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EDITORIAL

Robins' Election Means Approval of Wilson.

Raymond Robins has for years been a consistent and energetic fighter for democracy. He stood for democracy while Sullivan was endeavoring to turn the Democratic party against it. In view of this fact the effort is simply ridiculous to make Sullivan appear now, as the candidate whose election is needed to uphold Wilson's democratic policies. Robins is the only candidate in the field who can be relied upon to stand by Wilson. The reason he can be relied upon is that he is a democrat in principle, not one driven to endorse democratic measures by the instructions of a party platform. The support he will give to Wilson will be due to community of ideals. It needs no argument to show how much more valuable is such support than the merely mechanical or involuntary kind based entirely on the need of preserving ones party regularity. Even if Sullivan's promise to support Wilson could be believed, his support would be so inferior to that of Robins, that a great injury to democracy's cause is being done by those mistaken friends of the President, who urge endorsement of Sullivan on party grounds. No Democratic party nomination, however regularly secured, can obliterate Sullivan's past record and the reactionary tendencies to which he still adheres. No belated lip-service to Wilson's policies deserves to be accepted as sincere. To endorse President Wilson, Democrats must vote for Robins.

S. D.



Supporting the Administration.

The roundabout information that comes from Washington to the effect that the Administration wishes Roger C. Sullivan sent to the Senate by Illinois, should be taken with a grain of salt. Mr. Bryan is a part of the Administration, and his speaking itinerary takes him clear across the state without a single speech—much to Mr. Sullivan's relief. Senator Owen, while not a member of the official family, has been one of Mr. Wilson's warmest supporters, and he is coming to the state for

the express purpose of opposing the election of Mr. Sullivan. The same can be said of a host of other loyal democratic Democrats. These men realize fully the importance of having a Democratic Senate to uphold the President's policies, and they appreciate the present narrow margin by which the party controls the Upper House; but they know Mr. Sullivan's ideas of legislation, and they know Mr. Robins', and knowing both men's ideas and ideals, they do not hesitate to step outside of the strict party lines for the purpose of securing the election of a real democrat. Washington is a long way from Illinois, and Mr. Sullivan is pleasant to look upon; besides, it must be remembered that only one other President has had as much to bear as the present incumbent. It may be that the enchantment of distance has blurred his vision and the cares of state have so weighed upon his mind that in a momentary state of abstraction he may have been tricked into giving some word or look that has been tortured by the super-zeal of the privilege advocate into an infinitely attenuated semblance of an endorsement. If so, so be it. President Wilson is big enough to be pardoned some mistakes; they may in a way bring a keener appreciation of the good he has done. But while a smudge of soot on Psyche's nose may enhance the beauty of the remaining features, it must not be forgotten that the nose is smudged with soot.

s. c.



Sherman's Alleged Atonement.

Senator Sherman claims that he atoned for the wrong done in voting for the Allen bill, by voting for its repeal at the next session. He neglects to say what had happened to make him change his view in the meantime. He says nothing of how, under Altgeld's leadership, the consummation was prevented of the purpose for which the Allen bill was passed. He has apparently forgotten to mention that the citizens of Chicago were aroused to attend council meetings and to intimidate the street railway aldermen so that, for fear of their lives, they failed to carry out their purpose of turning over the city's streets for 99 years to a private corporation. He passes in silence over the fact that, prevented from benefiting by the act, this corporation made no serious effort to block its repeal in the next legislature. Thus between an overwhelming popular demand for repeal, and corporation indifference, Sherman and others, who had voted to betray the people, quickly decided to reverse their action of the previous session. Such a change of attitude was easy and cheap after the opportunity given to note the extreme pressure

brought to bear on the Chicago aldermen, who would have carried out the purpose of the iniquitous law. Let Senator Sherman tell the whole history of the Allen law's repeal.

s. d.



Cannonism and Congressman Mann.

That a Congressman who, as floor leader and speaker, betrayed the public interest, should not be re-elected is self evident. For this reason the unworthiness of ex-Speaker Cannon to represent any American constituency was made clear in the editorial by former Senator Pettigrew in the last issue of *The Public*. For the same reason no Congressman should be re-elected who stood by Cannon and assisted him in his discreditable work. This especially applies to James R. Mann, the present Congressional Minority Leader, who is ready to take up Cannon's policy, where he was forced to drop it, and to continue along similar lines. Mann was elected two years ago by a minority vote due to division of the opposition between a Progressive and a Democratic candidate. This year Democrats as well as Progressives should unite in support of his Progressive opponent, John C. Vaughan. This should be done not only because Mann is an extreme reactionary and a servile tool of the same interests so actively represented by Cannon, but because Mr. Vaughan is a fundamental democrat, and may be depended on to sustain the democratic measures which President Wilson would have Congress adopt. The practical way for the voters of the Second Illinois District to show their desire to uphold Wilson's policies is to vote for Vaughan for Congress.

s. d.



Senator Shafroth's Mistake.

Surprising and disappointing is the fact that among opponents of the leasing plan for Alaska coal lands is Senator Shafroth of Colorado. His record is such as to lead one to assume that he would take a progressive attitude on this question. His reason, as given in a speech in the Senate on September 22, does not appear convincing. He objects to retention of title by the federal government because that would render the lands exempt from State taxation. He states that the federal government is now holding so much land in Colorado, Wyoming, and other States that the State governments are impoverished in consequence.



There are worse evils than an impoverished State government. A labor war is one. That Colorado has both evils is not due to federal ownership of

some land within her borders, but to her own neglect to properly assess and tax privately owned lands. When the federal government sold southern Colorado coal fields to private monopolists it did the State an injury. Had it retained title and properly administered its trust the coal monopolists would have had to pay the entire rental value of the coal fields into the public treasury. They could not then have afforded to hold any of these lands out of use and would have found it unprofitable to bar off of them men able and willing to work. Whatever taxes the State has derived from these mine owners is very inadequate compensation for the labor wars that have been waged within it. Of course, Colorado could remedy the matter by herself laying a tax on these lands equal to the rental value. But until the State is ready to adopt such a course the rights and the interests of Coloradans will be best served by federal ownership under a leasing system. The Alaska leasing bill is a wise precaution to save that territory from Colorado's fate.



It may be said that there is nothing in a federal leasing system to prevent the federal government from paying to the State government an equitable share of the proceeds. Senator Shafroth might, with propriety, insist on a provision to that effect. But failure to adopt such a provision is no excuse for handing over the heritage of the nation to private monopolists.

S. D.



The Mine Owners' Reply.

In declining the President's proposition of a Three Years' Truce the Colorado mine owners offer, in substance, the following objections:

- (1) The government investigators were biased.
- (2) The United Mine Workers can not be depended on to keep their agreement.
- (3) Even if the truce should be enforced it would be but a palliative measure.
- (4) No consideration is given in the plan to the men now at work.
- (5) An agreement to keep the peace and obey the law implies helplessness of government to maintain law.
- (6) The sole issue is "preservation of law and order" and "the maintenance of the constitutional right of every man to work when, where, for whom and upon such terms as he sees fit."
- (7) While willing to re-employ all strikers for whom vacancies remain they will not agree to employ any accused of crime even though not convicted.
- (8) Grievance committees are objectionable

inasmuch as they foment trouble and "our employes have never asked for such a committee."

(9) A commission to be appointed by the President, to adjust and decide disputes is objectionable, since it would exercise "more sweeping and comprehensive control than is claimed by either Church or State."

(10) "Picketing is prohibited by state law, and therefore restriction of the prohibition of picketing is objectionable to such as will interfere with the working operators of the state."



The following comment on these objections may be offered:

(1) The personal objection to the investigators seems based on the fact that one of them, William Fairley, was a member of the National Executive Committee of the United Mine Workers and was "an organizer and agitator in the Colorado strike of 1904." That fact must have been known to the mine owners before the investigation began, and it seems that they should have entered their objection then. It does not seem fair to ask that this negligence be overlooked at this late date.

(2) The United Mine Workers have made similar complaint concerning the operators. Whether either or both speak truly is not, however, the point. A party who can not be depended on to keep an agreement, when he has only to deal with the one with whom the contract was made, may nevertheless hesitate to break it when the breach of faith must be flaunted in the face of the nation. It seems that the operators should have taken this into consideration and not have permitted their distrust to overrule the judgment of others.

(3) That the truce would be but a palliative measure is true. Can more, if indeed as much, be truly said of the policy of the mine operators? If a fundamental remedy is wanted, the operators have never let such a wish be known. Would they actually like to consider one?

(4) That objection sounds queer. The number of these men is given as 9,500. The number of men who struck, if the operators' figures at the time of the strike be accepted, was not equal to that. According to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., less than ten per cent of his miners were union men. The proposed agreement provides for a majority vote to elect a grievance committee.

(5) Considering that the proposition came from the head of the United States Government, this objection does not seem to come from the proper quarter to require consideration.

(6) "The preservation of law and order," without constant presence of an armed force was one of the objects of the proposed plan. The rejection of it seems to endanger rather than help such preservation. As to the alleged "constitutional right" mentioned it does not exist. The very system under which these mine owners hold their mines is a denial of the right of every landless man to work at all, to say nothing of "when, where, for whom and upon such terms as he sees fit."

