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EDITORIAL

President Wilson's True Friends.

Democratic congressmen, who oppose the preparationist suggestions of President Wilson's message, are truer friends of the administration than their party colleagues who are ready to follow any course to curry favor with the President. Should Congressman Bailey secure enough help to prevent adoption of the preparedness program, or should he at least succeed in defeating the reactionary revenue propositions in its behalf, he will perform a service of great value to his party as well as to his country. Even should he fail to prevent adoption of these measures the fight made will tend to discourage further concessions to militarism, and in the end will lead to retracing of any steps taken in that direction.

S. D.



Democratic Peace Terms.

The resolution of Senator Lane of Oregon for a peace congress of neutral nations is a democratic and statesmanlike measure. Senator Lane proposes that the suggested peace congress submit to the belligerents peace plans based on evacuation of invaded territory, decision by popular vote of Alsace, Finland and Poland as to their independence or allegiance, freedom of the seas, gradual disarmament, and arbitration of all disputes. These terms are perfectly just, and no government which honestly desires peace with honor will refuse them. There properly might be some additions made to the list of suppressed peoples to be allowed to vote on independence. Bosnia, Herzegovina, India and others might well be included, and the United States might set the example by liberating the Philippines. But even as proposed, the terms are such that refusal on the part of any belligerent must be taken as conclusive evidence that justice is not what it has been fighting for.

S. D.



The Pleas for Preparedness.

A valued correspondent presents the following arguments in behalf of preparedness. He suggests:

1. That danger of war is not from any foreign people, but their military bureaucracy. 2. Whatever the result of the European war some nation will be immensely in our debt and will be tempted to intervene in Mexico or some South American state. 3. That we must then either abandon the Monroe doctrine or fight. 4. If unable to fight there would be a temptation "to the aristocracy and the unemployed army" established on our Mexican border to find a cause of war. 5. We must therefore be prepared either to do whatever an unscrupulous militarist regime may demand of us or be prepared to resist. 6. The people of any nation may be led or tricked into support of aggression against us. 7. While disarmament is an ideal policy we are not likely to get it. "Perhaps we would be wiser to take it, but not while persuading ourselves that there is no risk."

The arguments may be dealt with seriatim:

1. The people being acquitted, it remains to be seen why a military bureaucracy should want to fight. Granted that the present war was due to it, there is still no justification for the assumption that it would therefore wish to start another one—at least not in our time. Before the outbreak of this war the need of these big military establishments was being more and more questioned. To counteract this there was need of producing a foreign enemy, and—providentially for the bureaucracies—the enemies were produced. Either this was the work of the bureaucracies or it was not. If it was, then its object has been accomplished. The people have had evidence of the existence of foreign enemies. No further war is necessary to strengthen their faith in the need of a military establishment. But too much war may cause them to suspect a trick. The bureaucracies may not be prodigies of wisdom, but may be reasonably conceded discretion enough to realize that fact. If the bureaucracies were not responsible for this war, then there is no basis for considering them a danger to anyone but their own people.

2. Just why a nation should go to all that trouble to get out of debt is not clear. It would be much easier and less expensive to simply repudiate the debt, in which proceeding it would not be without sympathizers among us. But if it should nevertheless insist on attacking Mexico or South America, it would be well for us, instead of rushing to arms, to see if our neighbors to the south would not prove at least as capable as the Turks in dealing with powerful oversea invaders.

3, 4 and 5. These are all based on acceptance without reservation of the preceding, and consequently have no more force.

6. Not impossible. Even the American people can be fooled some of the time. But merely because a thing could happen is not in itself a sufficient reason for preparing against it. We have been notoriously unprepared many times during the past and no nation has been tempted to attack us. It does not necessarily follow that none will do so

in the future. But if experience is a reliable guide it shows that we are justified in acting on the assumption that we will not be attacked without provocation.

7. We are never justified in assuming that there is no risk. No absolute guarantee of safety is possible under any circumstances. But while bad results of unpreparedness may be conceded as possible, those of preparedness are certain. Between a policy which may have bad results, but probably won't, and one that is certain to prove injurious, it would seem wiser to choose the former. We are more likely to be right if we conclude to take the same chances as to war that we take without question regarding such equally possible dangers as earthquakes and cyclones.

Preparationists profess to see possible causes of war in a number of things. If these fears are reasonable then it is their duty, not to clamor for a big military establishment, but to insist on immediate steps for peaceful adjustment of these differences. There is more criminal neglect in failing to provide for such adjustment than in failing to establish an army. Until such a policy has been tried the preparationist agitation lacks a reasonable foundation.

S. D.

No Place for Boys.

The advocates of vocational training in the public schools have found themselves in the predicament of the host who was required to put fifteen guests in fourteen rooms, with but one guest in each room; no matter how they were distributed there was always one guest without a room. The desire of educators to fit the school boy for something better than common labor has led to the creation of courses in which a sort of trade apprenticeship is served. But the two years' vocational course of the Chicago schools has turned out graduate students for whom there are no jobs, and one member of the Board of Education wishes to know if the Board has been wasting the people's money and the students' time. Boys trained to become electricians, plumbers, or other highly paid craftsmen, find the way to employment barred by the rules of the unions limiting the number of apprentices. Commenting on this condition of affairs, Victor Olander, Secretary of the Illinois Federation of Labor, said:

To admit all the boys who wish to enter would be to throw down the bars and admit cheap child labor. These unions have had a long struggle to get a fair wage, and they impose restrictions on apprentices as a means of keeping wages up. It is because the wages in these trades are good that boys desire to learn them. There isn't a trade which has all of its members employed, so there is no necessity of admitting a large number of apprentices.

Thus is society once more confronted with the fact that there is not enough available room in the world. There is no use in saying each mouth has two hands to feed it, when there is no place on earth where the hands can get at the material to work with. Nor does it seem to have bettered matters to educate the hands. They are still unable to make something out of nothing. If conditions remain as they are the struggle between the boys and the trade unions will become more intense; strikes and strife will follow; and then some kind of an adjustment will be made. But there is hope that conditions will not remain as they are. There is a possibility that social and industrial conditions will be changed so that each new pair of hands—and all the more if they be trained hands—will find their place to work in the world. New thought is spreading in the trade union world as well as in the employing world. Labor leaders like Victor Olander are coming to the front who see in unions not a mere physical force organization to pit its strength in an endurance contest with privilege-entrenched capital, but a thinking organization that through its political power will reshape industrial conditions so that jobs will hunt men as persistently as men now hunt jobs. It is a trite remark that if laboring men will work more with their heads they will find it easier for their hands; and the same may be said of others beside so-called laboring men. Vocational education is a good thing. Children should have all the advantages of training. But of what good will the training be so long as the storehouse of nature is locked up, and the students find no place to work without displacing a man with a job?

S. C.



The Ancona Issue.

The issue in the Ancona case is simply whether the Austrian government endorses wanton slaughter of non-combatants, or whether, like its German ally, it is willing to disavow such barbarism. No question of war or peace is, or should be involved. The question is to what extent the individuals in charge of the Austrian government are inclined to adhere to ordinary principles of humanity. Their answer can neither help nor hurt the United States. It can help or hurt the honor of the Austrian nation, as it may incline toward humanity or barbarism.

S. D.



Rival Humorists.

The high tariff advocates who are so busily engaged in devising a means by which American

manufacturers will be able to hold their own markets and foreign markets, too, need not feel too sure of the first prize for the best American joke. The militarists have entered the lists, and they are likely to prove themselves to be no mean antagonists. Witness this from the Army and Navy Journal:

President Wilson should call to account Assistant Secretary of Labor, Louis F. Post, for his declaration that soldiers of the U. S. Army are "mere feudal serfs."

The occasion of this appeal to the President was an address by Mr. Post before the Missouri Society, in which he had ventured to make some suggestions with a view to converting our military establishment into a rational institution. Mr. Post said:

Can we not have a military preparedness that will satisfy the most fearful, and yet cultivate the other spirit and aid in letting the military spirit die out? Instead of having a large standing army, a group of men actuated by military spirit with a few officers and many men as their serfs, could we not have a true citizen soldier? And I can see many men under such a system being trained in other than military ways during four years of service. Why couldn't those trained soldiers be taught trades at the same time? As it is now three years are spent to make mere feudal serfs to some West Point graduates.



To this sane and constructive thought the Army and Navy Journal adds this comment:

Of course the idea of having a man enlist in the army to learn a trade is mere chatter. It never has been proposed by any one who has any knowledge of what is required to train a man to defend his country in the event of war.

That is the simple expression of the spirit of caste. The idea of having a man enlist in the army to learn a trade! It had never been proposed by any one from West Point. Of course it was mere chatter. It is conceivable that such an idea could have come out of the Department of State, or of the Treasury, or of the Interior, or even of the Attorney General; but from the Department of Labor, never. What business, indeed, is it of the Department of Labor what the Army and Navy Departments do with the hundreds of thousands of young men that pass through their hands? Taken at the time of budding manhood, and held during the most impressionable period of their lives, when permanent habits are forming, they are subjected to such influences as the men from West Point and Annapolis approve. And if after serving their term of enlistment, they again appear in civil life unfit for any of its occupations, then let the Department of Labor take them in hand and find or create jobs for them.

