, and pay attention to the sociological

and economic phenomena of Junkerism under various names all over civilization. Junkerism everywhere exploits the masses of the working people through ground rent and taxes, reducing their buying power, and forcing big business into a frenzied competitive hunt for outside markets. Junkerism everywhere exploits real estate values, forcing the price of land up to such a height that business enterprises are hampered, and there is a powerful rivalry among the capitalists of all nations to seek foreign investment opportunities which will bring better interest on their money than they can get at home.

But it would never occur to the author of "Germany versus Civilization" to study war from the standpoint of international rivalry engendered by social injustice. For Mr. Thayer is an academic individualist of the elder American type; and no individualist of that type, lettered or unlettered, has ever understood human history. Such an individualist may have a large quantity of bare facts in his possession; but these facts are necessarily uncorrelated, so that the resulting mental images do not correspond with the realities which the facts represent. Individualism of that kind makes you swear at the man who steps on your corns in a crowded street car, when you really ought to be swearing at the institution of legalized private graft in public franchises values. Such individualism leads to the assumption that human conduct is self-started, and that the mainsprings of morality are geared up to a spiritual mechanism which operates exclusively in terms of the personal equation.

According to the book before us, the Germans are moral self-starters and the present European exhibit is to be judged entirely on the spiritual basis, without reference to the historical, physical, sociological, and economic circumstances which have conditioned the development of the various nations at war. The volume represents a frame of mind which is too common to be ignored, and which prevails not only among the academic, but among the unlettered as well. It is a genteel example of the mob spirit which arrays nation against nation, and meanwhile overlooks the equities of life within the nations themselves.

LOUIS WALLIS.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Russia and Democracy. By G. de Wesselitsky. Published for The Central Committee for National Patriotic Organizations, by Duffield and Company, New York. Price 75 cents.

Mine Taxation in The United States. By Lewis Emanuel Young. Published by The University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. Price \$1.50 net.

The Growth of a Legend. By Fernand van Langenhove. Translated by E. B. Sherlock. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. Price \$1.25.

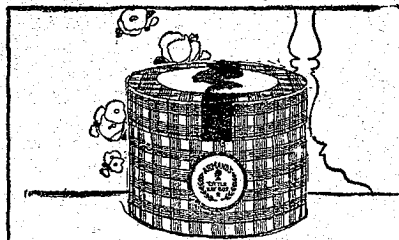
Labor and Liberty, a Model Constitution. By Samuel Rabinowitz. Published by Samuel Rabinowitz, 169 Marcy Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. Price \$1.50.

Unfair Competition. By W. H. S. Stevens. Published by The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill. Price \$1.50 net.

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Until there be correct thought, there cannot be right action. When there is correct thought, right action *will* follow. Power is always in the hands of the masses of men. What oppresses the masses is their own ignorance, their short-sighted selfishness.
—Henry George.



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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

of The Public, published Weekly, at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1917.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a Commissioner of Deeds, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Stanley Bowmar, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of The Public, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Name of—	Postoffice address—
Publisher.....	Public Publishing Co., Inc., 122 E. 37th St., New York, N. Y.
Editors...Samuel Danziger,	122 E. 37th St., New York, N. Y.
Stoughton Cooley,	620 W. 122d St., New York, N. Y.
Business Manager—Stanley Bowmar,	116 Saratoga Ave., Yonkers, N. Y.

2. That the owners are (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.):

The Public Publishing Co., Inc., 122 E. 37th St., New York, N. Y.

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Samuel Danziger, 122 E. 37th St., New York, N. Y.
Stanley Bowmar, 116 Saratoga Ave., Yonkers, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are (If there are none, so state.): None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

STANLEY BOWMAR.

Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of March, 1917.

LOUIS LIGHT.

Commissioner of Deeds.

(My commission expires Feb. 23, 1918).

New York Co. Register 18019.

"Denver, Colorado, Adopts Single Tax"

This news will soon be flashed over the wires if Ben J. Salmon's predictions are correct.