(7) This sounds inconsistent with the claim of the "constitutional right of every man to work when, where, for whom and upon such terms as he sees fit."

(8) Since the grievance committees were to be elected by a majority vote and present employes, according to all previous statements of owners, would be in the majority and are well satisfied with conditions prevailing in the mines, the objection appears unreasonable.

(9) That point is well taken. But it had better not be insisted upon, since it might be followed to its logical conclusion. It may lead to discussion of the intolerable power held by the mine owners, and, admitting the force of the objection against state control, the only other alternative to be considered must be abolition of the owners' hold on the mines. It involves discussion of the functions of government and fundamental rights of property. It leads to objections to the exercise of the governmental power under which the mine owners have secured control of Colorado's natural resources. The owners here invoke a principle dangerous to their monopolistic interests.

(10) Picketing was not the only act included in this qualified prohibition. Other acts mentioned were "parading," "colonizing" and "mass campaigning," none of which is presumably prohibited by law. To throw out the whole paragraph because the qualification does not specifically omit the act forbidden by law, has all the appearance of quibbling. If the state can not enforce its anti-picketing law, the matter will not be remedied by refusal of a private corporation to enter into this agreement. If it can, the corporation's solicitude is uncalled for.



A reason for refusal that would have put the mine owners in a more creditable position would have been something like the following:

The land on which our mines are located is legally ours. We have a legal right to employ or refuse to employ whom we please. You can not deprive us of this power without destroying our right to use this land or withhold it from use. Until the gov-

ernment is prepared to do this we see no reason for catering to public opinion.

While not as respectful in form as the reply actually given such an answer would have at least the merit of stating the situation as it actually is.

S. D.



Dividing the Indivisible.

It is related of a certain French duke who held the rank of admiral that when he sought sufficient instruction in mathematics to enable him to take a ship's reckoning, he had great difficulty in appreciating the statement that parallel lines were lines running equidistant throughout their length; and when told by way of illustration that they might extend across the table, across the room, or to Versailles without coming together, he exclaimed: "Never, Monsieur, the lines might be separate on the table, or across the room, but I'm sure they would come together before they reached Versailles." A similar doubt is raised as to taxation by Alderman P. W. McLagan of Westmount, Quebec, in the Canadian Municipal Journal for October. Mr. McLagan repudiates present methods of taxing according to ability to pay, and insists that the true principle is "a payment by the individual citizen to the organized community, for services rendered to him by it." But he undertakes to distinguish between the services that redound to the profit of the owner of vacant land, and those that benefit the owner of improvements. And for this purpose he proposes that the cost of roads, sidewalks, drains, street lighting, water, parks and playgrounds, and part of the maintenance of police and city hall services be levied on the value of land only. But the scavenging department, the fire and health departments, the library, and the greater part of the police and city hall services are made greater by the existence of buildings and people; hence, "the tax for the maintenance of this list of services should be levied upon the value of buildings apart from land."



It is not unlikely that Mr. McLagan's confusion as to the ultimate destination of the benefits of municipal service arises from a failure to realize that all government services of whatsoever kind or nature are rendered to individual human beings, either directly, in protecting their persons, or indirectly in conserving their possessions. No individual can receive this service unless he is within its field of operation. And to be within that field of service, whether it be a city, state, or nation, he must occupy space, that is, he must have the use of more or less land. But, since other individuals

also wish to receive the same service and must also have the use of land, a competition arises for the possession of the land, which advances the price, or rent, until it equals the value of the service. Since this service of government is to individuals, and individuals must occupy land within the jurisdiction of the government in order to receive the service, it follows inevitably that services rendered to buildings, such as scavenger service and fire protection, raise the value of vacant lots exactly the same as improved lots. Buildings do not command a greater price when given these services, for the reason that their number can be increased indefinitely. But the number of lots within a given area is fixed, and any increase in demand sends up the price. The same logic that prompts Mr. McLagan to levy a part of the expense of government upon land values, because the owners of land receive from those who use it full payment for it, demands that he levy all the expense of government upon land values, because the owners of land receive from those who use it full payment for all the service rendered.

s. c.



Missouri's Anti-Singletax Amendment Explained.

Before Mr. George Falloon of Kansas City wrote a pamphlet in 1912, entitled "Singletax Explained," he should have pondered well over the Biblical remark, "Oh that mine adversary had written a book." Mr. Falloon wrote in behalf of Missouri's plutocracy against the then pending Singletax amendment. The pamphlet did not live up to its title by any means. On the contrary, it consisted principally of misinformation concerning the matter purporting to be "explained." But one subject was explained therein accurately and clearly. It was the opinion of the Initiative and Referendum held by the interests represented by Mr. Falloon. This is important, since these same interests have induced the Missouri legislature to submit an amendment purporting to be an anti-singletax amendment, but which, if adopted, will practically abrogate the Initiative and Referendum. In this pamphlet Mr. Falloon made such statements as the following:

Initiative and Referendum was conceived in iniquity and born in sin.

Initiative brings to the surface the scum of society.

Initiative, Referendum and Recall are of no benefit to the poor.

Now the advocates of the pending amendment are trying to appear as friends of the Initiative and Referendum. This is not surprising. They fooled the voters in 1912. It is only natural that

they should hope to do so again. Mr. Falloon seems to have explained pretty well the designs of Missouri Plutocracy, even though he made a bungle of explaining Singletax.

s. D.



Municipal Markets.

Chicago has endeavored to loosen the grip of the high cost of living by establishing municipal markets. After much investigation, consultation, and speculation the City Council, and the various public spirited citizens who have interested themselves in the matter, have come to the conclusion that the first factor to be rid of is the exorbitant profit of the middleman. They found no fit relation between the price paid by the citizen and the amount received by the gardener. Means must be inaugurated to bring the producer and the consumer together. With this end in view, the Council passed an ordinance to establish a number of municipal markets in various parts of the city, wisely trying one at first to see how it worked. Some unused school property was opened, neighboring truckers were invited to bring in their vegetables, and the people promised to be there to buy. The venture started according to schedule. Prices were printed in the newspapers to show how much cheaper it was to buy directly from the producer, and photographs were taken of actual sales. The solution for the high cost of living had been discovered.



But fortune has not smiled upon the venture. The truckers returned to their old enemy, the commission man, and the patrons went back to the piratical middleman. Now there is doubt as to whether the other municipal markets will be established. Disappointed patrons of the idea are charging the commission men and the middlemen with intimidating the truckers; but there are a few who are beginning to doubt the wisdom of their course. The trucker, after all, is a human being, constituted very much as other men. One of his governing characteristics is an irresistible desire to proceed along the line of least resistance; in other words, to secure the greatest return with the least effort. And it did not take him very long to discover that he knew more about raising onions in a garden than he did about selling them in a market. Knowing more about the former than the latter, he very likely concluded that he could do better as a grower than as a seller. And not being handicapped by doctrinaire theories, he concluded to

devote his effort where it would yield the greatest return.



Few economic principles are better recognized than that the division of labor leads to greater efficiency and, hence, to increased production. Yet when the question of exchange is up, principles are forgotten and experience ignored, and well-meaning men set out to solve the economic problem through the elimination of the middleman. The middleman is merely a specialist, like the trucker; and he excels in exchange just as the trucker excels in gardening. He might grow his own onions, but he can get more onions with a given effort by confining his attention to selling and buying, than by raising them. So the trucker could sell his onions, but he can get a greater return for his labor by confining his attention to raising them and letting some specialist sell them. Exchange, that is, the getting of the thing produced to the consumer, is a distinct and separate stage in production. Naturally the men who devote all their attention to it can do it better than those who divide their attention with other things. Consequently the middleman effects the exchange of onions from trucker to consumer cheaper than any one else can.



Since the middleman can carry on this exchange cheaper than any one else can, one of two things must follow: Either he does do it, or he is making an inordinate profit. And since his business is open to the competition of all who wish to enter, it is quite evident that his gains can not rise above the general average of profits; hence, he must be rendering the service at the lowest margin of cost. What causes the confusion is the same thing that made men think the earth was flat—it looks so. It seems absurd to the casual observer that it should cost as much to get a bunch of onions from garden to table as it did to grow them. But this is not a matter for city councils, or college professors, or housekeepers to determine. The only way is to do it. Let any one raise onions, and let any one sell them. The ones who can do it best will undersell and run out those who do it less well, and in the end each person will be found doing the thing for which he is best fitted. Barring the element of monopoly we now have an ideal system of co-operation, in which the several workers, both in direct production and in exchange, are doing what is best for themselves and for their fellows. The mischief is all caused by mo-

nopolies; that is, by the state's giving certain individuals the power to charge their fellows a price without rendering them a corresponding service. The high cost of living is not to be solved by eliminating the middleman, but by removing the monopolist.

S. C.



Marketing by Parcel Post.