But suppose this madness that has seized upon the Department of Labor should spread? Suppose it should break out in Congress some day, and that body should build upon Mr. Post's suggestion. The Secretary of War has shown that one year is sufficient to train a thorough soldier. Suppose the remainder of his term of enlistment should be devoted to manufacturing the equipment of the army and the navy. The discharged men would then come out of the service trained mechanics; and they would leave behind them an equipment that had cost the government but a tithe of what it now costs. This country is still a democracy. The people still have the right to say whether we shall construct a great military establishment along West Point lines, in which the training of young men will unfit them for industrial life, and which will involve the maximum of cost and waste; or a military establishment so adjusted to civil life that young men may pass through it as an industrial apprenticeship, and be engaged in constructive work in the army and navy as well as when they return to civil life. Is America to go on forever perpetuating the aristocratic system of Europe, or has it sufficient democracy within it to set up a democratic system? S. C.

A New Test of Fitness.

A comment is requested on Roosevelt's recent statement that a man who refuses to fight should be disfranchised. It would be hard to find a statement equally long in absurdities and short in words. It means that even though a man has paid the full value of all services performed for him by the government—and most citizens do more than that—he should be penalized for refusing to do more. It means that even though he feels that to fight can not but do his country harm, he must nevertheless be disfranchised for refusal. It means that even though his country be clearly in the wrong, he must be punished for refusing to help the wrong. It implies, moreover, that the ballot may be rightfully withheld from all who can not fight. That means not only all women, but all men unable to bear arms. It sets up as the supreme test of fitness for citizenship such brute strength and pugnaciousness, as may be found in any assemblage of thugs and strong-arm criminals. All who lack these qualities, however much endowed with intelligence, virtue or moral courage, are declared unfit. Its absurdity is self-evident. S. D.

Persistence of Monopoly.

It is four years since the United States Supreme Court issued its famous decree dissolving

the Standard Oil Company—and today the oil refining industry is practically monopolized as much as it ever was. Not even the Supreme Court can prevent a privileged interest from maintaining a monopoly as long as it remains a privileged interest. Congress and State Legislatures have tinkered with the trust question in every way except one. They have carefully avoided removal of privilege. Why not try that? S. D.

That Censorship of Mexican Mail.

When Lord Macaulay ventured the opinion that if there were sufficient financial inducement involved, learned men would be found trying to disprove the law of gravity, he prepared us for the manifestations of certain newspaper enterprise. Charges have been extensively circulated throughout the country by papers claiming a degree of responsibility, that the Administration has been opening the mail from Mexico, and withholding from the public whatever it chose. The charges grew more circumstantial with each repetition, and the enormities increased with the imagination of the accusers. It now appears from a statement of the State Department that during a period when the movement of mail in Mexico was uncertain permission was given private individuals to enclose letters in the diplomatic pouch that passed between Washington and Mexico City. Manifestly such permission could be given only on the assurance that the privilege would not be abused by the sending of matter compromising the governments using the pouch; and the only way of being certain that all was done in good faith was to require that letters enclosed in this pouch by private persons be unsealed. The condition was known in advance. Those who objected could use other channels.

A newspaper will employ clever reporters for weeks and months to ferret out a sensational robbery; but a plain fact that could be verified by a few questions of the proper persons is buried under a mountain of fiction. According to the ethics of these men, if the charge be real dig into it and reveal its secrets, if it be false, cover it up and speculate upon what may be within. If the sensational tales about conditions in Mexico have no more basis of fact than this censorship, this country is to be congratulated on keeping out. S. C.

Free Land and No Capital.

The otherwise excellent debaters' hand book on the Singletax compiled by Edna D. Bullock, and

published by the H. W. Wilson Company, New York City, makes a mistake of submitting what the author calls a Socialist objection to the Singletax, as though it were real. The objection is this:

Free land does not mean equality of opportunity because those with capital to improve land would have a great advantage over those without capital. The poor man has no capital and would be unable to improve land. The land, therefore, would be held and improved as at present by the capitalist class and the poor man would continue to compete for the opportunity to sell his labor.

Such a supposition begs the whole question by assuming that conditions will be the same under the Singletax as they are now; and because the man without capital must now compete with his fellow, to the disadvantage of both, the same result will follow under the new conditions.



Under present conditions Capital and Labor are free, but Land is monopolized. Labor competes with Labor, and keeps down wages. Capital competes with Capital, and keeps down interest. But Land, having no competitor, gains all that Labor and Capital surrender. Capital is more productive than formerly, and Labor is more efficient; but the gain has gone, not to interest or to wages, but to rent. But let the conditions be reversed. If land value be taken by the public in taxation, the land owner will receive nothing as owner, but only as a capitalist. He can gain nothing as a capitalist, however, without employing labor. And when he enters the market in competition with other capitalists, he can secure labor only by outbidding his rivals. At present the owner of land enjoys his income by passive permission to Labor and Capital to use Land. Neither Labor nor Capital can live without actively engaging in production. Under Singletax conditions, the unearned income of the landowner being shut off, the only incomes will be from Capital and Labor; and as Capital is dead and inert without Labor, the tendency will be for Labor to encroach upon Capital, rather than Capital upon Labor.



Granted free land, wages can never fall below what men can earn working for themselves; and they may rise to the highest point that competing capitalists force them rather than go out of business. Nor will it be necessary, in order to enjoy the benefits of free land, for all labor to engage in farming. Industrial conditions are interdependent throughout society. The man out of a job is a menace to the last man who has a job, and he to the next man above, and so on to the very top. Give the jobless man a job, and the man formerly with the lowest job becomes more independent,

and so on with those above. With one man out of a job, all who have jobs are in danger; with one manless job, and every man begins to dictate the terms of his service. Capital is not only useless without Labor, but it quickly disintegrates. It rusts, rots, decays. Combine it with Privilege—as it now is—and it appears to oppress Labor; but it is Privilege, not Capital, that exercises the oppression. Destroy Privilege—and the Singletax will destroy it—and Capital will become the servant of Labor. Given free land, and man will cease to compete with man for the privilege of selling his labor. Instead, capitalist will compete with capitalist for the privilege of hiring labor.

S. C.



When Actions Contradict Words.

An address in behalf of the pending tax amendment, delivered by Mr. Harrison B. Riley on November 16, before the Illinois Taxpayers' Alliance, has been printed and circulated by that organization, as expressing its sentiments. In the address Mr. Riley said:

The amendment, as drawn to be presented to the people, provides for classification only of personal property, leaving real property to stand in one class. The reason why I hope for no assistance particularly from those people who believe in the singletax, is that we are working on different lines. They seek to accomplish a social revolution through the mediumship of taxation, a re-adjustment in which they think the conditions of labor will be benefited. We are seeking to obtain that which we are working for, only. Our cards are on top of the table. We want equitable tax laws, and we do not care to have those laws so arranged that they will help one person and not another. In other words, any state legislation in the nature of a protective tariff kind of revenue law, has no place among the citizens of a state, common citizens of the same country, and protected by the same laws, however useful it may be in dealing with foreigners to whom we owe no duty. We who are interested in tax reform, are interested in that only.

Mr. Riley thus frankly confesses that the amendment is in the interest of a certain class only. He is not interested in obtaining social justice, which he regards as "social revolution." And then he makes clear the mental attitude of those whose contempt for the people was demonstrated in submission of the pending measure, instead of the one asked for by the people. But their cards were not "on top of the table," as Mr. Riley mistakenly declared them to be, when they hypocritically quoted the three to one popular vote in favor of general classification, as an argument for submission of restricted classification.



Mr. Riley urges that "we do not care to have

laws so arranged that they will help one person and not another." Yet it is to preserve laws so arranged that he opposes general classification. Disturbance of such arrangements he denominates "social revolution." What else but partiality is extended in the law that lays heavier taxes on the man who improves his land than on the one who withholds equally valuable land from use? What is it but partiality which allows one set of citizens to collect for their own private use in ground rents from other citizens full payment for all benefits conferred by government, and then compels these other citizens to pay a second time in taxes on labor products for what they have already paid in rent? What is it but partiality which allows one set of citizens holding title to lands to appropriate values that all have produced? In declaring opposition to laws "arranged to help one person and not another," Mr. Riley not only justifies opposition to the pending amendment, but endorses the principle which applied must bring about the "social revolution," which he says he does not want. But may not this professed hostility to partiality in legislation be further use of the same tactics pursued before the legislature by interests back of the pending amendment, when they urged obedience to the popular demand for one kind of tax reform, while putting over a very different kind?

S. D.

Henry Franklin Ring.

The sudden death at his home at Houston, Texas, on December 14, of Henry Franklin Ring removes one whose name and work have been familiar to singletax advocates since the days when the movement was still in its infancy. If he had done nothing else, the authorship of "The Case Plainly Stated" would have been sufficient to perpetuate his memory as one who had contributed great power to the movement. This address, originally given at a small gathering of Knights of Labor in 1888, was reprinted as a leaflet. Being a remarkably clear, logical and convincing presentation of the subject it has proven one of the most valuable of singletax propaganda tracts, one that has very many converts to its credit.

The endorsement at that time of a radical idea by an attorney in a conservative community was not likely to be helpful to him in a material way. On the day following his address to the labor gathering, Ring was severely taken to task by the Houston Post for his "brazen avowal of faith" in the teachings of Henry George. There were even

some hints that society would be safer if such persons as he would not be allowed among honest citizens. But he lived to see the city of Houston vote overwhelmingly for the entering wedge of the system which he advocated, even though the State constitution prohibited such action. And the very paper which had berated him, still under the same editorial management, progressed sufficiently to speak more favorably of the idea.

