

# The Public

An International Journal of Fundamental Democracy

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## Some Post Election Reflections

Victor S. Yarros

## Compulsory Military Training

Lucia Ames Mead

## Stop Giving Away The Peoples' Property!

R. F. Pettigrew

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Volume XIX

The Bobbs-Merrill Co., publishers of Oppenheimer's "The State," Herbert Quick's, "The Good Ship Earth" and "The Brown Mouse," Neilson's "A Strong Man's House," Post's "The Taxation of Land Values" and other books, the value of which readers of The Public appreciate, have recently added to their lists, "The Ethics of Democracy" by Mr. Post.

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## What The Reviewers Say

### The Globe, Boston:

A republication in a third edition of Post's **Ethics of Democracy** is a literary event worth noting.

### The Citizen, Ottawa, Canada, Nov 3:

The fundamental law of social life may seem to have been sadly trampled upon in the world since the first day of August, 1914. But the truth of it cannot be extinguished. There are torchbearers of democracy left, even in Prussia—though they may be in prison. Whatever may happen in the American presidential elections, next week, Louis Post's light will continue to shine for true democracy in the United States; and the rest of the world has nothing to lose by keeping in touch with the principles laid down in such a book as **The Ethics of Democracy**.

### The Christian Science Monitor, Boston:

The author has written a preface bringing himself and his convictions up to date as it were; and a very fine thinker on the ethics of democracy he has been and is. Monopolies, imperialism, protection, unearned increment, pseudo-patriotism, mock-justice, get hard blows from him but not in a bitter spirit. He "speaks the truth in love."

### William L. Chenery, in the Chicago Herald:

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## EDITORIAL

The agitation to end or mend the electoral college is welcome. The need of a change has long been clear. At the recent election a change of 2,000 votes in California would have defeated President Wilson in spite of a 400,000 popular plurality. While the result was still uncertain, it seemed possible that it would be affected by the death of an elector in one State, and doubt of eligibility in another. It is intolerable that accidents or carelessness should endanger carrying out of the popular will. Before the next Presidential election this possibility should be removed.

S. D.

\* \* \*

The American farmer must wonder just where he comes in in the scheme of things. Ever since the invention of the theory that one can lift himself over the fence by pulling on his boot straps the farmer has been told that if he would submit to high tariff prices on the goods he bought he would enjoy high prices for what he sold. But during a hundred years of Protection his own

prices have been fixed in foreign markets; and now that those markets have experienced sharp advances on account of the war, it is deliberately proposed by his erstwhile friends to place an embargo on food stuffs so that he cannot avail himself of the new condition. Could ingratitude go farther? Will rural credulity survive it? There is no dearth of food in this country. We have more than we can use, and are sending some abroad. The sole trouble is the lack of means to buy. But why should the farmer be held responsible for this—excepting in so far as he has voted for the tariff and other arbitrary restraints of trade and production? Relief is to be had only by opening up more opportunities for production, and removing the burdens on industry. Persons advocating an embargo as a means of relieving the high cost of living are reflecting upon either their intelligence or their sense of justice. Such specious reasoning is for use only during a political campaign.

S. C.

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While a shortage in supply and consequent high prices of some things may be explained by the European war, the explanation does not apply to others. The war could not have affected the coal situation, for instance. Coal is not imported from Europe, nor exported to any great extent. The coal fields are in the United States. A shortage in supply means some interference either with work at the mines or with transportation. Monopolization of coal fields and of means of transportation makes such interference possible. Upon monopoly must be placed the responsibility for the suffering, inconvenience and loss sure to result from the high price of coal.

S. D.

\* \* \*

Where in all the world can be found such a kind-hearted old gentleman as Uncle Sam? One of his infant industries, the Great Western Sugar Company, has declared a stock dividend of 42 per cent to holders of common stock, amounting to \$4,428,000. A special cash dividend of 50 per cent on the common stock is announced for December. Of this statement Mr. J. Rex Allen of the Western Federal Brokerage Company says:

The present quotation for the common stock of the Great Western Sugar Co. is \$450 bid, \$475 asked. This stock was "all water" without one dollar of

consideration to the company, according to the testimony of its president before the Hardwick investigating committee. . . .

The "tariff profits" made possible by the repeal of the free sugar law by the last Congress, amounts to over \$1.00 per bag and as this company will produce about 6,000,000 bags this year, their "tariff profits" alone will amount to \$6,000,000.

For more than a century the domestic sugar industry has been protected and by the repeal of the free sugar law this tax has been continued for the benefit of this special interest, that has taken advantage of a world's calamity, and is exacting these huge profits from the defenceless American consumer.

The domestic producer of sugar will supply about 65 per cent of our consumption during the present fiscal year and sugar has advanced 100 per cent. This is one of the reasons for the present high cost of living.

A most kindly old gentleman, indeed, is our Uncle Sam. No wonder such beneficiaries subscribe liberally toward the campaign for conscription. Who would not be willing to have other people fight for such an indulgent relative?

S. C.

\* \* \*

The attention of American workingmen, who consider Chinese immigration a menace, should be directed toward France and Russia. These countries are importing Chinese laborers to take the places of their own workers, that these may be "freed" for military duty. Is there back of the preparedness movement in this country a hope that it may lead to a similar policy here?

S. D.

\* \* \*

Germany's new "man-power" law enforces upon civilians the same slavery to which soldiers are subjected. All the belligerents are alike in lack of hesitation to engage in universal conscription of men, and in powerful aversion to conscription of wealth. What reason is there to believe that the United States would be any better?

S. D.

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Was it not a bit thoughtless on the part of the French government to express such warmth of feeling for this country at the great meeting of the Sorbonne? And did Mr. Massingham, editor of the London Nation, the greatest political paper in England, have a proper regard for the proprieties when he said, speaking of the possibility of the belligerents getting together: "Europe will want an honest broker once more, and where is she to find him save in America?" Or do the frequent intimations from German and Austrian sources to the effect that mediation on the part of this government would not be displeasing, quite agree with what we have been taught to believe. What has become of the hatred and contempt that

our militarist brethren have assured us all Europeans have for this molly-coddle nation? We have been repeatedly told that America was without a friend abroad, and that President Wilson was the laughing stock of all Europe. Suppose the belligerents should actually be so inconsiderate of American Preparationists as to enter into an agreement for disarmament, and thus enable the President to take advantage of the provisional clause in the naval bill, and suspend the building program—but the thought is too distressing to continue!

S. C.

\* \* \*

It is announced that ex-President Taft, ex-Senator Root, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, Senator Lodge, David Jayne Hill and others are collaborators in preparing a book entitled "Man vs. the State." It consists of a series of essays by Herbert Spencer "written many years ago, but of particular application to the social and economic problems that America is facing today." The essays are accompanied by appropriate comments by the distinguished collaborateurs. These early essays of Spencer's are worthy of attention, whether or not they are accompanied by comment. One essay in particular, that known as Chapter IX of Social Statics, should not be forgotten. For in that chapter Herbert Spencer reached the very foundation of society. And he laid it so bare that no one could read without seeing it and realizing that he had found bed rock. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Spencer repudiated this chapter in later life, and omitted it from his published works. He attempted to answer it, but the logic of the truth-loving young man with the world against him was absolutely impregnable to the attacks of the successful old man whom the world had crowned with fame. It is safe to say that Chapter IX will not be found among the contents of "Man vs. the State."

S. C.

\* \* \*

One is tempted to think there is truth in the old saying, "There is nothing new under the sun," when he notes that William Ellery Channing a hundred years ago wrote in his journal that among the social services to be undertaken in Boston "was the provision of comfortable houses to be let cheap for the poor." Boston was then a city of less than thirty thousand, yet the gentle Channing saw the need of better housing for the poor. It is now a great metropolitan city of fabulous wealth. And today thousands of kind-hearted people are trying to provide better housing for the poor. There is this difference, however, in the situation in Channing's time and that

of today: It was not known then why the men and women who made houses and house furnishings had no houses or house furnishings for themselves; and an appeal was made to the benevolently inclined to give to the poor; whereas, today it is known why those who build enter not in, and an appeal is made to the justice-loving to cease accepting service from the toilers without rendering service in return. The world does move. Channing's appeal was useless; our appeal is irresistible.

\* \* \*

It would appear as though some of the men who backed the Tax Amendment to the Illinois Constitution were determined to furnish a foundation for the pre-election suspicion on the part of many people that intentional deception had been practiced. The fact that this amendment was put through the Legislature ahead of the Initiative and Referendum Amendment, that had been pending for fourteen years—and that had been twice overwhelmingly endorsed by a popular vote—showed a distorted sense of relative values and fair play; while the fact that the tax question, as submitted on the advisory ballot for popular vote read “to classify property,” and on the Amendment, “to classify personal property,” aroused the suspicion that the Constitutional change was desired for other than the reasons stated. This suspicion has been strengthened by the willingness of some of the Amendment's friends to strain the interpretation of the law governing its adoption. The Constitution provides that amendments must be voted upon at general elections at which members of the Legislature are elected; and to be carried must receive a majority vote of all the electors voting at such election. This provision has been interpreted heretofore to mean a majority of the votes cast for the highest vote cast for a State official. The Tax Amendment did not receive a majority of the votes cast for Governor, but apparently it did receive a majority of the votes cast for members of the Legislature. Hence, it is now claimed that the Constitutional requirement is met by basing the vote for amendments on the vote for members of the Legislature. Would any of these eager partisans of double taxation have urged or accepted this interpretation if the amendment had been for the Initiative and Referendum? Are they not needlessly discrediting their political integrity? It is to the credit of Attorney General Lucey that he has resisted the special pleading of the defeated interests, and taken his stand on the law as written.

s. c.