Extreme optimism, no less than excessive pessimism, is to be deprecated. A little sanity will oftentimes save the overconfident from discouraging disappointments, and enable a crusader to prosecute the campaign to the end, in spite of the loss of a battle. Those persons who expected the parcel post to solve the problem of the high cost of living by eliminating the middleman are now disappointed because experience has brought to light some factors that did not appear in the theories. The idea of transferring butter directly from the farmer who has been selling it for twenty cents a pound, to the city consumer who has been paying fifty cents a pound, at an expense of five cents, instead of the thirty cents charged by the middleman, has not materialized. Neither has it been possible for the housewife in the city to secure at a nominal price by parcel post those fine, yellow-legged chickens that the farmers all but give away. But this is not the fault of the parcel post. It is due to a misunderstanding of the facts. Farmers do not sell good butter for twenty cents when it is worth fifty in the city. Nor do they part with yellow-legged chickens for a song when the housewife is paying twenty to thirty cents a pound. The days of ten cent corn and five cent butter are past. Foodstuffs within reach of shipping facilities command a price. And the coldstorage warehouses in their eagerness to get hold of butter, chickens, and eggs during the plentiful season to sell when they are scarce, have forced up the prices on the farm, until the difference in the price from producer to consumer is no more than a reasonable return for the labor of handling the goods.



But there are other factors in this problem that have caused disappointment. Postmaster Campbell, of Chicago, who has been trying to establish some sort of Parcel Post Produce Exchange by listing the names of farmers who would sell, and of consumers who would buy, has been discouraged at the prices quoted. A woman in Iowa offers to send butter at fifty cents a pound; eggs, 40 cents a dozen; chili sauce, 40 cents a jar, and dressed hens, 35 cents a pound. As all these prices are higher than the Chicago retail market a few of the dis-

appointed friends of the Produce Exchange have been disposed to think some of the naughty middlemen have "fixed" these prices. But, according to Charles J. Brand, Chief of the Office of Markets, Agricultural Department, in an article in Farmers' Bulletin 611, the postmaster at Washington, D. C., has had a similar experience. A New Jersey farmer offers eggs at 40 cents a dozen the year around; a Pennsylvania farmer offers in June "fresh, white, sanitary eggs" at \$1 for two dozen; while a Virginia farmer offers eggs at Washington quotations plus 10 cents. Mr. Brand adds: "It is difficult to see how a user of eggs could afford to pay such prices when fresh country eggs are being sold by farmers to country grocers at this moment for prices ranging above and below 20 cents a dozen in trade."



The wonder should be, not why the farmer asks so much for a single dozen by mail, but how he can afford to do it at that price. To fill mail orders he must see that each egg is perfect, else he will not get a second order. He must fuss with packing them in a way to warrant safe delivery. Some packages will go astray; all will require more or less correspondence. The whole process will take so much of his time that he could much better devote it to legitimate farming. At present, when he has gathered a tubful of eggs, he sells them to the storekeeper as they run. The farmer can fill orders for a pound of butter, a dozen eggs, or a dressed chicken, but he cannot do it as cheaply as the regular merchants can. He is an expert in production, not exchange, and when he essays the role of middleman himself he works at the same disadvantage that the merchant would were he to attempt to run a dairy. The parcel post serves a thousand and one uses, but it may be doubted if it will be extensively used to distribute farm products.

S. C.



Paying Tribute.

Colonel Roosevelt hopes that in case any American city should be captured by a foreign enemy it will refuse to pay tribute levied by the enemy. Considering what little objection American cities offer now to paying tribute to land monopolists, franchise monopolists, trust magnates and other beneficiaries of privilege, the Colonel's hopes do not seem based on very substantial grounds. New York City pays more tribute every year in the form of ground rent than Antwerp has been asked to pay as war indemnity to Germany. The people of New York

City get no more return for their tribute than the people of Antwerp will get for theirs.

S. D.



Militarist Absurdity.

Superstitions usually die hard. There are still some public men proclaiming the one, exploded by the European war, that we need a larger army and navy to ensure peace. Theodore Roosevelt, in the Chicago News of October 10, even carries the absurdity so far as to cite Belgium's fate as an example of the benefit of preparedness. He also thinks it shows that our neutrality might be violated as Belgium's was. By whom, he does not say. Is the Colonel looking for a war between Mexico and Canada, and figuring that that may necessitate the marching of an army of either belligerent across our territory?

S. D.



The McNamara's Mistake.

The war has revealed a great mistake made by the McNamaras. Instead of planting dynamite to blow up a building they should have dropped bombs from an airship. There would then have been as good reason for considering them patriotic heroes, instead of murderers, as there is to consider so the uniformed bomb throwers of Europe.

S. D.



"THE WORLD IS GROWING BETTER"

Was the remark of Speaker Clark at a banquet in Chicago last spring.

For a long time I have wondered why Speaker Clarke chose Illinois as the place for repeating the old saying and I have concluded that it was a sarcasm on his part, for who could watch the political progress of Illinois for the past half century, and in sober earnest say, "The world is growing better"?

Fifty years ago, the leaders of the two great political parties in Illinois were Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, the Republican from Kentucky and the Democrat from Vermont. And after fifty years of the world growing better the two leaders of the same political parties are Lorimer and Sullivan, the twin champions of evil in politics. They stand for everything that is wrong and both stand for the same thing.

They count that day *lost* whose low descending sun sees not some tricky jobbery done.

Fifty years ago it was Douglas the Democrat

who was senator. Now, it is the Republican, Sherman. Then it was Lincoln the Republican who aspired to the senate. Now it is Sullivan, who would dishonor that position.

Is there anything more to say to refute the saying that the world is growing better, at least, so far as Illinois is concerned?

R. F. PETTIGREW.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE OHIO TAX AMENDMENT

Cleveland, Ohio, September 28.

Tax reform, to be beneficial, must remove tax burdens from industry and seek to derive public revenue from publicly created site values. The proposed tax amendment will therefore be judged by its tendency to impose greater or less burdens upon productive activity; burdens which are inevitably shifted to the consumer, whose opportunities are meantime restricted by the premium on lightly taxed sites.

Two objects are apparent in the amendment:

To limit the tax rate, with certain exceptions, to one cent on the dollar.

To permit the application of different tax rates to different classes of property, defined in the amendment.

The limitation of the tax rate, as proposed, is distinctly bad. Under such a rate it will not only be impossible to untax the fruits of industry, but the need of revenue will probably compel even heavier assessments against buildings, machinery and commodities, the imposition of special license taxes, as well as a more inquisitorial search for bonds, stocks, mortgages and other intangible evidences of wealth.

Entirely aside from the justice or injustice of taxing industry, we believe it is self-evident that this so-called intangible personalty is not wealth, and that its listing entails a double taxation of the property which it evidences.

The relief of this intangible personalty from present rates of taxation is the ostensible aim of the classification section of the proposed amendment. Its only possibility of accomplishing this object is premised upon the listing for taxation of an amount of intangible personalty of such increased volume that it shall more than offset the decreased rate. As the search for this class of property during sixty years of Ohio's history and for longer periods elsewhere, has proved the impossibility of forcibly discovering more than a small fraction of such intangible personalty, an increase of duplicate from this source can only come through the voluntary actions of the various holders.

Such voluntary increase would be proportioned to the conscientious impulse of the holders and thus be a tax upon a particular phase of conscientious opinion. One cannot call it a tax upon honesty; the greatest barrier to the enforcement of all personal and commodity taxation is the instinctive human belief that such taxation is dishonest and that no purely legal obligation can exist in defiance of the natural and logical right of men to enjoy the fruits of their enterprise.

This, however, is not the most serious complaint

against the proposed classification. It seeks to establish three classes of property—1st, real estate; 2d, tangible personalty; 3d, intangible personalty. This classification is illogical because it fails to distinguish between land and buildings, between that which man creates and that which he enjoys by the favor of nature and the community. The relationship between buildings and tangible personalty is infinitely closer, so close in fact that no economic need exists for distinction between them. But land and buildings are economically as far apart as the poles. To classify them together means that the untaxing of the most conspicuous fruit of industry is out of the question. Land would have to be untaxed on identically the same basis, leaving no source of needed revenue and still further heightening the injustice from the private absorption of publicly created ground rents.

To summarize the influence of the amendment:

The limitation of the tax rate is not a virtue. There is a legitimate need for greater revenue than the public now enjoys. Better schools and better roads are obtainable only through increased revenue. The legislative source of such revenue is the income from sites which is augmented by schools, roads and other public improvements. Site rent in private hands is probably capitalized into price on the basis approximating five per cent. Any rate of land taxation less than 5 per cent, therefore, leaves a socially created residue in the hands of the land owner and is not a burden but a manifestation of generosity.

A low rate of land taxation will enhance the profits of land speculation and limit the opportunities of the landless.

Cramped revenue will prevent new public enterprises and put privately owned public service corporations in a better position to dictate their terms of service.

Increased listing of buildings and commodities or the levying of special taxes, due to a limited gross rate, are a charge against consumption, and hence a discouragement to production. Their effect is detrimental to capital and labor.

Classification has two possible legitimate objects, but neither will probably be realized under the proposed amendment.

The untaxing of intangible personalty is defeated by the low rate proposed upon alternative objects of taxation, a rate which makes necessary the listing of every possible taxable asset.

The untaxing of the fruits of industry is rendered impossible, because the chief of such fruits, buildings, are not differentiated from land, which must bear the alternative burden if buildings are to be untaxed.