Henry Franklin Ring was born at Worthington, Massachusetts, on December 27, 1852. At the age of 16 he went to Cornell University and worked his way through. After graduation he taught school. At Quitman, Texas, he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1876. In 1879 he located at Houston and became one of the most prominent attorneys of the State. In 1880 he was married to Miss Elizabeth Fitzsimmons of Houston. As president of the Harris County Good Government Club he was active in exposing the betrayal of democracy by Senator Bailey, which had much to do with driving that agent of plutocracy out of public life. He was deeply interested in the colony at Fairhope, Alabama, and for a period made that place his home. With his contributions to the columns of *The Public* our readers are familiar. Shortly before his death he wrote an economic work, "The Problem of the Unemployed," and published it anonymously. But though the author's name does not appear those familiar with his style must note the same ability to speak logically and clearly which characterizes "The Case Plainly Stated." Thus to the end he was working to spread the light. His wife and two sons survive him.

A deserved tribute to his memory is the following from Joseph J. Pastoriza, his friend and co-worker in the Singletax cause:

H. F. Ring's whole life goes to show that he cared nothing about himself. He cared nothing about his personal financial affairs if the things he advocated could be of service to humanity. His whole heart was wrapped up in the Singletax cause. He didn't let his finances and his friendship interfere with his free thought. He was fearless in his opinions regardless of who it affected.

S. D.

The currency authorized by the State should be as free from private monopoly and control as the public highways. It is indeed itself a public highway for the passing to and fro of values in exchange: as commodities are transported from seller to buyer by means of the railway, so are their values transmitted from buyer to seller by means of the currency.—John Sherwin Crosby in *The Orthocratic State*.

MILITARISM AND HUMAN PROGRESS.

It is true that there have been wars which were waged in behalf of human progress and accomplished the results for which they were waged. But this is not militarism. Such wars have never arisen out of militarism and have been singularly free from what we call today preparation. The success of such wars has depended upon the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of the people.

Militarism infuses into a people the spirit of war, which is also the spirit of drill, of centralized authority, of subservient docility. The wars waged for freedom from oppression have arisen from no such spirit. The American Revolution and our Civil war, for example, were preceded by no spirit of militarism. The American people have had wars, but have not been a warlike people. We have not yet been appreciably affected by the war spirit. We have thought of other things.

To-day our nation stands face to face with a determined effort to rush the country into the reactionary spirit of militarism. Let us not be blind to the situation. We are in extreme danger, not of being conquered by a foreign army, but of being conquered by a foreign spirit. It is urgent that everyone who sees this danger should speak out in opposition and urge his neighbor to do likewise.

Increased taxation and an awful waste of money are bad enough fruits of militarism, but they are not the worst. The worst effect of the military spirit is its inevitable destruction of the democratic spirit. The two can not grow together. Now there may be a moderate military and naval equipment, such as this country supported for years, which is not extensive enough to effect very essentially the tone of the nation, but the measures now proposed even by the strict preparationists are such as will change our whole attitude, and will influence the minds of men away from the thoughts from what Washington called "republican liberty."

Probably what is most to be dreaded will be the influence on the minds of the young. See already the movement toward militarism among the Boy Scouts. See the proposals that are being made for military drill in the public schools. It seems true that most of our educators are opposed to this plan. God grant that they may continue so. Superintendent Schaeffer, of Pennsylvania, speaking before the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, said: "Military drill seeks to develop unquestioning obedience, so

that the soldier will move forward in the face of danger and even certain death, but it does not develop obedience to conscience, to a sense of right, and to the divine imperative of duty." Another speaker, Louis P. Lochner, addressing the International Congress of the National Education Association, said: "Anyone with any imagination whatever can foresee what would happen if the most cherished shrine of liberty and democracy, the American schoolhouse, were to become infested by the military ideal. The world, already sorely shaken in its faith in the peace ideal, would see its last ray of hope disappearing." The address of Mr. Lochner is published in full in the issue of *School and Society* of November 13th, and deserves to be widely read, especially by our teachers.

The conflict between militarism and freedom is on. Each of us will eventually have to take one side or the other. Eventually the line will be drawn, just as it has always been drawn, whenever a real conflict of ideals occurs, between those who believe in human progress, in human freedom, in democracy, and those who believe in the principles of reaction and benevolent feudalism.

J. H. DILLARD.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

CALIFORNIA DEMOCRACY IN ACTION.*

San Diego, Cal., Dec. 13, 1915.

Eleven propositions were submitted at the special election Oct. 26, 1915, to the voters of the State of California for their decision. Nine of the propositions were Constitutional amendments framed by the Legislature at its last session and submitted by them to the electors. Two of the propositions were acts of the Legislature, signed by the Governor, which were held up by petition, and were, therefore, by reason of our direct legislation law, submitted to the electors.

As already stated in *The Public*, all of the propositions were defeated. The official returns, just at hand, show several facts regarding the vote which may be of interest to the general reader.

Non-partisanship for State offices was the main issue in the campaign, and elicited much public and private discussion, though not as much as at elections where candidates are in the field to push their own claims.

The subject was a new one, and many felt uncertain as to the merits of the question, and hence many did not vote, or, as often occurs in such cases, voted in the negative. The total vote cast in the State was 283,881, which is about 29 per cent of the total vote of Nov. 3, 1914, which was 961,868. A good many were induced to vote in the negative from the

*See pages 1023, 1144.

belief that under non-partisanship men of limited means would be debarred from holding State offices on account of the expense likely to attend their candidacy.

All but two of the propositions were carried in some of the 58 counties of the State. The two propositions which were not carried in any county were No. 3 (to extend the term of superior judges from 6 to 12 years) and No. 9 (to give the Legislature the power to classify and in various ways to control taxation). Proposition No. 3 received an adverse majority of 213,067, which was $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 of the vote cast on that proposition and proposition No. 9 received an adverse majority of 163,439, which was $4\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 of the vote cast on that proposition. The total vote cast for and against No. 9 was 12,541 less than the total vote cast for and against No. 3.

Intelligent discrimination on the part of the voters was discernible in most, if not all, the propositions. The most marked discrimination was shown in the vote on Nos. 3 and 4, both of which referred to the superior judges. No. 3, as shown above, was defeated by an adverse majority of 213,067, while No. 4, entitled "Term of Judges Filling Vacancies," was carried in 16 counties, and was defeated in the State by only 514 votes.

Proposition No. 5, "Rural Credits," a measure having many features favored by the farmers, was carried in 21 counties, and would have succeeded in the State but for the small adverse vote of San Francisco county.

JAMES P. CADMAN.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

WASHINGTON ON PREPAREDNESS AND NEUTRALITY.

Minneapolis, Minn., Dec. 16.

It cannot be amiss to refer to "The Father of His Country" in the present crisis.

When there were but three million citizens in the struggling, strenuous days of Washington, the United States was recognized as the standard-bearer of the world's political freedom.

How much more is this now true with one hundred million citizens, if only we live up to our traditions?

And political freedom involves freedom from any form of military rule.

Washington, in his famous "Farewell Address," Dec. 7, 1796, before both houses of Congress—an address that proved so complete a delineation of the practical workings of the then new Constitution as to need but little further interpretation by the Supreme Court since—says:

Hence likewise they (the States) will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. . . . The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. . . . Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have no, or a very remote, relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. . . . Our detached and distant situation

invites and enables us to pursue a different course. . . . I was well satisfied that our country, under all circumstances of the case [referring to France and England during the revolution], had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

Our President Wilson, a careful student of, and brilliant writer upon, American history, has nobly followed the part of these admonitions referring to neutrality, in spite of a storm of abuse and criticism such as Washington also calmly endured.

But will not his good sense also keep him away from the huge military program about to be crowded through Congress?

The great body of the people by all means in their power should insist upon his further imitation of Washington.

WM. E. LEONARD.



THE TRUTH OF IT.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 15.

When President Wilson, in his address before the Manhattan Club, and again in his message to Congress, declared that the purpose of the proposed increase in armament is not of aggression but of defense, he spoke for a large portion of the American people, but not for the whole of it. There are some advocates of "preparedness" who have other things in mind besides safeguarding this country against a possible attack from Germany or England or Japan. In its leading editorial of Dec. 11, 1915, the Washington Herald, one of the leading organs of jingo patriotism, says:

We shall dispute this [commercial] leadership either with Britain or Germany, as the case may be, when the opportunity presents itself. That is why we have kept out of the struggle. It is to our advantage that our potential rivals shall weaken each other as much as possible. This is what all of our apostles of preparedness have in their hearts, and all the talk that our post-prandial orators and statesmen put forth about our objects being purely defensive and our having no interests in the Eastern hemisphere, and so on, is just so much hypocritical balderdash. We desire to be a great nation and to have our "place in the sun," which is just a synonym for "bossing the show," and, though we are not so truculent or so objectionable about it, our aspirations in this respect are not a whit different from those that Germany has published broadcast to the world. In living up to these aspirations we are acting naturally, legitimately and sanely, and therefore it is ridiculous to be dishonest about it and to attempt to conceal ambitions which we are rather scared of because we do not fully understand that they are inevitable. . . . At the close of the present struggle we shall be in a position, in all respects but arms, and the will to arm, to control the destinies of the terrestrial globe. . . . We must arm. . . . Bombs and dollars are the only things that count today. We have plenty of the one. Let us lay in a good supply of the other and blast a path to world leadership as soon as an opportunity presents itself.

