

The Public

A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy, and
a Weekly Narrative of History in the Making.

Vol. XVII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1914.

No. 870.

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Published by STANLEY BOWMAR, Manager
Ellsworth Building, 527 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Canadian and Foreign, \$1.50

Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at Chicago,
Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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EDITORIAL

Contradictions of Militarism.

Militarists tell us that a standing army and a big navy are the best guarantees against war. They also assure us that war is beneficial, for a number of reasons needless to repeat. What they do not explain is the desirability of maintaining a supposed guarantee against an alleged benefit.

S. D.



Jingoes, Cannibals and Civilization.

The ways of true civilization are incomprehensible to the confirmed barbarian. That is why the Wilson policy of non-intervention in Mexico is so incomprehensible to the American disciples of the statesmen responsible for the European situation. The perplexity of these disciples and their newspapers over the evacuation of Vera Cruz is as amusing as the perplexity of a cannibal chief on noting that his civilized friend does not dine off of his weaker brother. Yet cannibals have been educated into understanding of this mystery, so there is hope for American jingoes.

S. D.



Pensions and Patriotism.

The statesmen of Great Britain are realizing the difficulty of maintaining a government part free and part bound. Governments that frankly rest upon militarism, such as Germany, Russia and Austria, and those less autocratic, but still having compulsory military service, such as Italy and France, are not troubled with questions of the care of men wounded or disabled in battle, or of their wives and children when the men are killed. The pension question in these countries is of very small importance; but England, which has hitherto escaped conscription, and which has filled its armies and manned its ships by means of voluntary enlistments, is finding the question of pensions embarrassing. The radical press, and even the Liberal papers, have been very severe in their

criticism of the government's action in regard to pensions. And if we are to believe some of the critics the apathy regarding enlistments is in large degree due to the unsatisfactory condition of the pension scheme now in practice. But once the question of pensions is raised as a right of the men and a duty of the government there seems to be no place to stop, short of placing all men upon a plane of equal footing as to sacrifice for country. If a country is to maintain its independence, if its government is to survive, if its institutions are to be preserved, the question arises as to how much each citizen is to contribute.



When a laboring man gives his life in defense of his country, and leaves his family helpless and dependent upon charity, he may well be said to have contributed his all; whereas a man with wealth who has at the same time paid a certain amount of taxes has made no such sacrifice. The critics are pointing out that the laboring man who returns from the war a cripple has been deprived of his power to earn a living; but the man of means who returns, even when disabled to the same degree, enjoys an income that prevents either himself or his family from suffering privation. Hence, the point is made that the sacrifice of the two men is very unequal. And the conclusion seems unescapable that if the demands of service made on the citizens by the state is to be impartial the state must call upon the rich for the same proportion of their possessions as it does upon the poor. And if it takes all from the poor it must take all from the rich. Naturally the government is not at present prepared to go this length; and so, instead of using the present wealth of England to carry on the war, they are resorting to the time-honored expedient of making loans, which simply means the transference of the larger part of the financial burden to the shoulders of future generations.



Nothing of the future, either in men or in materials, will be used in this war. It is the present men and the present wealth that will be consumed. The idea is to use the men without paying for them, but to pay for the wealth used. Hence, the prosecution of this war means the piling up of another great war debt, which will be paid by the people of the future. This means nothing more nor less than that the heirs of the present owners of wealth will enjoy incomes from the bonds now issuing, while the heirs of the working people will be compelled to pay those incomes.

One of two courses is open to countries like England, either they must resort to conscription, or so reform their pension system as to remove the present gross inequality in the sacrifices of the citizens. If the statesmen shall ever arrive at the point of making the sacrifices absolutely equal, or if the people shall insist upon such equality, wars from that moment will cease. When governments take the wealth of the rich with the same freedom that they take the lives of the poor, the Peace Court of The Hague will be exalted, and even questions of honor and national integrity will be gladly submitted to arbitration. S. C.



The Strongest Defense.

"Nations which have been built on force have died. Those which have trusted in armies and fleets have gone down. Why do not the nations learn that righteousness is mightier than dreadnaughts?" In these few words, Secretary of State William J. Bryan at Chicago on November 29 presented a powerful argument which can not be refuted by all the clamor of jingoes and militarists, and by all the pleas for increased armies and navies. The establishment of justice at home by any nation—something none has yet done—will make its destruction too great a calamity to the outside world to be favored by the most selfish. Justice in dealing with foreign nations will remove whatever other danger there may be of provoking an attack. Armies, navies and fortifications are poor substitutes for such defense.

S. D.



How to Stop Violation of Neutrality.

The placing of orders for war material by foreign belligerents with American concerns will probably result in lodging of protests with the State Department, if this has not been already done. That such shipments should be prevented seems clear enough. But in undertaking such prevention, care must be taken that it actually result in prevention of bloodshed. Otherwise it will have no object. If an armed individual should protest on grounds of humanity against giving of arms by a third party to an unarmed person whose life he threatens, there will be nothing gained by heeding the protest, should the protestor continue to threaten his defenseless antagonist. So if one belligerent nation protests against securing of arms by its antagonist from the territory of a neutral nation, the heeding of the protest should be made to depend on prompt accept-

ance by the protesting nation of offers of mediation. Acceptance of such mediation must not be accompanied by difficult conditions. In no other way can interference with shipments be prevented from becoming an aid to one belligerent at the expense of the other. Should mediation be refused by the protesting nation, then it will no longer have reasonable ground for complaint concerning shipments. Should its antagonist refuse, then it can not justly complain about stoppage of shipments. The same action should be taken in the case of requests, said to have been made, that the United States endeavor to prevent alleged violation of neutrality by South American nations. If we must be annoyed and subjected to trouble and loss in order to satisfy participants in an inexcusable foreign war, it is not too much to demand in return cessation of fighting.

S. D.



The Iniquitous War Tax.

Richly deserved will be whatever condemnation may fall upon the Democratic party for the war tax which went into effect on December 1. It is the one measure enacted into law during this administration for which no reasonable excuse has been offered. If Congress was unwilling to meet the emergency for which it provided by reducing expenditures, it could have adopted the bill introduced by Congressman Bailey of Pennsylvania, which levied a surtax on incomes in excess of \$20,000. But the Democratic majority evidently considered party discipline more important than the public good and so voted instead for the present measure because urged by floor leader Underwood. The enforcement of this law must necessarily arouse just resentment. Good politics as well as good morals require the repeal of this law as quickly as possible.

S. D.



Prosperity and the Balance of Trade.

A number of Democratic papers have adopted the standpat habit of insisting, contrary to fact, that prosperity is here. Like the standpatters, they ignore the existence of widespread poverty and distress. Like the standpatters, their notion of general prosperity is prosperity limited to a small class. And like the standpatters, they are basing their false claims on the Balance of Trade fallacy. The fact that exports exceeded imports during the month of October by \$57,000,000 is being paraded as an indication. Fifteen years ago President McKinley pointed to a similar favorable balance and declared that we were

going to be paid for it in pure gold. But McKinley either did not know or ignored the fact that similar balances have been accumulating since 1833, and few, if any of them, have been paid in pure gold or anything else. These so-called favorable balances usually mean nothing more than so much wealth sent out of the country without return. Included in them must be tribute paid to foreign owners of American lands and to holders of securities in monopolistic enterprises. So far from being an indication of prosperity, this excess of exports usually indicates the reverse. There is nothing in the Treasury Department's report to show that October's balance is of a different nature than most of its predecessors. Democratic papers should be in better business than continuing to spread this old fallacy, or imitating the McKinleyite practice of pretending to see non-existent prosperity.

S. D.



A Fair Return to Capital.

The New York World, in commenting upon the more kindly public feeling toward railroads, says:

Granger wrath against common carriers would never have arisen to dangerous height if railroad managers had played fair; if they had charged traffic what it cost, not what it would bear; if they had demanded interest returns only on capital invested, not water; if they had refused to build up one enterprise or one community at the expense of others by discriminating rates or by secret rebates. In proportion as railroads deal fairly with the public in future, they may more and more confidently expect fair dealing in return.

That is true enough. Neither railroad men, nor any other class of men, should expect justice from the public till they render justice in return. But it should not be forgotten that railroad men are of the same species as the rest of us, and if their piccadilloes are somewhat more conspicuous than the general average, their temptations should not be overlooked. Reprehensible as their conduct has been, it is merely a more dramatic form of what the commercial world in general has been doing.



They should have "demanded interest returns only on capital invested, not water." That sounds good, and it is to be hoped that the World will thoroughly familiarize itself with the sound. It may be instructive in this connection to note the handling of mining properties. One set of men gets from the state a long strip of land, with the right to run trains of cars on it; another set of men get from the state parcels of land bearing

minerals. Neither property is worth much, because few people live in the territory through which the road is to run, and the mineral land is too far from the market to permit delivery. The rail men build the road from the city to the mining lands. Immediately there is a sharp rise in the value of the land, a rise that can be attributed only to the presence and service of the road. Settlers locate along the line of the road, and the value of the land both in the right of way and in the farms advances. Farm land worth three dollars an acre before the road was built is worth fifteen dollars after it is in operation, and arises ultimately to one hundred or two hundred dollars an acre.