In conclusion, it is not probable that the amendment will do any particular immediate harm, since the evils which it embodies are mostly enforced through statute at the present time. It will simply crystallize bad statute law into bad constitutional law. Its only possible benefit will be the political proof that the present constitutional uniform tax rule can be successfully assailed, thus bringing some trifling encouragement to the advocates of more genuine form.

HENRY P. BOYNTON,
Vice-President Cleveland Singletax Club.

THE TAX SITUATION IN OHIO.

Cincinnati, October 5th, 1914.

On July 31 The Public published an article by me concerning taxation in Ohio. In that article I attempted to set forth clearly the subject as it is now discussed in practical politics. I quoted with some fullness decisions of courts as well as the conclusions of a number of tax commissions and acknowledged authorities not alone on the general property tax but on tax administration. I also quoted the provisions of the constitution of Ohio and the laws of the state on taxation.

I must dissent from the evident approval of The Public of the Republican party's supposed declaration in favor of what its platform calls "home rule in valuation and assessment." The Republican party is in favor of nothing of the kind. What it is in favor of, or rather pretends to be in favor of, is to have tax assessors locally elected instead of appointed by the governor. They favor this not because, as The Public assumes, they favor classification of property, a low rate on one class of property or several classes of property or the exemption in whole or part of any class of property. They favor it wholly because they have been claiming that Governor Cox is "building up a state machine" by the appointment of assessors. They favor it because in Republican strongholds they will secure control of the taxing machinery. What that control means in Ohio on the part of the Republican party constituted as it has been and is, is too well known for its record of oppression, favoritism and corruption to require repetition here.

The Republican party and especially its candidate for governor, Congressman Frank Willis, is as devoted to the general property tax and the absurd Smith one per cent law as an eleventh century partisan of those measures in the state. On the other hand, Governor Cox, while not opposing the general property tax or the Smith one per cent act, has done as much, if not more, than any public man in Ohio to introduce administrative efficiency and justice as is possible with the general property tax imposed by the state constitution.

The Public refers to the experience of Pastoriza in Houston, Tex., as if that was to be duplicated in Ohio if the Republican party program is introduced. The Republican party had upwards of half a century in which to introduce the Pastoriza practice had it chose, but it did not. The declaration about "home rule in valuation and assessment" is the baldest hypocrisy. It means nothing more than the local election of tax assessors.

The Public editorials assume in the first place that in Ohio cities or counties there would be but one assessor elected as in Houston. But the fact is that the system favored by the Republican party is the election of an assessor in every ward and township in a county. In Cincinnati that would mean twenty-six assessors. Surely it cannot be supposed that twenty-six men would agree to do what Pastoriza is doing in Houston. These assessors, before the passage of the Warnes law, had the appointment of their assistants, so that there were in Hamilton County an army of 371 men. With few exceptions, they were mere creatures of ward and township politicians and inefficient.

But even if there was to be but one locally elected assessor, The Public assumes that he would be a Pastoriza. Since there has in history been but one such in the entire United States, it is a violent assumption to suppose that such a man elected, in say Hamilton County that contains Cincinnati, would be a Pastoriza.

Such a man in Ohio would be a criminal. He would violate not alone the law but the constitution of the state. This constitution provides that "all property, both real and personal, shall be taxed by a uniform rule." The Ohio courts, and I quoted them in my former article, have repeatedly held that local assessors have no power to classify property but must value "all property by a uniform rule." The rule of uniformity is in Ohio a constitutional rule and is buttressed by statutes as strong as language can make them. While I might desire to be in Houston under tax assessor Pastoriza exercising choice, I certainly would view with alarm the prospect of being under a Republican assessor in Ohio exercising choice in taxation.

What Mr. Willis would do can only be judged by what he has done. In the state legislature, as in Congress, he was an extreme reactionary. On the other hand, Mr. Cox has shown himself a progressive man. Ohio has on its back, we singletaxers believe, a body of death in the general property tax, but it is not of Governor Cox's making. The people of Ohio are responsible for it. The defeat of Governor Cox would be a distinct backward step. His advocacy of the legislative creation of a commission to study the relation of municipal finance to state finance, as well as the appointments he made of members of that commission, shows a sincere desire to get at the truth of taxation.

ALFRED H. HENDERSON.



SHERMAN'S INCONSISTENCY.

Atlantic, Ia., Oct. 8, 1914.

It is said that Senator Sherman opposes the Singletax because it is taking from those who have and giving to those who have not.

But he favors the protective tariff that takes from those who have little and gives to those who have much.

"Every one to his notion," as the old woman said when she kissed the cow.

HENRY HEATON.



CAUSES OF WAR.

Washington, D. C., Oct. 8, 1914.

The Woman's Single Tax Club of the District of Columbia held its first meeting of the season 1914-1915, at the home in Riverdale, Maryland, of the president, Monday evening, October 5th. It was decided to establish headquarters at the home of Mr. and Mrs. James Hugh Keeley, 209 East Capital street.

Mrs. Alice Thacher Post gave an address on "A Kindergarten Lesson on War." She said all wars came from one or more of six causes. First, Religion, from which we are not likely to have another war, owing to advanced thought and higher civili-

zation. Second, **Ambition of Rulers**, for which democracy is the cure. Third, **Markets**, to gain some special advantage over other countries. Fourth, to **Gain Control over Natural Resources or Transportation in a Weaker Country**. Fifth, to **Uphold Special Privilege and Monopoly in Natural Resources at Home**. Sixth, the **Procuring of Lands for Colonization**. The last four causes given are so closely related that they would be entirely removed by the following reforms: First, absolute free trade between all countries. Second, the adoption of land value taxation. Third, public ownership of public utilities. But Mrs. Post thought even before we had universal laws on these reforms war would practically be abolished by an International League of four or five of the strongest countries, maintaining only a large enough army to equal that of perhaps two of the strongest armed countries remaining out of the League. Gradually all countries would join the League, when we would have universal disarmament.

Mrs. Post did not treat of war from its sentimental side, but dealt with the economic causes of war and how just economic conditions would bring people of all countries to live in brotherly love.

JESSIE L. LANE.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, October 13, 1914.

The European War.

The most striking feature of the week's news is the siege and capture of Antwerp. Military activities in the north of France have resulted in little change. The same is true in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. No decisive action has taken place on the sea, or in the campaign against Kiao-Chau. No talk of peace is heard among the participants; and all seem to look forward to a long campaign. [See current volume, page 971.]



The Franco-German Campaign.

The close of the tenth week of the war, and the fourth week of the Battle of the Aisne, brings only slight changes in the position of the two armies. The line still extends from the Vosges Mountains, through Metz to the junction of the Aisne and Oise Rivers; thence northerly almost to the Belgium border. Numerous attempts have been made by the Germans to break through the Allies' line on the Meuse and near the forest of Argonne, but without success. The actions seem to have been confined for the most part to cannonading and to night attacks by infantry. The continued efforts of the Allies to turn the German right wing has led to a further

extension of the lines to the north, which has resulted in a line of battle almost to the Belgium border, and a strongly protected line on to Antwerp. The later engagements on the extreme German right wing have been between heavy bodies of cavalry, but no decisive action has taken place. This part of the line, which is in the vicinity of Lille, Arras, and Hazebrouck, has swayed back and forth under the shock of cavalry charges; but intrenched infantry and artillery rapidly follow. The Germans, re-enforced by the troops released by the close of the Antwerp campaign, are making an effort to force their line through Belgium to the sea. Reports of ground surrendered by the Germans at points along the Aisne and to the East, are explained as hygienic moves on account of the conditions of the trenches. Though the Allies report small gains at various points along the line, there seems to have been no material changes.



Belgium.

The siege and capture of Antwerp made Belgium the chief center of interest during the week. In spite of the fortifications which were said to be among the best ever constructed, the steady pounding of the heavy German siege guns silenced one fort after another, until the Germans were near enough to shell the city. The little Belgian army, assisted by 13,000 British, made a heroic defence of the city for eleven days, and then withdrew to the territory west of the city before its surrender on the 10th. General von Beseler, who conducted the besieging operations, received the surrender of the city from the Burgomaster. The General issued a proclamation saying no one would be harmed unless he engaged in hostilities toward the Germans. "Resistance," he announced, "will cause the destruction of your beautiful city." Private property was spared, but large quantities of provisions were taken. The damage from the bombardment is reported to be light, the Cathedral and public buildings being unharmed. King Albert, who has led his men in person from the beginning of the war, retreated to the west when the Germans broke through the fortifications on the south, in an effort to join the English forces at Ostend. The British marines who had been in the forts to the north of Antwerp, were the last to retreat, and being cut off from escape southward, were interned in Holland. The Germans have levied an indemnity of \$100,000,000 upon Antwerp. Aggressive movements on the part of the Germans are on foot to drive the Allies from Belgium. Most of the Antwerp besieging army is moving southward, either to attack Ostend, or to fall upon the extreme left of the Allies, which is now on the Belgian border. Ghent is reported occupied by the Germans. Apparently the only forces opposing the Germans in

Belgium are the troops with King Albert, reported to number 70,000, and the British, of unknown number, at Ostend.



The Campaign in Eastern Europe.