It is not often that pacifists are treated to such an exhibition of frankness on the part of the militarists. Belgium? If it be necessary for "world leadership" we must invade a thousand Belgiums. Human rights? Liberty? "Bombs and dollars are the only things that count today"—at least with the militarists. "To control the destinies of the terrestrial globe" we must not stop at conscription, en-

forced military service, burdensome taxes, the destruction of republican government, or the creation of a man on horseback.

Pacifists should not be too severely criticised for looking askance at the program of "national defense." Those who do not seek world domination and who do not believe in America ueber Alles should pay a little more attention to the Singletaxer's claim that economic justice at home is more important than "bossing the show" abroad.

HYMAN LEVINE.



HOW TO CURE THE WAR DISEASE.

New York, Dec. 13, 1915.

The following letters explain themselves. They form the completion of the argument begun on page 1192 of The Public:

My Dear Mr. Weinberger:

The point of view expressed in your letter of the 27th surprised me, and I think that your ideas were hastily expressed and the matter did not receive your usual calm consideration. To me it appeared to be the point of view of one who had gazed on the heavenly bodies through an inverted telescope.

While I grant that in our charity it is our duty to help those at home, nevertheless you must acknowledge that "a sense of benevolence is no less necessary than a sense of duty," and the appeal is but for the "crumbs that fall from the master's table."

Granting all that is contained in the third paragraph of your letter, I do not see that the claim on our charity is in any way lessened but rather augmented by this appeal to alleviate human suffering.

The appeal was not accepted by me in a particular sense in so far as whatever benefit might be derived would be only by the afflicted ones who have suffered for the cause of the "Allies," but rather I had in mind a great number of human beings suffering pain and calling to me for help in their affliction. Governments, classes, and masses were all submerged in the great wall of suffering humanity.

The reply follows:

I did not base my contention that, there being a greater demand upon us for our help, we should not rise to the occasion and increase that help, but the governments themselves should do for their soldiers what they have asked us to help towards. Anyone soliciting our aid at any time, where that aid is really not necessary and the means are really in the possession of the party himself, you and I would not give aid.

Before the Great War vast tracts of idle land in practically all the countries now at war created great unemployment problems, which seemed to justify by necessity the nations in going to war to get "a place in the sun" and to get "world markets" and colonies as outlets for their citizens. And yet in every country now at war large numbers of people lived from rents of lands (not improvements thereon) in luxury, and tolled not, and even Solomon in all his glory did not live as fine as they. Rent, I understand, is going up in Germany now, and no matter how the war ends the same system which allows land to remain idle and allows idleness to live in luxury on the unearned increment of the land will again make idle men and a further seeking of "a place in the sun" necessary.

Often the way to get a bad law repealed is not to ignore or partially to enforce it, but enforce it to its fullest extent, so that the badness will be seen. So in the question of war, if the horrors would be greater so as to make all human nature recoil from it, the war might stop sooner perhaps, and we would all be glad

then to send something more even than "crumbs from the master's table."

But not salves for war, but cures we want, and Singletax is the cure. Read Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," and where before you saw darkly you will see clearly. World problems that break the heart and bring a hopeless prayer to the lips because they seem unsolvable will have a simple solution after you read this greatest of books written in modern times.

HARRY WEINBERGER.



RURAL CREDITS AND TENANT FARMERS.

Kansas City, Mo., Dec. 16, 1915.

An editorial appeared in the Saturday Evening Post of December 4 entitled "Loans for Tenants," and in reply to it our Mr. A. A. Whipple wrote a letter to the editor, copy of which I enclose.

VERNON J. ROSE.

Kansas City, Dec. 4, 1915.

An experience of some thirty-five years as a real estate operator has given me an opportunity to observe the effect of cheap transportation, easy payments, and low rates of interest on the sale of land to the man of limited means.

My observation has been that one and all have resulted in increasing the price of the land so much that it really made it harder instead of easier for the purchaser to pay out. Wherever transportation has been provided, the payments or the rate of interest reduced, the advantage so gained has been capitalized into the price of the land. The higher the price the longer it took to pay out, and the greater the exigencies of unemployment, sickness, and death the smaller the number of those who could carry their payments through to the end.

It is easier for a man to pay seven per cent on \$500 for five years than to pay five per cent on \$1,000 for ten years. He can pay the \$500 in half the time required to pay the \$1,000. It has been my observation that the extension of every one of our car lines, the advent of building and loan associations, and the reduction of interest, even to the point of its entire elimination, have more than been absorbed in the price of the land. The plan of selling lots at fifty cents a week without interest is the worst of all.

Within the past three or four years several interurban lines have been built a considerable distance out in the country. As a result farm lands within a mile or two of them have trebled in price; townsites have been platted and lots sold on the monthly payment plan at the rate of from \$1,500 to \$2,000 per acre. Including the increased fare and extra time in going to and fro, the purchasers have not been benefited by the extension of these lines, but the land speculators have reaped a harvest.

Garden land on the city's side of the river had been renting at from \$15 to \$18 per acre. Upon the opposite side of the river, where it was subject to a heavy bridge toll, the same quality of land could be had for \$6 to \$8 per acre. A free bridge was proposed, whereupon the rentals of the latter were immediately advanced to absorb the difference.

I have given the above illustrations to show that any improvement in conditions results in higher prices for land, and, instead of aiding the tenant and laborer, make it more difficult for them to buy land or earn a living.

I have read of the German and French plans for aiding the farmer, those of ex-Ambassador Herrick, and others, but I should be very sorry to see any of them adopted in this country until the water is taxed out of the price of farm lands, for if it is done the result will be opposite to the one desired.

Here in Missouri within ten years farms have been consolidated to such an extent as to reduce the number

by 7,642, the population in the farming districts by 133,489, and tenancy has been considerably increased. Lower the interest rate, improve the facilities for borrowing, and speculation will increase. The number of farms and farm owners will continue to decrease. But the worst feature of land speculation is its effect upon citizenship. A tenant (city or country) who is moving from place to place takes no interest in government. And if he should his knowledge of conditions and men are limited when he comes to vote. Think of the effect of a changing tenancy on society, churches, schools, etc. The hope of the permanency of democracy in this country depends upon conditions which provide for the permanency of residence for its people.

Up to within the past ten or fifteen years free land has been available in this country. Since then speculation has carried it beyond the reach of the poor. In fact, it seems as though a corral had been built around our country and that the people were milling around in it like a lot of cattle ready to break out and leave for some other country where land can be secured upon more favorable terms. If the land-credit is to be tried at all, it should be first tried by some state or states to see how it works before the entire country is committed to it.

The experience of Germany and France and the land purchase act of Ireland have fostered speculation. We enact laws to prevent speculation in other things, but when it comes to land, the source of all wealth, that which affects the life and welfare of every human being, the average man seems to think it perfectly legitimate and to be willing to accelerate the speed with which it is attained.

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 Monday, December 20, 1915.

Congressional Doings.

The bill to extend for one year the emergency war revenue act passed the House of Representatives on December 16 by a vote of 205 to 189. Five Democrats voted against it. These were Buchanan of Illinois, Callaway of Texas, Keating and Hibbard of Colorado and Wingo of Arkansas. Meyer London, Socialist, voted for it. It passed the Senate on the following day by a party vote of 45 to 29, and was promptly signed by the President. [See current volume, page 1218.]

The House Committee on Post Offices reported favorably on December 15 the bill authorizing increase of individual postal savings deposits from \$500 to \$1,000.

The so-called "Stevens" bill permitting manufacturers of trade-marked goods to fix a standard price for their products was reintroduced on December 14 by Congressman William A. Ayres of Kansas. Its supporters claim that 165 members are pledged to its support and a like proportion of Senators.

Congress adjourned on December 17 until January 4.

Departmental Reports.

Secretary of Agriculture David F. Houston reported on December 14. He urged rural credit legislation, provision for an enlarged program for agricultural research, further purchases of forest lands in the Appalachian ranges, classification of remaining public grazing lands to determine their character and federal assistance in road building to communities near national forests.

Secretary of the Interior Franklin D. Lane in his report on December 14 urged the need of a campaign for better rural schools. He also urged better conservation of waters in western rivers. Many of these rivers which now cause loss and danger through periodical floods could be controlled so as to be like the Nile in Egypt, a source of fertility and wealth.

Secretary of Commerce Redfield in reporting on December 16 urged legislation to prevent "unfair competition." He suggested amending of the Clayton act to make it unlawful to sell or purchase articles of foreign origin or manufacture where the price is below the current rates for such articles in the country of production. Since "unfair competition" is forbidden by law in domestic trade the secretary argues the same policy should apply to foreign trade. He also urged the business concerns and banks be allowed to co-operate. The present laws, he said, make it possible only for large banks of great power to finance American commerce in foreign fields.

Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson transmitted his report on December 16. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, the department had found employment for 11,871 persons through its newly established system of labor exchanges. Arrangements for doing this were not in working order until the preceding February, so that the results noted were but for little more than four months of operation. Proceeding further the report says:

It will not be enough to hunt "manless jobs" for "jobless men." Any efficient public employment service of a national character must go beyond that. Unless it does, "manless jobs" giving out while "jobless men" remain, the causes of involuntary unemployment will continue to express themselves to the great prejudice of the wage workers of the United States, and consequently to the harm of all industrial interests. In my opinion, therefore, the labor-distribution work of this department should extend to some such development of the natural resources of this country as will tend to make opportunities for workers greater than demands for work and to keep them so.