Note, however, the difference in public opinion as it bears upon the several cases. The mine owners, who invested a hundred thousand dollars in mineral land before the advent of the railroad, find it worth a million, or five million dollars, when the road is in operation. No one raises the question of watered stock. Should the mine owners combine and fix the price of coal at seven dollars a ton, a great hue and cry is raised against cormorant trusts; but the owners may individually charge six dollars and ninety-five cents a ton, and the people not only pay it cheerfully, but they congratulate the owner, and hold him up as an example for their children to emulate. The same is true of the early settlers. The land that was occupied at nominal homestead prices becomes so valuable that the owners retire to a neighboring town and live on the rent paid by the tenants. No question of watered stock is raised in connection with the farmer. But the railroad men who invested a million dollars find that their little strip of land has advanced along with the mineral land and the farms, and that the property for which they paid one million dollars is worth two million dollars. The only legal way they have of distributing this value is to issue more stock. But no sooner is this done than the farmers and the mine owners and all the other landowners raise the cry of watered stock. They who are drawing earnings on a valuation of ten, twenty, perhaps fifty, times the amount of their original investment, rend the earth and shake the heavens because the railroad men presume to collect dividends on twice the value of their investment.



The railroad men should not attempt to collect earnings on twice the amount of their investment; but it is not for other land owners who are col-

lecting on twenty times the amount of their investment to denounce them. It is to be hoped, moreover, that the editor of the World, who has studied the railroad problem to such good purpose, will apply the same line of reasoning to the owners of the land on each side of the railroad right of way. If it is immoral for the owners of the narrow strip of land upon which the road runs to keep to themselves the value that the community has conferred upon their holding, it must be equally immoral for the owners of the rectangular pieces of land comprising the farms and mines to retain the vastly greater community values that have come to them. Has the editor of the World the courage to denounce all watered stock, and to call upon all citizens to content themselves with "interest returns only on capital invested, not water"? It is popular to denounce railroads; small politicians have taken on the semblance of statesmanship through baiting railroad managers for doing in a modest way what other landowners have done in a grand way. But the world is now ready to listen to the editors and the statesmen who will denounce all who take dividends on watered stock, and who will insist that all men, down to the least and the humblest, shall have all that they earn.

S. C.



Fallacy of the Rate Increase Plea.

The same fallacy that underlies protectionism is being urged in behalf of raising railroad rates. We are told that if these rates should be increased the railroads will have money to spend for improvements and that this will bring trade to business men and give employment to laborers. There is the same reason for rejecting this plea now as when presented by protectionists. It is neither just nor expedient to rob Peter to pay Paul. The increased rates can only come from industries other than railroads and these must necessarily be weakened thereby to a greater degree than increased railroad expenditure can strengthen them. Besides, if the railroads are in need of a tax on the public to enable them to properly perform their functions, then the public ought to own them in order that it may directly get the benefit of expenditure of its own money.

S. D.



Progressive Policies Must Be Fundamental.

Wise legislation does not consist in passing of laws to prohibit or to regulate evils, but in repeal of the laws that create evils. This is a principle that the Progressive party conference which meets

this week in Chicago should take to heart. Under the leadership of Roosevelt and Perkins the party urged that evils be forcibly prohibited and regulated, in preference to abolishing them through removal of underlying causes. It disregarded the appeals of such leaders as Amos Pinchot and George L. Record, who urged it to take a more fundamental stand. The result shows its choice to have been as politically inexpedient as it was economically unwise. Possibly no better immediate results would have been obtained had the party advocated a wiser policy. But there would have been more honor in the defeat.



The progressive Republicans of Wisconsin seem to have need of learning the same lesson as the Progressive party. During their period of power they dealt with evils in a superficial manner, attempting to attack them in every way but the fundamental one. On this account results were not proportionate to effort, and conditions were left so as to enable a return of reactionaries to power. This will not be a misfortune, however, should it teach the progressives their great mistake and lead them into advocacy of more fundamental measures in the future.

S. D.



Governor Hunt's Opportunity.

Governor George W. P. Hunt of Arizona is an earnest advocate of the sound doctrine of majority rule. But apparently he makes the mistake of failing to note that the right of the majority to rule extends only to those matters which belong within the province of government. Individuals have certain inalienable rights upon which no popular majority can justly infringe. Among these rights is the right to life. If Governor Hunt will carefully read the Declaration of Independence he will learn that governments exist to protect these rights, not to destroy them. He will see that a governmental order to commit an act which it was organized to prevent does not belong in the same category as an order along the line of proper governmental functions. So when, as happened at the recent election, the voters of Arizona rejected a measure to abolish capital punishment, Governor Hunt should not feel bound for that reason to allow a wholesale execution of condemned persons to take place. The right of these condemned ones to life is not a matter for any ruler to pass upon. It is beyond his just powers, at least as long as public safety may be as effectively guarded by other methods than the putting of individuals to death.

But Governor Hunt is reported to have declared his intention to allow the executions to proceed, although he feels them to be outrageous. His reason is that "the people want it done and should have what they want," whether it justly belongs to them or not. This is not upholding popular government. Quite the contrary. Governor Hunt is letting a chance go by to refute one of the objections to popular government, based on a misconception of proper governmental powers. He should declare that a popular majority has no better right than an absolute despot to infringe on the natural rights of individuals. Such a stand would not only be right, but could be taken, in Arizona at least, without doing violence to unlimited popular government. For Arizona has the Recall, and Governor Hunt could challenge those who would condemn him to put his action to the test of popular approval through this measure. It is scarcely conceivable that Arizona voters, having been made to realize what they voted for on November 3, will not welcome a chance to practically undo their mistake. Governor Hunt has an opportunity such as comes rarely to any individual.

S. D.



Mischievous Philanthropy.

There has been a disposition on the part of some people to condone the accumulation of great wealth by means not strictly ethical because of the benevolent use to which it is put. But philanthropy cannot quite compensate for the lack of justice. It sounds well to name the foundations and bequests that are devoted to various services of society, to helping the weaker brethren, to pensioning aged teachers, to prosecuting scientific research, and to the carrying out of the various functions that have not as yet been taken up by government; yet the very doing of these things by means of philanthropy may defeat the end intended. The Rockefeller foundation and educational fund, for instance, is employing a large number of men to act in conjunction with the United States Agricultural Department. At first thought this might seem to be very desirable, and might be taken as evidence of regard for the rights and needs of the people at large; yet the report is now gaining currency that the thousand or more men who are engaged in this work at the expense of Mr. Rockefeller are not as disinterested as they seem to be. The suspicion is abroad in certain parts of the country that these men are acting in the interests of the oil monopoly, and are by their presence in the Agricultural Depart-

ment bringing the whole work of the Department into question.



It may be recalled that there has been some friction between the government and the farmers over the use of small stills for the distillation of alcohol from the refuse of the farm. The claim is made that instruments are already in existence that will enable the farmer to make a considerable amount of alcohol from vegetable matter on the farm that can be used for no other purpose. But the government claims that the difficulty of controlling the collection of excise duties from these stills is so great that they are not allowed to be used. Just what the real facts of the case are it is difficult at the present time to tell. The Government may be right, and it may be advisable to wait until further improvements have been made. At the same time the claim is made that these stills will make alcohol so cheap that it will seriously cut into the profits of the Standard Oil Company, which means an interference with the income of Mr. Rockefeller; and the deduction is made by certain people that the use of the still is prohibited by the Government at the instance of the Rockefeller employes for the purpose of preserving his income intact.



It may be that there is nothing whatever in this contention; it is not unlikely that the position taken by the Government has been dictated by the wisest consideration of all the factors. And yet from the very circumstances surrounding the relations of a public department with the beneficiaries of a private trust a suspicion has been aroused in the minds of many people, and the whole work of the Department is discredited. This is the more to be regretted for the reason that it is doubtful if any other department of the Government has such opportunities for serving the people. Farming is still our largest single industry, and it is still most lacking, taken as a whole, in up-to-dateness. The Government is doing a great work in helping the farmer, and if the best results are to be obtained there should be the closest harmony and co-operation between the men on the farm and the agents of the Department. If men who owe allegiance to an outside agent are to be taken into the Government service, and questions arise in which there is a conflict of interests between the farmers and that outside agent, it is the most natural thing in the world for suspicions to arise that will handicap the whole work. The United States Government

is not bankrupt; it is able to pay for all the service required by the people. If any private interest wishes to conduct scientific researches, it should do so upon its individual responsibility, and not in the name of the people. We know what havoc has been wrought by a partnership between the Government and private business. Let us not repeat the mistake by setting up a partnership of government and private charity. S. C.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE SITUATION IN OREGON.

Portland, Oregon, Nov. 23.

The people of Oregon had before them at the last election 29 measures, of which 11 were submitted by the legislature and 18 through the initiative. Of these, but four passed. Two of the legislature-submitted and two of the initiative measures.

The reasons and the lessons are of interest. The tax measures submitted by the legislature, practically the same as submitted twice before, went down almost two to one. The tax measure submitted by progressive groups (sur-tax and \$1,500 exemption) went down about 2½ to one. The tax measure submitted by the reactionary group went down three to one.



The measures carried were, (1) providing that voters in Oregon must be U. S. citizens, and not merely foreigners having taken out first papers. There has been a good deal of opposition to the old provisions for many years, and at last the legislature submitted the matter. It carried by a vote of 162,159 to 39,675; (2) allowing cities to consolidate, 98,865 to 78,844; (3) prohibition, 137,557 to 99,390; (4) abolishing death penalty, 100,449 to 100,215.

