

tributary causes. The most important, perhaps, was the complete capitulation, two years ago in the State campaign, of the Progressive leaders to the Republican machine, and their energetic efforts to elect a Republican State ticket. A determined stand at that time would have earned the Progressives the respect of both parties, but as it was true progressives and independents, having no confidence in the stability of the rank and file of the Progressives and distrusting their leadership, preferred casting their votes with the older parties.

Another weakness, in spite of their unusually attractive State platform, to a discussion of which they could well have devoted their time, was the disposition of Progressive speakers to criticize President Wilson's policies without substituting any definite policy of their own. The resulting inference was that the "Big Stick" would play a prominent part in Progressive policies. The awful European struggle is bringing home to the American people the fact that their lives and property are much safer in Mr. Wilson's hands than they would be if Mr. Roosevelt's hair-trigger notions of "honor" were now the national policy.

CORRESPONDENT.



HOW WAR MIGHT HAVE BEEN AVOIDED

London, September 22, 1914.

Things are very difficult indeed, here. The war has divided, and at the same time united us. The one great camp for carrying on the war is full of men and women of every creed and faith; it is very hard to keep out. I am in a tiny minority which believes war is hell; that it settles nothing, and that peace and truth and justice are the factors that make for right. But good will come out of it all, I am sure.

Germany and France are cursed with landlordism. In both of these countries private ownership of the national and social wealth attaching to land exists, and is used for private instead of communal benefit. Had the democracies of both countries learned the lesson taught by Henry George they would by taxation have secured the fullest use of land in a profitable sense, and at the same time assured to the community all the value which nature and society give to the earth. By this means both would have been developed, and the enormous tariffs and taxes which now burden the workers have been lifted. Expansion and aggrandizement at the expense of each other would have been seen to be unnecessary.

GEORGE LANSBURY.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

SOMETHING FOR NOTHING

East Orange, N. J., Sept. 23.

Two men stood viewing a business block filled with huge skyscrapers. One remarked, "Just think, if I had bought this land twenty years ago at a thousand dollars an acre, all I would have to do now would be to count my money." This thought is expressed not once a day, but many thousand times. Not the least consideration is given to the fact that, from the highest standpoint, money derived from real

estate speculation is neither deserved nor earned. To get the money, that is the chief thing.

Passing through the precious metal mining districts in the West one observes hundreds of thousands of abandoned prospect holes into which untold time, labor and material resources have been thrown, and for the most part without return. There are tunnels which have been driven several miles into mountains at an enormous expense and without an ounce of value being taken out. One meets with numerous "old-timers" who have spent all of their working lives, sometimes forty years, in fruitlessly working their prospect holes. All that awaits these men now is the poorhouse.

The point is that their contribution to the wealth of the world has been nothing at all. In fact they have been "living off" society, and this because they entertained the hope of digging out of the earth that which would enable them to live in luxury. If the same labor had been applied to any other occupation, not only they but society would be better off.

If a prediction may be made, this will be the test of work in the not far distant future: Whether by its performance society is really enriched. Each man will become as dependent upon his own efforts for his living as if he were the last man on earth. Under this rule the arts and sciences will not decrease; they will rather increase. But the spirit which prompts a man to invest money or labor with the hope of unusually large returns will be discouraged. All rewards which do not proceed from actual service will be strictly taboo.

As a forerunner of this change we may even now observe a growing attitude that looks upon the possession of large wealth as unsocial and therefore immoral. When we have made it an absolute rule that value shall be given only when value is received, is it too much to expect that in at least one vital department of human relations our moral tone will be infinitely raised?

E. W. VAN VALKENBURGH.



STAMP TAXES OR TARIFF TAXES.

Philadelphia, October 3, 1914.

The Philadelphia Public Ledger holds that: "Every stamp on a document after the war tax has been levied will be an argument for a return to the protective system."

Let us think. The policy of "protection," so-called, is not designed to produce revenue, but to make importations so costly by fines, duties that buyers will be turned to higher priced domestic goods. In case of "a return to the protective system," to avoid stamp taxes (paid to the government), the buyers will pay taxes which will not reach the treasury, but will go to support industries which cannot support themselves. "Protected" industries are essentially parasitical. In his "Life of Benton" Mr. Roosevelt says truly that most political economists consider protection to be "false in theory and vicious in practice."

