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EDITORS, 1898-1913: LOUIS F. POST AND ALICE THACHER POST

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EDITORIAL

Signs of the Zodiac.

About this time look out for Little Congressmen and Feeble Senators who, under the guise of preparing to meet a foreign invasion, are getting ready to open another "pork" barrel.

S. C.

Adequate Defense.

Just as Congress assembles an apparently well organized and financed movement starts to create a scare about national defenses. Although there are presented no arguments not thoroughly refuted by the European war, the backers of this movement evidently hope to cause a panic and thus get the appropriations they desire. One may well question the sincerity and patriotism of those who resort to such methods. At present they deny wanting big armaments but only ask enough for "adequate defense." What is adequate defense? In case of war no defense is adequate that is not stronger than the opposing force, and inadequate defense, these panic creators tell us, is as good as none. So to have "adequate defense" we must create an armament more powerful than any possible combination of foes could bring against us. And that would only be a beginning, for our potential foes might suspect that we were planning to attack them, just as we suspect them of planning to attack us. They would attempt to outstrip us in building armaments. Our jingo alarmists would call attention to this, create another scare and urge further appropriations. Such a race would be ruinous. To stop it either one side would have to voluntarily retire, and thus make its peaceful intentions clear, or it would have to find some pretext to attack the other when conditions for victory would seem most favorable. Europe's experience shows that the latter alternative is the most likely to be selected. Preparations for war only lead to war. The only adequate defense does not consist in armaments, but in just dealings with the people of all nations.

S. D.

Europe's Bravest Man.

An example of true courage which no battlefield affords was displayed by Karl Liebknecht, the Socialist member of the German Reichstag, who alone dared to vote against further appropriations for war. His act had not the stimulus of popular approval and applause. He must have known it would meet with naught but bitter condemnation from his countrymen, unable to realize that what he did, none but a genuine patriot could do. He may lack even the religious feeling which supported a German of a different age, who also desired power, authority and public opinion, using these words: "Here I take my stand. I can not do otherwise. God help me." Even his fellow members of his own party—many of whom must secretly envy him for his courage—can not, without confession of their own shame, offer him a word of encouragement. Yet the time must come when his act will be appreciated, when Germans will tell with justifiable pride, that of all the parliaments of the warring nations, theirs was the only one which contained a member so brave as to stand alone for the right. No blood-bought victory can bring to Germany such glory as the heroic act of Liebknecht.

S. D.



Putting New Wine in an Old Bottle.

When the Progressive party set out with such a flourish two years ago to reform American politics it carried within itself the cause of its own destruction. In retaining the protective tariff as one of its cardinal principles it laid the foundation for privilege. To declare in favor of a non-partisan tariff board to draw up tariff schedules would no more establish justice than would a declaration seventy-five years ago in favor of a non-partisan board to regulate the relations of master and slave. Slavery is slavery, no matter what the form, and privilege is privilege, whatever the disguise. What the leaders of the Progressive party failed to grasp was the fact that it was not the bungling, or "unscientific" form of privilege involved in a protective tariff that people cried out against, but any kind of privilege. To eliminate its incongruities, to equalize it in some respects as between kinds of production, and classes of persons, might tend in some degree to equalize the burdens, but burdens they would still be.



The declaration of principles issued by the Progressive party had some fine sounding words; but beneath them all was this declaration in support

of privilege—for privilege the tariff is, in spite of all scientific treatment—and voters who were at first charmed by the high-sounding words, and by the fine personnel in the party, soon found that the effective control of the party was in the hands of the men who draw their financial sustenance from present privileges. And the disappointed voters deserted the party, as rats from a sinking ship.



Clearly, the time is past for glossing over evils. Whatever man, whatever party, is to lead in American politics at this time must strike at the very root of privilege. Nor must there be any uncertainty or ambiguity in the phrasing of the declaration. Only such a party, whether it be old or new, can hope for the support of those earnest-minded, firmly-resolved men and women who, realizing the baneful effect of the present unjust economic conditions, have set out to right them. Knowing the difference between a political party founded upon principle and a party devoted to satisfying the caprice of an ambitious man, these men and women can best serve their country during the next two years by impressing upon the Democratic leaders the fact of their existence, and the price of their support.

S. C.



Reactionary Progressives.

Very non-progressive is the statement issued by the Progressive party conference at Chicago on December 2. Mentions of social justice were conspicuous by their absence. The only economic measure discussed was the tariff and on that question the party adheres to its reactionary position. It still offers the absurd proposition to "take the tariff out of politics" without abolishing it. It declares that industrial peace can only be secured by accepting "the principle of protection as a fixed national policy." If that is true then all hope of industrial peace may as well be abandoned. The principle of protection cannot be accepted as a fixed national policy by any honest citizen who knows it to be what it is—a fraud and a robbery. One may as well ask that burglary or bunco-steering be accepted as a fixed national policy.



No less appropriate place could possibly have been chosen for such a declaration than a city of the State which at the recent election gave Raymond Robins as head of the Progressive party ticket 203,000 votes, nearly one eighth of the entire amount received by the party throughout the

nation. Of these 203,000 votes at least one half must have been cast by voters who do not want to accept protection as a fixed policy of the nation or as any other kind of policy. The fact that Robins received nearly 90,000 more votes than the next highest candidate on the Progressive ticket shows that many of his 203,000 votes came from democratic Democrats who voted for no other candidate on the ticket. Besides these there must have been some thousands of other Democrats, equally democratic, who, besides voting for Robins, voted for other Progressives, so that fully half of the Robins vote must have come from free traders, if indeed much more than half was not a free trade vote. A similar situation exists in the party's banner State, California. There many of the voters who so overwhelmingly re-elected Governor Johnson helped to elect a democratic Democrat, James D. Phelan, as United States Senator in preference to the Progressive candidate. These voters are surely not to be held by declarations in favor of an outrageous predatory measure as a fixed national policy. s. d.



Settling the Balance of Trade.

Those confiding citizens who began by gloating over the "favorable" balance of trade, and then became embarrassed when questioned as to how it was settled, will find some food for thought in a recent speech by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, David Lloyd George. The protectionist assumed that it was more advantageous to sell than to buy; hence, when the exports from this country exceeded the imports, he thought the country was on the road to prosperity, the assumption being that the difference was paid in gold. Just why a dollar's worth of gold was worth any more than a dollar's worth of pig iron he never deigned to explain. But when he was confronted with the treasury statistics, showing that we also exported more gold and silver than we imported, he fell back upon the vague and uncertain explanation that we were holding obligations from Europe that by and by would be paid, and that meantime gave us an income. How this indebtedness was expressed, and which of our citizens held it, has never been made known. But the British Chancellor in his recent speech throws some light upon the subject. In enumerating the resources of Great Britain for the purpose of showing the empire's ability to stand the drain of war, Mr. Lloyd George placed among them the statement that America owed England \$5,000,000,000. And Mr. Lloyd George is a careful man when it comes to

statistics. It may be doubted, indeed, if there is another man in the world so well qualified to pass upon this question. As his statement conforms in general terms with those of other experts it may be accepted as approximately correct.



The question arises, How is it possible that America has sent to England as well as to the world at large more merchandise, more gold and silver, and now owes England \$5,000,000,000? A glance at our history and a little reflection will make it plain. For many years America has been a fruitful land for foreign investments, and the largest investor has been England. Whenever an Englishman was able to save a dollar for investment, he was very apt to send that dollar to this country, which was young and in need of development. A dollar or two would buy an acre of land. A few dollars would buy a tract of mineral land. A few dollars more would buy a railroad. This was because the population was sparse, and the country undeveloped; but as population increased and the country grew in wealth the land that had cost the Englishman a dollar or two became worth ten, twenty, fifty or a hundred dollars. A city lot bought for twenty-five dollars became worth twenty-five thousand dollars.



Note, however, the result in the statistics of exports and imports. The imports showed one dollar coming into the country. Next year the exports showed six or ten cents—interest on that dollar—going out of the country. And as the value of the property purchased with that dollar grew, the income to the foreign holder soon amounted to more annually than the original investment. That investment of one dollar may now stand as a hundred dollars, and the annual interest, which is not based upon the original dollar, but upon the present hundred dollars, is represented in the item of exports. One dollar of imports, hundreds of dollars of exports. Hence, the "balance of trade." Our balance sheet of international trade shows a great excess of exports over imports. England's balance sheet shows an excess of imports over exports. Which country is really growing in wealth at the expense of the other? s. c.



National Resources.

The remark of Napoleon, or some other epigrammatist, that an army moves on its stomach is as applicable to countries. The war has given

rise to much speculation as to how long Germany and Austria with outside communication cut off can feed themselves. Apparently in anticipation of this question Nat C. Murray and Frank Andrews of the United States Agriculture Department give in Farmers' Bulletin number 641 a statement of the food production and requirements of the various countries. According to this report England produces 53 per cent of her food requirements; Belgium, 57; Germany, 88; France, 92; Austria-Hungary, 98; Russia, 110. Canada produces 24 per cent more food than she consumes; Argentina, 48; and the United States just about balances her exports and imports of food-stuffs. It may be seen from this that if the war can be kept out of Germany a little care in the use of food and a great deal of labor of women and children in the fields will enable that country to support itself indefinitely; and the siege would have rather the effect that the wars of Spain had upon that nation, the wearing down of its physical manhood.