Definite information is scarce. Reports from Berlin and from Petrograd are still very contradictory. The dispatches of the earlier part of the week indicated Russian successes. They had made some headway in East Prussia, in western Poland, and in Galicia; but the later dispatches report the advance of the Germans from Silicia to the Vistula River at Ivangorod, sixty miles south of Warsaw. Austrian dispatches claim that the Russians have been compelled to raise the siege of Przemysl, and to draw back from Cracow. They still hold the remainder of Galicia, and the passes of the Carpathian Mountains. The Russians will be unable to do anything more against Germany or Austria until they have driven the Germans from Poland. Vienna reports claim victories over Servians and Montenegrans, but these forces are still in Bosnia, and the Montenegrans claim to be almost at the gates of Sarajevo, the capital. Cold weather is causing suffering among the troops. Snow covers the mountain peaks. Apparently nothing decisive has occurred in the southeast. Cholera, which entered Austria some weeks ago, is still spreading, and is causing alarm.



In the Air and on the Sea.

Airships are beginning to assume importance as offensive weapons. The monster Zeppelins made repeated trips over Antwerp during the siege, dropping bombs, but doing only slight damage. Their great bulk, together with the low altitude at which they move, makes them such an easy mark that their operations have been at night; and this fact has prevented any degree of accuracy in striking a definite point. The aeroplanes, however, operate by day. Their smallness and great altitude make them almost immune from the ground, and necessitates attacks from other aeroplanes. German aeroplanes have flown over Paris several times, dropping bombs until pursued by French aeroplanes. The damage caused has been comparatively slight, and has been entirely confined to civilians, generally women and children. An English airman made his way to Dusseldorf, where he dropped a bomb on a Zeppelin hangar, destroying, it is reported, both the hangar and the Zeppelin within. The people of London are quite nervous over the possibility of an attack from a fleet of Zeppelins, though no attempt has yet been made to cross the channel. The occupation of Antwerp brings the German base within 100 miles of London. No naval engagements of consequence have been reported during the week. The Russian cruiser

Pallada, manned by 566 men, was torpedoed in the Baltic Sea by a German submarine, and sank with all on board. A German torpedo boat destroyer was sunk by an English submarine off the mouth of the River Ems on the 6th. The destroyer carried a crew of fifty, most of whom are reported saved. Two Austrian torpedo boats, conveying a merchant ship laden with munitions of war, were reported sunk off Ragusa, Dalmatia, on the 9th, by the Anglo-French fleet.



Japan.

The Japanese lines are being drawn closer about Kiao-Chau, involving attacks and counter-attacks, but no decisive engagements have been reported. The warships of Japan and one British ship have shelled the fortifications repeatedly. A concerted attack in force is expected at an early day. The capture by the Japanese of Jaluit Island in the Marshall group in the Pacific, which belonged to Germany, has given rise to speculation in diplomatic circles. Assurances are given by Japan, who was understood to confine her operations to her own immediate vicinity, are to the effect that these outlying posts are taken as a military necessity to destroy all German sources of supply for their cruisers, and not with the idea of their retention by the Japanese.



Roumania.

King Charles of Roumania died on the 10th, and was succeeded by his nephew Ferdinand, who took the oath on the 11th. The Roumanians have been anti-German in their sympathies, while King Charles was friendly. This caused much friction in the cabinet and restlessness among the people. King Ferdinand is supposed to sympathize with the people, and his accession may result in bringing his country into the war.



Italy.

Differences in the Italian cabinet over the rehabilitation of the army led to the resignation of General Grandi, Minister of War, and the appointment of General Zupelli. Depletion of army stores in the military depots, and the number of enlisted men, is given as the cause of the friction. Italy is reported to have spent \$1,000,000 a day since the war began, to place her army on a war footing. [See current volume, page 780.]



Africa.

The contest between the Union of South Africa and German Southwest Africa has been complicated by the rebellion of one of the Union commanders. Lieutenant-Colonel Solomon Gerhardus Maritz, commanding one of the four armies put in the field by the Union when it undertook to relieve the home government of the task of dealing

with the German colonies, was in command in the Northwest Cape province, which lies immediately south of German Southwest Africa. Part of his staff deserted with him, and the remainder were taken prisoners by force. He has been given the rank of general by the Germans. The report issued by Governor Buxton states that Colonel Maritz had entered into an agreement with the governor of German Southwest Africa guaranteeing the Union as a republic, and ceding Wal-fish Bay and certain other parts of the Union to the Germans. Premier Louis Botha has imposed martial law upon the whole Union of South Africa in order to ferret out others who may have been seduced by German emissaries. General Botha's government declares that the great majority of the Dutch are loyal. [See current volume, page 946.]



Mexico and the United States.

The first reports from the military convention that met at Aguas Calientes to determine the personnel of the future government of Mexico are of an encouraging nature. Delegates representing both Carranza and Villa are present, as, also, are three delegates representing Zapata, whose credentials have been accepted. A "request" that General Carranza release all political prisoners as Villa had done was changed to "order," and enthusiastically passed by the convention. [See current volume, page 972.]



General Jesus Carranza, with 30,000 men and 60 cannon, has arrived in the city of Mexico. Fighting continues at Naco between the Carranza men under General Benjamin Hill, who hold the town, and Villa men under Governor Maytorena. Much trouble is caused by the stray bullets that fall in Naco, Arizona. Three United States soldiers have been wounded, one fatally.



The Labor War.

Indictments against fifty striking coal miners at Boulder, Colorado, were dismissed, for lack of evidence, on October 7. The action was said to have been taken to avoid an effort of attorneys of the men to invalidate the indictments on the ground that the grand jury was prejudiced. At Walsenburg, twenty strikers under indictment were granted a change of venue. [See current volume, page 947.]



The Supreme Court of Montana on October 8 decided that a military court has no right to try civilian prisoners. The case was that of an appeal of two miners at Butte arrested by the militia and tried by court martial. [See current volume, page 662.]

Million Dollar Bequest for Suffrage.

The will of Mrs. Frank Leslie was admitted to probate in New York City on October 7 and after other bequests contains the following:

I leave the entire residue of my estate to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt to be applied to the furtherance of woman suffrage in the United States.

In case of the death of Mrs. Catt the will provides that any balance left shall go to the suffrage movement. The amount to be placed at Mrs. Catt's disposal has been estimated to be at least \$1,000,000. [See current volume, page 948.]



Chicago Telephone Affairs.

The Chicago City Council on October 5 by a vote of 56 to 2, ordered the Department of Public Service to investigate the number of bona fide subscribers served by the automatic telephone system of the Illinois Telephone and Telegraph Company. The resolutions further provide that in the event of the number of subscribers being less than 20,000, the corporation counsel shall take steps toward forfeiture to the city of plant and property. [See current volume, pages 943, 966.]



Cotton Loan Fund Approved.

The Federal Reserve Board announced on October 10 approval of a plan for a \$150,000,000 loan fund to take care of the cotton crops. The idea was suggested to the board by Festus J. Wade of St. Louis. Details of the measure are still to be decided upon. The fund is to be raised through voluntary subscriptions in which banks are to be allowed to participate. [See current volume, page 924.]



What Congress Is Doing.

The House adopted the Conference report on the Clayton Anti-Trust Bill on October 8 by a vote of 244 to 54, sending it to the President for his signature. Attorney-General Gregory is said to be searching the bill for jokers, and pending this search the President's signature is withheld. [See current volume, page 973.]



The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections decided on October 9 to postpone until the next session its decision as to probing the campaign expenses of Roger Sullivan and Senator Boies Penrose. The reason given is that not enough members could be found willing to serve as a sub-committee to conduct the investigation. The investigation was demanded more than a month ago by Senator Norris of Nebraska, but the members of the elections committee were reluctant to take it up and only once in four at-

tempts made during the last month was the chairman, Senator Kern of Indiana, able to get a quorum to attend a committee session. The members of the committee besides Senator Kern are Lea of Tennessee, Pomerene of Ohio, Reed of Missouri, Johnson of Maine, Vardaman of Mississippi, Hughes of New Jersey, Walsh of Montana, Thompson of Kansas, Dillingham of Vermont, Clapp of Minnesota, Sutherland of Utah, Kenyon of Iowa, and Sherman of Illinois. Immediate action was urged by Senators Clapp and Vardaman, and favored by Kern and Kenyon. [See current volume, page 973.]

A caucus of Senate Democrats was held on October 7 to take action on the emergency revenue bill. It decided to increase the proposed beer tax from \$1.50 to \$1.75 a barrel, and to put a tax of five cents a gallon on rectified spiritous liquors. The proposed gasoline tax was eliminated and also the tax on sales of automobiles. The proposed tax on banking capital was reduced from \$2 a thousand to \$1 a thousand. With these changes the bill was reported to the Senate by the Committee on Finance on the following day. [See current volume, page 973.]

Illinois Senatorial Fight.

The following letter under date of October 5 was sent to Raymond Robins by Senator Owen (Democrat), of Oklahoma:

My dear Mr. Robins—The National Popular Government League of the United States, through its executive council, has advised the friends of popular government to support you for the United States Senate in Illinois against Sullivan and against Sherman. I heartily approve this action.