Every measure providing for abolishment of offices was defeated. Every measure creating any office was defeated. Those creating offices receiving the heaviest negative vote. The proposition to create the office of lieutenant-governor went down by 50,005 to 136,540. To create a second state tax commission (one already existing), 34,203 to 136,112. The proportional representation measure was defeated by 59,769 to 133,148, and abolition of state senate by 63,328 to 122,831. The reactionary measure that would practically have restored the old convention system and hamstrung the direct primary was defeated by 25,696 to 152,542.

There were many reasons for the defeat of the progressive measures. First and foremost there was a general idea that the main thing to do was to put them on the ballot. Very little campaigning for any of them was made either before or after filing last July. There was a strong cry from the stand-pat and plutocratic press that there were too many measures on the ballot. The phrase "Vote NO when in doubt," was taken up by the privilege press and echoed by even the somewhat progressive papers until it drove the knife into everything. All that was necessary was to create doubts concerning a progressive measure, circulate some deftly woven

lie, start some baseless apprehension, and the phrase, echoed from pulpit, press and street corner, did the rest.

Two measures against which no opposition was expected and no campaign made by any person or group shows the strength of this negative vote and its blindness. One measure which was carried provided for the consolidation of cities. It received 78,000 negative votes, however. Another providing for the consolidation of a city with a county and so worded as to only apply (although general in its terms) to the city of Portland in the county of Multnomah, was defeated by an adverse vote of nearly 100,000. There was no reason for any person outside of Portland voting No on these measures, yet in the furthest and most remote county in the state a majority of 300 was given against the latter.

Allowing for prejudice against Portland, which is bitter in some sections of the State, I think that the "blind negative vote" was fully 15 per cent of the total vote cast, and that on all but three or four there was fully 25 per cent. Given such a start, prejudice and doubts are easily aroused on any fundamental measure that goes to the root of long established special privilege and makes it necessary to do something more than merely placing a measure on the ballot, and then making a few speeches in populous centers during a whirling campaign, with a score of candidates and advocates of a score of other measures to compete with.

To secure any such measure the fundamental principles must be taught, patiently, fully, personally by advocates devoted to the Cause and willing to sacrifice. And they must be backed and encouraged by organization and some means. The securing of signatures and the placing of a measure on the ballot should be merely an adjunct to the campaign, and such a campaign must be undertaken with a determination to stay with it until victory is gained.

Equal suffrage was defeated seven times by the people of Oregon. The employers' liability measure was before the legislature for six years before the people passed it. Prohibition has been forced to the front as an issue these ten years, or more.

The abolition of capital punishment by less than 300 majority is too close to be comfortable. It shows, however, that even where a measure is not an attack upon special privilege that the "blind NO vote" is large and the necessity of persistence and stout-heartedness is necessary. All honor to Paul Turner and his wife for staying with the abolition of capital punishment, although their honors will be snatched away from them, no doubt.

The singletaxers of Oregon are not organized. They never have been. They have discovered that a half-way measure will be fought as bitterly as the real thing. There are 60,000 men and women in Oregon who are not frightened at the term, and who have it in for land monopoly. There are fully 60,000 more who are frightened at the term, but have not seen the light. There are fully 50,000 reactionaries who will vote against any tax reform whatever. The task is to get the frightened ones to step forward. To do this requires a campaign that will compel the opposition to propose the compromises; that will carry the gospel of justice and prosperity to every farm house; that will reach with

individual touch every workingman and woman in the state, in city, town or country. Such a campaign would knit together these 60,000 and set them to converting their neighbors. There is no other way. If we in Oregon are not prepared to do this, then we must mark time until from some other commonwealth comes the example, and the economic pressure, that will crowd us forward whether we will or not.

The vote in Oregon means that the people will not go backward, and are not going forward until they are satisfied that it is the right thing. The prohibitionists have been defeated time and again. They were well organized and well financed. The plutes let them alone. The "Non-Partisan League"—a millionaire's organization—fought every progressive measure on the ballot and spent tens of thousands of dollars. It owns up to \$17,000. All the progressives did not have half that much put together.

The definitely and declared measure of the socialists, the "right to work" bill, received nearly 58,000 votes. That was more than any socialist candidate received, three times over. It was the first time that the party has sought to make use of the initiative as a vehicle of education.

Independent candidates were snowed under. The press gave them no publicity. The only Democrat of note to win was U. S. Senator George E. Chamberlain—re-elected. He has identified himself in the past with democratic reforms; the other candidates of the party never have in the past, did not during the campaign, and have no inclination to in the future. W. S. U'Ren was an independent candidate for governor, and the only candidate for that office outspokenly for prohibition. He was forgotten by all but a few thousand personal friends. The "dry" votes went to the utterly noncommittal "stand-pat" candidate, who also received a vast number of "wet" votes. Other independents for other offices, with and without campaign funds, received the same medicine. U'Ren is not discouraged. He has learned something. That is, the direct primary has made it very rough sledding for independents, and that publicity is the power that resides in the hands of the big daily paper.

Through divisions and a strong inclination to vote the G. O. P. straight the people are to be misrepresented by a reactionary enemy in Congress from Portland. C. N. McArthur is an avowed reactionary and makes no bones about it. He always has been. His Democratic opponent was a man of great personal powers, but his campaign was made without any suspicion of his having any Democratic sentiments approaching fundamentals. He did not attract the progressive, radical or labor elements, and the special privileged preferred one of their own pets.



The abolition of capital punishment was secured in this state by six years of desultory campaigning. It was submitted in 1912 and defeated by 20,000 majority, or more. An effort was made in 1911 to start a campaign of education, but an utterly unmoral shyster lawyer got control and dissipated the very limited funds in trips to secure evidence to save individual necks instead of for a measure to do away with legal murder. Another organization is-

sued appeals for funds, but did nothing, and time slipped away rapidly. Early in 1912 Paul Turner tried to revive the old organization, and with the undersigned and C. E. S. Wood, the attention and endorsement of a new organization was obtained from Governor Oswald West. Even then support and supporters flagged and flickered. At last Turner drew up a measure, several of us suggested amendments and modifications. The lawyers didn't like it, for it was brief and to the point and ignored some details. It simply provided: "The death penalty shall not be inflicted upon any person under the laws of Oregon. The maximum punishment which may be inflicted shall be life imprisonment."

The means to secure signatures were slow in materializing. Only by the sacrifices and work of a very few was the petition finally completed. After that everybody was absorbed in the rush of the campaign, and no organized effort was made to get out among the people. Considerable publicity was given to the measure, however, as it really did not interfere with any established privilege. Paul Turner kept at it everlastingly. He obtained an engagement to speak against prohibition during the campaign, but he also spoke for the abolition of capital punishment. Every day he went before audiences of mill hands, unskilled workers, mixed audiences of all kinds, and spoke one word for the abolition of capital punishment and ten for the "wets." He reached a class of people the "unco good" could not have approached, and he gave them arguments that appealed to their understanding. At times he got before social organizations and spoke for humanity's sake without money and without price. There are those who denounce Paul Turner. I have heard him bitterly assailed before public audiences, and I presume that he is somewhat lacking in all the angelic qualities that a reform leader should possess in order to suit other reform leaders. Perhaps if Paul Turner and his little English wife had not sacrificed and hustled and fought against hope, perhaps—somebody else would have done so. That is always said when the victory is won. It is said now. But nobody else DID come forward when it was necessary, and few at all. If it had not been for this one and that one, perhaps Paul Turner's efforts would have been fruitless to secure the measure's necessary signatures. Perhaps he undertook the task for money, or for glory, or for office; but others did not see any money, glory or office along that path—and I do not believe he will realize much of these human and passing returns.

The measure passed by less than 300 majority, it seems, but it has passed. A long fight of a few friends of man has been won.

ALFRED D. CRIDGE.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE SPIRIT OF THE SINGLETAX

Colfax, Wash., November 20.

Many of Dr. Walter Rauschenbusch's admirers among the readers of "The Public," and there are many, will disagree with him in reading into the Singletax movement a materialistic rationalism, "swayed only by forces that can be stated in syl-

logisms." The mere "abolition of all taxes save a single tax upon land values," might in itself be so construed, but in the results that are expected to flow from this material policy is something that cannot be stated in a syllogism, something ideally rationalistic.

"Strong soul and high endeavor, the world needs them now," wrote Henry George. Strong soul and high endeavor, the world found them in Henry George, and if his work has conveyed less than this message, then is it barren indeed.

Mr. Rauschenbusch's criticism is timely in warning the followers of Henry George against falling below the lofty standard of their master.

HARRY W. OLNEY.

* * *

THE MINER'S VIEW OF THE COLORADO SITUATION.

Denver, Colo., Nov. 24, 1914.

On page 1084 of *The Public*, certain statements are made by Mr. J. F. Welborn, president of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. I write to say that not only have the miners of Colorado not "the right to work" without doing so at terms dictated by the coal companies, but in addition to this, the coal companies are now and have been for some time past, preparing a blacklist containing hundreds of names to be used against those who dared to take a part in the agitation for the right of the miners to have a union. I cannot see how it is possible for Mr. Welborn to be ignorant of this.

Mr. Welborn says: "This strike was not the work of the managers of the mines or any large portion of the miners, less than 10 per cent of whom were members of the United Mine Workers of America." Mr. Welborn could tell how petitions were circulated at the mines prior to the strike by superintendents, foremen and others, asking the miners to sign this petition which stated that they did not want a strike and would not go on strike. Hundreds signed these petitions in order that they might hold their jobs until the day of the strike. Many married men sent word to our office that they would not take out membership until the day of the strike had arrived lest they lose their jobs and their families be compelled to suffer. Others would not enter their names on our books as members until they could be moved to some shelter after leaving the companies' property.