S. C.



Lo, the Poor Indian.

In nothing has the white race shown its moral limitations more clearly than in its treatment of the American Indian. A few, like the Quakers, by treating them in good faith, won good faith in return. The mass of whites, however, treated them unjustly, and reaped what they had sown. Whether it was Pizarro butchering the Peruvians, Cortez slaughtering the Aztecs, or the French and English pitting the tribes against each other in North America, the story varies only in detail; the substance is the same. Nowhere had the natives of the country any rights that the invaders were bound to respect. One of the evidences offered to prove that Mexico is barbarous was its treatment of the Yaqui Indians. And what defense could Mexico offer? What defense can any nation claiming to be civilized offer for a betrayal of its wards?



And now comes Miss Kate Barnard, Oklahoma's commissioner of charities, whose position makes her the official protector of the Indians in her State, charging that a clique of grafters in Oklahoma and Washington are about to filch from the Indians \$200,000,000. Miss Barnard's exposure and opposition has led to various attempts to keep her quiet while the robbing is going on, even to withholding the appropriation by the legislature for her department. But this commissioner is not one of the perfunctory sort. She is supporting the

Department of Charities by means of contributions from philanthropists and humanitarians, and declares she is in the "fight to a finish."



This all comes of putting a woman in office. What if the State probate courts do permit the selling of an Indian minor's land in such a manner that the minor gets but twenty per cent of it? What if one of the principal newspapers of the State does sell worthless stock to minors? Why make a fuss because one man is guardian for fifty-one Indian children—heirs to valuable lands—for whom he charges most liberal amounts for "schooling" and "general care," when he does not even know where some of them are, and when three are found sleeping in a hollow tree and eating at farm houses? Men have held such places without having trouble with those who seek to separate the Indian from his money. Besides, how are we to point at barbarous Mexico, if Miss Barnard stirs up such things in Oklahoma? Had Miss Barnard remained in the home, where the politicians say woman belongs, we should have been spared this humiliating demonstration of civic unfitness. What shall we expect from the women who are going on the police force, and into the various departments of civil government? Is the grafter to have no field he can call his own? Fie, fie, woman! Have a heart.

S. C.



Colorado's Inconsistent Mine Owners.

Colorado's mine owners are still sending out literature to show how unjust and unreasonable were the demands of the United Mine Workers. This makes one wonder why a group so sure of being able to prove itself in the right should so strenuously object to arbitration. There would be more cause for confidence in arguments submitted so liberally to the press if those submitting them would be willing to abide by the decision thereon of an impartial tribunal.

S. D.



Unsafe to Trust Franchise Corporations.

The "mere scrap of paper" argument is being used by the Illinois Telegraph and Telephone Company concerning its contract with the city. This contract binds it to forfeit its automatic telephone plant and franchise whenever it serves less than 20,000 bona fide subscribers. It admits that it is serving less than that number but holds that its contract does not mean what it says, although if it does not the city must have been tricked when

the franchise was granted. Should the courts uphold this outrageous contention then every clause favorable to the public in every contract with a public service corporation may at once be considered as a "mere scrap of paper." It is a foolish city that will, with such an example before it, confer any more franchises on public service corporations, no matter what kind of agreement may be offered as an inducement. It would be little less than a reflection on Chicago's Council to intimate that it may not insist on strict compliance with the forfeiture clause.

S. D.



Explaining Some Ohio Election Results.

Referring to The Public's comment on page 1084 on the recent futile effort of the Ohio State Board of Commerce to block Municipal Ownership, the organ of the Board, The Ohio Journal of Commerce, in its issue of December 1 says:

The Public is not up-to-date as a Singletax organ when it worries about municipal ownership. The well grounded Singletaxer knows that if any benefits are derived from municipal ownership the land owner absorbs that benefit.

To be charged with failure to be up-to-date or well-grounded is a cheap price to pay for the Journal's admission that the land owner absorbs the benefits to be derived from municipal ownership. That admission logically involves other admissions. The means whereby the land owner is able to absorb the benefits of municipal ownership enables him to absorb, through increased land values, the benefit of all improvements. And that admission leads logically to the position that the proper way to pay for these improvements is through taxation of the land values they create. The Public gladly pays the price for this admission of an important truth by the Journal of Commerce.



Not so candid is the Journal of Commerce in trying to explain the defeat of the tax amendment which it championed on the ground that it would "make the Singletax impossible." It says now that "people in the country districts voted against the amendment because they believed it made the Singletax possible." The only reason they had for holding such belief was the Journal's assurance to the contrary. So it would seem that to get the Singletax in Ohio is easy. It is but necessary to put a Singletax measure on the ballot which, of course, the Journal of Commerce and the State Board will oppose. Voters who know nothing of Singletax will be guided, as the Journal says they

were at the late election, to believe the contrary of what it tells them and hence will support the measure. Voters who understand the Singletax will support it regardless of the Journal, and the result will be an almost unanimously favorable vote for the Singletax. There is but one reason to question the genuineness of this glowing prospect—the Journal of Commerce may be wrong in its explanation of the defeat of the State Board's measure.

S. D.



A Pensioner of New York City.

There died at Santa Monica, California, on November 30, John G. Wendel. Mr. Wendel's chief claim to fame is the fact that the people of New York City insisted on presenting him with millions of dollars, although he had done nothing for them, was not incapacitated from useful labor, and had even injured many persons by shutting them out from opportunities to earn a living. What is still more strange is that although these relations undeniably existed between Mr. Wendel and the people of New York, yet he probably did not realize it, and a great majority of the people were equally ignorant. This was on account of the form in which the people bestowed their benefactions on Mr. Wendel. He inherited from his father and grandfather large holdings of land on Manhattan Island. He added to these by purchases of his own. The people of Manhattan Island by their presence, industry and enterprise bestowed value on these lands without getting anything in return. Many of these people would have liked to produce wealth on Mr. Wendel's property. But he would not have it so. He never improved his property nor permitted others to improve it. On a lot assessed at nearly \$2,000,000 he maintained until the day of his death improvements worth but \$5,000. The \$2,000,000 value of the lot implied that there were men willing to pay that much for the privilege of employing labor thereon at work which would produce wealth far in excess of a \$5,000 house. But Mr. Wendel is said to have stated that his sister needed the lot as a playground for her pet dog. So while the pet dog was enjoying this playground men who might have been usefully employed upon it walked the streets of New York in a vain search for work, and others obtained work only by consenting to accept low wages. Because this lot and others like it were kept unused house rents in New York City have soared, and the poorer part of the population are forced to herd in crowded, unsanitary tenements. Besides this, men with capital must search vainly for a chance to profitably use it. For

inflicting such injury upon them the people of New York enriched Mr. Wendel.

There is nothing in all of this derogatory to Mr. Wendel, except to the extent that he, in common with other New Yorkers, upheld the system that put unearned wealth into his pocket. Had he refused to profit through the popular folly he would only have transferred the benefit to others equally unworthy. The remedy was and still is in the hands of the people. It is for them to demand that socially created values should go into the public treasury instead of into private pockets. Until this shall be done they will continue to unconsciously reward men for impoverishing them.

S. D.

Chicago's Involuntary Generosity.

The city of Chicago is about to present the Federal Life Insurance Company with several hundred thousand dollars. Why? That is a hard question to answer. It is surely not because the money can not be put to better use. Here are the circumstances as explained by the December number of *The Federal*, the company's official publication:

At a recent election the voters of Chicago adopted by a large majority the \$8,000,000 appropriation for completing the boulevard link between the north and south sides. This improvement will be a great help to the home office property of the Federal Life of Chicago, which is located on the part of Michigan avenue which will be most benefited by the improvement. Isaac Miller Hamilton, president of the Federal, believes that it will add several hundred thousand dollars to the value of the property by the time the work is completed. The boulevard will be widened, the property opposite condemned and removed, and the district transformed from a wholesale section to a center for high grade shops and offices.

There is no good reason why the law should not permit this several hundred thousand dollars to be taken to help pay for the boulevard. But instead, future generations are to be bonded to pay for it. Of course the Federal Life Insurance Company is only one of many land owners thus enriched at public expense.

S. D.

Another Effort at Tax Reform.

The announcement is made that a group of men representing large realty interests in Chicago are about to form an association to work for tax reform and the correction of assessment methods in Illinois. The comment is offered by the Chi-

cago Tribune that the conditions are so bad, and the necessities of the case are so great that making less than a constitutional convention can lift the State out of the present financial muddle. But it may be said that unless the delegates to a constitutional convention proceed with more intelligence than has been exhibited by the men proposing the association of tax reform, the new constitution may be worse than the old one. One of the chief handicaps now placed upon the people of Illinois is the fact that the present constitution permits but one amendment at an election; and that one heretofore has often been unavailable because of the fact that two or more sets of reformers have insisted that their amendment be submitted first, and the deadlock has resulted in nothing. Should a new constitution be drawn today, with the economic chaos that prevails in the mind of the average politician, it may be doubted if it would be accepted when submitted to the people. The one thing in Illinois most in need of correction is its system of taxation, and that will not be corrected by any association of large realty owners. The same thing may be said of the men in general who would be chosen to the constitutional convention. We need a new constitution very badly, but we should first have a more general understanding of economic problems. It is better to endure a little longer a constitution that the people wish to be rid of than to adopt an equally bad one that must have a try-out before the people will consent to change it.