The announcement proves erroneous that the Socialist presidential vote this year is 1,300,000. It is but 600,000, an apparent loss since 1912. But the loss is more apparent than real. The contest between Hughes and Wilson was so clearly one of toriyism against democracy that thousands of Socialist voters felt it their duty to support Wilson. In all probability they are as ready as ever to support Socialist candidates whenever circumstances warrant. This tends to show that the Democratic party can not hope to retain power if it fails to conduct itself in a manner displeasing to progressive voters.

s. d.

\* \* \*

A play that has a message should be encouraged, especially when the message relates to important social problems. The moving picture play “Intolerance” is the latest conspicuous example. Though this play is not designed as propaganda for a definite solution of pressing social problems, it shows quite plainly that what is needed is freedom. It deals severely with the superficial persons who put their faith in arbitrary regulation of the lives of the poor. It shows that the Commission on Industrial Relations was justified in its criticism of the great philanthropic foundations. It shows how armed gunmen bring on bloody encounters during strikes. And it presents an indictment against existing conditions that may easily lead the smug, self-satisfied class to look upon it as an incendiary production. The barbarity of capital punishment is made disagreeably apparent. The spirit of intolerance which has wrought evil in the modern world is shown to have its share of responsibility for the downfall of older civilizations. Although no successful effort has yet been made to suppress the play through that mediæval instrument of modern intolerance, the censor, it is too much to say that no attack from that quarter may be looked for. Should the effort be made it ought to be met with protest. No person should be empowered to determine what others of mature mind may or may not see.

s. d.

### Oregon's Forward Step.

Although Oregon voters were not ready, at the recent election, to endorse the Singletax in its entirety, they did approve a short step in that direction. By a large majority they adopted a measure to exempt from taxation all ships of 50 tons or more capacity. It was advocated by many who could see nothing but confiscation and ruin in a more general and logical application of the same principle. And now, some persons in the State

of Washington who scoffed at the idea that exemption of labor products would attract wealth to the State have awakened to the fact that Oregon's action will attract shipping from Seattle to Portland. The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, for instance, which three years ago bitterly opposed adoption of a proposed Singletax amendment to the city charter, states in its issue of November 27, in part:

As Washington shipping still has to bear its burden of taxation, it is pointed out that the Oregon exemption may serve to divert the ownership of vessels from this State to that, a contingency altogether likely, unless we have parallel legislation. . . . Under the present abnormal conditions of excessive high ocean freights, so high, indeed, that one or two voyages may earn the full value of a ship, the question of the handicap of taxation is not of large importance, but it will become such when the war ends and freight rates are adjusted to the conditions which will then return. It is a simple matter, under our shipping laws, to shift the registration, or license and enrollment, of ships from one port to another. If ships registered in this State are heavily taxed, while ships registered in the port of Portland go free of taxation, the result is inevitable. Whatever may be thought of the economic policy of relieving ships from taxation, the fact remains that, when Oregon has done so, self defense requires that this State shall do the same. If our vessels are not exempt from taxation by law the ownership of a large share of them may be transferred to Oregon and we will have neither the ships nor the taxes from them.

\* \*

"What is good for Oregon, it seems to me, ought to be good enough for Washington in this matter," is the reported comment of former Attorney General George Stratton, in the Post-Intelligencer of the previous day. True, and "what is good for the shipping industry is good enough for all other industries," he might with equal accuracy have added. In fact, the singling out of one industry for exemption must make heavier the burden of taxation on other industries unless some action be taken to prevent it. This has not been done in Oregon.

\* \*

It may be that there is not enough shipping in the State, at present, to make much difference. But when the new law attracts new shipping it will increase land values, make ship owners pay in increased ground rents whatever they may save through exemption from taxation, and force other business interests to pay more rent without exemption. Though applying a part of the exemption principle embodied in the Singletax, Oregon has neglected the means to conserve the benefits for all the people. The taxes removed from industry should be placed upon land values. Unless

land values are taxed sufficiently to make speculation unprofitable exemption must have the effect it has had in Vancouver—cause a land boom with resulting collapse. The recent election shows that 22 per cent of Oregon voters realize this and are in favor of applying the full Singletax to make prosperity permanent. The ship exemption measure furnishes them with an object lesson to which they should not be slow to call the attention of their unconvinced fellow citizens.

S. D.

### Freedom's Influence.

The gathering of the American seamen at Baltimore in their annual convention may serve to remind some persons that labor organizations are not as useless as they had thought them. Because of the unique conditions of seafaring life, in which all nations mingle, an effective union has never been possible. But in spite of this handicap the American branch of the International Seamen's Union has been the means of striking the shackles—literally shackles—from the last remnant of enforced labor in this country. Under the able and untiring leadership of Andrew Furuseth, assisted by such men as Victor Olander of Chicago, and Walter MacArthur of San Francisco, an educational campaign has been carried on till the American conscience was quickened, and Congress was induced to give to seamen entering American ports the rights enjoyed by other men.

\* \*

But Congress in giving to seamen the right to quit their ship when safely in port set in motion an influence that extends far beyond its immediate jurisdiction. For when the law became operative that a sailor entering an American port was a free man, having the right to return with his ship or not, it was felt in every port in the world, and upon all the high seas. Every captain and mate in charge of a ship headed for America knows that once he touches port his control over his men will be lost, and that neither they nor any other crew will return with him unless they are properly treated. The old shipping contract that has come down to us from mediæval times, and that was recognized in this country until the passage of the seamen's bill, bound the sailor to his ship. If he shipped in Norway at eighteen dollars a month he had to return to the port from which he shipped. The same was true if he shipped from Shanghai at eight dollars. If he attempted to leave the ship in an American port, or any other port, the government seized him, held him in jail like a felon

till his ship was ready to leave, and then put him aboard in irons. As impressing seamen while drunk, and by various tricks known to the trade was a common practice, the treatment of men so bound may well be imagined.

\* \*

When, however, the seaman was given permission to leave the ship as any other workman may leave his job, a change came over seafaring life. As all the force in the universe can not crack an eggshell if there be not something to push it against, so brutal captains and mates were helpless as soon as the men were free to quit. But more. The perplexing wage question immediately began to settle itself. Shipping masters have claimed that American ships in foreign trade were impossible because our wages were forty-five dollars a month, while European masters paid only one-third as much. It was a hard problem. Many plans were proposed for solving it. Most of them embracing some form of subsidy for the capitalist. It never occurred to anyone that the question could be solved from the opposite end. It took labor to do that.

\* \*

But labor did not go to Congress begging it to pay the difference between American and European wages. All it asked was freedom; freedom to leave their job when the ship was safely in port. The ship masters fought the bill bitterly. Even when Congress was finally shamed into passing it, President Taft vetoed it. Again it was passed; this time to be signed by President Wilson. Mark the result. An American ship lies at one side of the dock with a crew of 45-dollar men; on the opposite side lies a Norwegian ship with a crew shipped in Norway at eighteen dollars. When the Norwegian ship enters American waters it is subject to American law, and her crew has the right to quit the ship when she has been docked. What is the effect on wages? Under the old law the American Government compelled the men to return on their own vessel; but the new law gives them the option of returning or not. Consequently, the Norwegian shipmaster must reship his crew at such pay as will keep the men from going to the American vessel across the dock.

\* \*

The full effect of the law will not be realized at once, but its force is irresistible; and ultimately its influence will be felt throughout the world. Other nations will have to free their sailors or lose them; so that in the end all will be

free. It seemed a small matter when Congress was asked to grant the same freedom to workmen on ships entering American ports that was enjoyed by other workmen; but it is working a revolution. It seems a small matter to some persons, both in Congress and out, when they are asked to open up the land to labor. What use, they say, will free land be to carpenters or merchants or clerks; they would not use land if they had it, they are not farmers, but mechanics and tradesmen. Neither do the Norwegian sailors have to leave their ship. The mere fact that they can leave it is sufficient to obtain good treatment. Give labor in general the opportunity to go upon free land, and the mere fact of that freedom will lead to a complete regeneration of the whole industrial system. Freedom, no less than tyranny, is unlimited in its influence. As oppression in the remotest part of the earth tends to poison society throughout, so liberty anywhere makes for its purification.

S. C.

### The Voters' Opportunity.

Progressive voters can do useful work with their Congressmen and Senators during the present session by urging them to help push the Crosser bill, and to oppose the Shields bill, Myers bill and Phelan bill. The first conserves resources for the people in the way advocated in the platforms of both parties. It provides, as the Republican platform demands, "a husbandry which means development without waste, use without abuse." And it also provides, as the Democratic platform advocates, "a policy which shall not withhold such resources from development, but which, while permitting and encouraging their use, shall prevent both waste and monopoly in their exploitation." No Senator or Congressman of either party can oppose the Crosser bill without repudiating the conservation plank of his party platform.

\* \*

For the same reason the Shields, Myers and Phelan bills should be rejected, in their present form. Their passage would be an open violation of platform pledges against waste and monopoly, and would lack justification for other reasons. Citizens should not delay letting their representatives know how they feel on the matter.

S. D.

\* \* \*

The terrible problem of pauperism began to press on English statesmen as soon as the old English cultivating groups (in which land was collectively and not privately owned) began distinctly to fall to pieces.—Sir Henry Maine.