Mr. Salmon is managing the campaign for a singletax on site and franchise values in Denver. Election May 15th. He says: "Two years ago, we carried one precinct by a vote of nearly four to one—actual figures—137 to 39. I am using the same method through the city that I worked successfully two years ago in this winning precinct. Victory is inevitable."

Our plan of campaign:

- 1.—One-hundred-ninety-three women workers making a house-to-house canvass of the 193 precincts in Denver, explaining single tax, answering questions, leaving literature. Women vote in Denver, the canvassers inform them, they in turn persuade their husbands.
- 2.—Give every voter a copy of Henry George's books "The Crime of Poverty" and "The Singletax."
- 3.—Send local speakers to neighborhood meetings.
- 4.—Issue bulletins at regular intervals, answering the enemy's falsehoods, furnish copies to all voters, thus overcoming the "muzzled press."
- 5.—Bill-board the town urging people to study both sides of singletax and think for themselves.
- 6.—Have 30,000 copies of The Ground Hog containing special Denver articles, mailed to Denver voters.

Total cost of the campaign, approximately \$5,000.

Dear reader, will you donate 25c to this campaign?

The battle is raging. We earnestly appeal to you, do not delay, write your name and address on a slip of paper, wrap 25c in it and mail *now* to The Colorado Singletax Association, 220 Guardian Trust Building, Denver, Colo.

Campaign reports and account of receipts and disbursements mailed to each contributor.

The Denver measure satisfies all singletaxers. A gradual application of the principle—municipal singletax, as much as can be voted upon at a city election in Colorado. Also, it presages victory for unlimited state-wide singletax which we will vote on in Colorado at the next state election, November, 1918.

Again we urge you—act now! Win the Denver fight, give the movement an impetus all over the nation.

Colorado Single Tax Association

220 Guardian Trust Building

DENVER, COLORADO

The California Situation

To the Single Taxers of America:

Feeling it imperatively necessary that the California situation be clearly understood by you, we hereby respectfully submit a statement of the facts as they are up to date.

The unfortunate disunion among Single Taxers in California, which has prevailed for almost two years, showed its detrimental effects so plainly during the 1916 campaign that it was deemed imperative that a determined effort should be made to secure harmony and united action for the future.

To this end, an informal conference was arranged at Hotel Rosslyn, Los Angeles, on December 18, 1916, which concluded, after twelve hours' debate, in a failure to accomplish its purpose. The leaders of the Great Adventure group withdrew from that conference and the remaining delegates agreed that another conference must be called at an early date, as the Legislature was about to convene.

During the following days, three of the leading proponents of the Great Adventure idea, J. H. Griffes, Edgcomb Pinchon, and Charles James, attended a conference of the San Diego Single Taxers where, at the suggestion of Lincoln Steffens, it was agreed that, from then on, every effort should be made for harmony. All old differences, and especially personal ones, were to be wiped out, and the past was to be forgotten.

However, within a few days, Griffes and Pinchon, for reasons of their own, refused to live up to this agreement and, together with Herman Kuehn and Mrs. Lona I. Robinson, opposed all efforts to secure harmony; but in spite of this, harmony was attained among all the groups, these individuals alone standing out.

The conference decided upon in Los Angeles met in San Francisco on January 13 and 14, as the State Tax Conference.

The attendance was the largest, and the delegates most representative of all tendencies and groups ever assembled in this state, including the Socialists, Trade Unionists and many supporters of the Great Adventure in the last campaign.

J. Stitt Wilson was elected chairman, and R. E. Chadwick secretary. After all proposed amendments were submitted and considered, the convention proceeded to lay down principles that should be incorporated into a new amendment. A committee, consisting of Judge Jas. G. Maguire, R. R. Waterbury, J. H. Ryckman, of Los Angeles, Ex-Senator Bucklin of Colorado, and the secretary, all lawyers, were appointed to draft the following amendment, which was adopted, after three hours' debate, by the unanimous vote of the convention, excepting one person.

Proposed Amendment to the Constitution of the State of California:

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

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

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

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

Provided that Sections XI and XIV of Article XIII of the Constitution shall not be affected hereby in so far as they concern State revenues.

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

This amendment shall be self-executing.