S. C.

Educating the Collegians.

An excellent method of laying the foundation for future economic progress is that of interesting university and high school students in the study of fundamental principles of political economy. In some institutions of learning this is well done by professors of political economy. But unfortunately these are exceptional. One has but to note expressions on public questions by many of those most prominent in the economic departments of leading universities to realize what superior opportunities are possessed by the students in their classes to acquire economic ignorance. So it is well that organizations devoted to spreading economic truth are taking up the matter of giving those students a chance to obtain some knowledge. Thus in the state of Washington debates have been arranged on the Singletax to be participated in by high school students throughout the State. In Chicago the local Singletax club has for some time

can distributing prizes each month to pupils of the city's high schools for the best papers on the Singletax and the plan is being taken up and put into effect in other cities of Illinois. And now the New York State Singletax League has formed the Collegiate Singletax League with headquarters at 68 William street, New York City, and is offering prizes to undergraduates of the State's colleges for the three best essays on the Singletax whether favorable or otherwise. There is room for further extension of such work and it is not unreasonable to suppose that before long similar encouragement will be offered students everywhere to acquire definite knowledge of the principles of the science of political economy.

S. D.



The Truth About Edmonton.

In reporting on Edmonton's tax system, United States Consul Reat of Calgary seems to have been under some erroneous impressions. His report was so worded as to convey the idea that of \$3,000,000 taxes levied for 1913 \$1,000,000 was delinquent. Even if true this would not have been to the discredit of the system, although some papers in the United States, including the *Providence Journal*, imagined that it was. The *Journal's* statements were brought to the attention of the officials of Edmonton by Mr. H. B. Cowan, editor of *Farm and Dairy*, an agricultural paper issued at Peterboro, Ontario. Mr. Cowan received the following reply from the acting mayor of Edmonton, Mr. H. R. Smith, under date of November 23:

There is a systematic campaign in the United States against western Canadian development. This is presumably to be expected.

The editorial of the *Providence Journal* is, unfortunately, very far astray, as our system of Singletax is very limited and is not the Henry George system at all. All our utilities are a direct charge on the user, and not on the landowner. We operate briefly as follows:

1. Capital monies are raised by by-laws approved by the burgesses.
2. Interest and sinking fund charges on capital monies and the capital expenses of the civic administration (including the Hospital Board, the Public Library Board and the School Board) are defrayed from land taxes and revenues from the various utilities, all of which are owned and operated by the municipality.
3. Taxes are derived from land only, no account being taken of any improvements, other than local improvements, payment for which is spread over a number of years, according to the lifetime of the improvement.
4. The tax rate is struck by the City Council according to the estimated needs of the city.
5. The assessment of the various parcels of property is determined by the City Assessor, and the

value is estimated from the current market price.

With regard to the accusation that our taxation system is responsible for the slump, the *Providence Journal* seems to be laboring under the fallacy of false cause. We have never claimed that our growth from five thousand to seventy-two thousand five hundred was only due to the direct tax on land, although we have more logical right to do so than those who would explain the present financial depression as due to the same cause.

The \$1,000,000 unpaid taxes represents the accumulation of ten years, which makes a difference. There is no agitation for any great tax reform from within the city, and in case of failure I presume that we might expect this.

Since Edmonton has only made land values the sole source of local taxation since 1912, it is clear that ten years accumulation of delinquent taxes cannot be charged against the existing system. If it can be correctly said to discredit any system it must discredit the methods in force before the present one was adopted. Consul Reat should correct the false impression he has allowed to go out. Of course, the same may also be expected of the *Providence Journal*, *Los Angeles Times* and other papers which have misinformed their readers.

S. D.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

SUMMARY OF OREGON RESULTS.

Portland, Oregon, November, 27, 1914.

The returns of the recent election are now so nearly complete that we can safely begin to study the meaning of the votes on measures and men. Four measures were approved and twenty-five rejected.

It was a Republican year for candidates. There is less chance for an Independent candidate in Oregon under the Direct Primary than there was formerly under the convention system. Very many electors will vote for a candidate's measures, who will not vote for the candidate, unless he is on one of the great party tickets. I was an Independent candidate for Governor, and received 10,493 votes in a total of 248,052. For the \$1,500 Homes Tax Exemption amendment my name was first in the ballot title, and 64,825 voted for the measure. I received 4 per cent of the total vote for Governor, but this measure, which was universally opposed as being mine, received 33 per cent of the votes on that question. It appears that no Independent candidate was elected to any office.

A bill was submitted by initiative petition to provide for election of delegates to party conventions to recommend candidates for their party nominations, and to repeal the Presidential Primary law. On this measure there were 178,238 votes, and it was rejected by a majority of six to one.

The electors are developing higher ideals of political morals and citizens' duties. Prohibition was adopted by about 36,000 majority, and 95 per cent of all who went to the polls voted on the question. This was the seventh vote on Prohibition measures in this State, and the first time the women voted on the question. It was rejected in 1910 by 22,000 majority.

The death penalty was abolished by less than 500 majority. Two years ago such a measure was rejected by about 20,000 majority.

A measure limiting the voting rights to naturalized citizens who have received their final papers, and to native born citizens, was adopted by a majority of four to one.

On a measure declaring the duty of the State to employ any citizen on demand, and levy a high inheritance tax to provide funds, 57,652 voted "YES" and 125,332 voted "NO." This indicates a very strong radical sentiment on the unemployment question.



Some of the Singletaxers, including A. D. Cridge, G. M. Orton, H. D. Wagnon, Will Daly and myself, initiated the amendment to exempt every person on \$1,500 of the total assessed value of his or her dwelling house and other labor values of property used to make a living.

H. D. Wagnon, G. M. Orton and other Singletaxers initiated a measure levying a graduated sur-tax on the values of land and other natural resources.

Both of these measures were opposed wholly on the ground that they were the beginning of the Single Tax. On the \$1,500 Exemption 64,825 voted "YES" and 134,291 voted "NO." On the sur-tax measure 59,390 voted "YES" and 123,697 voted "NO." Both were defeated by practically a two to one majority of those voting on the questions.



The Anti-Singletaxers offered four measures, two submitted by the Legislature for the State Tax Commission, and two by initiative petition. The first two were rejected by majorities of two to one, and this was the third time they had been rejected by the people. The third measure was proposed by initiative petition to create a special tax commission to draft a new tax code for the Legislature; this was rejected by a vote of four to one. The fourth was a constitutional amendment intended to make Single Tax impossible, and was rejected by a majority of three to one. The majority vote against Anti-Singletax measures grows with each succeeding election.

The vote in favor of the measures offered by Singletaxers grows from one election to another. This year they were defeated by two to one majorities. Two years ago they were beaten by eight to three majorities.

This year the whole amount spent for the \$1,500 exemption measure, including the cost of the petition, was about \$800. Anti-Singletaxers probably spent at least \$20,000. One of their leagues reported expenses of nearly \$9,000. The Anti-Singletaxers also opposed the measure to abolish the State Senate and provide Proportional Representation for election of representatives in the Legislature.

The people of Oregon are not ready for any forward political step. The measures to abolish the State Senate and provide a method of Proportional Representation for electing representatives in the Legislature were rejected by majorities of two to one and three to one respectively.

In my opinion this election in Oregon should greatly encourage the progressives and radicals to continue their work. It is true that we won only Prohibition and abolition of the death penalty, but we did not lose anything. The other fellows gained nothing at all, except the election of officers. That is something for them, but their candidates all professed so much faith in the Oregon System, and promised so faithfully to protect it, that there is probably no danger of our losing much under the incoming administration. If the reactionaries had elected the Governor four years ago with the Legislature they did elect, Oregon would have gone back a long, long way by this time. The Fels Fund saved us from that fate, and thus made possible the victories in California and Ohio. In our campaign four years ago the Oregon System was an issue, and the Republican candidates were opposed to it. In the recent campaign everyone seeking an office, from the Governor down, professed very great admiration for the Peoples Power System.

Remembering that there were from seventy-five to ninety thousand women voting this year, most of whom had given little or no attention to politics or economics until this campaign, there is surely every reason for progressives to take heart of grace, and this is especially true of the Singletaxers.

In closing, I wish to express my opinion that the best work that can be done for the Single Tax movement hereafter, in Oregon at least, is to submit at every election a straight Single Tax measure.

W. S. U'REN.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE MIDDLEMAN

Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, Dec. 5.