## SOME POST-ELECTION REFLECTIONS.

The significance of the results of the Presidential election has been discussed from many points of view. The opinions of the average partisan have, of course, very little value. What have the thoughtful independents and the social radicals had to say about the aforesaid result?

Certain things are generally admitted. One of them is this—that the President's victory is not a party or Democratic victory. Mr. Wilson owes his re-election to Republican, Progressive, independent, Socialist and radical votes. He is under no obligation to the machine politician or the party managers. The spell-binders of the Democratic party would never have converted Kansas, or California, or Utah, or New Hampshire. Little, if any, money was used by the Democratic managers in these and other states. What elected Mr. Wilson was his championship of peace—of enlightened and honorable diplomacy, instead of bluster and threats, of empty talk of national prestige and criminal sacrifice of true and permanent national interests—and his eloquent championship of general progressivism and humanitarianism. What defeated Hughes was his crass materialism—his utter failure to appreciate the spirit of the nation, particularly of the great West, and his legalistic and sinister insistence on alleged property "rights" in Mexico or in Europe. What defeated Hughes, further, was Roosevelt's coarse, venomous and intemperate denunciation of Mr. Wilson's pacific policies, for if Roosevelt's bleating meant anything it meant dangerous friction and unnecessary risk of war in our controversies with Mexico or the European powers.

The election, therefore, is a mandate for peace, and honorable, patient "note writing," a repudiation of the Hughes-Roosevelt attacks on Wilson's foreign policies.

This is altogether good and gratifying. Even the yellow and hypocritical editors, and the stock gamblers and plutocrats who, more ignorant than the most ignorant of those whom they would disfranchise if they could, repeated the stupid chatter about the enervating and demoralizing effect of Wilson's foreign policies, know full well that they have covered themselves with ridicule. They see, of course, that even in their maddest moments, they cannot pretend that the West and South-West are lazy, or cowardly, or effete, or less patriotic than Wall street or the Jersey commuters!

Another thing generally agreed upon is that "prosperity" was an important factor in the elec-

tion. Farmers, workmen and small business men—small, not "big," for Big Business was almost a unit for Hughes—voted, no doubt, against a change and an experiment because they were contented and prosperous. Employment, high wages, high profits, plenty of orders ahead—all these blessings they had; why risk a change of policies and rulers?

Republicans and Rooseveltians now gravely shake their heads over this issue and its political effects. What? Are we so sordid as a people that we rejoice in a feverish, unhealthy, artificial, tainted prosperity, a prosperity based on carnage, devastation and appalling waste? Do we want the war to continue, and can we enjoy our blood-soaked dollars?

Such criticisms as these are fallacious. In the first place, it does not lie in the mouth of the "full dinner pail" orators to complain of the sordidness of satisfied farmers and workmen. *They* never hesitated to claim credit for prosperity, no matter what its source might be; they have *always* preached the gospel of hulging stomachs and well-lined pockets. If the full dinner pail was not sordid in Hanna's days, it is not sordid now. If an old weapon has become a boomerang, it is not for Republican standpatters to fill the air with lamentations.

In the second place, the farmers and workmen are not sordid, or callous, or selfish. They would gladly stop the war today if they could. Would not a referendum on the war result in an overwhelming demand of the American people for a cessation of hostilities and a peace treaty? It is not our fault that Europe is slaughtering its millions of able-bodied men. However, since the war has brought us trade and profits, the campaigners of the party of privilege and protectionism, of the party of artificial prosperity, might have foreseen that their threats and alarms with reference to the future would not be as effective as the coercion and the threats of shutting down factories and mills that worked so well during the Hanna-McKinley era. The appeal was sordid; the response much less so, simply because you cannot easily intimidate a man who knows he is well off and that his comfort is not entirely in your keeping, at least for the time being.

It would, however, be a serious error to assume that protectionist threats and misrepresentations played no part at all in the election. If they failed to defeat Wilson, they, at any rate, largely account for the Hughes majorities in New York, Connecticut, Illinois and New Jersey. If labor was not as "solid" for Wilson as it should have been this



year, protectionism is responsible for that fact. It cannot be doubted that the fear of "dumping," the drivel about Europe's industrial efficiency after the war and our inability to compete with her in any market, not excepting our own, caused tens of thousands of short-sighted, apprehensive workmen and employers otherwise liberal to vote for Hughes and the promised Chinese wall.

Finally, it is generally agreed that the faked issue of "Americanism" counted for very little toward the last. Here and there extreme pro-Allies voted for Hughes because Wilson had not done enough for Belgium or England and France. Here and there fanatics voted for Hughes because they had persuaded themselves that something or other the President had omitted to do had "weakened the moral fibre of the country." Here and there prejudiced or jaundiced hyphenates voted to "punish Wilson" because of his alleged departures from strict neutrality and his alleged benevolence toward the Allies. Here and there groups of Germans voted as Germans rather than as Americans, and the same is true of certain Irish groups. But, on the whole, the hyphenate and anti-hyphenate agitation may be said to have ended in smoke. St. Louis, Boston, Cincinnati, even Milwaukee figures may be cited in proof of this statement.

And what next?

There is little danger of any misreading by the President of the mandates of the election so far as peace, non-intervention in Mexico and general progressivism in legislation and domestic policy are concerned. Mr. Wilson knows by whom he was elected, and on what issues. He knows that he is now more independent than any man who has ever presided over the destinies of the Republic since the formation of definite parties. He is in a position to disregard the shallow advice and resist the pressure of party machines and local patronage-mongers. He is in a position to make appointments that shall suit him and the public. He is in a position to propose and push legislation strictly on its merits, and to summon to his aid forward-looking and sincere men of all parties and no party. He is in a position to ignore or rebuke those who, in spite of everything that has happened, may wish to "play politics" at the expense of reason and justice in legislation and administration.

We shall see what we shall see. Predictions are gratuitous, as some of the rash prognosticators of the country have learned to their bitter confusion. But this may be pointed out: On the question of protectionism and subsidies the Democrats are not to be trusted. They will be tempted to yield

to the business interests and to clap on higher duties on various classes of commodities—dye-stuffs, for example—or to enter on a policy of grants, subventions and governmental alliances with manufacturers and shippers. The President will have to be alert and courageous in dealing with the first manifestations of Democratic weakness and timidity in these directions. A certain amount of opportunism is inevitable. Government is compromise, and the practical statesman cannot be as consistent, as firm, or as free as the head of a school of thought, or as the leader of a reform movement. Still, there are limits to legitimate opportunism. The President is stronger than his party because he has been more progressive and idealistic than his party. This superior strength is his warrant—his ample, clear warrant—for even bolder progressivism and humanitarianism in the future.

VICTOR S. YARROS.

## COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE.

Scarcely more than a generation ago, Germans were aghast at the introduction of conscription. Today with character altered, they have become docile parts of a perfect machine, while in free America the National Security League is beginning a wide campaign to compel conscription—a proposition which three years ago would have seemed unthinkable. Men as far apart politically as Dr. Chas. W. Eliot and Col. Roosevelt unite in urging the system of the Swiss citizen army. An increasing number of prominent men are saying, "It is the only democratic method. All must serve in the army as all pay taxes."

There is now a solemn obligation on all patriots to study the arguments which threaten to overturn American ideals and presently to alter seriously American influence. Said President Nicholas Murray Butler anent the great increase of armaments: "The situation that now confronts us is one in which we are invited not to maintain the traditional American policy but to depart from it and to depart from it in the face of the most impressive and emphatic lesson that history records that the traditional American policy has been right."

Dr. Eliot enforces his demand for a revolutionary policy by two assumptions. One is that there is no hope of establishing lasting peace through any treaty making which should include the Central Monarchies. "Their acts since July, 1914," he avers, "prove beyond a doubt that no reliance is to be placed on any pledges or treaties signed by them." He makes no allowance for possible electoral reforms which are already proposed in Germany and he ignores one profoundly important fact.

This is that, if the Central Powers were admitted to a League of Nations to Enforce Peace and protected against attack by joint support, they would have every incentive to wait the required time before going to war until their case had been submitted to a trial or investigation. It is one thing for a strong nation to break a treaty when sorely tempted and quite another to do so when it has pledged itself to a new world-policy in which temptation is largely removed. Granted that no change of heart may come; nevertheless, self-interest would work in a diametrically opposite way from that which guided Germany in August, 1914. Had she belonged to such a League and known then that if Russia should attack her without delay and reference to a court, Great Britain and France would be bound by solemn compact to come to her aid, she would never have entered upon the "preventive war" the results of which have so surprised her.

As Dr. Eliot has previously maintained that danger to us from "either a European or an Oriental invasion is practically infinitesimal," he can make no strong plea for a citizen army as a military necessity. This would be our fifth line of defense, our oceans being the first. Russia surely would have counted 3,500 miles of water between her and Germany as equal to the defense of two million armed men. The current saying that "the ocean has become a pond" applies only to the wireless and cable. The transportation of even 100,000 soldiers from Hamburg and Bremen would require 100 troop ships with hundreds of fuel ships, munition ships, hospital ships and a body of fighting ships large enough to sink the British navy and the American navy, which latter soon promises to be second in size. The enemy would have to face mines, submarines and fortifications which Assistant Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt declares make "a navy almost unnecessary if all we want is to defend our coasts." It will be remembered that the finest navy in the world could make no landing at Gallipoli and has not been able to bombard a German town, and that in the Boer war it had to carry 250,000 troops to master a handful of peasants, and required over two years to do that.