At the conclusion of the State Tax Conference, it was ordered that the action of the Conference in drafting the above Amendment and in organizing the Equity Tax League should be announced to all the Single Tax organizations in the State and other bodies interested in land and tax reform, and request made for their endorsement. This was done and everyone of them endorsed it, with the exception of the unorganized Great Adventure group, who are accountable to no one.

The California Situation—Continued.

The Socialist Party at its State Conference in Fresno, on February 19, overwhelmingly endorsed the Equity Tax Measure and recommended a constitutional amendment for the acquisition of public utilities by means of a tax on land values. Union Labor, through Paul Scharrenberg, the Secretary of the State Federation of Labor, at a mass meeting of the Equity League, held in San Francisco, pledged its support.

On January 23, 1917, J. Stitt Wilson, President of the new League, and Edward P. E. Troy, of San Francisco, went to the State Capitol at Sacramento and succeeded in having the Tax Exemption Amendment introduced in both houses of the Legislature, to secure its submission to the People for a referendum vote.

On the very day when the State Tax Conference met, the Great Adventure group, consisting of four persons, published the following bill:

FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION NOVEMBER, 1918.

To secure to every adult the power to own his own home and direct his own life and work; to abolish land monopoly, wage slavery, disemployment and pauperism, by applying the Golden Rule at the base of life—

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA DO ENACT AS FOLLOWS:

Article XIII of the Constitution is hereby amended by the following section:

On and after January 1, 1920, all public revenues, state, county, municipal and district, shall be raised by taxation of the value of land irrespective of improvements thereon, and no other tax shall be levied.

The intent of this amendment is to prevent the holding of land out of use for speculation and to apply the land values which the community creates to community purposes.

All laws in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

Taxation shall be uniform throughout the State, and the legislature shall make adequate provision to carry this amendment into effect according to its intent.

The last paragraph of this bill has since been omitted.

The Great Adventure group from that time has refused all overtures for harmony, although they were advanced by some of their warmest friends, such as Judge James G. Maguire, Dr. H. R. Dessau, Judge J. H. Ryckman, J. H. McCleery, Fay Lewis, Charles James and Thomas W. Williams, State Secretary of the Socialist Party.

They have continued to publish their bill and make propaganda for it, thus creating the impression that there is disunion among Single Taxers in the State, and thereby jeopardizing the success of the measure now before the Legislature. In doing so, they are acting contrary to the spirit and purpose of the Great Adventure, which was to unify the efforts of all reformers on the abolition of land monopoly by means of the Single Tax.

We now beg to call your attention to the fundamental reasons why the Equity Tax Bill has received its overwhelming endorsement.

It is our opinion the measure proposed by the Great Adventure group cannot possibly be carried in 1918. It was the unanimous consensus of opinion at the Conference that the Equity measure can be carried in 1918. A comparison of the two measures will make this apparent to many, but those wishing further proof can get it by writing for a fuller statement, which is available.

The Equity Tax League Bill, being an exemption measure, is self-executing; the other, on its face, will require not only legislative action, but judicial construction before it can be made operative. This would mean years of delay, if not ultimate defeat.

In view of the foregoing, which we believe to be a correct and fair statement of the facts as they now are in California, we urge you to consider carefully before giving or advising moral or financial support to the Great Adventure, and that nothing shall be done to feed the flame of dissension or perpetuate a difference which, in view of the extremely slight opposition, was fast approaching a natural end. The least that Single Taxers outside the state can do is to allow us to settle our own differences in our own way, and in this desire the Single Taxers of California are practically a unit. Respectfully submitted,

**THE STATE WIDE SINGLE TAX LEAGUE
OF SAN FRANCISCO.**

(Supported the Great Adventure.)

James G. Maguire, Acting Chairman.
Fred W. Workman, Acting Secretary.

**EQUITY TAX LEAGUE OF CALIFORNIA
(San Francisco)**

J. Stitt Wilson, President.
R. E. Chadwick, Secretary.

SAN DIEGO SINGLE TAX SOCIETY.

Howard C. Dunham, President.
W. R. Edwards, Secretary.