For this purpose further legislation will be neces-

sary. But it need not be either voluminous or revolutionary. Nothing more is required than a judicious utilization of government lands.

Title to some of the old public domain still remains in the government. By a recent decision of the Supreme Court Congress is soon to have the power, and to be under an obligation, to treat with land-grant railroads regarding the terms on which large areas of that domain heretofore granted away may be restored. There are extensive areas of privately owned but unused farming land in most or all of the States, which might be acquired by the general government for promoting labor opportunities as advantageously as other areas have been acquired or retained by it for the creation of public parks. If Congress were to adopt, with reference to those lands, a policy of utilizing them for promoting opportunities for employment, the benefit of the labor-distribution work of this department, and of State and municipal public employment offices throughout the United States, would be vastly augmented.

For such a policy the homestead laws seem to afford a legislative basis and their history to furnish valuable suggestions. Those laws relieved the industrial congestions of their day by opening the West to workers of pioneering spirit who set up individual homes and created independent farms in waste places. But the day of the individual pioneer is over. From the Atlantic he has moved westward until the Pacific throws him back again into crowded spaces, and new forms of industrial congestion have consequently developed. To the relief of these, the old form of homesteading is not adapted; but the homesteading principle persists. The problem is how to adapt that principle to changed circumstances.

One necessary condition is that the general government shall retain title to the public lands it already holds. Another condition is that from time to time it shall re-acquire title to such lands formerly owned by it, but now privately owned, as are held out of use and may be re-acquired upon reasonable terms. Still another condition is that the government from time to time shall acquire title to such privately owned lands in different States as may be usefully devoted to the purpose of opening opportunities for employment. All this need not be done at once. A satisfactory beginning may be made with public lands already available for the purpose in question. But it is necessary that the government shall not lightly divest itself of title to any lands it may set aside for labor opportunities. Regulation of private tenures created pursuant to this purpose should fit the circumstances of particular cases. It is therefore suggested that private titles to lands set aside for the indicated purpose be so adjusted by the Department of Labor to its work of labor distribution as to prevent inflation of land values. This precaution is of extreme importance. Wherever inflation of land values might enter in, the proposed method of promoting labor distribution would be obstructed.

There is still another essential condition. Equipment for farming and education in farming, as well as a place for farming, are needed. All three, however, could be met by an appropriate unification of some of the activities of the Departments of the Interior, of Agriculture, and of Labor. Pursuant to

such unification, Congress might provide a "rotary fund" for lending purposes; that is, a fund to be used over and over again for those purposes, and to be maintained by re-payments of loans. Out of this fund Congress could authorize the departments named above to make loans, through the Department of Labor, to settlers placed by this department upon lands set aside for that purpose in accordance with the authorized plan for thus augmenting labor opportunities. Those loans could be safeguarded, without commercial collateral, by resting them upon the best possible basis of industrial credit—ability, opportunity and character—and by establishing in connection with them a system of community credits adapted to the circumstances.

By their educational processes the Departments of the Interior and of Agriculture could make efficient farmers of inexperienced but otherwise competent workers seeking that vocation. By its marketing plans the Department of Agriculture could guard borrowers from the "rotary fund" against commercial misfortune in disposing of their crops. By its labor-distribution functions the Department of Labor could bring the right men to the right places on the soil and settle them under favorable circumstances. And by their several appropriate functions these three departments, co-operating under appropriate legislation, could multiply demands for labor in rural regions and minimize labor congestion at industrial centers.

It is a reasonable prediction that such a policy would develop in country and city an economically independent and socially progressive population. The results would be analogous in our time to those of the homestead laws at an earlier period.



The Labor War.

The Chicago garment workers' strike came practically to an end on December 15. The employers announced that beginning January 1, a 48-hour week would be established in place of the present 52 and 54-hour week. The plan of splitting up work to give every one a chance will be abandoned. The union will not be recognized. Both sides claim the result as a victory. [See current volume, page 1194.]



Through the mediation of the Federal Department of Labor, a strike of engineers and firemen on the Chicago Belt railway came to an end on December 17, after a three days' duration. The men had asked for better train service to their homes. A compromise arrangement was agreed upon.



Pueblo Election Investigation.

A number of Pueblo, Colorado, election officials have been summoned to appear before the county grand jury which is investigating irregularities at the recent city election. Charges against four election judges and three clerks were filed on December 15 by George J. Knapp and two of these judges are among those summoned by the grand

jury. Charges against two daily papers were also filed by Mr. Knapp with the federal district attorney, to be brought before the federal grand jury next month. [See current volume, pages 1118, 1122.]



Land Question in Texas.

Tom Hickey of the Hallettsville Rebel, organ of Texas tenant farmers, is attempting to define the land question in Texas by circulating the following petition:

Article 8, Section 1, of the Constitution of the State of Texas shall be amended so as to hereafter read as follows, to-wit:

"Taxation shall be equal and uniform, as to property subject to taxation. Provided, however, that all forms of property which shall have been created by the labor of human beings applied to land shall forever be exempted from taxation, and that all the revenues of the State and political subdivisions thereof, generally known as counties, cities and towns, shall assess for taxation only the rental value of the land and the value of the franchise of public service corporations who use the streets or lands of the State or any political subdivisions of same, shall be empowered to fix such a rate as to produce the revenue necessary to defray the expenses of the government, economically administered, in said state or political subdivision of same.



Ford Peace Ship.

The Steamer Oscar II, bearing the Ford peace delegation from America, arrived at Christiania, Norway, on the 18th, after a fourteen-day voyage from New York. At a meeting under the auspices of the students and professors of the University of Christiania it was announced that in addition to the 150 Americans already in the party ten persons are to join from each of the following countries: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Spain and Switzerland. After visiting Stockholm and Copenhagen, all will assemble at The Hague. Three delegates will there be chosen from each country and will be: First, to suggest possible means of peace; secondly, to receive overtures for peace directly from the belligerents. [See current volume, page 1193.]



Mexico.

General Villa is reported to be in secret conference at El Paso with American and Carranza officials to arrange for his withdrawal from the country. If he and his brother, Hipolito Villa, are permitted to enter the United States, and a general amnesty is extended to his followers, he agrees to surrender all authority to the Carranza government. [See current volume, page 1220.]



An Associated Press dispatch says governors of all Mexican States have been asked by Secretary of Gobernacion Ancona to report what measures

they have taken to carry out the agrarian reforms provided for by General Carranza last January. In the few places where community lands have been apportioned good crops have been harvested, and the people on the lands are prosperous.



Henry Prather Fletcher, American Ambassador to Chili, was appointed by President Wilson on the 17th as Ambassador to Mexico, which restores diplomatic relations interrupted in July, 1913, when Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson went to Washington to confer with President Wilson, and did not return to his post. [See vol. xvi, pp. 733, 752.]



European War.

Renewed activity on the western front is reported from several points, but nothing like a general engagement has taken place. The Germans have begun an attack near Ypres, using gas to overcome the infantry in the trenches. The British report, however, that the action accomplished nothing, and that the British artillery prevented the German infantry from advancing from their trenches. An air attack was made on Metz by French airmen, who dropped 53 large bombs on the railroad terminal. Heavy rains have interrupted operations in the valley of the River Lys near the Belgian border. Nothing of moment is reported from the eastern front. [See current volume, page 1220.]



Comparative quiet has followed the retreat of the Allies into Greece. Many rumors are current as to the next moves of the Teutons but nothing definite is apparent. Greece has announced continued neutrality. She will permit the Allies to fortify their position at Saloniki, and she will not oppose the Austro-German attack; but she insists that neither Bulgarians or Turks must enter Greek territory. The Teutonic Allies have not entered Greece. The Entente Allies have prepared three lines of defenses north of Saloniki, and are still landing re-enforcements at the port. Serbian and Montenegrin resistance continues in Albania and Montenegro, where the Austrians continue their campaign. Large numbers of Serbians who fled to the mountains rather than surrender to the Germans are said to have perished for lack of food and shelter. Nothing is reported from Roumania, or from neighboring Russia. The Greek elections took place on the 19th, but as the supporters of Venizelos did not vote, and the army is mobilized, the government had little opposition. It is officially reported from London that all the troops at Sulva and Anzac on Gallipoli Peninsula, together with their guns and stores, have been successfully transferred to another sphere of operations. Nothing is said of the troops at Sidd-el-Bahr.

Field Marshal von der Goltz, commander of the First Turkish army, is reported to be at Aleppo, Syria, organizing an expedition to invade Egypt. The opening of the way through Serbia to Constantinople has given rise to many rumors regarding the future activities of the Germans in Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Persia. Great efforts are being made to dislodge the British on the Tigris River, but without avail. Minor successes are reported of Russian forces in Persia. Lidj Jeassu, the young emperor of Abyssinia, is reported to have offered the Allies 200,000 men, to be used where military necessity demands.



A statement of the Italian situation says Italy has 2,000,000 men in the field, and is preparing to add another million. Her main objective is the Trentino and Triest. She has made some advance into the mountains in Trent, and has advanced twenty-five miles into Austrian territory on the Isonzo River. But she cannot venture after Triest until she reduces the still resisting fortress of Goritz. The casualties, according to the Italian report, are 45,000 for Italy, and 90,000 for Austria. Austrian prisoners in Italy are given as 28,000; Italian prisoners in Austria, 1,200.