Apropos of middlemen, and the possibility of economic loss from having too many of them, it may be said that we should probably have fewer were the artificial scarcity of employment removed by the freeing of natural opportunities. The job of the middleman looks like "easy money" to many who shrink from the hardships of daily manual toil as wage earners in a society where the seizure of natural opportunities has created artificial scarcity of employment. Each man who attempts to keep a little shop hopes that he is destined to succeed where many have failed, and here and there the able man with the instinct of the monopolist and a minimum of conscience sees the opportunity to drive out his competitors and profit by the privilege of controlling a considerable market. Open natural opportunities and men will be less tempted by the gambling chance of the small shopkeeper, so that communities will have as many middlemen as they need and no more. The Singletax is no cure-all, but freedom and economic justice will give men the chance to show what is in them, to develop up to

their best. It may thus remedy the plethora of middlemen.

E. N. VALLANDIGHAM.

SINGLETAX AND THE RICH.

Waban, Mass., December 3.

In view of the claim sometimes made that the Singletax is a scheme for enabling the very wealthy to escape taxation, the following figures may be of interest. The names of the largest taxpayers in Boston (excepting corporations) for the year 1913 were published in all the Boston newspapers. Mr. Jonas M. Miles, a member of the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Singletax League, computed what the tax of each of these individuals would have been if Boston had raised the same amount of total revenue by a tax on land values only, exempting buildings, personal property and polls. The actual tax rate was \$17.20 a thousand. The equivalent rate on land values only would be \$37.10.

Name.	Actual tax.	Single tax.
George R. White.....	\$ 79,687.60	\$133,856.80
Eugene N. Foss.....	41,997.24	44,976.33
Isabel Anderson.....	38,720.64	60,766.09
Abraham Shuman.....	30,904.96	51,810.15
Fannie E. Morrison.....	29,771.48	49,621.25
Eben D. Jordan.....	28,450.52	26,830.72
Lotta M. Crabtree.....	25,782.80	44,282.56
Frederick Ayer.....	24,645.88	44,627.59
George A. Gardner.....	23,895.96	13,645.38
George N. Black.....	21,343.48	37,830.87
Martha C. Codman.....	18,746.28	37,367.12

Total\$363,946.84 \$545,614.86

The increase is \$181,668.02, or nearly 50 per cent. It will be noted that only two, Mr. Jordan and Mr. Gardner, would have had their taxes reduced. Of these, Mr. Jordan had to pay taxes of over \$6,000.00 on the Boston Opera House Building, which, like any other improvement, would be exempt under the Singletax. Incidentally, the opera in Boston has not been and was not expected to be financially profitable.

The real point in the above table is, of course, not the fact that these particular individuals would have paid more taxes, but—

1. That the increased taxes shown would have forced into efficient use much valuable vacant and under-improved land.

2. That the corresponding reduction in taxes on houses, stores, factories, machinery and merchandise would have tended to keep down the cost of living for the average citizen of Boston, whether home owner, apartment renter or slum dweller.

3. That the push of increased taxes on vacant land and the pull of lower taxes on trade and industry would have combined to increase the number of jobs for workers and to make business better.

CHARLES H. PORTER.

I have made it my chief care neither to ridicule nor to deplore, nor to execrate, but to understand the actions of mankind.—Spinoza.

In the long run men hit only what they aim at. Therefore, though they should fall immediately, they had better aim at something high.—Thoreau.

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 8, 1914.

The President's Message.

The final session of the 63d Congress began on December 7. The President's message was not delivered until the following day. After referring to the European situation the President called attention to the fact that one result of the war was the cutting off from Central and South American people of the source from which they had obtained most of their imported supplies. The United States is ready to supply these wants but lacks a merchant marine. The President then said:

To speak plainly, we have grossly erred in the way in which we have stunted and hindered the development of our merchant marine. And now, when we need ships, we have not got them. We have year after year debated, without end or conclusion, the best policy to pursue with regard to the use of the ores and forests and water powers of our national domain in the rich states of the west, when we should have acted; and they are still locked up. The key is still turned upon them, the door shut fast at which thousands of vigorous men, full of initiative, knock clamorously for admittance. The water power of our navigable streams outside the national domain also, even in the eastern states, where we have worked and planned for generations, is still not used as it might be, because we will and we won't; because the laws we have made do not intelligently balance encouragement against restraint. We withhold by regulation.

I have come to ask you to remedy and correct these mistakes and omissions.

After urging that the Senate pass promptly the two conservation bills that have already passed the House and also the Philippine bill the President said in regard to the merchant marine:

How are we to carry our goods to the empty markets of which I have spoken if we have not the ships? . . . And how are we to get the ships if we wait for the trade to develop without them? To correct the many mistakes by which we have discouraged and all but destroyed the merchant marine of the country, to retrace the steps by which we have, it seems almost deliberately, withdrawn our flag from the seas, except where, here and there, a ship of war is bidden carry it or some wandering yacht displays it, would take a long time and involve many detailed items of legislation, and the trade which we ought immediately to handle would disappear or find other channels while we debated the items. . . . Therefore, I propose another way of providing the means of transportation, which must precede, not tardily follow, the development of our trade with our neigh-

bor states of America. It may seem a reversal of the natural order of things, but it is true, that the routes of trade must be actually opened—by many ships and regular sailings and moderate charges—before streams of merchandise will flow freely and profitably through them. Hence the pending shipping bill, discussed at the last session, but as yet passed by neither house. In my judgment such legislation is imperatively needed and cannot wisely be postponed. The government must open these gates of trade and open them wide; open them before it is altogether profitable to open them or altogether reasonable to ask private capital to open them at a venture. It is not a question of the government's monopolizing the field. It should take action to make it certain that transportation at reasonable rates will be promptly provided, even where the carriage is not at first profitable; and then, when the carriage has become sufficiently profitable to attract and engage private capital and engage it in abundance, the government ought to withdraw.

The difficulty of framing proper rural credit legislation was next mentioned but no suggestion was offered. Congress was urged to take up the recommendations of the safety-at-sea conference and to appropriate money for the survey and charting of the coasts, especially the Alaska route. After urging a policy of economy the President took up the question of national defense, saying:

It is said in some quarters that we are not prepared for war. What is meant by being prepared? Is it meant that we are not ready upon brief notice to put a nation in the field, a nation of men trained to arms? Of course we are not ready to do that, and we shall never be in time of peace so long as we retain our present political principles and institutions. And what is it that is suggested we should be prepared to do? To defend ourselves against attack? We have always found means to do that, and shall find them whenever it is necessary without calling our people away from their necessary tasks to render compulsory military service in times of peace. . . . We are at peace with all the world. No one who speaks counsel based on fact or drawn from a just and candid interpretation of realities can say that there is reason to fear that from any quarter our independence or the integrity of our territory is threatened. Dread of the power of any other nation we are incapable of. We are not jealous of rivalry in the fields of commerce or of any other peaceful achievement. We mean to live our own lives as we will; but we mean also to let live. We are, indeed, a true friend to all the nations of the world, because we threaten none, covet the possessions of none, desire the overthrow of none. Our friendship can be accepted and is accepted without reservation, because it is offered in a spirit and for a purpose which no one need ever question or suspect. Therein lies our greatness. We are the champions of peace and of concord. And we should be very jealous of this distinction which we have sought to earn. Just now we should be particularly jealous of it, because it is our dearest present hope that the character and reputation may presently, in God's providence, bring us an opportunity such as has

seldom been vouchsafed any nation—the opportunity to counsel and obtain peace in the world; reconciliation and a healing settlement of many a matter that has cooled and interrupted the friendship of nations. This is the time above all others when we should wish and resolve to keep our strength by self-possession, our influence by preserving our ancient principles of action. . . . We never have had, and while we retain our present principles and ideals we never shall have, a large standing army. If asked: Are you ready to defend yourselves? We reply: Most assuredly, to the utmost; and yet we shall not turn America into a military camp. We will not ask our young men to spend the best years of their lives making soldiers of themselves. There is another sort of energy in us. It will know how to declare itself and make itself effective should occasion arise. . . . We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor yet upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms. It will be right enough, right American policy, based upon our accustomed principles and practices, to provide a system by which every citizen who will volunteer for the training may be made familiar with the use of modern arms, the rudiments of drill and maneuver, and the maintenance and sanitation of camps. We should encourage such training and make it a means of discipline which our young men will learn to value. . . . It is right, too, that the national guard of the states should be developed and strengthened by every means which is not inconsistent with our obligations to our own people or with the established policy of our government. . . . More than this carries with it a reversal of the whole history and character of our policy. More than this, proposed at this time, permit me to say, would mean merely that we had lost our self-possession, that we had been thrown off our balance by a war with which we have nothing to do, whose causes cannot touch us, whose very existence affords us opportunities of friendship and disinterested service which should make us ashamed of any thought of hostility or fearful preparation for trouble. . . . A powerful navy we have always regarded as our proper and natural means of defense and it has always been of defense that we have thought—never of aggression or of conquest. But who shall tell us now what sort of navy to build? We shall take leave to be strong upon the seas, in the future as in the past, and there will be no thought of offense or of provocation in that. Our ships are our natural bulwarks. When will the experts tell us just what kind we should construct, and when will they be right for ten years together, if the relative efficiency of craft of different kinds and uses continue to change as we have seen it change under our very eyes in these last few months?