THE OAKLAND SINGLE TAX LEAGUE.

(Supported Great Adventure.)

Dr. Henry F. Dessau, President.
R. R. Waterbury, Secretary pro tem.

LOS ANGELES SINGLE TAX LEAGUE.

(Supported Great Adventure.)

F. W. McFarlane, President.
Charles James, Secretary.

**THE EQUITY TAX LEAGUE OF SOUTHERN
CALIFORNIA (Los Angeles).**

J. H. Ryckman, President.
Tom McClellan Acting Secretary.

The ROLL of WORKERS for MARCH

Everyone listed below sent in, last month, one or more new subscriptions to The Public or co-operated on The Public Sustention Fund

Continued from last issue

Null, Jos. A.,
Osborne, Carl,
Otis, M. J. Sinton,
Paine, Alice C.,
Pamplin, B. F.,
Paterson, W. W.,
Pattison, Everett W.,
Pederson, L. C.,
Peterson, E.,
Porter, Chas.,
Porterfield, Wm. H.,
Post, Charles Johnson,
Pratt, Ada R.,
Price, M. E.,
Proctor, W. H.,
Purdy, E. A.,
Reid, A. S.,
Rhoads, Dr. E. G.,
Riley, Daniel W.,
Ridgley, R. B.,
Ross, G. W. C.,
Rusby, J. H.,
Russell, C. H.,
Ryon, P. D.,
Sayer, James J.,
Schulder, Fred,
Schutz, W. J. H.,
Scott, Alex Y.,
Scott, G. G.,
Scott, John J.,
Scully, C. D.,
Sherman, B.,
Shoemaker, R.,
Siddall, Alice I.,
Sims, R. B.,
Sinton, M. J.,
Smith, R. E.,
Smith, Wilford B.,
Soderstrom, E. E.,
Staker, J. L.,
Stearns, L. E.,
Stockwell, S. A.,
Straight Edge Industrial Settlement,
Tarver, Ben E.,
Thomson, Helen C.,
Thornton, Roger W.,
The Joseph Fels International Commission,
Tideman, S.,
Tierney, W. J.,
Todson, C. A.,
Vick, Henry,
Von Schantz, G.,
Walters, Jr., Dr. B. F.,
Waring, E. H.,
Weaver, G.,
Webb, H. F.,
Weinberger, Harry,
Wernecke, C. M.,
Werner, Percy,
Weyman, Arnold,
Wharam, John,
Whitney, H.,
Whittemore, H.,
Williamson, G. H.,
Wilson, Jas. V.,
Winslow, E. J.,
Winston, E. J.,
Wray, Chas.,
Wright, R. C.,

How's Your Apple Crop?

Far from the nearest railroad in an eastern province of Canada there is a grower of apples, who, lean years and fat, gives one-tenth of the net profit on his crop to further educational work.

"Apples very good this year," he writes with his second check for \$50 since January 1.

The educational method he has chosen is to send The Public to editors of country newspapers—a field full of potential power. One editor is a battalion in himself once he takes up the pencil in the cause of democracy.

* * * * *

How's your apple crop this year? We have a list of the editors in every State.

Double the Circulation of The Public This Year

Letters on our Campaign. No. 2

Mr. Stanley Bowmar, Publisher,
"The Public,"
122 East 37th Street,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Bowmar:—

The vim that others put into their campaigns, we should put into our campaign.

I have to confess that this year I have secured directly only two subscriptions for "The Public"—nobody could be worse at that sort of thing than I. All the same, if other subscribers, younger, better salesmen or women, better people, would do even half as well in the rest of the year, we would have—well you know all that. Let's get it—not dream about it.

The new enthusiasm for war is likely to swamp reason, at least as applied to improvement of social conditions. "The Public" will remain almost the only way that most of us will have of getting our views clearly stated—and read.

A woman said to me last week "Why, anything that ought to be done, can be done," then she promptly got up and did what we men had all said couldn't "be did." (I think she believes in God, which is dangerous.)

Yours cordially,

BOLTON HALL.

April 3, 1917.
29 Broadway, New York.