Our country began all its three foreign wars, and has never been attacked even when its navy was almost a minus quantity. The fact that it has no old boundary lines to settle or racial animosities to overcome counts enormously as an invisible national defense, and so do its thirty-one treaties of delay before hostilities, and its unguarded Canadian frontier. Our country in non-military defense is supreme among the nations. All this is carefully ignored by the National Security League and its co-workers.

Dr. Eliot's second assumption, and that of all advocates of the Swiss system, is that the results in Switzerland can be duplicated here. Austral-

ians assumed that rabbits imported into their country would be as harmless as in England. They learned the contrary by sad experience. Switzerland, with a population equal to that of Massachusetts, and an area one-third that of New York State, could never, like our country, be looked on with apprehension. The psychology of her young men, habituated since the days of Tell to self-defense against enemies an inch across her border would be totally different from that of our young men suddenly forced to submit to a revolutionary policy. They would be convinced that the world war had put us in acute danger, instead of enhancing our resources and safety in face of a crippled, impoverished Europe. Universal compulsory military training would presently give us, 9,300,000 men trained to fight, and these would be deemed a menace by South America and Asia. If the best protected nation is compelled in self-defense to take this unprecedented step, how much more must others strain every nerve to follow suit?

The nation's thought would be focused on improbable foreign foes, and away from a world court, a League of Nations and all constructive substitutes for war. It would continue its apathy as to those preventable causes of death which in our midst have sent a huge army of innocents—a million and a quarter citizens—to untimely death since this war began.

Conscription is demanded primarily because we can secure annually only about 50,000 volunteers. Young men refuse to enlist, therefore all must be compelled to. Let all who consider this a conclusive argument carefully study the plan of the "Invincible Army," issued by the "Society of Constructive Defense," 50 Church street, New York. This is a plan for gradually superseding the present army and militia, and supplying a trained volunteer force enlisted for two or three years which shall spend five-sixths of their working time in constructive work under army engineers, on road building, irrigation, etc. This would harden muscles and give as much out door life as trench digging or "hikes." One-sixth of the time would be given to regular military drill. Test advertisements have shown that a large number of able young men would enlist in this constructive work who do not want to mark time at army posts.

If a great force of trained soldiers is demanded, this Invincible Army seems to be far superior in conception to any other.

To win consent to universal service it is asserted that it is good on general principles. It would "teach hygiene and acquaintance with instruments of precision." So do proper boys' camps and training with carpenters' tools. "Such waste as has occurred at the beginning of past wars would be prevented." We ourselves began our three foreign wars, all of which were unnecessary; and, as in the nature of the case, the South as much as the North would have been helped by better prepara-

tion before our Civil war, this argument fails. It is above all things claimed that compulsory service "promotes democracy." The officer must have long training. In all lands a gulf is fixed between officer and private. The Swiss Socialists complain that this is true even in Switzerland. Australia, which is reconsidering its policy after recent experience, has rejected conscription. The Dreyfus and Zabern incidents and the treatment of colored cadets in our military schools are significant. Rich and poor may bunk in the same tent, but the rich man's family suffers no such loss as his poor comrade's does. The government needs the taxes of the 9,300,000 who could be conscripted. It does not need their fighting service. The analogy between taxes and service is sophistical.

"Universal service promotes unity." No, it only promotes outer uniformity. Austria's militarism has never unified her seventeen different nationalities. Our Slavs, Greeks, Armenians and Italians in folk dances or Chicago playgrounds, in social centers and in public schools gain a wholesome unity that comes from common interests. In a few years we obliterate the age-long, inherited hatred of aliens toward each other. Give three years more public schooling to the average child and one compulsory year in a public school to the private school child, teach history and civics as they should be taught, and we shall in childhood years create far more permanent unity than by forcing men from business to practice target-shooting together.

The vaunted value of military discipline is seen only in war; then men's minds as well as bodies are conscripted, and it is not theirs to reason why. The soldier returned to civic life is no more chaste, temperate or self-controlled than other men. Republican government implies initiative, self-control and independent thought—precisely what military compulsion vitiates.

The nations are yearning for a new rational order; they will be very war-sick when the final exhaustion comes. What could do more to frustrate all hope of peace than the theory that it will be "possible only when there is power strong enough to cope with the Central Powers" for which we are told there must be "a limited alliance of competent nations" as, in the words of Dr. Eliot, a "federation and parliament of the world would be too complicated, vast and slow." His proposals are in line with the dangerous proposal at the recent Paris conference for an exclusion of the Central Powers from any League of Nations. Co-operation is the sole antidote for war poison. The longer it is postponed, when war once ends, the more certain is a future world war.

The increasing number of Americans who are placing chief reliance on military force is breeding the very conditions that will create hostile coalitions against which there can be no adequate defense. America's national policy may at this

critical time change world policies for a century to come. The hope of a reconstruction of international relationships will be indefinitely postponed if strong, safe America stupidly imitates a policy suited only to a tiny, exposed nation whose aggression no one fears.

LUCIA AMES MEAD,  
National Secretary of the Woman's Peace Party.

## CONGRESS SHOULD STOP GIVING AWAY THE PEOPLE'S PROPERTY.

Diaz robbed Mexico, despoiled her people of the land, and gave away to foreign corporations the mineral and forest lands for a personal consideration, which caused the revolution now in progress in that country and made Diaz a fugitive. Is the Congress of the United States engaged in the same business? Are the representatives of the people of the United States selling the remaining property of the people for a personal consideration? Read the following:

There are four measures now pending in Congress that should be defeated. They are measures masquerading as conservation bills. They constitute the last great raid by the exploiters of the people of the United States upon what is left that is valuable of the public domain.

I appeal to the President to prevent the passage of these bills.

The first bill is the Shields Water Power Bill—Senate Bill 3331. This bill has passed the Senate. It gives away all the remaining water power upon all the navigable streams of the United States forever. It is absolutely indefensible. It gives away water power enough for the needs of two hundred millions of people—more water power, several times over, than is now in use in the United States. It is practically a perpetual grant, although this bill pretends that it is a grant for fifty years; for the fifty year limit is set, not upon the grant, but upon the right of the United States or other public agency to condemn the property, and if this bill becomes a law, the remaining water power of the United States is gone forever into the hands of speculators, to be used to exploit the people of this country.

The second bill is the Myers Water Power Bill—H. R. 408. As this bill passed the House of Representatives, it was a very bad measure and utterly indefensible; but the Senate reported a substitute on March 14th last, which makes the Myers Bill one of the most infamous of measures.

The trouble with the Senate of the United States is that it is composed of lawyers, good, bad and indifferent, and a lawyer, owing to his training, is unfit to be a member of any legislative body; for he believes that the rights of property, no matter how acquired, are sacred, and that the

rights of man or the rights of the people are matters of utter indifference.

The Myers bill gives away all the water power on all the public domain except national parks and military reservations; and by its terms, without any reservation whatever, provides for the unlimited exploitation of the national forests and national monuments and what is left of the public domain. It makes the granting of a lease mandatory, and provides for no rental until the plant is in operation.

If this second water power bill goes through, a monopoly will be created of the water power of the United States. The owners can hold it forever, charge what they please for the use of it, and exploit the people.

Great combinations have already acquired the water power heretofore improved, and combinations with capital as great as five billions of dollars have been organized which own the public utilities, such as electric light, street railroads, and gas plants. If they can corral all the remaining water power of the United States, and tie it up so that no one else can improve it, they can charge what they please for that which they have already improved.

One company, Byllesby's Company of Chicago, with its various subsidiary companies, is capitalized for five billions of dollars, which is over twice or double the assessed valuation of all the property in the State of Illinois in 1914.

The fact of the matter is that this water power should all be reserved by the Government, and should be ultimately conveyed to the States where it is located, never to be sold or leased; but to be improved by the States. It should be changed to the form of electricity to be used for the benefit of the whole people. It is power and heat for every purpose. It is power and heat to run machinery and to warm our homes.

On the Missouri river, alone, in South Dakota there are hundreds of thousands of horse power that ought to be owned by the State of South Dakota; and it is incumbent upon our members of Congress and Senators to see that it is not given away to a combination of exploiters, and used to plunder the people of this commonwealth.

The scientists now declare that electricity and light are known to travel at the same speed of 186,000 miles per second; they both travel in undulating waves; they both originate and come from the sun, and are alike. Really, they are one and the same thing. Beyond the earth's atmosphere, through the hundred million miles of space from the sun to the earth, the rays of light pass without producing any heat whatever. It is only when the rays of light strike the atmosphere of the earth that heat is produced, and this heat is in proportion to the density of the atmosphere. In fact, if there were no carbonic acid gas in the

atmosphere, there would be no heat upon the earth; and without heat there would be no life.

Now, the water power which belongs to the Government can be changed into heat and light, and supply those necessities to the people of the United States at almost no cost. This power should never be sold, but should be developed by the people for the public good.

The third measure is the Phelan Oil Land Bill. The Government had reserved a few hundred million dollars' worth of oil lands for naval and other purposes, and this bill proposes to dispose of three million acres of Government oil lands in California and Wyoming. After these lands were withdrawn, claimants went upon the land in great numbers—dummies placed there by the Standard Oil Company—and began developing these properties in spite of the law, and in defiance of the rights of the Government.