But I turn away from the subject. It is not new. There is no new need to discuss it. We shall not alter our attitude toward it because some among us are nervous and excited. We shall easily and sensibly agree upon a policy of defense. . . . The country has been misinformed. We have not been negligent of national defense. We are not unmindful of the great responsibility resting upon us. We shall learn and profit by the lesson of every experience

and every new circumstance, and what is needed will be adequately done.

I close, as I began, by reminding you of the great tasks and duties of peace which challenge our best powers and invite us to build what will last, the tasks to which we can address ourselves now and at all times with free hearted zest and with all the finest gifts of constructive wisdom we possess. To develop our life and our resources; to supply our own people, and the people of the world as their need arises, from the abundant plenty of our fields and our marts of trade; to enrich the commerce of our own states and of the world with the products of our mines, our farms and our factories, with the creations of our thought and the fruits of our character—this is what will hold our attention and our enthusiasm steadily, now and in the years to come, as we strive to show in our life as a nation what liberty and the inspirations of an emancipated spirit may do for men and for societies, for individuals, for states and for mankind.

[See current volume, page 1045.]



Progressive Party Meeting.

The Progressive Party National Committee in Chicago on December 3 decided to maintain the party organization. In its public statement it declares that at the recent election it received 1,750,000 votes and had made encouraging progress in southern States, especially Louisiana and Georgia. It states farther:

The industrial depression and the consequent reaction against the Democratic tariff was undoubtedly the issue which primarily determined the reactionary results of the recent elections.

Both the Republican and the Democratic parties have passed tariffs by the old method of log-rolling and the people have now successively repudiated them both.

As long as the tariff is made in politics and log-rolling there can be no stability of industrial conditions and business can have no peace. The way to provide stable industrial conditions and business peace is to accept the principle of protection as a fixed national policy and take the tariff out of politics.

The Progressive party specifically declared this doctrine in its platform of 1912 and pointed out that the only way to take the tariff out of politics was by the creation of a permanent expert non-partisan tariff commission.

We call attention to the necessity of prompt action on the Murdock tariff commission bill introduced in May, 1913.

Progressive principles are permanent, and now more than ever it is evident that the Progressive party is the necessary organ for their realization.

It was also decided that the committee be called to meet again in January, 1916, to prepare for the presidential campaign. [See current volume, page 1096.]

Militarists Become Active.

The National Security League was formed at New York on December 1. It is designed to carry on an active propaganda for increasing the army and navy and strengthening of the coast defenses. To that end it passed resolutions urging prompt action on a resolution to be introduced in Congress by Representative Gardner of Massachusetts for an investigation of the condition of the armament of the United States.



Commission on Industrial Relations.

In a statement to the Commission on Industrial Relations at Denver on December 2, Governor Ammons of Colorado gave his views on happenings during the strike. He said that since the last of the million dollar bond issue had been sold to pay expenses of the militia, the President has been asked to withdraw the federal troops. He thought that there would have been no trouble had the miners not insisted on recognition of the union. He declared himself in favor of a mediation act. J. C. Osgood, president of the Victor American Coal Company, told of the hiring of mine guards and purchase of machine guns by the company. He said that no miner employed by his company had made any complaint about wages or conditions before the strike. The majority of the men, he said, object to an eight-hour day that curtails their earning capacity. Governor-elect George A. Carlson declared his intention to recommend to the legislature an act to create an industrial commission to handle all strike troubles in the future, and also to draft labor legislation that would seem to be needed. John McLennan, president of the local miners' union, testified on December 4 and retold the whole history of the strike. Former United States Senator Thomas M. Patterson declared that the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company had intentionally employed foreign miners of different nationalities to prevent co-operation among the men. He said that in elections the coal camps returned almost unanimous majorities for whatever the companies wanted. Jesse F. Welborn, president of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, took the stand on December 5. He was questioned by Chairman Frank J. Walsh, who asked him concerning instructions said to have been sent regarding conduct of the strike by directors of the Rockefeller Foundation. Walsh also asked him concerning the identity of the press agent who has prepared the matter justifying the company's attitude which has been sent in pamphlet form to legislators, congressmen, editors, teachers and others supposed to have influence. He admitted that this press agent is private secretary of a railroad president in Pennsylvania, but declined to say anything more. He told of having ordered \$25,000 worth of arms and ammunition to be used against

the miners. Professor James H. Brewster of the University of Colorado testified on December 7. He declared that as head of the Colorado militia, Adjutant General Chase had disregarded all constitutional guarantees of the rights of citizens. The militia, he said, was recruited with scoundrels, who resorted to illegal searches and other unjustifiable acts. He declared Lieutenant Linderfelt a "brute unfit to associate with anybody," and laid upon him responsibility for the Ludlow battle. Merchants in Las Animas and Huerfano county, he said, had been intimidated by threats of business ruin should they displease the companies. He also read excerpts from campaign speeches of Judge Northcut and Judge McHendrie declaring that their nominations had been secured on a basis "satisfactory to the company." [See current volume, page 1162.]



A preliminary report to Congress was made by the Commission on December 7. The Commission had examined witnesses of all classes, including 181 employers of labor and 183 workers. Seven of the latter were Industrial Workers of the World and six were representative Socialists.

Nine causes of unrest given were as follows:

Largely a world-wide movement arising from a laudable desire for better living conditions. Advanced by representatives of labor, socialists and employers, and generally indorsed.

A protest against low wages, long hours and improper working conditions in many industries. Advanced by practically all labor representatives and assented to by many employers.

A desire on the part of the workers for a voice in determination of conditions under which they labor and a revolt against arbitrary treatment of individual workers and a suppression of organization. This was almost uniformly approved by the labor witnesses.

Unemployment and the insecurity of employment. Generally advanced by witnesses from every standpoint.

Unjust distribution of the products of industry. Advanced by most labor representatives and agreed to by most employers.

Misunderstanding and prejudice. Agreed to by employers and employes.

Agitation and agitators. Generally advanced by employers, but defended by labor representatives and others as a necessary means of education.

The rapid rise in prices as compared with wages.

The rapidly growing feeling that redress for injuries and oppression cannot be secured through existing institutions.

A summary of employers' views on the cause of unrest was as follows:

Normal and healthy desires for better living conditions.

Misunderstanding and prejudice. Lack of conception that interests of both labor and capital are identical.

Agitation by politicians and irresponsible agitators.

Unemployment.

Unreasonable demands arising from strength of organization.

Labor leaders who stir up trouble to keep themselves in office and to graft on employers.

Inefficiency of workers, resulting in ever increasing cost of living.

Rapidly increasing complexity of industry.

Sudden transition of a large number of foreigners from repression to freedom, which makes them an easy prey to labor agitators.

Universal craze to get rich quick.

Decay of old ideas of honesty and thrift.

Misinformation in newspapers.

Too much organization for competitive purposes instead of for co-operation.

Violence in labor troubles.

Sympathetic strikes and jurisdiction disputes.

Boycotting and picketing.

Meddlesome and burdensome legislation.

The closed shop, which makes for labor monopoly.

Financial irresponsibility of labor unions.

The workers' explanation was presented as follows:

Normal and healthy desire for better living conditions.

Protest against low wages, long hours, insanitary and dangerous conditions existing in many industries.

Demand for industrial democracy and revolt against the suppression of organization.

Unemployment and the insecurity which the wage-earner feels at all times.

Unjust distribution of the product of industry. Exploitation of the many by the favored few. Demand for full share of production.

Unjust attitude of police and courts.

There is one law for the rich, another for the poor.

Immigration and the consequent over-supply of labor.

Existence of a "double standard," which sanctions only a poor living in return for the hardest manual labor, and at the same time luxury for persons who perform no useful service whatever.

Disregard of grievances of individual employes and lack of machinery for redressing same.

Control by "big business" over both industry and the state.

Fear on the part of those in comfortable positions of being driven to poverty by sickness, accident or involuntary loss of employment.

Inefficiency of workers on account of lack of proper training.

Unfair competition from prison and other exploited labor.

The rapid pace of modern industry, which results in accidents and premature old age.

Lack of attention to sickness and accidents, and the difficulty and delay incident to securing compensation for accidents under the common law and the statutes of states which have not adopted methods of dealing with those questions.

Arbitrary discharge of employes.

Blacklisting of individual employes.

Exploitation of women and children in industry.

Promotion of violence by the use of gunmen, spies and provokers hired by employers.

National labor exchanges are advocated. It is understood that this preliminary report is to be followed later with a more complete one after the Commission's investigations have been completed.



Chicago's Trouble With Corporation Agreements.

After the committee of Chicago's city council had agreed to allow representatives of the city's civic organizations to witness the count of the automatic telephone subscribers, the Illinois Telegraph and Telephone Company, operating the system, formally admitted on December 3 that it has less than 20,000 subscribers. But its attorneys deny that this involves the forfeiture to the city of its plant as the terms of its franchise require. They construe the words "If at any time after June 1, 1911, the company shall cease to operate a telephone system serving 20,000 bona fide subscribers" to mean "ready to serve 20,000 bona fide subscribers." Since they are ready to serve this number, but have not secured them, they hold themselves secure. [See current volume, page 1162.]