Field Marshal Sir John French, commanding the British forces in France and Belgium since the beginning of the war, has been replaced by General Sir Douglas Haig. General French, who is 63 years old, is made a Viscount of the United Kingdom with general command of the forces. General Haig, who is 54, takes charge in the field.



The Austrian reply to the American protest against the sinking of the Ancona and destruction of American lives, is considered very unsatisfactory by the American Government. The Austrian government upholds the act of its submarine commander, and professes to know nothing of any assurance on the part of Germany that passenger vessels would not be sunk without provision having been made them for safety of the passenger and crew. Another firm note from the Washington Government is reported, but it has not been given to the press.



Prussian casualty lists 380 to 389 according to Rotterdamsche Current contains 65,340, killed, wounded and missing, making the total 2,244,248.

NEWS NOTES

—President Wilson was married on December 18 to Mrs. Norman Galt.

—The Los Angeles school board on December 14 voted down by 4 to 3 a proposal to introduce military training in the high schools.

—The Republican National Committee in session at Washington on December 14 fixed June 7 as the date of the national convention, and Chicago as the place.

—Congressman Kenneth McKellar was elected United States Senator from Tennessee on December 15 by an overwhelming majority over former Governor Malcolm R. Patterson. [See current volume, page 1148.]

—In reporting on the Eastland disaster Secretary of Commerce Redfield on December 18 placed the blame on insufficient inspection service. He urged additional appropriations to extend the service. [See current volume, page 763.]

—Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was elected head of the National Woman Suffrage Association on December 17 at Washington, to succeed Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. Miss Hannah Patterson was elected corresponding secretary, Mrs. James Morrison, recording secretary, and Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, treasurer.

—A challenge to the League to Enforce Peace, of which ex-President Taft is the head, was issued on December 4 by George H. Shibley, president of the League for World Peace. The challenge asks Mr. Taft to defend the thesis of his organization, which takes the ground that some international disputes are non-justiciable.

PRESS OPINIONS

A Democratic View of Charity.

Ford Hall Folks (Boston), Nov. 25.—When Henry Ford was asked if he had devised any new charities he answered, "Shucks, I haven't any charities. Charity is a sin—it takes more than it gives. It gives a moment's relief and takes away a lifetime of self-respect. I practice no charity. I give nothing for which I do not receive compensation. The man who offers charity offers insult."



What Preparedness and Secret Diplomacy Accomplished.

The Catholic Citizen (Milwaukee), December 11: We find this passage in the British White Paper, which summarizes the negotiations that went on during those fateful twelve days (July 20-Aug. 2, 1914), which preceded the outbreak of the great war:

July 30: [A communication to be imparted by the British ambassador to the German chancellor] The idea has hitherto been too Utopian to form the subject of definite proposals, but if this present crisis, so much more acute than any which Europe has gone through for generations, be safely passed, I [Sir Edward Grey, British foreign minister], am hopeful that the relief and reaction which will follow, may make possible some more definite rapprochement between the Powers than has been possible hitherto. . . .

Unfortunately, it was now too late. Europe was about to experience the full retribution of the bad diplomatic game she had been playing, and the unstatesmanlike and foolhardy policies her kings and chancellors had been pursuing. They had not been

conducting affairs in the interest of peace and fair play. . . . The Powers were "preserving peace" by preparing for war. Whereas as Sir Edward Grey saw in the last hours before hell broke loose, the real way to preserve peace was "a more definite rapprochement" between the nations, a spirit of honest good-will and candid fair play, and the giving over for good of the nagging and intriguing and exasperating, which hitherto had been the business of great persons calling themselves "statesmen"! Statesmen, forsooth! Where, in any business, public or private, was there ever more folly and unwisdom and fatuity than the resultant outbreak of hostilities between peasants who within a month of the cataclysm were tilling their fields or gathering their harvests, with no conception of any coming trouble and no glimmering of hatred for their fellowmen across the frontier.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

CHRISTIAN NATIONS.

For The Public.
Europe.

The organ rolls its solemn glories forth:

A song of triumph throbs and thrills the nave—
Hosannas to the God beyond the grave;
Lord God of Hosts, the Mighty One to Save!

America.

A hum of smug content the market fills:

Great is our land whose bounties never cease;
Our energy expands; our goods increase—
Who sings Te Deums to the God of Peace?

JOHN S. PARDEE.

DEFINING A CHRISTIAN.

For The Public.

1. Technically, a citizen of the United States is such by birth or naturalization. Spiritually, American citizenship is achieved only as the citizen apprehends the spirit of freedom and democracy, and embodies such principles in his life. Technically, a person who acknowledges the authority of Jesus Christ and becomes thereby a member of His body, the church, is a Christian. Spiritually, Christian discipleship is attained only as one gives place to the spirit of Christ, as one endeavors to think of God and man as Jesus thought of God and man and acts accordingly. Ideally, there should be no difference between the technical American citizen and the spiritual apprehending American citizen; between the technical follower of Christ and the spiritual follower. Practically, there has been, is, and probably will continue to be such difference. Yet the spiritual Christian is the preserver of Christendom, and the spiritual citizen the preserver of democracy.

2. First Century Christianity was imperfect and marred by failure. Measured by Christ early Christianity with all its glory of martyrdom was

Christian in only a limited way. Writing to the Philippians, Paul, referring to Timothy, wrote: "I have no man like-minded, all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's." The teachings of Jesus are anti-slavery of every kind, yet it took eighteen hundred years for the seed sown by Paul in his letter to Philemon to crystallize the Christian conscience against the most revolting form of slavery and seal its doom. Need it surprise us if it takes 2,000 years to crystallize the Christian conscience against war?

3. There are no complete Christians, no "Christians only." We who claim to be Christians are all Christians plus some views, some habits that are not Christian, and minus some views, some habits that are Christian. For example, Kaiser Wilhelm, Czar Nicholas, King George, Emperor Francis Joseph are Christians plus a militarism that is anti-Christian to the core.

4. War is irreconcilable with the teachings, the spirit, and the example of Jesus Christ. Militarism will go down before Christianity just as other age-old evils have gone down. The process is evolutionary rather than revolutionary; is slow but inevitable. The present war, which now seems to discredit Christianity, will in the end vindicate Christianity. Peace among nations must be bottomed in justice, forbearance and brotherhood and not in forts and battleships.

Summary: Any person who acknowledges Jesus as Lord and accepts His program of life is entitled to the name Christian. But only as he seeks by thought and deed to live out that program in conduct will his Christianity be more than name. If a man is actually seeking to do the will of God as revealed in Christ, even though he does it but poorly, he is a Christian. Help him. If, however, a man becomes a Christian formally, and is satisfied to stop there, he is deluded and blind. Pity and enlighten him.

Christendom's condition is critical but full of hope.

EDGAR DE WITT JONES, D. D.

THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR'S WORK.

Part of an Address by Louis F. Post at Ford Hall, Boston, on November 21.

My idea of government is a perfect balance between society and the individual, between the social and individual functions, and I think that one of the great troubles we have had in our politics, our religion, and our laws is that we have not recognized that balance.

But we must take government as we find it. We will never get anything done if we refuse to begin working until everything is just the way we want it. What should government as it is do in the matter of idleness? And what do we mean by idleness?

There is one kind of idleness with which no government ought to interfere, and that is earned leisure. Every man should have the right to do as he sees fit with his earned leisure, unless he is damaging somebody else. . . .

The idleness of those who are living on what they are pleased to call the saved-up wealth of their ancestors is the kind of leisure that government should interfere with. They get it at the expense of the working masses. How do they get it? Through municipal laws they get the privilege of holding control of those things which labor must have in order to work. . . .

Now you can abolish all kinds of social inequalities, but if you leave the prime one—if you leave the monopoly of this earth that God has given to his children—you will continue to have the old slavery conditions in one form or another. Remove that monopoly, and every other social improvement you make will come more easily. Land monopoly is at the bottom of it all. If we are going to improve these conditions and abolish idleness, we have got to strike at the root, and get rid of the underlying causes. . . .

There are other things which have to be done. Don't imagine that I think we can bring about a millennium by doing any one thing. We could do several things if we could only get people to agree to act together. . . . How are we going to bring them together?

I would say to them, "Gentlemen, this earth was meant for men. We have made it private property. We have no justification for making it so, except that men can make it more useful to the common good if they work it piece by piece than it would be if it were one great public common. Let us, then, continue to hold the land we have, but let us take only the money that is produced by our own labor upon it. Any unearned increment due to the land itself should be permitted to go into the public treasury."

When you say things like that, some people immediately begin to say "Confiscation." Words don't scare me. When the people wake up and realize that certain other people have been living off them, some things are going to happen.

Well, we can't do that right away. We must take things as they are. And remember, I don't say that I'm right in all these things. Maybe I have a little piece of the truth; maybe you have. Maybe we're both of us partly right and partly wrong. But don't let us fight about it. The man's out of a job while we argue. He can wait for the undertaker better than he can wait for the outcome of our fight. We have got to do something for him now. And that's what the Department of Labor has set out to do.



This Department has set out to promote the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their conditions, and advance their oppor-

tunity for profitable employment. It was that word "profitable" that attracted me. You know, no man can say that he is out of a job. He can get all kinds of work if he wants it—the only thing about it is that it won't be profitable to him. "Profitable." It got me. I thought there was something to do.

The Department originated in 1865. Some men who had worn the blue and some who had worn the gray got together at Louisville to see what they could do about wage-earners. They recognized that something had to be done to help the wage-earners organize their business. And they insisted that there should be one man acting as Secretary of Labor in the President's cabinet.