This Phelan Bill proposes to give these claimants the preference. The chief beneficiaries will be the Standard Oil Co., and the Santa Fe Railroad interests. These oil lands should never be sold, but should be developed by the people for the general welfare.

The fourth bill is Senate Bill 1065, and is entitled the "Summer Homestead Bill." This is a most vicious and dangerous measure, affecting the national forests. The national forests of 168,000,000 acres were set apart and reserved through legislation which was secured by the writer in 1890. It was enacted to preserve the timber, and also as an outing place for the people.

This Summer Homestead Bill provides that any citizen of the United States can file upon ten acres within the national forests, and get title by paying \$1.25 per acre; provided that they have spent three hundred dollars for improvements, and provided also that the claimant has spent two months for three consecutive summers upon the land. In other words, people who are able to have two homes can get title to the water power and timber embraced within these ten acres; and the rich men can put dummy claimants upon any tract which is valuable, and acquire as much of it as they please.

It seems to me that it is about time we quit giving away the public domain; about time to hold it all for the benefit of the people, lease it on short leases to those who want to use it, and lease to one person not more than he can personally use.

In fact, all the public domain, all of the mineral, agricultural, oil and forest and coal lands should, by act of Congress, be immediately withdrawn from disposal, and turned over to the various States with the provision that they shall never be sold, or leased for a long time, or leased in excess of the amount that the person leasing them can individually use; and such development as is necessary should be done by the public.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK

Week Ending Tuesday, December 5, 1916.

### Congress Meets.

The second session of the 64th Congress began on December 4. In both houses a number of bills were introduced dealing with the high cost of foodstuffs, all of a purely restrictive nature. An estimate furnished by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo shows that for the next fiscal year the government will require \$1,654,819,654. Of this \$366,070,051 is for the navy, \$300,694,684 for the army, \$145,118,394 for pensions, \$325,355,820 for the postal service, \$145,118,394 for public works, \$26,096,907 for agriculture and \$25,145,562 for the Panama Canal.

### Further Reports on Railway Physical Valuation.

The Interstate Commerce Commission reported on November 27 on the valuation of the Kansas City Southern Railway. The road is capitalized at \$99,052,000, of which \$51,000,000 is in stocks and \$48,052,000 in bonds. The Commission finds that the road can be reproduced for \$46,274,363, or reproduced less depreciation for \$38,258,363. A subsidiary of the road, the Kansas City, Pittsburgh and Gulf Railway, has issued \$45,279,000 in securities, against an actual money outlay of \$15,288,751. [See current volume, page 1048.]

### Good Roads and Land Values.

The Public Roads and Rural Engineering Bureau of the United States Department of Agriculture has reported on economic surveys in eight counties on financial benefits of good roads. The report finds that following road improvements land values increased.

The increase in values in those instances which were recorded ranged from 63 per cent to 80 per cent in Spotsylvania County, Virginia; from 68 to 194 in Dinwiddie County, Virginia; 70 to 80 in Lee County, Virginia; 25 to 100 in Wise County, Virginia; 9 to 114 in Franklin County, New York; 50 to 100 in Dallas County, Alabama; 25 to 50 in Lauderdale County, Mississippi; and from 50 to 100 in Manatee County, Florida. The estimates of increase were based for the most part upon the territory within a distance of one mile on each side of the roads improved.

In Spotsylvania County a careful record was made in 1910 of thirty-five farms located on the road selected for improvement. Of the seven farms sold in 1912, the price actually paid showed increases of from 37 to 116 per cent over the 1910 valuation. The average value after the roads were improved was \$28.26 per acre as compared with \$17.31 previous to the improvement. In 1913 four transfers of farm land were on the basis of \$30.11 per acre, whereas the properties were listed in 1910 at only \$13.89 per acre. It appears that 1,451 acres sold

in 1914 increased in value \$28,500, or 80 per cent, or from \$24.46 to \$44.10 per acre.

In Dinwiddie County, Virginia, the actual price of forty-three farms sold or offered for sale from 1909 to 1914 ranged in price from \$8.38 to \$43.74 per acre before the roads were built, and from \$24.70 to \$73.60 per acre after the roads were improved.

In Lee County, Virginia, a study of eight tracts along the roads before and after improvement indicated that these properties increased about \$23 per acre, or above 70 per cent,

In Wise County, Virginia, a study of eight representative farms located on roads showed that they increased in value from an average of \$49.06 per acre before improvement to \$78.44 after the roads were improved. There were increases in valuation in other sections of from \$60 to \$90, or even \$100 per acre.

In Franklin County, New York, the figures seem to indicate that the change from earth, sandy and loam roads to bituminous macadam was followed by increases averaging \$12.50 per acre, or about 30.7 per cent.

In Dallas County, Alabama, careful investigation seemed to indicate that road improvement has added at least \$5 to each acre of land within a half mile of improved roads. Tracts sold at from \$8 to \$10 per acre were sold again after road improvement at from \$20 to \$25 per acre.

In Lauderdale County, Mississippi, the total assessed valuation of real property outside of the city was \$2,757,546. This increased in 1914 after road improvement to \$3,183,809, or 15.4 per cent. Local real estate men place the increase in land values on account of improved roads at from 25 to 50 per cent.

In Manatee County, Florida, careful study of sales and real estate records indicate that the improvement of roads has added from 15 to 100 per cent, or at least \$15 per acre, to the selling price of all lands within one-half mile of improved roads. This would give a total of \$611,000, or more than twice the value of the bonds issued.

### Oregon and California Referendum Results.

The final count in California gives the Singletax amendment 260,332 yes and 576,533 no. The affirmative vote was 31.1 per cent of the total. In the eight southern counties the vote was 88,385 yes and 240,951 no, making the vote in the rest of the state, 171,947 yes, and 335,582 no. The vote on Prohibition Amendment No. 1 was yes, 425,047, no, 531,966. Prohibition Amendment No. 2, which was less sweeping, received, yes, 449,458, no 499,730. [See current volume, page 1143.]

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Oregon rejected the Land and Loan Amendment by a vote of 42,790 to 154,980. The Ship-tax exemption amendment was carried by 119,652 to 65,410. The amendment forbidding compulsory vaccination carried by 100,473 to 99,745. The blue law repeal carried by 125,836 to 93,525. The "bone dry" bill to make Prohibition more effective carried by 114,923 to 109,671. Rural credits car-

ried by 107,490 to 83,887. The elimination of the obsolete clause against negro suffrage was defeated by 100,741 to 100,027. [See current volume, page 1141.]

#### North Dakota Legislature.

The lower house of the next North Dakota legislature will have 81 members of the Farmers Non-Partisan League and 32 non-members. Of the 81 Leaguers 68 were elected on the Republican ticket and 13 on the Democratic. In the Senate, which contains 49 members, 25 hold over. Of the 24 members elected this year eighteen were chosen by the league. But seven of the holdovers have pledged themselves to support the League's platform, giving it just enough to control. The League's platform demands state owned and controlled terminal elevators at lake ports and rail centers outside of the state as well as within; a state owned and controlled flour mill; a state owned and controlled packing plant; state fire insurance, exemption of improvements and personal property on farms from taxation; and a rural credit system. [See current volume, pages 661, 1114, 1122.]

#### Singletax Socialist Conference.

The conference of Singletaxers and Socialists at Milwaukee was held on December 1 and 2. Representatives of both movements from Chicago and Milwaukee were present. Resolutions were adopted declaring for closer co-operation between the two groups in securing taxation of land values and public ownership of public utilities. As soon as a reasonable number of signatures have been secured, the resolutions will be furnished the press for publication.

#### For a Universal Henry George Day.

"Progress," the Singletax paper of Melbourne, suggests to all Singletax Leagues and Societies the consideration of the following proposition:

That it is desirable that the Annual Henry George Commemoration be universally celebrated on his birthday, September 2, and to that end it is agreed that the celebration in 1917, and future annual celebrations, be held on that date, except when it falls on a Sunday, when the celebration will be held on the preceding day.

All who are interested are invited to send their opinion to the editor of "Progress," 97 Elizabeth St., Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.

#### Chicago School Troubles.

Seven members of the Chicago school board issued on November 28 a signed protest against re-election of Jacob Loeb as president. They are Ralph C. Otis, Harris W. Huehl, Mrs. John McMahon, Dr. Peter C. Clemensen, Mrs. W. E. Gallagher, Michael J. Collins and Max Loeb. On

December 2, Reverend Fred A. Moore made public that president Loeb had offered the Teachers' Federation the support of the board if it would withdraw from the Chicago Federation of Labor. On being confronted with Mr. Moore's statement, by a newspaper representative, Mr. Loeb admitted its truth. On being reminded that he had denounced the Federation as an evil, he gave no explanation. A petition protesting against efforts to inject politics into the public schools signed by 60,000 citizens was presented to Mayor Thompson on December 4. This was done in view of the policy pursued by the majority of the present board under President Loeb's leadership, and in view of the fact that the Mayor is about to appoint seven new members. [See current volume, page 1144.]

#### Santo Domingo.

Disorder and lack of responsibility in the Dominican government has led to the proclamation of a military government by the United States. Government functions, owing to rebellion and rivalry for the presidency, were at a standstill, and in accordance with treaty relations between the two countries the United States military authorities have assumed charge until order can be restored, and a general election held. A guard of 1,800 American marines has control of the larger cities. Under the military government payment of salaries will be assured, the local government will not be interfered with and the courts will transact business as usual. But Captain Knapp, who is in command of the marines, will disarm the revolutionists. The election will occur in January, and will be supervised by the American authorities. It is expected that present conditions will lead to the establishing of a financial and police protectorate such as the United States exercises over Haiti. [See current volume, pages 203, 509.]