It is clear that the Ledger had in mind "tariff for revenue." This does produce revenue for the government. But I know of no political economist who defends it. Our own protectionist economist, Henry C. Carey, in Past, Present and Future (p. 492), says: "Tariffs for revenue should have no existence." And

Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson in *Political Economy* (p. 232), says: "Duties for revenue . . . are highly unjust."

As it is clear that "protection" is not intended to produce revenue, but to prevent importation a return to the protective system could not take the place of the stamp system.

Of tariffs for revenue Dr. Thompson says (p. 232): "They inflict all the hardship of indirect and unequal taxation without even the purpose of benefiting the consumer."

In one important particular stamp taxes are inestimably superior to either the grossly immoral private taxes known as "protection," or the "tariff for revenue" taxes, which no economist defends: that particular is this—that stamp taxes are visible, and sometimes "direct" (not shifted), but tariff taxes for "protection" or for government are never visible, always shifted. Not being direct they are, of course, indirect. An indirect tax is a crooked tax.

SAMUEL MILLIKEN.

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of *The Public* for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, October 6, 1914.

The European War.

The Campaign in the West is still confined to the activities in the north of France, and in Belgium, where little material change has been officially reported since last week. In the East, Russia claims to have gained in its campaign against Germany; and Russia, Servia, and Montenegro have continued their advance into Austria. Land and naval engagements are reported from the Kiao-Chau campaign, but nothing decisive. No naval engagement of moment has taken place. [See current volume, page 945.]

The Franco-German Campaign.

Continuous fighting through the third week of the battle of the Aisne has brought no decisive results. The position of the armies still remains in the form of a carpenter's square, the point being at the junction of the Aisne and Oise rivers, the long arm extending easterly to Metz, and the short arm northerly toward the Belgian border. Repeated efforts have been made by the Germans to break through the Allies' lines at Verdun and in the neighborhood of the forest of Argonne, but without success. The plan of the Allies apparently continues to be the turning movement against the German right wing. They have continued to extend their line to the north, which has compelled the German right under General von Kluck to parallel it, and the two armies are now within a few miles of the Belgian border. The most of the

fighting has been along this line, with little advantage to either side in direct assaults, but with relative gains by the Allies. The censorship suppresses all information as to re-enforcements, and the detailed movement of troops; but it is believed that the Indian troops from India have now reached the firing line, and that England is sending in troops from Ireland, the colonies, and from home. Some of these are supposed to be used in the turning movement; and there are reports that a force is now at Ostend that will be used to still further flank the German right wing. It is estimated that this new English force numbers 100,000. Decisive action in this campaign is not looked for for some days to come. No reliable data has been given out as to the number of men in the armies engaged, or the casualties; but both are known to be large.

The Campaign in Eastern Europe.

The reports emanating from Petrograd and from Berlin are so contradictory, and the censorship of press dispatches is so complete that the exact situation along the Russo-German line is not known. Each side claims advantages, but the belief is that the German forces are retreating before the advance of the Russians. Petrograd reports that the attempted invasion of Russia from East Prussia was checked at the Nieman River, and that their defeat at Augustowo will enable the Russians to re-invade East Prussia. The successes of the Russian arms in Austria are more pronounced. The Russians now claim all of Galicia except the fortified town of Przemysl, which is now invested, and the territory adjacent to Cracow which the Austrians and Germans still hold. The passes in the Carpathians have been taken, and Cossacks have entered the plains of Hungary. From Budapest comes the report that the Cossacks have already crossed the River Theiss, which had been looked upon as a bar to their progress. This invasion, while not yet in force, is intended to frighten the people, and to interrupt the recruiting and training of new forces. Servia has retaken Semlin, the Austrian city on the Danube shortly above Belgrade. In Bosnia the Servian and Montenegrin forces are reported approaching the fortifications of the capital, Sarajevo. Austrian reports, however, claim defeat for the Montenegrin forces.

Belgium.

The Germans are pressing the siege of Antwerp with vigor, though there is some doubt still that the action is more than for the purpose of preventing the Belgians from meddling with the German line of communications. The Germans claim to have silenced three Belgian forts south of the city, and to have compelled the Belgians to fall back behind the River Nethe. It is ex-