Auditors employed by the city of Chicago to investigate the books of the Chicago Railway Company reported to the mayor on December 3 that the company has incorrectly charged to capital account \$6,945,130.40. This error has benefited the company in dividing profits with the city according to the contract of 1907. To rectify the error the auditors say the company should pay into the city's traction fund the sum of \$584,264.29. [See volume xvi, pages 26, 99; current volume, page 558.]



The Milwaukee Leader Wins.

The case of City Clerk Peter F. Leuch against the Milwaukee Leader, the Socialist organ, resulted on November 20 in a victory for the Leader. Judge George Clementson, who presided, directed a verdict in its favor, which put the costs of the case on Leuch. The case arose from publication in the Leader on December 9, 1912, of a story charging Leuch with violating the State law forbidding payment for overtime to public employes. Although the Supreme Court of the State had ruled that Leuch's act was illegal, he nevertheless brought suit for libel against the Leader. The case came up the first time in November, 1913, before a jury of anti-Socialists, which returned a verdict for Leuch. The Leader appealed. In the second trial the jury—which contained no member friendly to Socialism—was deadlocked, and the judge took matters into his own hands. Leuch says he will appeal. [See vol. xvi, page 1155.]

Mexico and the United States.

Direct communication with the Mexican capital, after an interruption of a week, was restored through El Paso on the 30th. Little authentic news, however, is yet to be had. General Blanco having left Mexico City in advance of the time agreed upon for the entry of General Zapata and General Villa, some disorder occurred, and the merchants begged General Zapata, who was awaiting the coming of General Villa, to take possession at once to restore order. This was done, and after provision had been made for policing the city, the General, in order to show his good faith, retired, to await the coming of Provisional President Gutierrez and General Villa. The new President, entering the city with General Villa, took possession of the national palace of the capital on the 3d. Efforts are under way by Generals Villa and Zapata to give effect to the new government, and to restore order throughout the country. [See current volume, page 1163.]



Sporadic fighting on a small scale is reported from various parts of the country where the forces of General Carranza come in conflict with those of the new government. General Carranza is reported to be at Vera Cruz, from which point he sends copious accounts to his agents in the United States for distribution. No serious campaigning appears to be under way, and little definite information of military movements is at hand. Desultory fighting continues on the Mexican border near Naco, Arizona, and complaints are made by the Americans of the danger from stray bullets. Nothing more has been reported of General Gonzales' assumption of the presidency. The Carranzistas seem to be on the defensive, and although still defiant of the new government set up by the Aguas Calientes convention, are impotent.



The European War.

The main center of interest continues in Poland where the Russian and German armies continue their indecisive struggle for the mastery, with the Germans again advancing. Russia is still making headway against Austria, and is laying siege to Cracow. Austria has taken Belgrade, the capital of Servia, and continues a slow advance into Servia. The campaign in the west favors the Allies, but marks little change in the battle line. Turkey continues an unimportant factor, the South African rebellion has collapsed. Nothing of importance is reported from the Sea. The situation as a whole shows little to encourage either side. [See current volume, page 1163.]



The Campaign in the East.

What seemed a week ago to be favorable fortune

for the Russians in the Polish campaign has again turned in favor of the Germans; and the see-saw movement of the great armies across Poland is now turning toward the east. The Russian forces south of the Vistula River were not strong enough to hold the Germans in the trap into which they had gotten the invaders. The Germans, at the cost of many men and guns, succeeded in breaking through the enveloping Russian lines; after which, by the aid of reinforcements, they cleared their flanks, and straightened their threatened lines. Lodz, an unfortified town, which the Germans occupied in a former invasion of Poland, has again been taken by them. Other advances have been made in the direction of Warsaw, but these have not as yet been sufficient to compel the Russians to retreat from East Prussia, or to give up the siege of Cracow. German dispatches claim 80,000 Russians captured, while Russian reports name even a larger number of German prisoners. Little is known of the real conditions, except that the losses on both sides have been very heavy. The Russians are reported as besieging Cracow, but few details are given. The fact that they continue this action is taken to indicate that they feel themselves strong enough on the Warsaw line to hold the invaders in check. The usual conflicting claims of the Servians and the Austrians are made. The only tangible evidence of progress on the part of the Austrians seems to be the capture of Belgrade, the capital, which was entered on the 2d. French troops are reported landed in Montenegro in the campaign against Cattaro, the fortified Austrian harbor containing warships. King Nicholas of Montenegro reports that one-third of his army, which numbers about 50,000, has been lost since the beginning of hostilities, but that it will continue to defend its independence. Austria is reported to fear an invasion from Italy, and to have posted 200,000 men near the Italian border.

The Campaign in the West.

Operations in Belgium and northern France, though still secondary to the campaign in Poland, are assuming greater importance. The prediction that the Germans had abandoned their efforts to reach Calais by the coast route, and were to attempt to break through the Allies' lines in France were not borne out by the subsequent events. Some heavy fighting has occurred about Dixmude and Ypres, but seems on the whole to have been favorable to the Allies. The policy of the Allies appears to be to keep up a continued series of small engagements to wear out the Germans. Incidentally, the plan has resulted in some advances, notably in Belgium, where the Allies have found lodgment on the north bank of the Yser, and in Alsace. A slight counter to this is the advance of the Germans to Vermelles, north of Arras, where the French line was caught unprepared, and

fell back two miles before they were able to re-establish their line and drive back the Germans. The Allies evidently are trying to take advantage of the withdrawal of German troops for operations in France, but little progress has been made. Operations along the center of the line are almost entirely confined to trench work, in which the trenchers can approach at some points within 70 yards of the other. The Reichstag, which met on the 2d, granted the government a credit of \$1,250,000,000. This credit will be used as needed, some of it not until next spring. The presence of the heads of the five principal nations at war, the Czar and the Kaiser in Poland, and President Poincare, King George and King Albert in France, marked an attempt of the several rulers to hearten their men.

Turkey.

Little news of importance has come from Turkey, and that little is too confused to convey much idea of the facts. Both Russia and Turkey claim the advantage in eastern Armenia. The German cruiser Goeben, which came into the hands of the Turks at the breaking out of the war, is reported so badly damaged in the recent Black Sea engagement that it cannot be repaired without expert mechanics and engineers from Germany. Nothing definite is reported of Turkish operations in the direction of the Suez Canal. Apparently the chief effect of Turkey's entrance into the war is the holding of some Russian troops in the East, and the detention of the Australian and New Zealand troops in Egypt and at the Canal.

On the Sea.

It is reported that the German fleet in the South Atlantic numbers ten vessels of various dimensions; but the reinforced British fleet, and the approaching Japanese fleet, has caused it, according to dispatches from Buenos Aires, to leave the South American shore for South Africa. The German cruiser Karlsruhe is reported to be watching for merchantmen of the Allies along the North Atlantic lane. The British government has issued notice that after December 10th certain areas in the North Sea are likely to have the lighthouse lights put out, or moved. This is to confuse vessels engaged in mine-laying at night. Two Swedish vessels have been sunk by mines off the Finnish coast.

South Africa.

General Christian De Wet, chief leader of the South African rebellion of the Boers against the British, surrendered on the 1st. He and a few mounted men were pursued by General Botha's men in motor cars, which were able to tire out his horses and run him down. He is to be court-martialed by the South African authorities on their

own responsibility. While some of the Unionist papers in England are calling for the extreme penalty, it is said the South African government will be guided by the effect upon the Boers.

NEWS NOTES

—Forbach, Germany, is said to have the most profitable town forest known; it yields an annual net gain of \$12.14 an acre.

—The official count in Colorado shows that the State went dry on November 3 by a vote of 129,589 to 118,017. Majority for prohibition was 11,572.

—Proportional representation in the City Council is included among the charter amendments proposed for Los Angeles to be voted on on December 31. [See current volume, page 1143.]

—Imprisonment for debt in England, while still legal, is on the wane. Nine years ago, according to the Law Journal, 11,405 debtors were sent to jail; last year the total was 5,711.

—Mayor Mitchell of New York City appointed a committee of seventy-nine on December 2 to consider the question of unemployment. Elbert H. Gary, head of the United States Steel Corporation, was made chairman.

—The sixteenth annual meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League took place at the Century Club, Boston, on December 7. Addresses were made by Morfield Storey and Philippine Commissioner Manuel Quezon. [See current volume, page 733.]

—The Initiative and Referendum amendment in Mississippi failed to secure a majority of all votes cast for State officials, although it had a majority of votes cast directly on it. It has therefore failed of adoption. [See current volume, page 346.]

—Indictments were returned by the Marion County grand jury at Indianapolis on December 4 against Lieutenant Governor O'Neill and Speaker Cook and other officers of the Indiana legislature charging them with signing warrants for pay of employes in excess of the legal amount.