#### Mexico and the United States.

Early reports of Villa's attack upon Chihuahua City were at fault. News still comes from unreliable quarters, but the general purport appears to be that the Villista forces captured the city on the fourth day of the attack. General Trevino, commanding the Carranza forces, was driven from the city, which was looted by Villa and then abandoned. The re-enforced Carranza troops are in pursuit. Reports that Americans and other foreigners had been killed were exaggerated. General Trevino reports that "only a few Chinese were killed during the time Villa occupied the city." [See current volume, page 1144.]

#### European War.

Roumania is still the main point of interest. The German forces within the country have con-

tinued their advance upon the capital, von Falkenhayn's army approaching from the west, and von Mackensen's from the south, with the Roumanian forces, assisted by some Russians, retreating before them. The defenders have maintained themselves in the field, and until lately have not lost many men. During the last four days the German forces report the capture of 20,724 men, and thirty-five cannon. Their artillery is far inferior to that of the Germans. The invading forces are now within eleven miles of the capital, and are reported to be dropping shells within the city by means of their heavy guns. Military critics assume that the Roumanians will evacuate the city rather than subject it to bombardment. The official government withdrew on the 28th to Jassy, 200 miles north, and near the Bessarabian border. Russia continues her efforts to divert the attack on Roumania by opening a spirited campaign in the Carpathians, and on the Transylvanian border. The French and Serbian forces have scored minor successes north of Monastir. But apparently nothing has happened on the Macedonian frontier to divert the Germans from their main purpose in Roumania. [See current volume, page 1145.]

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Little of moment is reported either from the Somme front, or from the Italian field. Greece has been the scene of continued confusion. Reports given out are so conflicting that it is impossible to arrive at a true understanding. King Constantine is said to have defied Admiral Du Fournet's ultimatum to deliver to the Allies certain Greek arms, which led to the landing of troops at Piraeus, the port of Athens, and a conflict with the Greek forces. Details are not given out, but an understanding is reported, under which the necessary arms will be surrendered. This is part of the Entente policy to prevent the king and his pro-German advisers from striking them in the back while they are operating in Macedonia.

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The submarine activity on the part of the Germans has resulted in the destruction of so many ships as to make it a serious question with the British. Admiral Baron Beresford declared in a public address that Britain was now in the midst of the severest crisis, and that new and more vigorous means must be found to meet the menace to their sea-control. There are rumors of submarine activities at great distances from the German base, and threats of invasion of the Pacific; but it is not known what dependence can be placed upon these reports. As a consequence of the present condition of the war a reconstruction of the British cabinet is promised by Premier Asquith.

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The old saying that any fool can govern with bayonets is one of the truest sayings which this generation has inherited and neglected.—Auberon Herbert.

## NOTES

—Official returns from New Hampshire give Wilson 43,786; Hughes, 43,723. The Republican committee has given up its demand for a recount.

—Secretary of War Newton D. Baker was elected president of the National Consumers' League in convention at Springfield, Mass., on November 23.

—John D. Archbold, president of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey—the parent company—died on the 5th after an operation for appendicitis.

—The vote in California on United States Senator was for Hiram W. Johnson, Progressive and Republican, 547,669; for George S. Patton, Democrat, 277,852.

—The German authorities, according to dispatches, have increased the Belgian payment \$2,000,000 a month. This is in addition to the existing levy of \$96,000,000.

—Senator LaFollette's plurality on the official count is 118,162 over his Democratic opponent, William F. Wolfe, the largest plurality ever received by a candidate in Wisconsin.

—The annual statement of the Krupp company gives the gross profits for the year as 113,000,000 marks, and the net profits as 59,000,000 marks. It is said the company declared a dividend of 12 per cent.

—Women of Iceland exercised their right to vote for the first time at the recent election of six new members to the upper house of Parliament. Proportional representation is used in Iceland; and the one woman candidate was next below the successful candidates.

—The cost of living in Norway for a small family, according to data published by the Norwegian Government's statistical bureau, has risen from \$218.45 in July, 1914, to \$367.11 in July, 1916. The greatest increases are in fuel and meat, and the smallest in coffee and bread.

—The Canadian government announces the establishment of a state-owned steamship line between Atlantic and Pacific ports via the Panama Canal. No tonnage is now available, but two ships will be built in British Columbia. The service will be under the Department of Railways and Canals.

—A shoe factory fitted with American machinery and using American lasts has been erected in Athens, Greece. The pronounced inclination of the Greeks for American goods is believed to assure the success of the factory, which will have a capacity of 300 to 400 pairs of shoes per day.

—Income tax returns show the total of taxable incomes for 1916 of persons and corporations in the United States to be at least \$8,703,068,389. Of this, \$5,184,442,389 is drawn by corporations and \$3,518,626,000 by individuals. Individual incomes and total may be larger than figures given, since official figures are not accurate. It is possible that individual incomes amount to \$6,794,359,463 and the total is \$11,978,801,852.

—In resigning as counsel for the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association of New York, Mr. Julius Henry Cohen stated: "I am dreadfully tired of try-

ing to protect certain business men from the serious result of their own stupidity." Mrs. Henry Moskowitz, head of the advisory board of the association, and seven members of the executive committee, also resigned. All were looked upon by the association as too much inclined to take labor's point of view.

—The final report of the Republican National Committee showed contributions to the campaign fund up to November 21 to total \$2,445,421; expenditures were \$2,441,565. The largest contributors since the pre-election statement were Daniel G. Reid and W. H. Moore of New York, who gave \$25,000 each, E. T. Stotesbury of Philadelphia \$20,000, Joseph E. Widener of Philadelphia \$15,000, and Edward B. Aldrich of Providence \$10,000. [See current volume, page 1046.]

—Florida defeated the regular Democratic candidate for Governor on November 7 and elected an Independent Prohibitionist. The vote was: S. J. Catts, Independent, 39,546; W. V. Knott, Democrat, 30,343; George W. Allen, Republican, 10,330; C. C. Allen, Socialist, 2,470. A constitutional amendment was adopted exempting from taxation property of widows and dependents up to \$500. The vote was 20,859 to 12,641. A "grandfather" clause limiting suffrage was defeated by 19,688 to 10,518.

—After passing four bills curbing the power of the Governor to dismiss appointive State officials the West Virginia legislature adjourned on November 28. It had been called in special session by Governor Hatfield to prevent replacing of Republican officials by Democrats under the incoming Democratic Governor Cornwell. Charges of fraud in connection with the election, preferred by Governor Hatfield, and charges of bribery of legislators were declared unfounded by the legislative investigating committee. [See current volume, page 1146.]

—Cook County, including Chicago, gave Hughes for President 269,962 men votes and 165,733 women votes. Wilson received 233,814 men votes and 145,624 votes of women. Benson's vote was, men, 23,327; women, 9,144; Reimer, Socialist Labor, men, 686; women, 360. Hanly, Prohibitionist, was the only Presidential candidate to get a bigger vote from women than from men. He received 985 men votes and 1,324 women votes. Hughes plurality in Illinois was 202,320. No official reports are at hand separating men and women votes outside of Cook county.

## PRESS OPINIONS

### Hard to Make Fence "Hog Tight."

The Star (San Francisco), December.—When Henry Miller, the California cattle and land owner whose holdings extended from Mexico to British Columbia, died, it was announced that the United States would receive four million dollars in inheritance tax, under the law passed just before Congress adjourned, and that the State of California would take almost as much more. That sounded good to the common people of California, who had long grumbled at the burden they had borne because of the immense tracts of land Miller had held out of development. Practically no taxes had

been paid on these lands, while the cultivators of small holdings were taxed beyond their natural share to make up for this exemption. On the other hand, holding this immense acreage out of the market made it so much more profitable for the exploiters who had land to sell to land-hungry residents and immigrants. But it now appears that the shrewd cattle man was not inclined to give up any part of the vast fortune for the benefit of the State or country which had welcomed him as an immigrant and given him every opportunity to exercise his money-making ability. It is stated that nearly all his property was deeded to relatives long before his death, Miller retaining only a life interest. The legality of the transaction is questioned, and a strong fight will be made to force the heirs to give up a portion of the estate. If a person can escape the inheritance tax by deeding away his property, and still retain control over the estate while he lives, there must be something wrong with the law, and means should be promptly taken to make it "hog tight."

### Ohio's Lesson to All Parties.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican, November 30.—In 1904 Col. Roosevelt carried the city of Cleveland by 20,000; this year Mr. Wilson carried Cleveland by 18,000. During the intervening years the late "Tom" Johnson and the younger leaders like Newton D. Baker had re-educated the Ohio democracy to a new vision of public service. The movement had its practical beginning in municipal affairs when Johnson undertook his tempestuous struggle in Cleveland. Somewhat later Brand Whitlock, who has made such a conspicuous name for himself as minister to Belgium, was doing a similar work in Toledo, where he followed "Golden Rule" Jones. The conception of public service by which these men are governed is founded on a broad and sane humanitarianism. Alive to the quicker impulses of the hour, to the new demands for social welfare they caused the Ohio democracy to be reborn. The lesson for the democrats and for all parties is contained in the contrast between the democratic victory in Ohio and the defeat in Illinois, where Roger C. Sullivan has held sway, and in Indiana, where Tom Taggart has been boss.