Does Mr. Welborn figure his percentage of members from the petitions signed by the miners? These miners feared that if they did not sign they would be dismissed immediately.

Was the strike not the work of the mine managers? Did not the miners ask for a conference, and could not the strike have been avoided had a conference been held? Who refused to agree to a conference? Not the miners.

I do not know the number of men that have been imported since the strike of the southern field, but regarding the northern strike, the president of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, whose company employs normally about one thousand men in that field, testified before the Legislative Investigation Committee that in one year they had employed seven

thousand eight hundred men for the northern mines, meaning that they had changed their working forces about eight times in one year. Does that not signify that the miners were actually on strike?

Mr. Welborn says: "It was planned outside of the state of Colorado, led by outsiders and financed from the outside." As one who had something to do with the planning, I can say that the greatest of the plans were made inside the companies' properties by the men working in the mines, and the most valuable suggestions came from that source. "Led and financed from the outside." What does this speak for the way they conducted business and treated employes when outsiders could step in and advise and finance men struggling for their rights? Does it not show that all hope of the miners themselves bettering their conditions was crushed by their employers, so that they welcomed the assistance of their fellow-workmen in other parts.

His statement as to why the strike was brought about is ridiculous. How could any set of men bring about a strike so great as this in a non-union field if there was not something radically wrong; something for which the men themselves saw the need of a strike to remedy that condition?

He speaks of men who would (in his opinion) have left the employ of the company had it recognized the Miners' Union. He leaves the inference that the Mine Workers came into the State a little over a year ago, when the facts are headquarters have been maintained in this State for from ten to fifteen years.

Why does he not tell the number who were compelled to leave the employ of his company because suspected of union membership just prior to the strike? In one day sixteen men went to the Mine Workers' office at Trinidad and said they were fired because they were suspected of being members of the union. Of the sixteen only one was a member. So bitter was the company against the union that the minute a man was suspected he was discharged, and the union had but to report men as being members who were not, and who would not join, to have them dismissed from the companies' employ.

That the effect of the union's demand would be the discharging of his loyal employes is not the truth. We point to other States to convince him that miners who worked in those States prior to unionizing of the mines are still working there.

The Miners' Union is not trying to build a ring around a few thousand coal miners, keeping others from making a living in that business, but perhaps Mr. Welborn, being used to the idea of monopolizing things for the few, cannot see that any other institution could exist for any purpose save that of monopoly.

He says that the men are opposed to the acceptance of the truce proposals, etc. There is no doubt but what they would sign petitions saying they were opposed to this, just as did the miners before the strike sign petitions saying that they did not want to strike.

He speaks of "our duty" to protect the miners now at work. Had one-half the effort been made previous to the strike against the injustice and robbery of the employers employing these miners that is now being made, or claims to be made, toward protecting them

from an imaginary enemy, there is little doubt but what there never would have been a strike in Colorado with all its attendant evils.

One of the coal company's attorneys before the Congressional Investigation Committee laid great stress upon the assertion that men have the right to work for whom they pleased, what they pleased and when they pleased. The witness asked whether this same attorney would consent to his exercise of that right on the following day by appearing at the attorney's office demanding a job carrying law books from the office to the court room at \$5.00 a day, working four hours per day and only working every other day. The attorney ceased questioning on this golden right of the American workmen to work for whom, when and for what he pleases.

E. L. DOYLE.

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, December 1, 1914.

The Labor War.

That the President has no power to seize the Colorado coal mines was the substance of an opinion rendered on November 25 by the solicitor of the Department of Labor and by officers of the Department of Justice, to whom had been referred the resolutions demanding such action of the American Federation of Labor. President Wilson announced on November 29 the appointment of a commission through which future differences between operators and miners may be settled. The commission consists of Seth Low, former mayor of New York; Charles W. Mills of Philadelphia and Patrick Gilday of Clearfield, Pa. In a statement explaining the appointment of this commission, the President recounted the futile efforts made by the Government to bring peace, from the beginning of the trouble to rejection by the operators of the three-year truce proposition which the miners had accepted. This act of the operators, the President declared, the country regretted. He had waited in the hope of a change in their attitude which he now feared to be in vain. He does not feel at liberty to withdraw the Federal troops under the circumstances and states further:

I have, therefore, determined to appoint the commission contemplated in the plan of temporary settlement, notwithstanding the rejection of that plan by the mine operators, and thus at least to create the instrumentality by which like troubles and disputes may be amicably and honorably settled in the near future, in the hope—the very earnest and sincere hope—that both parties may see it to be not merely to their own best interest but also a duty which they owe to the communities they serve and to the nation itself to make use of this instrumen-

tality of peace and make strife of the kind which has threatened the order and prosperity of the great State of Colorado a thing of the past, impossible of repetition so long as everything is done in good temper and with the genuine purpose to do justice and observe every public as well as every private obligation.

[See current volume, pages 947, 987, 1044.]



In a report to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, published on November 23, Reverend Henry A. Atkinson, who investigated the Colorado trouble for the council, declared that the coal companies control the government of the counties where their mines are located. "They have brought about the election of the judges, sheriffs, coroners and assessors." Jefferson Farr, sheriff of Huerfano County, has been in office fifteen years, is known as "king of the county" and orders things in accordance with the wishes of the coal companies which have secured his election. It is impossible to enforce the law since the courts are practically closed to those who have incurred the enmity of the coal companies. Thirty years of such oppression has taught the miners that their only hope is the union. Individually the men can do nothing. A man who protests will be discharged and if he makes too much trouble will be dealt with by gunmen. Concerning the militia, Mr. Atkinson says:

The soldiers were gladly received by the strikers, for they expected they would have some protection, but their hopes were in vain. It soon became evident that the militia was under the control of the coal companies.

Men and women were thrown into jail without any charge being lodged against them and held incommunicado.

The militia, instead of aiming to maintain order and secure justice, was used to break the strike.

Speaking of the unions Mr. Atkinson declares:

The right of workmen to organize has been and is being denied by the un-American and un-Christian attitude of the mine operators, who thus deprive their employes of an essential means of self-defense, the right to bargain collectively for their labor.



Objection was raised on November 24 by Governor Ammons of Colorado and Governor-elect Carlson to investigation of labor conditions in the coal fields of the State by the Commission on Industrial Relations. In a joint telegram sent to the Commission and to President Wilson they asked that the inquiry scheduled to begin on December 1 be postponed. The Commission took no action on the protest. [See current volume, page 1115.]



The board of arbitration chosen to settle the

controversy between 98 western railroads and 64,000 employes began its hearings at Chicago on November 30. The arbitrators for the railroads are H. E. Byram and W. L. Park; for the unions are F. A. Burgess and Timothy Shea, and for the Government Charles Nagel, former Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and Federal Judge Jeter C. Pritchard. [See current volume, page 756.]



Commission on Industrial Relations.

The date for the public hearing on the American land question by the United States Commission on Industrial Relations has been fixed as December 14-17, inclusive. The hearing will take place in Dallas, Texas. The members of the commission will hear testimony of representative renters, landlords and students of the land question. Among the subjects that will come up for consideration are the growth of a feeling of unrest among the rural population and the work that is being done by the Renters' Union of America. This organization of land renters has been very active in the southwest for the past three years. Taxation as a means of destroying land monopoly will also have consideration. Rural credit plans and organization for the marketing of farm products will be important topics. [See current volume, page 1115.]



Capital Punishment in Arizona.

Eleven men are to be executed at Phoenix, Arizona, on December 11, unless Governor Hunt intervenes. The carrying out of the death penalty had been delayed pending the popular vote on abolition of capital punishment on November 3. The measure was defeated by a small majority. Governor Hunt has been overwhelmed with requests to intervene, many of which came from individuals who voted against abolition, but was reported on November 24 to have expressed himself as follows:

The people of Arizona wished the death of these men. I intend to see to it that they have their wish. I may even decree a hanging bee in the public square. If what the voter intended was an object lesson, it had better be as thorough a one as possible, since there must be a carnival of death, it will be better to hold it where every man, woman and child will be able to see the whole ghastly proceeding. When we have sent eleven men to death together, I hope that every voter who voted against the amendment on November 3 will feel a sense of personal guilt. If Arizona stands before the world as a barbarous State, it is they who will be responsible.

[See current volume, page 1143.]



Chicago's Telephone Fight.

An attempt seems to have come to naught to shut out representatives of civic organizations of

Chicago from witnessing the count of bona fide subscribers of the Automatic Telephone system operated by the Illinois Telegraph and Telephone Company. The corporation's charter provides for forfeiture of its plant to the city should it have less than 20,000 bona fide subscribers receiving its service. The corporation has tried to obtain permission from the city council to sell out to the local Bell Telephone Company. The Penny Phone League objected to this request and started an agitation to enforce the forfeiture provision. Council was finally forced on October 5 to order an investigation. Sixteen organizations joined in a demand that the count of subscribers by Public Service Commissioner Montague Ferry be witnessed by a committee of two aldermen, a reputable accountant, a representative woman and a representative of the Federation of Labor. The organizations making this demand were the Penny Phone League, the Republican County Executive Committee, Prohibition County Committee, Progressive Club, Socialist party committee, Woman's City Club, Woman's Party of Cook County, Political Equality League, Woman's Municipal Committee, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago Singletax Club, Woman's Trade Union League, Embroiderers' Union, Chicago Civil Service League, and the Edgewater Improvement Association. By a vote of nine to four the council committee on gas, oil and electric light, at a meeting on November 25, rejected the demand of these organizations. Strong protests were made against this action, and at a subsequent meeting on November 30 the committee surrendered after first endeavoring to have accepted a motion by Alderman Bowler authorizing the mayor to appoint the committee. This was defeated through vigorous opposition of Alderman Merriam, who had led the minority at the previous meeting. Three witnesses will accordingly be selected by the civic organizations. [See current volume, page 996.]