—The Christmas ship, the U. S. S. Jason, arrived at Marseilles, France, on the 5th, where it was warmly welcomed. On the 7th the Jason arrived at Genoa, where special envoys from Germany and Austria were on hand to extend a welcome. The gifts for the German and Austrian children will be unloaded at Genoa. [See current volume, page 1165.]

—Alfred Thayer Mahan, Rear Admiral, U. S. N., retired, died at Washington on the 1st. Admiral Mahan was born at West Point, N. Y., in 1840, and served forty years in the navy. He was best known as a writer and lecturer. His works on sea power are accepted as authoritative, and are credited with having had great influence upon modern naval development.

—In nine legislative districts of Massachusetts the question was put on the ballots at the November election: "Shall the representative from this district be instructed to support the Initiative and Referendum so as to give the voters the power to accept or reject at the polls measures that have

been proposed by petition?" Every district voted "yes" and each elected the Republican legislative candidate.

—Protests were lodged with the state department on December 5 by the British and Italian ambassadors against the new Arizona law which requires that at least eighty per cent of the employes of a corporation must be American citizens. The Italian protest is based on the Treaty with that country which accords to Italian subjects in the United States equal treatment with natives. The British protest is based on the fact that a suit is contemplated to test the legality of the act.

—To forestall underbidding for his job, Edwin B. Currier, official executioner of Massachusetts, has agreed to officiate at executions hereafter at a cut rate. Heretofore he has been paid \$250 for each execution and the same price prevailed in New York. On learning that the New York price has been reduced to \$150, Mr. Currier notified Acting Warden Nathan D. Allen of the Charlestown penitentiary that he would consent to similar reduction in his pay. [See current volume, pages 1162, 1165.]

—Complete returns from the State of Washington show that the only initiative measure to carry besides prohibition was one abolishing private employment agencies. Five measures were defeated as follows: A blue sky law, abolition of the bureau of inspection, an amendment to the workmen's compensation act, a convict road measure and an eight-hour day law. A proposed constitutional amendment was defeated which would have allowed aliens to own land. [See current volume, page 735.]

—To provide work for Seattle's unemployed the park board has appropriated \$11,500 for clearing and grubbing in the city parks. Henry Pauly—whose success in enabling the unemployed of last winter to support themselves by clearing land, has brought him into national notice—found his work hampered by the Central Council of Social Agencies, and threatened to resign as manager of the unemployed's home. His threat resulted in prompt remedying of his grievance, and he will stay. [See current volume, page 1140.]

—According to the Census Bulletin on Agriculture the percentage of North Dakota farms free of mortgage in 1910 was 49.1 per cent, as against 68.6 per cent in 1900. The unencumbered farms include those on government land to which title has not yet been secured and on which no mortgage can yet be placed. From 1890 to 1910 the average mortgage debt per farm in North Dakota increased from \$902 to \$2,493. During the decade ending with 1910 farm land values in North Dakota increased to the extent of \$557,028,000, and building values \$66,848,000. 14.3 per cent of North Dakota farmers were tenants in 1910, as against 6.9 per cent in 1890.

—The Collegiate Singletax League of New York City offers the following prizes for the best essays on the Singletax either in favor of or against: First prize \$125, second prize \$50, third prize \$25. The competition is open to the undergraduates of all colleges and universities in New York State. Each essay must contain not less than 2,000 words and no more than 2,500. Contest closes on June 1, 1915. The prizes will be awarded on August 1. The head-

quarters of the league are at 68 William street, New York City. The officers are Miss Mary Boies Ely, chairman; Miss Amy Mali Hicks, secretary; Benjamin Doblin, treasurer. The advisory board consists of Professor Charles A. Downer of the College of the City of New York; Frank Garrison, Bryn Mawr, Pa.; Surgeon-General William C. Gorgas of the Panama Canal Commission; Dr. Walter Mendelson, trustee of Columbia University; ex-Congressman John DeWitt Warner of New York, and Rev. Charles D. Williams, episcopal bishop of Michigan. [See current volume, page 1144.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Only Those Who Contract Debt Are Liable.

Coast Seamen's Journal, November 25.—Say, if your father had been insane and, while in that frame of mind, had contracted a great, uncalled-for debt, would you feel morally obligated to pay that debt? Of course you would not; and feeling that way about it you would, equally of course, not pay the debt. The case is exactly analogous to that of those warring nations in Europe and elsewhere who are piling up huge debts for the sole purpose of perpetrating bestial, insane murder on a wholesale scale. These debts are nonchalantly left to be paid by generations yet to be born. If those generations are not tainted with the criminal insanity of this generation, they will as nonchalantly repudiate the debts. No man or nation is morally obligated to pay the debts of a lunatic when incurred with the full knowledge on the part of his creditors of his mental condition. And no money lender will ever convince a sane jury that he doesn't know or inwardly believe that war is the most horrible outrage on civilization which Satan himself could think of.



Will Protection Theorists Explain?

Farm, Stock and Home, December 1.—These should be days full of happiness for the advocates of a high tariff. The time is certainly ideal for proof of their contentions. For years the high tariff stump speakers, pretending to be the protectors of American labor, prophesied utter desolation, ruin and poverty for this country unless we had a tariff high enough to protect us from the pauper labor of Europe, Asia and the Fiji Islands. Well, the pauper labor of Europe and Asia are not now competing with this country. The pauper labor of these countries, and in fact every able-bodied man, has "joined the colors." They are performing deeds of heroism in trenches, in bloody charges, facing death. They are not making or producing anything that competes with the laboring men of peaceful America. None of their products comes to our shores. We practically have a free field for American labor and American products. We are actually suffering and business is dragging, due to the lack of imports. Why, then, should not this country's business be booming? Why is it that manufacturing establishments are not working overtime? Certainly the pauper labor of Europe is not hurting anybody with competition in wages or products. That good old word, protection, has

been sadly treated by the happenings of the past ninety days. Instead of prophets of an ideal condition, the high tariff advocates have proven themselves dispensers of superheated air.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

TWO GENTLEMEN.

For The Public.

A gentleman is he who treads
In no more than his share of road;
Is he who halts to lift the load
From tired backs and bended heads.
Humble he is nor nobly crowned,
And yet his traits, so lowly priced,
Belonged to two no less renowned
Than Buddha and the Christ!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.



"FROM EVERLASTING TO EVERLASTING"

For The Public.

In the times of doubt, of change, of upheaval, when the fountains of the deeps are broken up, and primitive passions run loose among men one has to consider the verdicts of other days, in the calm, after war, when the whirlwinds were dead.

Suppose, if you like, that it is written upon the unrolling scroll of "present politics; future history" (to use "Norman Conquest" Freeman's phrase) that one long-prepared warrior nation conquers Europe, both hemispheres, and all the sea-islands, the oceans, the last fastnesses of the mountains, the uttermost oases of the deserts. Suppose that this relentless victorious nation attempts to rule and remould all the children of earth—as Atlantis, Assyria, Egypt, Macedonia, Rome tried, and failed. Suppose that we, for our blindness, our laziness, our stupidity, our selfishness, our materialism, or inveterate habit of stoning (or neglecting) our prophets, are to pass through these deep waters, are to sound uncharted seas of disaster, are to lose this our civilization and once more live in huts, by campfires, in the waste places of the outlands.

Still there would be those who drew their strength and silence spark by spark, from the all-beholding stars. Still would the seeds of truth, of justice, of liberty remain on earth, taking root, none might say how, in the hearts of children. Still the earth would have saints and martyrs. Once again, in the fullness of time—as always before, the mighty and seemingly unconquerable dominion founded upon Force would go crashing down into irretrievable wreck. It would at last merely "point a moral or adorn a tale." The new

world-capital, though guarded by utmost sciences of discipline, would become "one with Babylon and Tyre"; the new war-lord would only be remembered with "Ozymandias, King of Kings," by his broken statue of stone in the desert, and his "sneer of cold command."

There is a moral order to the Universe "from everlasting to everlasting," and when history, writing of this whole affair, came to sum it up, a thousand years from now, it would write: "In the twentieth century after Christ there came another Attila who broke the nations in pieces and tried to re-shape the world with his war-hammer. Everything passed through the fire; the lies and blunders of our civilization perished, and much besides, but at last a better and happier social order developed. At last men learned how to live together without hate. The war-deeds of this Attila are not worth recording, and even his burial place is forgotten."

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.



UNCLE SAM SOLILOQUIZES.

Henry Slade Goff.

In Farm, Stock and Home.

Got to hev my weepens ready fer a scrap,
Else I ain't no good fer any kind o' trust,
If I sees a feller walkin' got to set the weepens talkin',

Or else mebbe he'll get his to goin' fust.
Needn't never hev no necessary scrimmage—
I'm a peaceful man and never wants no fuss—
But to be eternal ready if there's any one gets heady,
And to be the fust if any one is goin' to start a muss.

If I never wants no trouble—so they says—
With another feller campin' where I be,
Then I wants a gun thet's bigger with my finger on the trigger,

And I wants to get my work in 'fore he gets a range on me.
Lovin' peace and peace promotin'—so they utters as they talks—

Scatterin' olive branches round on every hand,
But I wants some guns a burnin' if there's ever any turnin'

On some other feller's axles on the continents where I stand.