You have greatly distinguished yourself in your constant efforts to serve the people. You have shown your great sympathy with the working poor and your active interest in establishing honest government. You were the most notable advocate of the Initiative and Referendum and corrupt practices act in Illinois. I fought by your side and I know.

I oppose Mr. Sherman on the Republican ticket because he opposed the Initiative and Referendum in the Illinois legislature in 1911 and because his affiliations do not justify the hope that he could be relied upon, as you can be, to fight for the public welfare and oppose the selfish interests that have indirectly contributed money to his campaigns.

I am opposed to Mr. Sullivan because I believe:

That he typifies bipartisan, commercialized politics in Illinois as much as Penrose in Pennsylvania or Murphy in New York;

That his success at the primaries (in which he was nevertheless defeated in more than two-thirds of the counties in the State) was due to men associated with corporation interests behind him in Chicago, with the gas companies, public utility companies, liquor interests, and the unwarranted use of money throughout the State.

I believe that the affiliation of Sullivan's supporters with the Lorimer supporters and the support of Sullivan by the Republican papers in Illinois caused Sullivan to receive thousands of Republican votes, influenced by the bipartisan machine;

That Sullivan's supporters were jointly responsible for the defeat of the Initiative and Referendum, for failing to pass a corrupt practice act, and for selling the senatorship to Lorimer.

[See current volume, page 975.]

A campaign tour of the State in the interest of Robins was begun on October 12 by Senator Owen and by Congressman James Manahan (Republican), of Minnesota. Senator Owen spoke at several places in the southern part of the State and Congressman Manahan in the northern end. Manahan showed that Senator Sherman's record in Washington as well as at Springfield showed him to be a reactionary. Sherman opposed the parcel post law and opposed a real investigation of the New Haven railroad affairs.

Willis J. Spaulding, Commissioner of Public Works of Springfield, tendered his resignation on October 9 as a member of the Sangamon County Democratic Executive Committee, in order to support the Senatorial candidacy of Raymond Robins. Several other members of the committee have also resigned for the same reason.

In a speech at Dixon on October 9, Senator Sherman admitted that he had done wrong in voting for the Allen bill empowering the Chicago aldermen to grant a 99-year franchise to the street railway company. He plead in extenuation that he was but "one inconspicuous person of the 153 members," and that two years later he worked for the law's repeal. Regarding his vote for the Gas Consolidation Act, he said that gas always becomes a monopoly in every city and that it should be recognized as such, subject to governmental regulation. In a speech at Rock Island on October 12, speaking of Robins as a single-taxer, Senator Sherman said: "I am unalterably opposed to all such socialistic theories. I believe what a man earns by honest toil and saves by proper frugality is his. Socialism means collective living, it means all a man gets for his journey through life is a place to sleep, clothes to wear and a meal ticket."

NEWS NOTES

—The protocol just signed by representatives of the United States and Panama provides that warships of belligerent nations shall have the same rights of shelter in the waters of the Republic of

Panama as they have in the waters of the United States.

—Dr. Simon Flexner of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research announced on October 9 that he had discovered the germ of infantile paralysis.

—Cardinal Domenico Ferrata, papal secretary of state at Rome, died on the 10th. He was born at Montefiascone, Italy, in 1847, and was created a cardinal in 1896.

—At the opening of the Australian federal parliament on the 9th, the government announced that parliament would be invited to make Belgium a gift of half a million dollars in recognition of her sacrifices.

—Mayor Lewis J. Duncan of Butte, Montana, and Timothy Driscoll, sheriff, were removed from office on October 7 by Judge Ayers of the State District court for failure to prevent the recent labor riots. [See current volume, page 662.]

—The trial of Charles Cline at San Antonio, Texas, one of the defendants of the Rangel-Cline group, resulted on October 6 in disagreement of the jury. Another of the defendants, D. R. Resas, was acquitted. The date of Rangel's trial was set for October 12. [See current volume, page 900.]

—Federal Judge Daniel Thew Wright of the District of Columbia resigned on October 7. Charges pending against him were under investigation by the House Committee on Judiciary. Judge Wright was best known for his prosecution for contempt of the labor leaders, Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison. [See current volume, page 466.]

—An investigation of corruption in police circles of Chicago has been begun by a committee of the city council, headed by Alderman Merriam. The existence of a state of affairs is intimated, like to that which in New York City culminated in the Rosenthal murder. Evidence presented on October 8 pointed strongly to an understanding between certain police officials and a group of pickpockets, professional bondsmen and attorneys.

—Dr. William H. Allen resigned from the New York Bureau of Municipal Research on October 5. Dr. Allen gave as reasons, the changing of the bureau and its training school from agencies working for the public good, into "Rockefellerized" agencies for so-called social study and the domination of the bureau by Rockefeller generally, resulting, according to his statement, in a progeny of evasions, misstatements and silence on matters vitally affecting the public.

—Frank W. Carpenter has been appointed civil governor of Moro province in the Philippines, in place of the military commander, General Pershing. The report made by Brigadier General Frank McIntyre, chief of the bureau of insular affairs, says: "It was felt that such progress had been made in the establishment of law and order in the province as no longer to require a military man as governor, or, in fact, to require the stationing within that province of American soldiers."

—What is spoken of as "the most important step toward electoral reform" in New Zealand was taken when the bill to establish proportional representation received the unanimous support of the Liberal party. The bill failed of passing the second reading

by one vote; but it is now a party measure and will be put through when the Liberals return to power. The refusal of former Liberal Premier Ward to put through a proportional bill was one of the causes that made George Fowlds leave the cabinet.

—A suit for \$25,000 damages was filed on October 10 in the United States District Court of Chicago against Federal Judge Kenesaw M. Landis, by Frank Blacklidge. The suit is based on a summary conviction and sentence of 30 days in jail for contempt which Judge Landis is alleged to have imposed on Blacklidge in 1912. Landis is said to have claimed that Blacklidge had committed perjury, which constituted the contempt. He is charged with convicting and sentencing him in spite of his attorney's claim that a perjury charge should be referred to the grand jury. Blacklidge served his sentence because he lacked funds to pay the costs of an appeal. As a result of the imprisonment he claims to have lost his job and a business in which he had invested a considerable sum. He furthermore claims that his health was impaired.

PRESS OPINIONS

Reckoning Day Coming for Militarists.

Grain Growers' Guide (Winnipeg), Sept. 16.—When the war is over and the cost is counted it will be found that more than a million men have gone down to death, a like number will be maimed for life and the loss of property will be beyond calculation. After viewing this appalling sacrifice to the god of war, none but the greatest criminals in the world will hinder any effort made to ensure international peace and disarmament.



German Socialists Not So Loyal.

The Call (New York), September 26.—News concerning the status of Socialists and Socialism in Germany, which comes from that country, should be received with a particularly large measure of salt, and no doubt this news has been craftily manipulated from the very beginning of the war. At the outset the American public were informed that the Socialists had indorsed and acclaimed the war with an enthusiasm surpassing all other sections of the German people. They were unanimous in their support of the war credits, and to a man supported the government. This news was most disconcerting for American Socialists until word was received from Comrade Carl Leibknecht that the party was anything but unanimous on the question of war loans; that there was opposition of a strenuous character never before reached in Socialist deliberations, and that the Socialists were so overborne by the situation that the hardest necessity alone compelled them to acquiesce. The next significant news that leaked out was that the Socialist paper, Vorwaerts, had been commandeered by the government, and its distribution undertaken by government officials. Little detail of the "arrangement" was given, but it required no great imagination to understand something of what it meant. And now comes the news that Vorwaerts has been suspended for three days

for declaring the German advance was a retreat also. Another Socialist organ, the *Volksblatt*, has been permanently suppressed by the military authorities and its editor jailed for a criticism of the military movements. Incidents of this kind now coming to light certainly tend to show that previous reports of the alleged super-loyalty of the German Socialists were mainly fabrications, and that in the quarters which proclaimed this loyalty the loudest, there is the most doubt about it.



Crime and Common Sense.

St. Louis Times, September 26.—Surprise has been expressed because a man who was formerly an inmate of the St. Louis workhouse has been given employment at that institution as a guard. Well, what is the man to do? Is he to remain forever without employment just because he committed an offense—and paid the price for doing so. Or is he to go out on the street and sandbag somebody, so that he may get back into the workhouse as an inmate again, or graduate into the higher institutions of delinquency, such as the jail or the penitentiary? We don't know of anything better for anybody, man or woman, who has once slipped on the steeps which lead to public approval and general usefulness, than employment. Such individuals are not to be bettered by the reading of tracts and the practice of sitting down and meditating upon their sins. If the man in question has a fair proportion of decency and good intention in him, as is not at all incompatible with the dark spot in his record, it is quite probable that he will be a better workhouse guard for having been for a time a workhouse inmate. . . . If he is willing to apply himself conscientiously to the discharge of his duties, it would be a silly and cruel mistake to remove him for no other reason than that his record is not without a flaw.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

SOUNDS ACROSS THE SEA.

For The Public.

"I've sat by the sea the livelong day,
Watching the white sails hold their way
With wind and tide beyond the bay,
But all night long came the booming sound of battle
fray."