Candidacy of Robert Bridges.

The candidacy of Robert Bridges for Collector of Customs of Seattle has attracted attention on account of Mr. Bridges' service as Port Commissioner wherein he prevented a grab by private individuals of the publicly owned water front. In a letter dated November 23 to Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo concerning this matter, Thorwald Siegfried of Seattle wrote as follows:

Mr. Bridges has been of greater service in promoting the welfare of all of the people in the Port district and a greater hindrance to the spread of Plutocratic exploitation than any single person in our community. On that account and on account of his fitness to occupy with credit any position to which he may be appointed, all the people of Seattle, excepting those whose selfish designs he has frus-

trated, would feel a peculiar delight in having Mr. Bridges honored at your hands.



Mexico and the United States.

Wild rumors fill the press dispatches from Mexico. General Lucio Blanco, who was to have held the City of Mexico until the arrival of General Villa, evacuated the city on the 25th, and General Zapata took possession. Some disturbance occurred at the time, but quiet was quickly restored; and no violence has since been reported. Assurances of full protection to property and person is given foreigners and natives alike by General Zapata. General Villa and General Zapata are reported to be in accord in their support of the new provisional president, General Gutierrez. General Carranza retired to Vera Cruz, where he is awaiting developments. General Gonzales, one of Carranza's chief supporters, declared himself on the 29th provisional president, and named a cabinet. General Villa, General Gonzales and General Obregon were the three leading Constitutionalist generals who carried the movement to success. They now head three separate movements. The last named is the only one who now sides with General Carranza. [See current volume, page 1139.]



General Villa entered a suburb of the City of Mexico on the 1st at the head of 25,000 men, where he will remain until the arrival of Provisional President Gutierrez. General Villa issued to the press the following statement:

"My only mission is to restore order in Mexico and not to take personal revenge on anyone. I promise that order will be restored at once. I am acting as the subordinate of Provisional President Gutierrez and the national convention.

"The Provisional President is is now the supreme power in Mexico, and I am merely acting as field commander of the armies. All foreigners and foreign property will be protected."



General Funston's army, which evacuated Vera Cruz on the 23d, reached Galveston on the 26th. The chartered steamer Antilla brought 330 American and Mexican refugees.



The European War.

Interest has been centered mainly upon the campaign in Poland, where the Russian and German armies are struggling for the mastery, and where a decisive battle will have a direct effect upon the war. Steady progress is reported of the Russian campaign against the Austrians. The Austrians also are reported to have been checked by the Servians and Montenegrins. Little has been reported of Turkish activities, or of the

military operations in South Africa. The campaign in Belgium and the north of France has been comparatively quiet. Large British re-enforcements are said to have landed at Havre, and an aggressive movement on the part of the Allies is expected at an early day. Nothing of great moment has happened on the sea. The week on the whole is thought to mark a decline in the fortunes of Germany. [See current volume, page 1142.]



The Campaign in the East.

Interest still centers in the Titanic struggle between the Russian and German armies in Poland. The impact of the enormous force of German troops now invading western Poland carried the Russians half way to Warsaw; but the advance was finally stopped by the Russians, who succeeded in cutting the German army in two, and by advancing upon the flanks of the army between the Vistula and Warta Rivers threatened its defeat, and possible destruction. German re-enforcements from East Prussia and from Thorn succeeded in fighting their way through the intercepting Russian army to relieve their hard-pressed brethren, and it appears beyond question that through this move they managed to prevent a serious disaster. Official reports are lacking; but unofficial reports from Petrograd and Berlin claim advantages for their respective armies. The campaign embraces in reality three armies on the long battle line from the Vistula to Cracow, and as the struggle waxes and wanes successes may be claimed at different points by each side. It is evident that the check to the German advance is a serious reverse in the Kaiser's campaign, and every possible spare man from the western front, and the last of the reserves are being thrown into the struggle in Poland. General von Hindenburg, who has the principal command, has been raised by the Kaiser to the rank of Field Marshal. The Crown Prince is reported to be in command of the German right wing, the southernmost of the three armies. Cracow is reported to be under siege by the Russian forces. The Austrians have been compelled to retire before the Russian advance until nearly all the territory north of the Carpathians except the fortified town of Przemysl has been abandoned. Vienna admits the evacuation of Czernowitz, the capital of Bukowina, the southernmost province of Galicia. The latest reports on the Eastern campaign indicate slight Russian advances in Eastern Prussia, a deadlock along the line from Thorn through Lodz to Cracow, and the bombardment of Cracow by the Russians. The campaign of Austria against Serbia and Montenegro appears to have made little progress. Engagements are reported between the Austrians and Servians along the Kolubara River south of Valievo, in which each side claims the victory. The same conflict of reports is found in

dispatches regarding the battle between the Austrians and Montenegrins at Vishegrad on the Drina River in Bosnia. Fifteen regiments of Russian troops with supplies have ascended the Danube from the Black Sea to aid the Servians.



The Campaign in Western Europe.

Comparative quiet has reigned on the western battle line. The withdrawal of all the German troops, save enough to hold the entrenchments, for the struggle with Russia has prevented the Germans from engaging in offensive movements, and the Allies have not seen fit to begin their attack in force. Heavy re-enforcements of British are unofficially reported as landing at Havre, from which point they have made their way to some point on the long battle line, presumably on the western end. The little news that filters through the lines is taken to indicate that the Germans have abandoned their original purpose of breaking through the Allies' line in the Belgian territory near the coast and will try to get through farther to the south. They are said to be collecting large forces in the vicinity of Ypres and at Arras. It is estimated by military critics that there are now 4,000,000 men on the western field, with the Allies outnumbering the Germans as much as the Germans surpassed the Allies in the earlier stage of the war. It is assumed that the Allies are now ready to take the offensive. Food prices in Germany are rising rapidly. Wheat is reported at \$1.69 a bushel; beans, peas and lentils have doubled in price; eggs and vegetables have almost entirely disappeared; pork is said to be plentiful. Luxemburg papers announce that Germany has paid the Duchy \$256,000 for damage done to fields and crops by passage of troops, and \$62,200 for damage to roads, streets and buildings. The indignation of Sweden over the action of Germany in declaring wood, tar and sulphur contraband, has aroused such bitter criticism in the Swedish press that Germany has threatened reprisals if the tone is not modified.



Turkey.

Reports of military operations in Turkey are vague and contradictory. The Russians claim successes in an advance on Erzerum in Armenia. The Turkish advance is reported as turning into a disastrous retreat to the fortifications of Erzerum. Rumors of Turkish troops about to descend upon the Suez Canal still lack verification. Unrest among the natives in Egypt is reported, and an uprising predicted by Berlin. The British are reported to be preparing to set up a new Khedive in Egypt, having selected for the office Hussein Kemal, son of Ismael Pasha, who was khedive 1863 to 1879, and uncle of the present khedive. Little evidence is yet manifested of a general

response to Mohammedan uprising in response to the declaration of a Holy War.

On the Sea.

No naval engagements have been reported, and but little of the operations of cruisers. Two British ships of small tonnage are reported sunk by German submarines off Havre. This is considered a remarkable feat, as the action took place a hundred and fifty miles from the German base. The British collier, Khartoum, was wrecked by a mine fifteen miles southeast of Hull. But the severest disaster was the blowing up of the battleship Bulwark while lying at anchor in Sheerness harbor at the mouth of the Thames. The accident is supposed to have been caused by spontaneous combustion in the ship's magazine. Practically the entire crew of 800 men was lost. The British fleet is reported to have done effective work in bombarding the Belgian coast. Particular attention was given to Zeebrugge, where extensive fortifications were destroyed. Six new submarines are reported as wrecked before they were launched. Charges of infringement of neutrality are made against the German vessels operating in South Pacific waters off the coast of South America. The United States is making inquiries into the complaints of Chile, from whose ports German vessels are reported to have coaled and departed without clearance papers.

NEWS NOTES

—Judge Catlin of the State Circuit Court of Minnesota on November 23, at St. Paul, held unconstitutional the minimum wage law of the State. [See current volume, page 1092.]

—President Wilson consented on November 23 to see on a date to be fixed in December a delegation of Democratic women who wish to urge support of a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage. [See current volume, page 658, 701.]

—Luther Casting, electrician of the State penitentiary at Arkansas, resigned on November 30 in preference to becoming the executioner of ten men condemned to die in the electric chair. No action has yet been taken on his resignation. [See current volume, page 1143.]

—K. P. Alexander of Little Rock, Arkansas, has accepted the invitation of the Little Rock Science Club to present to it in January plans for scientific taxation based on a comparison of the present tax system in that city with systems prevailing in Houston, Texas, and Vancouver.