### The Failure of Regulation.

The Way (Paterson, N. J.), November 26.—The Interstate Commerce Commission has just completed the valuation of one of the railroads in Texas. The cost of reproduction is a little over \$8,000,000 and the securities issued amount to \$41,000,000. These are the interests that decry regulation and tell us the dreadful things that would happen if the government owned railroads as it does wagon roads. A good part of every person's income is spent in "freight" for the transportation of the articles we use or consume. These rates have been made not by the public or any impartial tribunal but by the railroads. We finally secured a law giving the Interstate Commerce Commission the rate making power in order that the abuses that had grown up might be cured. The Commission of course hasn't done anything of the kind, for the reason that the railroads with their billions at stake have been a



persistent and powerful force in politics and as a result the commissioners have been men generally like Daniels of New Jersey, who have been selected because they hold the views of the railroads. You might as well, or rather, have the rates made by a group of railroad presidents as a commission composed of men the railroad presidents pick. As long as we have a "rate making" commission the railroads will name or try to name the commissioners. That means the railroads stay in politics corrupting and debasing our public life. The only way to get rid of this is by Government Ownership.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### THE OREGON ELECTION.

Portland, Ore., Dec. 1.

The submission of the Peoples Land and Loan Measure to the people of Oregon in the last election is considered by the advocates of land monopoly and special privilege a decisive victory over the Singletax. The vote stood 42,790 for the measure and 154,980 against it, out of a total vote for presidential candidates cast at the same election of 261,616. This shows that nearly 64,000 did not vote on that measure. On Prohibition (bone dry) the total vote was 224,594, or nearly 27,000 more than voted on the Singletax measure. Of the vote cast on the Singletax measure a little less than 22 per cent voted in the affirmative.

The measure was put out with but little means and no expectation of its carrying. No campaign was made with the exception of a few speeches in and near Portland by a small corps of supporters. The total money expended was less than \$1,300, which included expenses of securing petition signatures, printing, postage and what clerical work was paid for. In the campaign proper, following the filing of the petition, I doubt if \$300 was expended.

But the other side? The land gamblers and timber speculators got a little scared. The silence alarmed them. What was the State Federation of Labor that endorsed and fathered the measure up to? The opponents of the measure own up to about \$8,000 expended. It was probably five times that sum. Several hundred dollars were expended in trying to prove that the petition was signed by people in Portland who did not know what they were signing. Circulars and cards were sent to 9,000 such signatures, and of course a large number came back undeliverable. Out of this a great deal of capital was made. No other petition of the eight filed was subjected to this, although the "bone dry" and "brewers" amendment must have had large numbers of signatures given by people who moved. When we consider that the city since last January has lost at a conservative estimate fully 10 per cent of its population, and that most of these were working people, and that working people move oftener than others because of economic necessities, the fact that 800 circular letters were not delivered out of 9,000 sent out, should occasion no surprise. With an overworked postoffice force circular letters receive scant attention in the last few weeks of the campaign. Those who attempt to keep up lists of several thousand addresses in Portland tell me that

even where every one is known personally and to many persons, a list sent out six months old will have from 2 to 5 per cent returned as undeliverable, especially about election time. Out of these returned circular letters a big yell was manufactured that the petition was fraudulent. In fact it was exceptionally clean, and was looked after carefully from start to finish, many of the signatures being secured by volunteer circulators. The secretary of the State Federation of Labor gave it his personal attention, and every care was exercised to secure genuine signatures and circulators of reputation. The cry of fraud was raised to use in a campaign to be made in the future to discredit the Initiative and use the opposition sentiment to Singletax to secure some hamstringing, or slaughter of the initiative if possible.

The submission of the measure brings out the fact that the use of State pamphlet for fundamental measures is the best and cheapest form of propaganda.

There are 43,000 people in Oregon who are not to be frightened out of their wits by the cry of "confiscation," and "every man a tenant of the state," the two big bugaboos with which the opposition stalked over the commonwealth. In county after county where no campaign whatever was made for the measure, and where the press and the politicians, and to some extent the pulpit and the teachers, repeated the silly and cunning rant of the opposition without having to meet a single advocate of the measure, the vote for the measure shows up into the thousands.

There are about 50,000 voters in Oregon who will vote "straight no" on anything. There are about 50,000 who will vote no on any tax measure that is proposed, no matter if endorsed by every paper and politician in the State, many of these being among the "straight no" voters. The Singletax has to meet a bigoted and ignorant handicap of 75,000 voters out of 260,000. Too bigoted to vote for any change, too ignorant to listen to any argument on taxation except that of taxing everything in sight.

There is no doubt but what if a systematic effort was made to organize the 43,000 who have voted for the first, real measure of the Singletax ever submitted in Oregon, that a very material increase could be made, and a majority might be obtained in the course of from two to three elections.

The people of Oregon will not read literature unless they are first personally approached and canvassed. To shovel literature and statistics at them is a waste of ammunition unless organization is first effected.

It was the thorough canvass of the voters individually, and repeatedly and all the time, that brought prohibition out of defeat time and again into a victory twice in succession. In 1904 when the writer was traveling over Oregon and Idaho on a business line the Prohibitionists were at the personal equation and individual work. They failed, and failed. No more hopeless proposition could have been named at that time than State prohibition in Idaho. It carried overwhelmingly at the last election. The prohibitionists got soundly beaten in California. They will come back. The weakness of the Singletaxers has been heretofore the coming back, not

the knocking down. They are too slow to pick themselves out of the dust and go at it again. They take the count and think about their sore spots.

In Oregon the worst has happened. On a straight proposition of Singletax, without disguise, and accompanied with provisions for real rural credit, the measure received one vote out of five, with a large proportion not voting. With organization it can be made two out of five very easily. The initiative petitions can be secured if a start is made early as part of the campaign of education and as incidental to the work of organization. Wherever a group of workers can be lined up there can be work found both in general and in local agitation and accomplishments. The measure is all right, with some slight modifications, as it is. To be sure, some Singletaxers will refuse to support it. Some Singletaxers will refuse to support ANY measure that is submitted. One group wants it diluted. Another wants it stronger. A third wants it coupled with a graduated tax, and a fourth wants to start a Singletax party, while a fifth wants to wait until four or six years before anything is done.

Then there is the fatal postponing fever. Some of us are always willing to wait until the exact returns are in. Until after Christmas. Until after the legislature adjourns. Until after the city election. Until after the summer season. Until after the winter is over. Until after the primaries. Until after it is too late.

An effort will be made to decide on a course of action in Oregon very shortly. If we press forward I am of the opinion that a decided increase in the vote next time can be secured, perhaps doubled. Any large increase in the vote will secure concessions from the opponents. Instead of three papers supporting the measure we can have ten or a dozen if we go at it properly. Instead of a few speeches made in an indefinite way we can have an organized campaign.

The fact that over 260,000 voters in California have voted for a fundamental measure, and that 43,000 in Oregon have done so, indicates that fully 5 per cent of those voters can be organized into a militant body of workers for a free earth and for free men. That would be enough to overturn any special privileged system on earth. The sooner we go to it the sooner we will arrive.

Equal suffrage in Oregon received its sixth and worst defeat the election before it carried.

ALFRED D. CRIDGE.

## PROGRESSIVE SOUTH AMERICA.

Buenos Aires, October 29, 1916.

The battle for reform in taxation is being fought throughout the various provinces of Argentina with considerable vigor. In February, 1917, the city of Jujuy commences to collect the municipal revenue by a tax on the value of land (as distinct from capital value of the property, thereby including both land and buildings). Heretofore this municipality has collected its revenue by a "cisa," or tax on the food products entering the city, by taxes on businesses and what is here called "patentes" on carts and other means of transport.

The Province of Tucuman has just appointed a committee to study and report on the advisability

of adopting land values as the ONLY source of revenue for the municipality of the capital of that province.

In the Province of Cordoba immense strides are being made in the direction of collecting revenue from the natural source. Some eighteen months ago the then governor of the province obtained reforms freeing the wheat, Indian corn, linseed, hides and cattle produced in the province from the kind attention of the taxgatherer. The Georgian Society of Cordoba, headed by Sr. B. Ordonez, Dr. Ignacio E. Ferrer, and Ingo F. Ferrari Rueda, have continued the agitation, carrying it forward with marked ability until they have worked up such a strong movement that it looks as if the new governor, Dr. Loza, will be forced to bring in reforms in the direction of making the value of land the sole source of revenue.

The church newspaper, a daily with a very large circulation throughout the Province of Cordoba, has affirmed its approval of the doctrine that the value of land should be the sole source of revenue for provincial and municipal purposes; but it jibes at accepting the Georgian doctrine that "private ownership of land is an iniquity." However, our Cordoba friends at once joined hands with the Catholics, offering to form a "Taxation Reform League." They realized that if they can throw all taxation on to land values they have the kernel—the landlord but the shell.

The city of La Plata, capital of the Province of Buenos Aires, is on the verge of municipal elections. The Singletaxers are on the war path and have already nominated candidates for each ward in that city. Whether they will secure election or not remains to be seen; but this we are sure of: that the benefits of doing away with the present system of raising revenue and the advantages of taxation of land values to provide the whole municipal income will be put before the people in a clear and striking manner, for there are so many unjust taxes collected at present that an able speaker can wipe the floor with his opponent.