"If a man's a man he's got to back his word up,"
And be ready with his weepen fer to work it with a vim.

If he meets another feller he must fire him till he's meller,

'Fore the other feller ever gets a chance to fire at him.

Mission holy and imposed by Heaven's enactment—
So the sayin's of the argufyers run—

Mebbe come across a Russian or an old Germanic Prussian,

And the way to make him peacefuller is haulin' out a gun.

Ain't nobody kind and peaceful more than me—
So my sarvants says that's talkin' as they goes—
But if any feller rustles up agin me where I hustles,
I should open up the firin', and they says as how they knows.

Kind o' new to me, this kind o' argufyin',
Lived a hundred years and more and never thought
Thet a peaceful man's ambition should be storin' ammunition,

Fearin' other fellers mebbe was a storin' more'n they ought.

Used to stay at home and didn't care for weepens,
'Ceptin' as my homestead was needin' special care.
But my sarvants got a notion thet I ought to rule the ocean,

So's to shoot some civilization into peoples anywhere.

And things are lookin' kind o' leery and the peace dove's lookin' skeery,

And the streamers are a floatin' on the other fellers' runs.

And I've got to keep a hoein' in my patch, and keep a goin'

Round and round the airth with nevies and a showin' of some guns.

BOOKS

THE GREAT DEBATE.

The world of Europe plunged into the hideous savagery of continental warfare is still not ancient or mediaeval, still not dead to a most modern sentiment, a product of civilization—the conscious and confessed appeal to public opinion as supreme earthly judge and final human authority. Bread and circuses was an address to the unthinking passions, and those merely of one social class in the great Roman state.

But these nations of 1915 at the very gates of destruction prove their right to live by an instinctive faith, however fearful, in democracy. Autocratic rulers and democratic ministers, blind slaves of empire and bewildered free citizens, all come alike to the great world-throne of a common brotherhood in reason; each pleads his cause before the universal bar of his fellow men's deliberate sense of justice.

Who shall say that these "appeals" and "answers," these "white papers" and "manifestos" and even summonses to "holy wars," are not signed proofs of democracy regnant and autocracy dethroned?



Truth About Germany: Facts About the War. Reprint, published by The Fatherland, 1123 Broadway, N. Y. Price, paper, 10 cents.

Not counting the white and yellow and other colored papers that since the war began have fluttered down upon Europe and America, one small book has been without doubt the most diligently

circulated and widely read in the United States. "Truth About Germany" was published in August or early September under the auspices of a committee of thirty-four prominent leaders of industry, education and finance in Germany, whose names, along with those of the eleven distinguished editors, appear on the first page. In its original form it carried no imprint of publisher or place of publication or price, but a reprint has since been put upon the market by "The Fatherland."

Written in English, this is explicitly an address to the American people. With a plea for their continued sympathy, friendship and esteem, it begins and ends. It contains a sketch of the diplomacy preceding the war, an arraignment of Russian aggression and English perfidy, a picture of Germany's united people defending their independence with a perfectly organized and loyal army, and in the chapter entitled "Lies About Germany" a calendar of European events from July 26 to August 2, which is startlingly different from the contemporary American newspaper reports and which the London Nation assails as untrue in several respects.

The most unsatisfactory portion of the monograph from the neutral reader's point of view—if by this time there are any ex-officio neutrals in the world—is the brief explanation of Germany's violation of the neutrality of Belgium. The necessity for self-defense is asserted but not substantiated; military advantage is offered as a moral argument.

But whatever its defects, the essay is important because of its guarantors, if for no other reason; it is brief; it is on the whole well-written and effective, and it should be read by all Americans who mean to be fair and to hear both sides in this tremendous and passionate debate.



The Real "Truth About Germany." By Douglas Sladen. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. 1914. Price, \$1 net.

An English author has written an answer to the German "Truth." He reprints the German monograph and replies to it paragraph by paragraph, adding to his own arguments extracts from a few speeches and public documents. Mr. Sladen's book is worth reading, certainly in many respects convincing; but one can not avoid regret over his plan of procedure. The German argument was calculated to make a certain definite impression as a whole. To answer it piecemeal, though the answer be, and perhaps is, a complete refutation, is to fail of final rhetorical effect. To reply to everything, little and big, important and trivial, is to lose emphasis and readers. The Germans, right or wrong, lead here, as usual, in efficiency. "They know how to pack their goods

for the foreign trade," as our Consular keep reminding us.

But Mr. Sladen's book is much too valuable to dismiss with regret for what it is not. To say nothing of his own many satisfactory arguments, he has gathered into the book much useful and easily mislaid contemporary material from Ministerial speeches, from newspapers and documents—Austria's whole ultimatum, for example, paralleled with Servia's full reply, or the second report of the Belgian Commission of Inquiry, or the inimitable Lloyd George on the Prussian Junker. Unfortunately the book is not indexed and none of these insertions is mentioned in the table of contents. It is to be hoped that a second edition will remedy these defects in what should be a book both to read and to keep on the war reference shelf.



One American's Opinion of the European War. By Frank W. Whitridge. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 1914. Price, 50 cents, net.

The littlest book that has so far come to the war table deals the doughtiest blows to Prussian militarism, the seducer of Germany. Mr. Whitridge must express exactly the feelings of many fellow Americans. For they, too, in youth spent some of their "happiest years" in Germany; they also found its people "peaceable, simple and friendly"—"all and more than all that General Bernhardt now says they ought not to be," as the author puts it; they themselves marveled at the Germans' "knowledge, industry and economy" and with Mr. Whitridge now "think of the Fatherland as they would think of an old friend who had gone out of his mind," believing "the Germans to be crazed by militarism and the contemplation of their own greatness and power." The chapters on Germany's Self-Deception and German "Culture" are very brief and forceful discussions of Germany's diplomatic "blunders" preceding the war and of "the wanton and senseless campaign of destruction" in Belgium. The whole swift-running argument is that of a high-minded *American*.

He is a barbarian, says Chesterton, who can not see the mind of the other man. Assuredly, then, Germany has the rest of the world in training for civilization. All mankind is trying to see into the Prussian mind. If only the world and Germany could exchange views without shrapnel!

A. L. G.

PERIODICALS

The American Magazine.

In the Interpreters' House the December issue of the American Magazine offers a suggestion very similar to one brought forward by William James in

the February, 1910, issue of International Conciliation. James proposed a moral equivalent of war in an army enlisted and trained, not to kill, but to do useful work. The "Philosopher" of the American Magazine suggests, as James did, the use of the army against the natural enemies of man. But the "Philosopher" goes further and presents the idea in a more attractive form. He specifies some of the enemies whom he would fight, such as flies, rats, mosquitoes and other pests. He further calls attention to other work to which such an army might be put, carrying on of irrigation work, reforestation, developing water power, etc. He would have girls enlisted as well as boys to do the lighter work. He improves considerably on James' suggestion in explaining how to get possession of the land needed for such an enterprise. He would "confiscate it under military necessity," not through condemnation proceedings but through taxation. "Exempt all other forms of property," he says, "and clap every red cent of taxation on land values. Then everyone who held unused land would either use it or dump it, and we would have all the land we need." There is so much about the suggestion that is admirable that its one objectionable feature, by no means essential to its practical application, need not be largely dwelt upon. He would have this army recruited through compulsory conscription. Let voluntary enlistment be substituted and all serious objections would seem to be overcome. There is much other thought-producing matter in this issue, such as The Sandwich Man, by Nina Wilcox Putnam and The Golden Rule in Business by Ida M. Tarbell.

S. D.

Hostess (at party): "Does your mother allow you to have two pieces of pie when you are at home, Willie?"

Willie (who has asked for a second piece): "No, ma'am."

"Well, do you think she'd like you to have two pieces here?"

"Oh," confidently, "she wouldn't care. This isn't her pie!"—Louisville Times.



A farmer in great need of extra hands at haying time finally asked Bill Smith, who was accounted the town fool, if he would help him out.

"Wha'll ye pay?" asked Bill.

"I'll pay what you're worth," answered the farmer.

Bill scratched his head a minute, then announced decisively:

"I'll be durned if I'll work for that!"—Sacred Heart Review.



"Wise men make epigrams and fools quote them," observed the tall man.

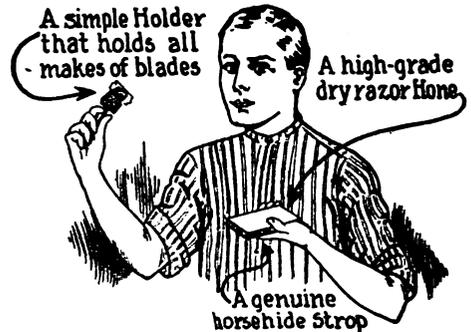
"That's fine!" answered the short man, appreciatively. "By the way, who was the author of that one?"—Dallas News.



The Family Man—"The cost of everything is increasing at a terrible rate."

The Military Expert—"Not everything. According to statistics, in former wars it cost \$10,000 to kill a man, but now, with improved ordnance and am-

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