—The Christmas Ship, which sailed from New York on the 14th, arrived at Devonport, England, on the 25th, where it was received with the highest military honors by the British government. After discharging the Christmas presents for the children of Great Britain and Belgium, the vessel sailed on the 28th for Marseilles, where the gifts for France

will be delivered. Gifts for Germany and Austria will be delivered at Genoa, to be forwarded by rail. And those for Servia and Montenegro at Saloniki. The gifts for Russia were sent direct to Archangel on the steamer Korsh. [See current volume, page 1143.]

—A change of venue was granted Theodore Roosevelt on November 25 by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court at Albany in the case of the libel suit brought against him by William Barnes. The trial will take place in Onondaga County at Syracuse. [See current volume, page 976.]

—Miss Alice Henry, editor of *Life and Labor*, is specializing her work in the suffrage movement by devoting attention to proportional representation. Women, she says, who would make their votes really effective must see to it that electoral methods are modernized and representation made truly democratic.

—Crocker Land, the Arctic continent which Rear Admiral Robert E. Peary believed he had discovered, was declared to be non-existent in a report of the exploring expedition of Donald B. MacMillan to the American Museum of Natural History, published on November 24. [See vol. xiii, page 445, vol. xvi, page 709.]

—The Interstate Commerce Commission suspended on November 30 until March 31 all proposed advances in freight rates which were to go into effect on December 1, but it declined to interfere with increases in passenger rates, which consequently went partly into effect on December 1 and will go completely into effect on December 15. [See current volume, page 1144.]

—Statistics of exports and imports of the United States [see current volume, page 1047] for the ten months ending October, 1914, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce for October, 1914, were as follows:

| | Exports. | Imports | Balance. Exp. |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Merchandise | \$1,662,685,841 | \$1,548,429,652 | \$114,256,189 |
| Gold | 207,998,750 | 45,876,812 | 162,121,938 |
| Silver | 42,452,890 | 20,340,603 | 22,112,287 |
| Total | \$1,913,137,481 | \$1,614,647,067 | \$298,490,414 |

The exports of merchandise for October, 1914, the third month of the European war, were \$195,283,852, as compared with \$271,861,464 for October, 1913, and \$254,633,504 in 1912. The imports of merchandise for October, 1914, were \$137,978,778, as compared with \$132,949,302 for October, 1913, and \$177,987,986 in 1912. Of the merchandise imported in October, 1914, 62.97 per cent came in free of duty. Of the total imports of merchandise for the ten months ending October, 1914, 61.36 per cent came in free of duty; whereas of the imports for the corresponding ten months of 1913, 53.61 per cent were free of duty.

—Official returns of the Illinois election show the result of the vote on the senatorship as follows: Lawrence Y. Sherman, Republican, 390,661; Roger C. Sullivan, Democrat, 373,403; Raymond Robins, Progressive, 203,027; Adolph Germer, Socialist, 39,889. Raymond Robins received 89,517 more votes than the next highest candidate of the Progressive party. Elza V. Williams, Democratic candidate for

Congressman-at-large, considered a progressive, was elected over J. McCann Davis, Republican, by 1,737 plurality. Thomas P. Sullivan, the other Democratic candidate for Congressman-at-large, was defeated by his Republican opponent, Chipperfield, by 32,218 plurality. Mr. Sullivan's campaign had been made on assurances that he opposed continuation of the "Administration's war on business." [See current volume, pages 1091-1093.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Equalizing Legal Penalties.

Chicago Herald, November 15.—The city law department has prepared a bill abolishing the present system of fines in dealing with keepers and inmates of disorderly houses and empowering the courts to imprison without the privilege of escape by a money payment. The coming general assembly will be asked to enact the bill. While it is about it the general futility and gross inequity of the fining system might well be considered and amended. The current report of the "Springfield Survey" conducted by the Russel Sage Foundation offers some pertinent reflections on the subject. The Springfield police dealt in 1913 with 1,456 offenders who had been arrested before. Seventy per cent of those coming before the city courts were fined, usually \$3. It is evident that such fines neither deter from law-breaking nor help to law-observance. Moreover, fines are plainly inequitable as between the offender with money and the one without. Even a \$3 fine is serious for a laborer earning \$1.75 a day. But it leaves unimpressed the man whose income is from about \$5 a day upward. The profit of the offense may exceed the loss of the fine. Especially is this the case with vice occupations. There the fine becomes little more than a profit-sharing tribute.



The Inexcusable War Tax.

Charlestown (Ind.) Citizen-Record, November 26.—It can be said of the Federal war tax that it is an outrage upon industry, a disgrace to the American people and an injury to the Democratic party. . . . It is hard to tell just how the protectionists would have proceeded in order to save privilege had they been in power last October, but it is safe to guess that they would have found some means of discouraging industry, more burdensome than that selected by the Democratic congressmen. But while we sneer at the shallowness of the protectionist arguments, let us not forget to criticise the undemocratic attitude of the Democratic congress. It should have laid the tax on land values, but such a course not being feasible in the present state of public opinion, it could have at least put the tax burden on privilege by adopting a measure that was introduced into congress, levying the war deficit tax on incomes over \$20,000 per annum. Or, better still, by slashing that disgraceful relic of barbarism, the army and navy appropriation. But no; the stubborn mule would not so. He prefers to preserve privilege and corruption and to sanction and make sacred before the nations the business of legalized murder. He puts a

tax on little retail tobacco dealers, on moving picture shows and little amusement houses of the poor and on little dinky box ball alleys and pool tables in order that the rich and powerful may rest secure in their privileges; in order that millions may be wasted and the pork barrel filled to overflowing; in order more men may be trained to slaughter their fellow men and provided with the engines of legalized murder.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE GREAT WAR.

For The Public.

The fort-chains and intrenchments far outspread;
The puppet armies that so quickly came
To grapple in this grim, satanic Game;
The deadly aircraft hovering overhead;
The hungry siege-guns, with huge missiles fed,
More ruinous than wind or quake or flame;
And all the many marvels without shame
In cunning brains for this vast Outrage bred—

It is not merely these. It is the weight
Of murdered peace, the loss throughout the world,
That gives this War its infamous renown.
What shall it yield of good to compensate?
O piteous host to swift destruction hurled!
O torrent of the living going down!

CHARLES H. WINKE.



UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

For The Public.

Bismarck's Blindness to Opportunity After the Franco-German War.

Leisurely they strolled up Second Avenue, pausing for a moment before a small cafe, to listen to the music of a violin and piano by performers of unusual merit—a place they had often visited before.

"I have wondered," said Ballard, if the perfection of these musicians is not an illusion that would be dispelled if we heard them in surroundings of more pretension?"

"In this instance I think not," replied Wurtzel, who could lay claim to accomplishments at the piano. "The greatest geniuses may remain undiscovered or unappreciated, and while you and I may recognize merit here we have other and complex interests to engage us—we do nothing to advance these artists—and they are compelled to plod on as though but mediocre. If I were in the theatrical business—but let us on—I have the appetite of a mountain climber."

Soon they had passed into that picturesque old building, "The Boulevard," and had taken seats inside, for the evening was warm and the balcony

had already been filled with diners. The table they had often occupied in winter months was vacant, fortunately, and there prevailed that buoyant atmosphere one feels around the theater when the orchestra has struck up and just before the curtain rises.

"Caviar," said Wurtzel, "and—let me see—soup—that okra—yes—oh, the blessings of free trade with Louisiana!"

"Serve everything for two," said Ballard to the bowing waiter, who disappeared, and Wurtzel said:

"I'll admit that you have convinced me that the tariff is the CAUSE of war, and that if it were abolished wars between nations would cease, but nevertheless free trade would have a tendency to close up industries—"

"Wherever they are run at a loss," said Ballard slowly. "Free trade is reciprocal—both sides gain or they wouldn't trade—and there is amity. When trade is restrained, competition becomes jealous of the restricted territory and the war begins—the commercial war—there is but one kind of war—the commercial war—and as its intensity develops they use powder, dynamite, lyddite—the Zeppefm, the submarine."

"You drive me from my feet with your astonishing ideas—and yet they hold. Oh, here is the waiter—the blessing of free trade with Louisiana!" said Wurtzel as he eagerly began to ladle the contents of the bowl.

"And with Michigan," said Ballard, raising a stalk of celery so brittle it would break like chalk.

"And with North Dakota and Minneapolis," said Wurtzel, holding a fluffy cracker of snowy whiteness over his steaming plate.

"Yes, Uncle Sam had the intelligence from the beginning to utilize his great farm to its best advantage—planting corn on corn land, wheat on wheat land, rice, cane and cranberries in swamps. Georgia's cotton, Kentucky's tobacco and Maine's potatoes are the result of natural selection. Mining coal and iron in Florida would not be so profitable as raising oranges, and no man tries it—but if you had Pennsylvania walled off with a tariff, and made the wall high enough they might raise bananas there—though I think it would be more profitable to work half a day in an iron mill and buy a wagon load. If Uncle Sam could only extend his system of free trade between the States through the whole world!"

"Why, you are dreaming of not the United States of Europe, but the Federation of the world!"

"It's progressing fast enough—you have the United States of Germany—very similar to our own—a federation of States that had abolished the tariff between themselves long before the German Empire was established—I mean formally established—for the Zollverein, the free trade union between Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, etc., had destroyed their animosities and

made the empire possible—in fact, created the empire. When Prussia got into a war with France, the smaller States went where their interests lay—they had been wedded to Prussia through free trade—and after victory the proclamation of the Empire at Versailles was but the celebration of what had long been a fact—Germany or the German States were one nation from the time they destroyed their tariff walls," said Ballard.