"Nay, brother, you've dwelt so long by the sea
That the weird monotone of its wondrous key
Resounds in your ears, and ringing they be
With the ominous strain of its chant, like the shells
cast up on the lee."

"I heard the scream of the shrapnel shell,
The cry of our foes—the 'rebel yell,'—
The blatant bugle resound through the dell,
And distant cannonade like the sound of a muffled
bell."

"Of Gettysburg field you have dreamed again,
Of the surge and sweep, and the battle-strain
Of Pickett's charge across the plain;
Of the whistling bullets and bayonet-thrusts by
which they were slain."

"There was mingling of sounds in the ebb-tide runs,
The battle cry shouts of Belgium's sons—
Or was it a charge of the vengeful Huns?—
And throb on quickening throb of rapid-firing guns."

"'Twas the scream of the tern o'er the midnight
wave,
Seeking her young from the osprey to save;
The roar of the surf in the headland cave
Awakes in your brain the vivid past with its storied
brave."

The night gathered 'round in its deepest cloud,
Its darkness inclosing the twain in its shroud,
While the surf, through the day so stridently loud,
Muffled its tones as one who in infinite sorrow is
bowed.

Through the mists of the deep to their strained ears
Came a faint, piercing sound, like an echo of fears;—
Such a sound as one feels—rather than hears.
Was it the scream of the tern, or the shell;—or the
shriek of a woman in tears?

CHARLES E. BENTON.



THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.

By Basil Howard.

"What became of Prinzip (I believe that was his name), the young assassin whose accurate and deadly aim in killing Francis Ferdinand and his consort, doubtless to his utter amazement, has plunged the world in war?" said Wurtzel, carelessly, as he began to arrange the pieces on the chessboard for a game with his friend, a fellow newspaper man. They had seated themselves at a table in a secluded corner of an East Side cafe, behind the vine-covered trellis work on the sidewalk. "In the tremendous import of the events that have followed I have not seen him mentioned."

Ballard, his companion, did not answer—indeed seemed so plunged in profound study he forgot to place his men (the blacks) upon the board, and Wurtzel, having arranged the whites, also, again spoke:

"Why so abstracted? We sat down to play a chess game, but from the expression of your face one would think the fate of the world depended upon your solution of a problem."

"Assassin! yes, so they call him—a madman, too—and I do not know what has become of him. But what if—"

"Well, go on. But what if—"

Ballard remained silent some time, and Wurtzel had begun the game with the Ruy Lopez opening, absently, but seemed waiting for his friend to speak more than for a counter play.

"But what if—one hesitates to conjecture, or at least to express such a conjecture—but what if—" He paused again. Then, gathering courage, he went on: "But what if this so-called assassin foresaw all the events that were to follow the death of Francis Ferdinand, and made up his mind to kill him and pay the price—with his life?"

"You stagger me with such a suggestion, that this man was not an assassin, but a—well, what would you call the fiend from hell that would set millions of men to cutting one another's throats?"

"But what if he foresaw that to this war there could be but one end—the end of all war, universal disarmament, and the establishment of the United States of Europe?—and finally, perhaps, the Federation of the World?"

"Then this assassin would be like the Son of—!" He stopped short, with opening eyes. "Your imagination is truly extravagant!" After a moment Wurtzel continued: "But half or all of these assassins are prepared to sacrifice their own lives, and this young madman, like others, was prepared to die. And you think he foresaw—"

"However tremendous the events that have followed, it is not impossible he foresaw it all—and what is yet to come."

"Do you really mean to say that—" Wurtzel started off, but Ballard broke in:

"From the instant the fatal shot was fired everything that has followed was not only logical, but reasoning from cause to effect, I might say inevitable; and, having followed the game so far, I can myself foresee the end—universal disarmament and the establishment of the United States of—"

"If the Allies win—?" broke in Wurtzel.

"The United States of Europe," continued Ballard, confidently.

"And if, by any possibility, Germany should win?"

"The United States of Europe—there can be but one result."

"If the war should last six months, a year, two years?"

"The higher is piled the war debt—surely not less than twenty billions—the more certain the people are to refuse to again arm and later on fight the war over. They will look for a solution, and there is but one possible solution, the United States of Europe—the boundaries of the different States of Europe being on natural geographical and racial lines."

"But each nation in Europe will resist to the uttermost any attempt to change its present boundaries," objected Wurtzel, "except the change increase its own territory in which to hold a monopoly of trade, and they will require armies to defend this area—everlastingly adding jealousies and friction."

"In other words every nation in Europe de-

mands an increase in the area in which they may exercise *free trade*—to the exclusion of others—and having built these tariff walls they require armies to defend them?" asked Ballard, seeing Wurtzel was opening a way to be surrounded.

"Exactly," said Wurtzel, confidently, feeling that he had won the argument however willingly he would have lost it.

"Then every nation in Europe is fighting for *free trade*?" asked Ballard.

"No; for the extension of its protective tariff walls—" Wurtzel was hesitating, not certain of his own position.

"Go on," said Ballard; "go on—to increase the area in which to—" he paused.

"*Trade freely!*" Wurtzel fell in, wonderingly, as he began faintly to realize his own argument had been shaken.

Ballard remained silent a moment that the point of Wurtzel's forced admission might sink in.

"And if there were no tariff walls between the various States of Europe," said Ballard, "each would have all they are now unconsciously fighting for—the continent of Europe as a market! Each would govern itself as it does now, and the continent of Europe would be like—"

"The United States of America—oh, the United States of Europe! I see it, I see it!" Wurtzel exclaimed in joyous surprise, rising from the table, utterly beside himself. "Something I have dreamed of all my life!"

He did not speak for some time as the great truth that had dawned upon him was being more firmly grasped in his reason. Regaining somewhat his composure he resumed his seat at the table.

"What a simple solution of a world problem!" he said at last. "The rulers and statesmen of Europe have been as blind as I! What a seeming paradox! That every nation in Europe is unconsciously fighting for freer trade—seventeen million men cutting each other's throats to break down trade walls—for something they could have for nothing!"

"Yes," said Ballard, and not one of them would have what they think they are fighting for if you'd give it to them for nothing—for restricted trade that would isolate them all, carried to its logical conclusion, would destroy all commerce!"

"Seventeen million men," repeated Wurtzel, "fighting for something they could have for nothing, and not one of them would have what they think they are fighting for if you'd give it to them!"

But Ballard remained silent, and Wurtzel continued:

"But insane national and racial jealousies as to loss of nationality and the location of the capital—Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Vienna or Rome—would prevent a union such as ours, Florida exchanging what she produces cheapest for what

New York produces cheapest; as Italy should with Germany, France with Russia. But they would all fear loss of nationality."

"There would be no loss of nationality, and there need be no capital at all! Just meet at The Hague, abolish the Tariff Walls and go home! The war would be over."

Wurtzel seemed doubting. "But with a world gone mad with war, who would stop to think? Did every nation in Europe in congress assembled at The Hague abolish the Tariff tomorrow, would not the war be fought to its bitter end?"

"The war would cease immediately. It would be absolutely impossible to continue it. I defy you to suggest the faintest purpose any nation would have to continue the war after the Tariff Walls had been destroyed. The soldiers of all countries would shoulder their guns—or throw them away—and start home. Seventeen million men would start for their respective countries over flower-strewn roads lined with happy, deliriously happy women and children in what had been the enemy's country, and war would be no more—destruction, desolation and death to be succeeded by a world of work and wealth!"

"It is not possible that I could continue this game," said Wurtzel, as he gathered up the chess from the board, "even had you made a play and were willing to continue. I find myself engaged in such amazing speculation—I seem to have discovered a new world—a game of chess would be puerile—"

But Ballard, interrupting him as they rose from the table, said:

"I suppose you doubt the possibility that Prinzip might have foreseen—" Ballard hesitated. "*You know there is only one possible end to the war, no matter who wins, and Prinzip—*"

"Here, come dine with me at 'The Boulevard,'" said Wurtzel, "and I'll listen to your theory of Prinzip, while you in turn shall know of the great military mistake of the Kaiser and his advisers."

Ballard seemed stunned. "I wonder if you, too, have discovered the tremendous blunder of the Kaiser—for he could have had all the world with him instead of against him!"



THE WARLUST AND THE SCAVENGER.

For The Public.

The sun in Europe plainly shone,
Shone with a wholesome light,
Doing its very best to keep
The men and crops all right.
And this was not so odd because
It was its nature quite.

The Warlust and the Scavenger
Displayed a slight caprice.
They wept like anything to see
Such quantities of peace.

"If this were only cleared away,"
They said, "our woe would cease."

"If seven corps and seven more
Stormed it for half a year,
Do you suppose," the Warlust said,
" 'Twould make a decent smear? "
"I doubt it," said the Scavenger,
And made an ugly leer.

"Oh Armies, come and shoot for us,"
The Warlust did command.
"Let fighting reign in hot campaign.
Come wield the firebrand.
Let humans kill and brothers spill
The blood of every land."

The wiser armies shook their heads
Which was their sole reply.
They did not wish to draw their swords
Without a reason why.
"It's very nice to live," they thought,
"And pretty tough to die."

But four young armies fell in line
And then another four.
And thick and fast they came at last
With guns of every bore.
Their faces, hands and uniforms
All dripping red with gore.