After twenty years of agitation they got a bureau of labor, which lasted for ten years. Then Congress established a Department of Commerce and Labor. Finally they separated it into two departments, and President Wilson went out of his way to appoint a practical labor man at the head of one department—a man who had labored all his life. He was in Congress for six years, and for ten years he had been blacklisted by employers because he had written something that they thought would hurt them. And President Wilson actually went out of his way to get a trade union man for Secretary of Labor.

Think of that! A real laboring man! The Department should have been headed by some clever lawyer, or big captain of finance—somebody that the big business men could trust—not merely a regular laboring man. So when the Secretary began to try to adjust strikes, before they actually came to the point of being strikes, the big business men at first would have nothing to do with him. They were very gentlemanly about it. They brought us in and treated us very nicely, but they wouldn't have anything to do with us in a practical way. They are getting over it now. Secretary Wilson has never yet failed to adjust a controversy when both sides would agree to any possible terms. The Department has settled some tremendous strikes before they came to a head. Imagine what a news story a strike that tied up the whole shipping industry on the Great Lakes would have been. It was settled so that there was never any tie-up. There have been many equally important. You never heard of them.

Another thing the Department of Labor does is to adjust the demands for labor and the needs for jobs. Take the question of the annual harvesting season. The newspapers say a great deal about how badly the farmer needs help. He does—for three weeks. Every year thousands of men go to the harvest fields—for three weeks. And then those men find themselves in a community which does not need them and cannot employ them for the remaining forty-nine weeks. What are you going to do with those men?

We have entered into a conspiracy with the post-

office to bring the jobless man to the manless job.

If you will go to the postoffice you will find some little inconspicuous posters—we haven't much money to spend, though some day we hope to get out as attractive posters as the army does—some inconspicuous posters saying, "Do you want help? Do you want work?" You are told to go to the postmaster. He will give you a blank to fill out, saying what work you have to offer, what you want to pay, and so forth, or saying what trade you are skilled in, where you are willing to go, etc. . . .

From May to October, inclusive, this year we had 6,600 applications from employers who wanted nearly 34,000 workmen at every employment from farming to dish-washing. We had 88,000 applications for work. We sent 33,000 men to jobs and over 31,000 got the jobs. In other words, this Department of Labor has placed one of every three men who applied.

Beyond that, the Department of Labor has been at work making co-operative arrangements with the public employment agencies of the states and municipalities. . . .

Now let's come back to the land. We have got to get to the land if unemployment is to be stopped. We have got to get to the land if there are going to be jobs enough to go around. When we have put the jobless man into the manless job, what are we going to do with the jobless man for whom there isn't any manless job? Ten men and nine jobs mean involuntary idleness. Nine men and ten jobs mean an ideal state of affairs. How are we going to get it? Get to the land.

Homestead law? Well, the old homestead law was good enough in its day, but it is not big enough now. It's got to be supplanted by something better. Here is one plan. Let us get Congress to say that it will not throw open any more of the public domain except in such a way that the man will get from it just what he earns by labor upon it. The gold, the coal, the oil, the ore belong to the public commonwealth.

Yes, but to make a living off the land, men must know how to farm. We have a Department of Agriculture which has no trouble in teaching these men. They must know how to market their products. We have a division in the Department of Agriculture intended to show the farmer how to market his crops to the best possible advantage. We must capitalize the man who goes on the farm. We can have the best credit system in the world. If we can once get this movement started, we will have begun something which will not end until the people again have control of the land that belongs to all.



I would like to leave this place without speaking of the subject that I am going to speak about—the subject that is occupying many of our minds at this time, and that is close akin to involuntary idleness.

The world is in a convulsion now. Our own country is under the shadow of its fear. Under the shadow of that fear we are preparing to build up an army and navy. I am not going to discuss the subject of military preparedness. To me it seems singularly like those national hysterias which rise, culminate, and fall. But others may know better than I. Let us assume that we need military preparedness, no matter what your convictions or mine may be.

The question then is: How shall we prepare? I don't believe in leaving the entire solution of that question to army officers and military experts. Let the people have a share in it. What kind of an army are we going to have? Let us say reserves. Why not keep our standing army at about the point where it is now—70,000 or 80,000 men trained as a military force? . . .

We will train them for one year, which is enough to make them soldiers. Garrison has proved that you can turn a raw recruit into a very good soldier in a year. You can't make him into a machine, but we don't want to do that. . . .

Now why not at the end of their year of military training ask them whether they wish to continue to be soldiers, or whether they wish to become artisans? Those who wish to become soldiers can then be set aside to advance as opportunity arises. Those who wish to become artisans could be put into schools and shops and given a good thorough training in their selected trade. Then, we would be turning out of our army good competent artisans capable of taking their place in civil life, knowing the business of a soldier, and ready to act as reserves if need should ever arise.

It will cost something to put a big training-school such as I have outlined into operation—more than we have been spending on the army. . . .

What I would do is to increase the income tax. In Great Britain, even before the war, the income tax was \$5.40 a head. It's only .60 here. On top of the earned tax let us put a surtax on unearned incomes. It will make some folks in certain circles raise a fuss, but it will give us a better military system after all, for we will have more confidence in its patriotism and the patriotism of the people who are for it. If we do this, it will go a great ways towards government intervention in unemployment. It makes a great deal of difference who is shouting for work, and if you have a great mass of men who are trained under government supervision and who want jobs and who can't get them, the people in authority are going to listen to them where they don't listen so very closely now.

We have a great world here. God has given it for the use of all of us. There is much of it on which we cannot live. But here is a small part ready to afford us all that we want. God has endowed us with mental and physical properties which enable us to labor and be content. There is

no reason why everybody in this world should not live in comfort. We should have plenty if it were not for monopoly. When the wood gave out, we discovered coal; when coal showed signs of not lasting forever, we found out how to use the ever-flowing rivers for water-power to give us light and heat. It is a splendid world, if we only got together and realized that we were an organism, a solidarity, and that we have only to adopt the rule of right instead of might. If we do that, we will have a world in which we will want to stay. Shall we do it, or shall we go on perfecting the hell which we have made of the beautiful world that God has given us?



THE STAR.

For The Public.

We seek thy Star through tears, O Christ,
In a world all wrung with pain,
For children sob and women weep
For sons and loved ones slain.

Thou comest not with angel hosts
But hosts of armed men,
Yet sings the choir invisible
Of peace beyond all ken.

Sore, wounded men on battle fields
Hear faint that song of old,
And share with dying men they fought
The cup of water cold.

And see! that spark of love doth flame
The sullen clouds above,
And 'mid the flying mass appears
The Mystic Star of Love!

Fling down your arms, ye mighty hosts,
Help bring about this day
The Federation of the World,—
And thus the Star obey.

ALICE M. BROWN.

BOOKS

THE SECRET OF SUCCESS.

Health and Power Through Creation. By Paul Ellsworth. Published by The Elizabeth Towne Co., Holyoke, Mass. Price, \$1.00 net.

Here is a book that should not be missed by the interested student of mental laws. It is eminently practical and written in a clear forceful style that carries conviction of a personal experience and proof of the principles so fully and emphatically presented by the author who is not a stranger in the world of literature.

Having positively tested the dynamic power of thought as the creative force in human life. Paul Ellsworth has put into ten instructive chapters the substance of knowledge derived from actual practice of mind laws that can no longer be re-

garded as mere theories, or the baseless speculations of fancy. The truth of his statements, however, cannot be realized by a simple reading of them. There must be the persistent faith in and practice of the principles laid down to accomplish the results which are freely assured and certain to reward the earnest seeker. As the writer says: "Every method has been repeatedly tested and *will work if you work it*. The royal road to success is not a toboggan down which you can slide to your goal. It is simply a way of attainment, insuring success through the directness of its methods." And he adds: "If there is anything in my statements which you don't feel like accepting, *don't*. But don't fight or argue: Simply ignore what does not appeal to you and go to work at the rest. . . . Lies don't need to be fought; they will die of themselves, and the truth can't be done away with, no matter how hard you try to bury it with protests."

Finally, it is worth while for the aspirant after true success in life to make the acquaintance of "Health and Power Through Creation," which will open vistas of power at which this brief notice merely hints.

A. L. M.



THE PATH OF PEACE.

The World's Highway. By Norman Angell. Published by G. H. Doran and Co., New York. Price, \$1.50 net.

In his last book, "The World's Highway," Norman Angell strenuously contends for publicity, frankness and definiteness in the relations of States as the best means of avoiding war. He insists that every State should have a definite foreign policy which it should not only publicly declare but, as rapidly as possible, incorporate into treaties. This is moral preparedness, and without it physical preparedness presents grave dangers. Japan and the Spanish-American Republics may well be alarmed at our military and naval plans, unless accompanied by an authoritative statement of the precise policies they are to defend, and by an offer to incorporate such statement in a treaty.

We may say we are increasing our army and navy simply to defend *our territory*, but we may be quite sure no nation will invade us unless *our policy* comes in conflict with theirs, and even then the invasion will be only for the purpose of forcing us to give up our policy and consent to theirs—and not with any intention of holding our territory.