"And the Empire was but the inevitable result that followed the obeying of natural law, and Bismarck—"

"Bismarck himself was an instrument—almost an unconscious instrument, using forces he did not understand. Indeed, it is quite certain he had not an intelligent grasp of the great law that made his political moves not only possible, but irresistible—for if he had, it was once within his power to extend the Zollverein through the whole of Europe—making of it one nation. This man of blood and iron lacked brain—the grasp and imagination of a Napoleon!"

"He could have—"

"Allowed Austria to have entered the Zollverein—the Free Trade Union of German States—made Free Trade the condition of peace with France after Sedan, and the beggarly five milliards he extorted would have been beggarly indeed compared to the countless wealth and unbounded prosperity that would have followed."

"My God, what a story! France, Germany and Austria—all the power of Europe—in a free trade league—at that time nearly three times as populous as our United States!"

"Nor is this all, for Italy, too, would have been in Bismarck's greater Zollverein. The Italians had risen in 1866, during the Austro-Prussian war, and though defeated by Austria, victorious Prussia compelled Austrian surrender of Venetia, Italian unity being thus a gift at Bismarck's hands in 1866. The City of Rome itself four years later was evacuated by the French in August, 1870, becoming Italy's capital with the German march upon Paris. Bismarck had the world within his hands, and he did not know—"

"Great God! and there was no prophet, no seer to point out that Free Trade would solve Europe's wars for all time!" said Wurtzel.

"This great truth, Free Trade, as firm and unshakable and as plain as Mount Blanc is the motif of German history. But statesmen obsessed with statecraft, and blind to the natural laws of political economy, leave peoples to pay the penalty. The very moves of the "statesmen" are inspired by causes they do not understand, and when these by accident agree with natural laws the people benefit; when they violate these natural laws the people suffer. Nature (at least in political economy) cares nothing for motive, and rewards those who follow its immutable laws."

A fish course, too, had been served—fresh sal-

mon from far-off Oregon—with entrees of choice products of a border State, and Wurtzel was trying to catch the eye of the waiter, while Ballard looked over the bill for the *piece de resistance*.

"Roast sirloin," he said, "from Ohio, perhaps; turkey poul, possibly Rhode Island; roast lamb, New York or Ohio—from all over this continent—and the vegetables, peas, rice, carrots, potatoes."

"I'm through—I'll never raise another objection to your doctrine."

"What's that waiter's name?" asked Ballard.

"Call him Louis—a name in every language, Ludwig, Luis, Louis—none of these people of foreign birth are offended if they think you have taken them for Frenchmen. This place has a French name, but the restaurant is Hungarian, and most of the patrons are from Eastern Europe—Austrians in the main, but that means every race and language in Europe—you could neither guess his nationality or race."

Ballard had indicated a choice on the menu. Wurtzel had ordered, and turning to Ballard he said:

"And the cause of the Franco-German war was—"

"It was a commercial war like all wars—secretly the French Emperor's jealousy of Germany's growth (and he did not know that Free Trade had made of Germany *one nation*)—an irrepressible conflict precipitated by Napoleon III. resisting Prussian attempt to seat a Hohenzollern on the Spanish throne and thus 're-create the Empire of Charles V.' Pardon me, but I must telephone my daughter I'll not be home to dinner—I had almost forgotten—" he broke off as he started for a telephone booth, and "Louis," the waiter, returning, while unloading his tray upon the table, ventured to speak:

"A wonderful man, that," he said to Wurtzel. "How I'd love to hear him talk—he has such a grasp of affairs—I'm sure he'd make a great detective—surpassing anything I've read in fiction—"

"Yes," said Wurtzel, "the mysteries in fiction so cleverly unravelled by imaginary detectives are constructed for them, but to my friend the most complex problems of real life—seen but not understood by millions of people—become simple at his touch—a man of power, too—the statesmen, and scholars of Europe would be putty in his hands—"

Wurtzel checked himself, partly because of the indiscretion in speaking so frankly to this stranger and partly because Ballard had returned and he feared had overheard the closing words of his last sentence.

Ballard seated himself in thoughtful silence, while Wurtzel with hunger far from satisfied, prepared to continue his own dinner, and urging Ballard, said:

"Free Trade as a motif or cause back of all

causes in German history is a new idea—I believe no historian has touched upon it."

"Yes, countless little principalities under Austrian suzerainty, with little tariff walls every ten miles, besides bridges and even toll roads, made commerce impossible. If one started to cross a bridge and changed his mind and went back, the toll was again collected. Steeped in narrow poverty and feudal ignorance the people remained until Napoleon came and carried the French revolution through Germany, destroyed the old German Empire, and as a means of weakening Austria detached from her allegiance German States with a population of 14,000,000 people. These were formed into the Confederation of the Rhine, and along the military roads constructed by Napoleon sprang up the commerce that created the modern Germany."

"And Prussia?"

"The Prussian King to save his kingdom from revolution granted the reforms the French had carried through the rest of Germany. After the disasters of the Russian campaign, these Germans to whom he had given new life, turned upon Napoleon upon the field of Leipzig and overthrew him. Then followed Elba, Napoleon's return, the Hundred Days, and—Waterloo. Prussia now proceeded to play the cards that established her position in Europe—ignorantly, I am certain, for had her statesmen understood the laws of political economy they would long since have established the United States of Europe."

"And it is now possible for Germany to—" interposed Wurtzel, excitedly.

Ballard checked him, first with a glance, then with his finger on his lips, but seeing Louis, who had been all attention, had been summoned by the head waiter, he continued:

"Let us not discuss that now—not here."

Louis had come back, but before Ballard had time to resume the thread where he had left off, Wurtzel, trying to regain his composure, after what had suddenly occurred to him as an inspiration, said:

"Why is it that notwithstanding my German origin, my pride and amazement at their military prowess, and my desire to feel neutral in this war, I feel repugnance and horror at the thought of German victory?"

"That is easily understood, and I should feel the same way if I thought they were fighting for what many of them think they are fighting for; but Germany is unconsciously fighting for—" Ballard glanced at Wurtzel, who evidently understood the speaker did not care to say more just then.

"We would not hurt your feelings; and you will excuse me if I ask your nationality—or race?" said Wurtzel, addressing Louis.

"Oh, I was born in Durazzo, Albania; am a

Slav, but spent many years in Vienna. Austria and Italy both had their eyes on my country before the Sarajevo murder."

The restaurant had grown a little crowded, and Louis—he had accepted that name—seated a stocky, dark, well dressed stranger at their table at Wurtzel's request—for they would soon be going. The face of the newcomer was familiar, and Wurtzel greeted him with a bow.

Their conversation interrupted, Wurtzel remarked he would like to see some article that Ballard might prepare on the relationship of tariff laws to Germany's growth and history.

"I was requested to prepare one by The New York _____," said Ballard, and here are some notes I have just copied from encyclopaedias—Britannica and Chambers."

"Why they didn't hold your point of view—nor does any historian?"

"No, no; it is evidence—their testimony, their testimony unbiased, for they knew not in what case they were testifying," and Ballard handed over a number of excerpts.

"I see by this quotation from Chambers," said Wurtzel, "that after the war of liberation in 1815, the Zollverein, a union of independent German States under the leadership of Prussia, was formed so as to enable them in their commercial relations with other countries to act as *one* State. The first suggestion of such a union came from Prussia; but it took many years—"

"Prussia had learned from the French and instinctively tried to make it to the material interests of the smaller States to attach themselves to her, but naturally it took time to wean them from the great empire with which they had been connected for centuries," said Ballard. "Isn't an extract from Britannica next? That's it; let me read it":

There was evolved the Zollverein, which gradually attached the smaller States by material interests if not of sympathy, to Prussia.

"Sentimentally the people, particularly in the south German States, inclined to Austria, but they were drawn to alliances where *their material interests lay*. Austria made efforts to break up the Zollverein, as she saw her influence weakening, and Prussia's strengthening, but to no avail. That free trade among the German States was the cause of German growth there can be no question. Read that next one."

"From Britannica?" queried Wurtzel, and Ballard assenting, he read:

Even in the earlier stages of its development the Zollverein had a marked effect on the condition of the country. Its growth coincided with the introduction of railways, and enabled the nation to derive from them the full benefits; so that in spite of the confusion of political powers, material prosperity increased, together with a consciousness of national unity and a tendency to look to Berlin

rather than to Vienna as the center of this (national) unity.

"If I didn't trust to your honor I'd swear that you wrote that yourself—maintaining a thesis—it so bears out your contention! The country *grew* and *grew to Berlin*, and in spite of confusion of political powers; consciousness of *national unity*. Great Heavens, Ballard; Free Trade was creating the German Empire on the ruins of Austria's last vestige of ancient Rome!"

The stranger at the table and the waiter behind his chair shared amazement with Wurtzel at the great truth that to them was as a new revelation. Ballard quietly remarked:

"Unconsciously the Prussians had smote the rock and there gushed forth as from the Fountain of Truth the blessings of the Almighty God!"

After a pause, to relieve an oppressive silence, he continued:

"No, I did not write those lines; they were probably written before I was born."

"You have some more; read on."

Wurtzel read:

* * * and practically the whole of what is now Germany was included in a union in which Prussia had a predominating influence, and to which, when too late, Austria in vain sought admission.