The Warlust and the Scavenger
Enjoyed the murderous spree.
And every time an army fell,
They laughed in fiendish glee.
"This kind of thing," the Warlust said,
"Always appeals to me."

"Now Armies," said the Scavenger,
"It's getting late, I fear."
"Shall we be starting back for home?"
No answer reached his ear.
And this was scarcely odd because
None was alive to hear.

ELLIS O. JONES.

BOOKS

SOCIOLOGY IN FICTION

Clark's Field. By Robert Herrick. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston. \$1.40 net.

Professor Robert Herrick, one of our most thoughtful American novelists, has evinced a tendency recently to bring the background of his stories more into the center of interest. In other words he has ceased to focus entirely on the human conflict and has thrown the light of a warm interest on the social conditions and problems which form the back drop against which the human story plays itself out. Whether the artistic quality of his work has profited thereby we need not consider here. It is always a dangerous thing for a fiction writer to do, and Prof. Herrick has

not done it often enough yet to keep the balance of interest so exactly poised that his work appeals to the thought and to the emotion evenly. But even in that respect the present book, his latest, shows an advance over the chaos of "A Life for a Life." Possibly because a very definite (and also a very fundamental) social and moral wrong is taken for the theme of the book, its influence upon the human protagonists can be more clearly traced as an integral part of the story. Adelle Clark could not have been just what she was, nor have lived the life-experience that she did, had it not been that private property in land values is the great basic wrong upon which our modern civilization is built up. Her fate as well as that of many others, their point of view in life, are so conditioned by the possibility of sudden great wealth pouring in upon those who have not earned it, who have the very vaguest notions as to where it comes from and why it comes, that the pictures drawn are typical and universal. A certain aloofness on the author's part prevents a great warmth of interest in the human beings portrayed from coming to full growth in the reader's mind. And yet, as one goes on in the book, one does grow interested in Adelle from a merely human point of view, one grows desirous of her final awakening to the realities of life as truly as if one knew her in the flesh. And this, after all, is the novelist's true triumph.

The thematic center of the book is Clark's Field, a fifty-acre tract of land, which came afterward to be the heart of a factory suburb of a great city. Apparently ownerless, the object of endless litigation even when it appeared worthless, the Field came later to be a source of wealth pouring out upon one young girl, the last anaemic scion of a long "land poor" family. Friendless, alone in the world, Adelle Clark finds herself the heiress to millions. The banking house, which is her legal guardian, does "its duty" by her and makes her an extravagant, utterly unthinking "young lady," the prey of all sorts and kinds of sharks. A fine old judge, whose attention was attracted by the possibility of some human interest in a document given him to sign by a law firm which he did not trust, was the means of saving Adelle's "rights" to the Field. And at the last, it is this same judge who awakens Adelle's rights to her own soul. When she realizes, through human sorrow, the greater truths of life, the judge shows her the source of her wealth, the human rabbit-warrens that cover the Field thickly. The work Adelle then takes up is the weakest part of the book, because by it the author's clear reasoning on property rights in land values seem to sink themselves in a sort of benevolent philanthropy which is even less desirable than feasible. It is strange that a mind such as Professor Herrick's, so quick to see the wrong, can

not see the remedy. Or possibly at the last he wished to save the right of his book to be classed as fiction, by letting the emotional imagination have full sway. The wisdom of the move is dubious. Those interested in the problem will be disappointed in the remedy proposed. And those not interested will not be made more so by the philanthropic leavening. But enough is said about the wrong of turning men's necessity, the community's necessity of civic growth, into private profit, and about the baneful influence of utterly unearned wealth on the human mind and heart, to make many readers think of this fundamental problem who perhaps have not yet done so. Therefore all readers of *The Public* are recommended to Prof. Herrick's book. And they will welcome him gladly into the community of those who see the basic wrong, even though, as novelist, he is not yet ready to join with us in an open acknowledgment of the simple remedy.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.



WOMEN AND SOCIALISM

Socialism and Motherhood. By John Spargo. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1914. Price, 60 cents, net.

Freedom for women "to stand erect and unbound," "to achieve her highest and noblest aims," "to love and choose maternal responsibilities with fullness of knowledge and power," is and has always been one of the great aims of Socialism, writes Mr. Spargo. And it is with the hope of leading more women to see clearly the force of its peculiar appeal to them as wives and mothers, that his little book has been written.

Its first part is a general exposition—a very simple and useful one—of the principles of Socialism—with emphasis particularly upon their relation to women, both as workers and individuals. Part Two is the author's answer to the "free love" charge against Socialism. He considers the evidence brought to show that Socialists advocate "free love." That Oscar Wilde and Karl Pearson were representative Socialists he denies. He admits, of course, that August Bebel was representative, but argues that his opinion was avowedly his as an individual, never adopted officially in any way by the Socialists and never adopted in any numbers. Of the position of Socialism with respect to marriage Mr. Spargo makes this statement:

Too much stress cannot be laid upon the fact that it is no part of the aim of modern Socialism to bring about a particular form of marriage or family organization. . . . Of course, the reorganization of society upon Socialist lines must of necessity affect the family. It is impossible to imagine such a fundamental change being accomplished without influencing one of the fundamental institutions of society. Every great comprehensive change in the economic

structure of society heretofore has had a marked influence upon family life, and we cannot in reason expect that so comprehensive a change as Socialism will prove an exception to the general law of social development. It is this fact which causes so many Socialists and others to attempt to forecast in detail the exact nature of the developments of marriage and family life which Socialism will bring about.

Now, only the foolishly narrow-minded would condemn or attempt to discourage honest and serious thought upon a matter of such vital importance to the life of the race, for such thinking is a necessary condition of progress. But the Socialist movement is not committed to any of the conclusions reached by these individual speculations. There is no Socialist theory of marriage.

We believe that the reorganization of society upon the basis of collective ownership and democratic control of the economic forces will put an end to those evils which now menace the integrity and stability of family life. We believe that marriage for economic reasons will disappear with the abolition of economic classes and economic exploitation. We believe that the greater part of prostitution with its attendant evils will disappear. We believe the elevation of family life will result. We do not believe that anything but good can result from these changes. Whatever developments in family organization take place in the Socialist society of the future will be in response to the collective will of men and women free from political or economic tyranny. Why need we fear that a society in which women are politically and economically free and equal with men will tend to lessen monogamy?

Mr. Spargo's book is direct, simple, brief and none the less influential for being readable.

A. L. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Abraham Lincoln. By Rose Strunsky. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$2.25 net.

—The Clarion. By Samuel Hopkins Adams. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1914. Price, \$1.35 net.

—Germany and England. By J. A. Cramb. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 1914. Price, \$1.00 net.

—New York City Department of Taxes and Assessments. Report for Year Ending March 31, 1914. Lawson Purdy, President of Commissioners.

—Forty-sixth Annual Illinois Insurance Report. Part II., Life Insurance. 1914. By Rufus M. Potts. Printed by the Illinois State Journal Co., Springfield, Ill.



The way for us to show our patriotism is not by refusing to see the good in other nations, but by acknowledging it where it exists and improving our own conditions.—Joseph Fels.



A sound discretion is not so much indicated by never making a mistake as by never repeating it.—Bovee.

PERIODICALS

Carlson's Rural Review.

An excellent campaign document for use among farmers, where limited singletax is the issue, is an article, "Singletax as Applied to Farmers," by G. L. Carlson, in the September issue of Carlson's Rural Review, (Norfolk, Neb. Price, 5 cents). Mr. Carlson explains that singletax arguments hitherto directed to farmers, have failed to take the farmers' point of view and he proceeds to supply the deficiency. An interesting feature is an array of figures of taxes actually paid by individual farmers (whose names are given), in different school districts of Madison County, Nebraska. These clearly show the singletax to be advantageous to working farmers whether owners or tenants. Mr. Carlson holds that the United States census has not been accurate in preparing figures of ownership and tenantry. The tax assessor's figures he considers a more reliable index, and these show the percentage of tenants to be much larger than indicated by the census.

S. D.



The cultured young woman from Girton was trying to make conversation.

"Do you care for Crabbe's Tales?" she asked.

"I never ate any," replied her partner at the fancy dress ball; "but I'm just dead struck on lobsters' claws."—Sacred Heart Review.



"This plant belongs to the begonia family."

"Ah! And you are taking care of it while they are away."—Boston Times.



Teacher—Now, Thomas, give me a sentence, and then we will change it to the imperative form."

Thomas—"The horse draws the wagon."

Teacher—"Now put it in the imperative."

Thomas—"Gee-up!"—Sacred Heart Review.



Old Gentleman.—Well, my boy, and when does your birthday come?

Boy (who has been cautioned not to fish for presents).—Oh, it passed by a long time ago—a year next Saturday.—Sacred Heart Review.



"Can a leopard change his spots?"

"Of course he can."

"Indeed! How?"

"When he's tired of sitting on one spot he can change to another."—Unidentified.



Modern Child: No, Ethel, there isn't any Santa Claus; he's just your own father and mother.

Ethel: An' ain't they no Satan, neither?

Modern Child (up in her eugenics): No; he's just your father and mother, too.—Unidentified.