Away out in the Pampa, the formation of Singletax Centres goes on apace. Realico has come into line, a strong local committee being formed. The city of Pico also has formed a local Centre, whilst Chivilcoy (a town of 40,000 inhabitants), in the Province of Buenos Aires has formed a "Taxation Reform League."

In Buenos Aires city things are, for the moment, at a standstill. The President, Sr. Hipolito Irigoyen, came into office on the 12th inst., when, as is usual here, the Mayor of Buenos Aires, appointed by the former administration, handed in his resignation. Fifteen days have passed, but so far the new President has not nominated the new head of the municipality. Of course Singletaxers are in hope that a man of the new order will take up the reins of office.

In Uruguay the struggle for economic freedom is going on, but with less vigor than in Argentina. In Brazil our cause is going forward very rapidly. Rio de Janeiro, Nictheroy, Santos Sao Paulo—the most important cities of the Southern States—are all coming into line. Already Nictheroy and Rio are there, while both of the other cities have committees appointed to study and report, while the city of Santos

goes one better and has actually ordered an official valuation of the land within the city area.

The Argentine Single Tax League (Liga Argentina para el Impuesto Unico) has just published the first number of its Review. It is a fine publication and should fill a long felt want. Undoubtedly it will have a wide circulation throughout the South American republics, as also in the Argentine. The subscription has been fixed at \$2 gold per year. Readers of *The Public*, resident in Spanish-speaking countries, should, if possible, subscribe, whilst sympathizers in the rest of the world could do worse than give this publication a helping hand. So far there are two publications in Argentina dealing with taxation reform. The *El Georgista*, a publication that appears in Realicó, a small town out in the Pampa, costing \$1 per year, is the older, and in fact the only publication that has sustained the doctrines of Henry George in all their plenitude in this republic.

Argentine supporters of Singletax are in hope that their California brothers will come out on top in the November referendum. If here a referendum law existed the power of privilege would soon be broken, for conditions are such that it would be easy to convince voters.

Rich land for leagues and leagues—yes, for hundreds of miles on both sides of our railway lines—lies in its great majority uncultivated, while thousands of men, able and willing to work, tramp those pampas seeking work. Gaunt poverty stalks the larger cities, and the men seeking work are kept in order by soldiers at the rifle's point. We, here, are gradually reaching that point where reform must come, or the starving masses will rise and take the law in their own hands. It's no use beating about the bush. We fatten cattle and sheep, we let men starve. As long as the starving is confined to a few—well, rifles will keep them quiet, or quiet them, one or the other. But as landlordism gets its paralyzing influence on more and more of our lands, converting small holdings into parts of giant estancias, dedicated to the breeding and production of stock, men are being warned off. As men are warned off unemployment becomes more and more pronounced, the number of "swaggers" increase, and these, like every other beast born on this earth, when they feel the pangs of hunger—well, they become a law unto themselves, for "empty bellies have no conscience," as was proved in Paris in 1789. The writer sometimes wonders when similar scenes will occur in Buenos Aires, the Paris of the South. When, no one can say, but that it will happen, unless men are given economic liberty, is a sure thing. There are ample signs of the coming storm.

American capital would be wise in "going easy" down this way. A lender generally takes into account the character and condition of the borrower. Well, the character of the borrower in this case is right enough, but the conditions are absolutely rotten. Each province is a law unto itself. None of them respect the Constitution of the Republic. They drive a "coach and four" through every clause of that much quoted document. For instance, we see the National Government maintain a protective duty on sugar, and the provincial (with you State) government of Tucuman and Jujuy put a

provincial tax on every kilo of sugar produced, as a result of the aid that is afforded by the customs tax. The same thing occurs in the province of Mendoza with wine. There's a 50 to 60 per cent duty on foreign wines, and Mendoza Provincial Government coolly takes advantage of that to put a 33 per cent duty on all the wine produced in the province. The whole republic, speaking candidly, from an economist's standpoint, is in an anarchic condition. It's a group of states, ostensibly forming one republic, but internally divided against itself.

A strong President—a man of the Wilson stamp—could work wonders here, for if he threatened to take the customs duties off certain lines, the various state "crowds" would either come to heel at once or fight. Then it would be one thing or the other. With jellyfish presidents, things have gone steadily drifting from bad to worse. The new President comes into office after 25 years in opposition. Everyone is waiting to see how the cat is going to jump, and—well, it would be safe for your North American investors if they waited until the jump was over.

C. N. MACINTOSH.

## BOOKS

### A WELL TOLD STORY.

*The Singletax Movement in the United States.* By Arthur Nichols Young. Published by Princeton University Press. Price, \$1.50 net.

This book is an admirable work. It deserves a lengthy review, but it does not need one. Dr. Young has done excellently well just what he tells us he set out to do, namely, "to give a complete historical account of the Singletax movement in the United States, together with a discussion of the tactics of the Singletaxers, their program, the present status of the movement, and its influence upon economic thought and upon fiscal and social reform."

When we have said that the author has done what he proposed to do, and done this in a clear, complete, and interesting way, we might close this notice at once. But there are three thoughts which come to mind after reading the book, which it may be appropriate to mention.

The first thought that comes is that Dr. Young has written a book which should have been written at this time, and one with which Singletaxers can hardly fail to be satisfied. It is doubtful whether any Singletaxers could have told so impartially the story of the various phases through which the movement has passed. The early enthusiastic years, the connection with labor movements, the occasional excursions into politics, the quiet methods of propaganda, the work of the Fels Fund, all these have been described fairly, fully and interestingly. In fact, the whole history of Singletax activities has been told so consecutively that the book will prove to be a work of great value to Singletaxers as well as to other students in showing just "where the movement is at."

A second thought that occurs to one, especially while reading the middle portion of the book, is this: that while there was less "publicity" in the movement during the years, let us say, from about 1890 to about 1908, there was by no means a lack of real activity. There was less of general publicity for a time and less of apparent enthusiasm. So true was this that one could sometimes hear the remark, what has become of the Singletax? And yet constant work was being done all over the country in these quiescent days, especially by individual advocates; and those who knew could easily tell that the idea was spreading in the minds of thoughtful people. All movements have a sort of "breathing space," during which, provided the movement has a great truth within it, there is no lack of real growth. The Singletax movement has never ceased to grow, even after apparent collapses at times when it has ventured into tests at the polls. The Delaware election in 1896, for example, was undoubtedly a great disappointment, especially to those who were actively engaged in the campaign, and yet as we look back on the time and circumstances, as described in this book, we can see that such a defeat was inevitable. Yet the work is surely not counted as having been done in vain. The recent campaigns in Oregon and California may be heralded as deadly defeats by opponents, but the fact is that the number of voters found to stand for the proposed measures should be thought surprising. Let the doubter read the long story of any radical movement that has ever been inaugurated in behalf of the freedom and betterment of mankind, and then let him ask the question, how long has it been since "Progress and Poverty" was published? It may seem a long time in our short life, but it is a very short time in the long life of history.

The third thought which comes to mind on closing Dr. Young's book, after reading the interesting "Concluding Survey," is suggested by a sentence in the chapter next to the last, where he says, "The term Singletax has suffered so from careless use that it has become almost as difficult to define as Socialism." Even with the saving word "almost" the statement is hardly a fair one. It is not that we mean any criticism on the very natural indefiniteness of Socialism, but the fact that the Singletax is the most clear-cut of all economic proposals and of all propositions for social betterment. It would be hard to find a Singletaxer who would not be satisfied with saying that the idea of the Singletax is, in the words of Henry George, "to abolish all taxation save that upon land values." Very true it is that there have been disputes, sometimes serious, sometimes merely academic about the Singletax limited or unlimited, and Dr. Young has stated the case with great clearness, but Singletaxers are practically a unit in accepting the above definition. Dr. Young himself says: "There are good reasons for restricting to this meaning the employment of the term."

This does not mean, however, that there is not another side to the shield. There is the righteous and religious side as well as the side that looks to be all economic. It is when looking exclusively at one or the other side that advocates have varied in expression as to the "amount of economic rent" the public should need or should take in the way of taxation on land values. Mr. George frequently spoke of this, but it did not worry him. He knew that practically the plan would be naturally adjusted to meet both the practical needs of man and the requirements of justice. He never left the main idea. And neither, perhaps it may truly be said, do other Singletaxers necessarily leave the main idea, though they may be supporting this or that very limited adumbration of the idea, as in New Zealand, Canada, or Houston. But because Singletaxers may support such measures and think of them as so far so good, and because ignorant people may sometimes speak of such measures as the "single tax," it does not follow that there is any confusion or indefiniteness as to the real meaning of the term.

In conclusion let us say again that Dr. Young's book is one for which all professed students of economic questions owe him thanks, and not only these, but those more general readers who enjoy books on social problems, and indeed those who do not generally enjoy such books. A word of praise is also due to the excellent type and attractive appearance of the volume.

JAMES H. DILLARD.

\* \* \*

The cub reporter assigned to "cover" a local wedding sauntered back into the editorial rooms of his paper.

"Where's your 'story'?" called the impatient city editor. "Hand it across!"

"Sorry!" said the cub, nonchalantly, "but there was nothing to report! The bridegroom never turned up!"—Christian Register.

\* \* \*

The old man's wife was getting into a carriage and he neglected to assist her.

"You are not so gallant, John, as when you were a boy," she exclaimed in gentle rebuke.

"No," was the ready response, "and you are not so buoyant as when you were a gal."—Philadelphia Ledger.

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