Therefore, we should declare what are the policies for which we stand, or in other words, for which we will fight. But, says some one, "We do not wish to fight for *any policy* but only to defend our homes from the invader." If that is indeed the view of the majority of the American people all we need do is to incorporate this declaration in treaties—give up the Monroe doctrine—amend the Federal constitution by giving Congress power over State laws affecting aliens, and

pass such laws as Japan desires—and generally, to mind our own business. Of course, we will thus forfeit the right to protest when a steamship is blown up and American lives are lost, or when our fellow citizens are mistreated abroad, or their trade interfered with. But what of that? Let them stay at home and trade with one another if they are not willing to run the risk involved in traveling and trading abroad. This is substantially a policy of peace at any price and there is much to be said for it. The point, however, is that unless we *definitely* agree to such a policy in advance, we are not likely to stand by it when trouble comes and the public mind is inflamed by incidents such as the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

Mr. Bryan's one year treaties are valuable mainly because they give us a year in which to mature a policy with reference to the subject at issue. That is what we do when we agree with our adversary; for remember—we are going to agree with him sooner or later—after fighting if not before fighting. If we had had such a treaty with Spain neither the blowing up of the *Maine* nor the mistreatment of the Cubans would have led to war. A little self-control, a little money, and Cuba would have been free and we would have escaped the Philippine experiment of which we seem already so tired.

But while these one year treaties are good as far as they go, it would be still better to adopt a policy before any difficulty arises. And we can see why Mr. Angell insists such a policy should be incorporated in a treaty. A Presidential declaration that we wish no more territory, such as that made by Mr. Wilson in his *Mobile* speech, is not enough. Presidents and parties change—and policies with them. Our foreign policy should be discussed as fully as we discuss our internal politics, and when the President feels sure a given policy in fact represents the national will, it should be incorporated in formal and solemn agreements binding the good faith of the nation.

If the nations affected decline to agree to all our demands they must be asked to specify what they object to. Perhaps by conceding something unimportant we can secure their approval to something important. In no event should we stand out for any policy which we do not consider of enough importance to go to war about.

If, for example, we refuse to make Mr. Wilson's statement a matter of treaty with the Spanish-American countries, saying to ourselves "we do not want their lands now, but why tie our hands," the Spanish-American Republics can be depended on to put the worst possible construction on our refusal to commit ourselves. The people of South America will discuss the matter from that standpoint, and our trade with them will suffer. In one way or another our own people would soon realize that it was "up to them" to decide whether the remote chance of some day wishing to increase our

territory justified us in leaving this question open. It is the open question that brings on war.

We have a good illustration of Mr. Angell's idea in the negotiations between France and England at the time the *Entente Cordiale* was established. To assure the cordiality of their relations they decided to adjust every past difference just as rapidly as possible. If England and Germany had made such an effort the present war would probably have been avoided.

The above are some of the impressions left on one unskilled in diplomacy after hearing Norman Angell lecture and answer innumerable questions for several evenings and after a careful reading of his last book. This, together with its predecessor, "*The Great Illusion*," constitutes a body of doctrine of the utmost importance to the peace of the world. They appear to me to point the road mankind must travel in order to obtain permanent peace.

Believers in the Singletax sometimes say war will not end until the Singletax prevails everywhere, but, in the meantime, we must welcome any policy which will lessen war. Besides, what the Singletax man has in mind is, that under the Singletax no people will be benefited by war, but Norman Angell demonstrates that even under present conditions, this is the case, and the wars between civilized nations which now arise come from fear of one another and from a misunderstanding of one another's purposes, and not from any real conflict of interest. This fear and this misunderstanding can best be prevented by an open and frank statement of policy, and as long as the nations of the world are independent, I do not believe any better way of preventing a conflict can be found.

When nations agree with one another as to their several policies they are on the direct road to an alliance for the defense of those policies, and Mr. Angell believes in that direction, rather than in the direction of neutrality, lies the path of peace.

BOLTON SMITH.



ANOTHER NOVEL WITH A PURPOSE.

Humanity and the Mysterious Knight. By Mack Stauffer. Published by the Roxburgh Publishing Company. Boston. Price, \$1.50 postpaid.

The writer who wishes to teach political economy under pretense of telling a story must be careful lest some slip bring ridicule upon him. It is much to be feared that Mr. Stauffer has not exercised the care he should. His story deals with a time when monopoly has so far progressed as to divide the Americans into two distinct classes, the "cloud dwellers" or aristocrats, and the "pit dwellers" or hoi polloi. There is a romance interwoven with efforts of the masses to overthrow the aristocracy. The people finally

win, not through their own efforts but through the voluntary renunciation of the wealthiest man. To those who do not demand probability in a work of fiction, who are unconcerned about needless use of big words, who can overlook some ridiculous efforts to appear sublime, and who are not too much disposed to weigh suggestions carefully concerning political or economic policies, the story may be attractive.

S. D.

PAMPHLETS

Alsace Under German Rule. By Paul Albert Helmer. Published by T. Fisher Unwin, Adelphi Terrace, London. 1915. Price, sixpence, net.

Militarism. By J. Bruce Glasier. Labour and War Pamphlets, Number Two. Published by the Independent Labour Party, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Sq., London. 1915. Price, one penny.

Why Labor Exchanges? A Forecast of Next Steps Beyond State Free Employment Offices. Submitted for discussion by the Massachusetts Committee on Unemployment, 75 State St., Boston.

Land Nationalization: An Explanation of the Bill Approved by the Land Nationalization League of the United States for Making Land National Property. By Henry Boothman, Libby, Montana, 1915.

Democracy versus Sovereignty. An address before the New York State Chamber of Commerce, New York City, Nov. 18, 1915. By Darwin P. Kingsley. Published by the League to Enforce Peace, American Branch, 507 Fifth Ave., New York.

The University and the Municipality: Summary of Proceedings of the First Session of the National Association of Municipal Universities. Bulletin 665, United States Bureau of Education. To be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., at 10 cents per copy.

A 1916 Single Tax Catechism. Taxation and Housing. Land. Henry George and his Single Tax. Henry George and the Economists. The Professors and the Single Tax. A Burdenless Tax. Thirty Years of Henry George. Not a Single Tax. Thomas G. Shearman and His Natural Taxation. Ten pamphlets by C. B. Fillebrown, 77 Summer St., Boston. Price, each, 5 cents, postpaid. Twelve copies, 25 cents.



"Going far?" asked the talkative one.

"To Chicago," roared the traveler. "Im in the dry goods line. Thirty-six. Married. Name, Horatio Brown. Son nineteen years old. In the Civil Service. He gets thirty a week. Father died last July. Mother is still living. One of my nieces has red hair. Our cook left, but we got a new one. Anything else?"

The talkative man thought for a moment. "What oil do you use on your tongue?" he inquired slowly. —San Francisco Star.

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Loose Magazines

are a distraction, and the real student is learning that those publications worth keeping are worth filing. File your 1916 Publics. Special binder 70c postpaid.

Some one advanced the opinion that the letter "e" is the most unfortunate character in the English alphabet, because it is always out of cash, forever in debt, never out of danger and in hell all the time. For some reason he overlooked the fortunes of the letter so we call his attention to the fact that

"e" is never in war and always in peace. It is the beginning of existence, the commencement of ease and the end of trouble. Without it there would be no meat, no life, and no heaven. It is the center of honesty, makes love perfect, and without it there could be no editors, devils nor news.—Wayland (Mich.) Globe.

About "The Public"

The Public has always been, in my judgment, one of the best channels of public opinion in the country.

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE, New York City.

I have noticed the influence of The Public in many directions—in the press, for instance—which far outvalues its usefulness to the individual subscriber.

JULIAN SALE, Toronto, Canada.

\$2 pays for three subscriptions; \$4 for six; \$10 for fifteen

A Plan to reach the Universities

Why does The Public not go to all University Schools of Journalism in the country?

This question came up the other day when the Dean of one of the best known schools asked that his department be put on our complimentary list. We asked him to reciprocate by sending us the names of all universities which have special courses in journalism. He sent thirty-eight.

At club rates a check of \$24.70 will cover this list for one year. Plutocracy's press is represented in the libraries and class rooms of our schools of journalism; the papers that stand for democracy ought to be, and at least one of them will be, from now on.

Another list is being compiled at our request by friends in several of the largest universities. It covers the pick of the assistant professors—not the standpatters or the graybeards. Already this list includes nearly five hundred names, and they are still coming in.

Is anyone, who has a check book in good working order, interested in this list? If so (to paraphrase the message of the British recruiting posters) "Your country's universities need you."

Stanley Bowmar, Manager.

P. S.—December is a great month to push circulation. Mention The Public to every man you meet, and nail subscriptions.

The following is the largest advertisement that was used on this booklet. Yet seven days after publication 507 copies were sold. If you have not seen "What Is a Christian?" order a copy today. It is just as good for New Year's as for Christmas.



What Is a Christian?

By LOUIS F. POST

No one any longer thinks a Christian is a man or woman who merely goes to church twice every Sunday and to prayer meeting Wednesday.

Is it one who in business is absolutely square and at home loving to "the folks"? Partly, but according to Mr. Post's definition there is another requirement.

This booklet is a reprint of a 500-word letter which was written in response to a call by the Editor of "Everybody's Magazine" for the best answer to the question, "What is a Christian?"

It is handsomely printed, with Christmas in mind. Envelope size. Just the thing for a little Christmas token.

Rush your order for a sample—you will want a number before the holidays when you see what a fine booklet it is.

Single copy, 10c. Fourteen copies, \$1.

The Public Book Dept. Ellsworth Bldg. Chicago