"The whole of what is now Germany," said Ballard. "Of course everything that was in the Free Trade league later became part of the German nation. German statesmen—'statesmen'—" He spoke not so much in contempt as in sorrow—"they were fools—to shut out Austria through blind fear that Austria with a large non-German population would over-top, not Germany, but Prussia—and at bottom THAT was the cause of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866! In 1862 Bismarck had concluded a commercial treaty with France 'based mainly on free trade principles,' to use the language of Britannica, and forced it upon the smaller German States (opposition inspired or at least encouraged by Austria), which, had it been absolute free trade would have made war with France impossible; but after the war of 1866, in which, to quote Chambers, 'Austria, by the treaty of Prague was completely excluded from participation in the new organization of the German States' the jealousy of Napoleon III. knew no bounds, for Prussia not only had compelled the surrender of Venetia to Italy, but she had incorporated Schleswig-Holstein, and her star was in the ascendent. Napoleon III. had provoked the war, but, says Chambers: 'Contrary to the expectation of France the Southern German States which had supported Austria four years before at once decided to support Prussia and the Northern States,' for Prussian Free Trade had bound them 'by material interests if not of sympathy.' The words you first read from Britannica are almost identical with those from Chambers. Excepting

the free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, etc., when in 1868 Lubeck and the Mecklenbergs had joined the Zollverein, its territory extended over the whole of what subsequently became the German Empire.

"Oh, there is no question the Free Trade union made the German nation," said Wurtzel, "almost the very words of this quotation from Chambers":

The principle of the Zollverein's action was this: The whole territory embraced by the union formed commercially (in regard at least to countries beyond its limits) ONE STATE.

The last course had been cleared away, and over coffee and cigars they lingered, the stranger and the waiter all attention, as had been Wurtzel from the beginning. Ballard saw they were still eager and he said: "To illustrate how entirely the German Empire was built upon and owes its existence to the Free Trade union and its constitution read that last excerpt from Chambers I gave you."

Wurtzel read:

In 1867 the administration of the Zollverein was so modified as to give to the various members of the union votes in the Council and Parliament proportionate to the number of inhabitants in each State, ("Why, that's just like the American Congress!") * * * Since the establishment of the German Empire, the Zollverein has no longer a separate constitution of its own. ("Of course not," interrupted Ballard. "The Empire took the Constitution and the nation Free Trade had built up and gave it a name—and that was all!") Its Council, representing Governments, is merged in the Federal Council of the Empire ("That's the United States Senate!"); its Parliament, representing populations, in the Reichstag ("That's our Congress!") and the affairs of the Empire are managed on the principles adopted by the Zollverein in 1867.

Wurtzel let fall the slip of paper in utter amazement. "Well, by the shades of James Madison, the German Empire is nothing on earth but a league of Free Trade States, like our own, whose real inspiration was the French Revolution and whose founder was Napoleon Bonaparte! The German Empire, proclaimed from the palace of Versailles, and had the Prussian victors but the imagination of Napoleon the tariff walls of France would have fallen even before the walls of Paris; and though French aid had been instrumental in establishing Italian liberty, German arms delivered Venice and made Italian unity; and Italy would have eagerly seized the opportunity to cement her alliance with her Prussian benefactors by entering the Zollverein—and Austria had long been clamoring at the door! Almost universal Free Trade might have been proclaimed—the freedom of the world! In the ancient home of the Grand Monarque should have been born the Grand Republic!"

Wurtzel had been speaking with open eyes, arms uplifted, as in a trance, but his arms now fell limply by his side, and Ballard said in a low voice:

"Yes, for in a garret of this same palace, over a hundred years before, a pale student, Quesnay,

the King's physician, had written of the great law, 'The Natural Way'!"

They rose from their seats to depart, but Louis could not restrain himself and eagerly seized Ballard by the hand, while the stranger, too, arose and introducing himself confessed: "I have a vision of a new Europe! I am of a Greek family of Constantinople, though born in Salonika, and spent some years in both cities as well as Vienna. I have a vision of a new Europe—a new world! I hope we shall meet again!"

Bidding the Slav and the Greek good evening, the two friends were passing down the one broad flight of stairs when Wurtzel remarked: "I never once thought of the German blunder in this war—or of Prinzip. Some time we'll—"

"I am oppressed with a heavy load," said Ballard. Perhaps some time—Will you answer my call at any time—to go anywhere? Well, I want that cab—Good night."

And Wurtzel was left standing on the sidewalk, wondering what tremendous project could have entered the mind of his friend—of whom he had said the statesmen of Europe would be as putty in his hands? Could it be that possibly suggested forcibly by this chance remark Ballard would attempt—he dared not even think of it.

BASIL HOWARD.



A UNIVERSAL MUNICIPAL NEED.

Extract from the Annual Address of President Wm. Dudley Foulke at the Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League at Baltimore, Md., November 18, 1914.

Speaking of the present unsatisfactory method of electing city councils, Mr. Foulke said, in substance:

But where a whole representative body is to be chosen from the city at large there is another method of securing more accurate representation than we can get either by the system of ward representation, so fruitful of small politics, or by a ticket at large where minority representation (so necessary for the watchful observation of city business) is altogether excluded. This other method is the system of proportional representation.

Up to this time proportional representation has made little progress in American communities, but elsewhere it has been used with success, notably in nine of the cantons of Switzerland and in all its most important cities; in various representative bodies in Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Finland, the Union of South Africa, the Transvaal, Tasmania, and Wurtemberg; in Hamburg and certain communal councils in Baden, Oldenburg and Bavaria, as well as in other places. It is objected that the system is complicated and confusing, but it has not been found so in the places

where it has been applied. Some years ago in one of the principal cities of Switzerland I asked whether the people were satisfied, and the answer was: how could they fail to be satisfied when under it every man has what representation he was entitled to.

Our Municipal Program [Model Charter] of 1899 gave to cities the option of adopting proportional representation. This is probably as far as we can go today. In respect to proportional representation as well as the initiative and recall and even as to the referendum upon general legislative questions, it seems to many that it is more important that the city's own independence and liberty of action should be secured than that any of these devices, however excellent, should be forced upon it against its will.



FREEDOM'S PATRIOT.

Ernest Howard Crosby.

I saw a lad, a beautiful lad,
With a far-off look in his eye;
Who smiled not at the battle-flag
When the cavalry troop marched by.

And, sorely vexed, I asked the lad,
Where might his country be,
Who cared not for our country's flag,
And the brave from over-sea?

"Oh! my country is the Land of Love,"
Thus did the lad reply;
"My country is the Land of Love,
And a patriot there am I."

"And who is your king, my patriot boy,
Whom loyalty you obey?"

"My king is Freedom," quoth the lad,
"And he never says me nay."

"Then you do as you like in your Land of Love,
Where every man is free?"

"Nay, we do as we love," replied the lad,
And his smile fell full on me.

BOOKS

WORK, OUR UNNATURAL FOE.

Modern Industry. By Florence Kelley. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1914. Price, \$1.00 net.

Varied and intimate knowledge of American industrial conditions makes most vivid and convincing the author's indictment of modern industry. Whether she writes of a department store in Pittsburgh, a fifty-family tenement in New York or a dirty new candy factory in the South, one knows by the concrete definiteness of her statements, by the true human touch in her story, that she speaks whereof she has herself seen, and seen with an observing mind.

Modern American industry, says the writer, is eating up our boys and girls by the tens and scores of thousands every year; it is killing off the parents of this generation and draining the life-blood of the parents-to-be. The American workman consumer is only now beginning to realize his power over industry through the enactment and enforcement of laws, and has yet to discover what his British brothers and sisters have long ago found out—the immense economic and social advantage in co-operative buying.

There is little new in what the author tells—more's the shame of it—but her wide-eyed vision and warm-hearted counsel will help to make her hopeful prophecies for the rising generation come true.

A. L. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**Progressive Democracy.** By Herbert Croly. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1914. Price, \$2.00 net.

—**Economics of Efficiency.** By Norris A. Brisco. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.

—**The Ego Book.** By Vance Thompson. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., 681 Fifth Ave., New York, 1914. Price, \$1.00 net.

—**A Century's Change in Religion.** By George Harris. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1914. Price, \$1.25 net.

—**Little Old Belgium.** By Reginald Wright Kauffman. Published by Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia, 1914. Price, 50 cents net.

—**Sylvia's Marriage.** By Upton Sinclair. Published by John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia, 1914. Price, \$1.20 net, postage, 14 cents.

—**International Trade and Exchange.** By Harry Gunnison Brown. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.

—**The French Revolution in San Domingo.** By T. Lothrop Stoddard. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1914. Price, \$2.00 net.

—**The Lure and the Lore of Travel.** By Carl Vrooman and Julia Scott Vrooman. Published by Sherman, French & Co., Boston, 1914. Price, \$1.35 net; postage, 12 cents.

—**The Tariff: What It Is. How It Works. Whom It Benefits.** By Lee Francis Lybarger. Published by The Platform, The Lyceum and Chautauqua Magazine, 601 Steinway Hall, Chicago, 1914. Price, \$1.50, net.

—**The Finances of the City of New York.** By Yin Ch'u Ma. Whole Number 149, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Longmans, Greene & Co., Agents, New York, 1914. Price, \$2.50 net.



"Did you tell Binks I was a fool?"

"No; I thought he knew it."—Harvard Lampoon.

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A SUGGESTION

F. G. Swanson, Balboa Canal Zone, writes:
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